

Should the Norwegian Progress Party be considered as members of the Populist Radical Right Party Family?

A Qualitative Analysis of the Authoritarian, Nativist and Populist Elements in the Norwegian Progress Party

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Abstract

This thesis started with a simple question that teased my interest, does Norway have a populist radical right party? Most European countries do, and the literature was unclear as to whether the Norwegian Progress Party (FrP) should be considered members of this party family. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to clear the air with regards to the FrP and investigate whether this party is in fact a populist radical right party, based on the criterions of membership laid out by Mudde (2007), identified as the ideological features of authoritarianism, nativism and populism. I have chosen the methodological approach of qualitative content analysis to analyze whether the FrP should be considered a populist radical right party. I have analyzed official party documents, meaning the party's website and their election manifestos, arguing that these documents constitute the core ideological features of this party. What I have found, and will argue throughout this thesis, is that the official party literature of the FrP contains enough evidence of the core ideological features of the Populist Radical Right to include the party in this party family.

KEY WORDS: AUTHORITARIANISM, THE NORWEGIAN PROGRESS PARTY, NATIVISM, POPULIST RADICAL RIGHT, POPULISM.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The post-World War II era in European party politics saw the rise of a new party family, the populist radical right. Parties belonging to this party family have been heavily scrutinized and often labelled as racist, populist, xenophobic and anti-democratic. Most European countries have a populist radical right party present in their national political scene, and in some countries, they have even held governmental positions. Several governments from member states in the European Union have been either entirely made up by parties from the populist radical right party (PRRP) family or have included or had support by parties from this party family. This list includes countries like Hungary and Poland, where Fidez and the Law and Justice party, currently hold governmental power. Bulgaria, Estonia, Italy, Slovakia, Denmark and the UK are also countries who belong to this list. In other countries, where PRRPs have not held governmental power, their impact is still firmly felt in the national political arena. Sweden and France are good examples of such cases. In Sweden, The Swedish Democrats (SD) received 17,5% of the votes in the general election of 2018, and although all other parties in the Swedish Parliament refuse to work with them, their presence is still felt. In France the leader of the National Rally, formerly known as the Front National, Jean-Marie Le Pen made it to the second round of the presidential elections in 2002. After assuming the leadership positions from her father, Marine Le Pen reached the second round of the presidential elections in 2017. The presence of this party family is not only limited to national political arenas, in the European Union parties belonging to the PRRP-family have held seats for a long time and are currently represented in the parliamentary group called “Identity and Democracy”. Parties in this group include the Freedom Party from Austria, the Finns Party from Finland, the League from Italy, the Alternative for Germany and the Party for Freedom from the Netherlands.

However, there is one case that is often contested in the literature as to whether it merits inclusion in the populist radical right party family, and that is the Norwegian Progress Party (FrP). Cas Mudde, the Dutch scholar who conceptualized the populist radical right party family as being authoritarian, nativist and populist, excludes the FrP from this family. Mudde (2007) argues that authoritarianism, nativism and populism does not constitute core ideological features of the FrP, furthermore, the party has a broad liberal faction, which according to Mudde, excludes them from the PRRP-family. I found this intriguing, because if the FrP is not a populist radical right party, then Norway would be one of a few European

countries that does not have such a party represented in their parliament. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to investigate whether the Norwegian Progress Party is in fact a populist radical right party. My thesis aims to clear the air with regards to the FrP and the populist radical right. To answer the question of whether the FrP is a PRRP, I have conducted a qualitative analysis of official party documents, such as their website and election manifestos. This has been done in an attempt to uncover whether the ideological features of the populist radical right are in fact part of the core ideological features of the FrP or not.

Thesis outline

This thesis is structured as follows. In chapter 2, I present a comprehensive overview of the scholarly field of research on parties belonging to the far right. This chapter will be reviewing how the scholarly field has evolved, as well as looking at the main explanations for the emergence and electoral success of these parties. Chapter 3 will deal more specifically with the populist radical right party family. This chapter aims at defining, conceptualizing and operationalizing the ideological features of this party family, identified as authoritarianism, nativism and populism. Chapter 4 will deal with the methodological approach I have chosen, qualitative content analysis, to answer my research question of whether the FrP should be considered as a populist radical right party. In this chapter I will explain what this research method entails, how I have utilized it in my analysis, as well as the data I have chosen to analyse. Chapter 5 is dedicated to a descriptive and analytical analysis of the development of the FrP, from its genesis and up to recent times. I will be reviewing and analysing important developments in the party's history, in order to gain a better understanding of the party, its ideological roots and the development of its ideological content. The final two chapters, chapter 6 and 7, is dedicated to the analysis of the ideological features of the populist radical right in the FrP. These chapters will analyse these features, discussing my findings and conclude the thesis.

Chapter 2 - The emergence of the Populist Radical Right – an overview

This chapter will try to achieve several things. Firstly, it will function as the theoretical backbone of my thesis, meaning that I will be explaining what traditionally is to be understood as the populist radical right party family. I will show how this party family has been defined and conceptualized, in order to gain an understanding of what it is that these parties have in common. Secondly, I will be giving a broad overview of the scholarly research into this party family, focusing on explanations as to why and how these parties were established. In this part I will be focusing on demand side and supply side explanations. The goal in this part is not to come to an overall conclusion on the reasons for the success of far-right parties, but rather to give an explanation of the most usual scholarly explanations for the emergence and electoral success of these parties. The third part of chapter two will be a further deep dive into the concepts that define the populist radical right. In this part I will present the defining characteristics of this party family, identified as authoritarianism, nativism and populism, and explain what these three ideological features entail, and furthermore how I have operationalized them in this thesis.

A new party family emerges

In this section I will review some of the most influential scholarly contributions on the emergence and electoral success of far right parties. However, since my thesis only deals with a particular party family of the far right, the populist radical right, it is important that we understand the difference between the far right, the extreme right and the radical right.

Differentiating between the extreme right and the radical right

The emergence of these new parties in the post-World War II era led to a considerable amount of scholarly attention. Early on this attention was directed at trying to define the common features of these parties, as well as naming them. Parties that emerged on the far right of the political spectrum were named many things, among these names were “right-wing populist”, “radical right-wing”, “populist authoritarian”, “extreme right” and “populist radical right”. Although many of the parties that went under these names are now considered part of the populist radical right party family, there is one distinction that it is important to highlight, and that is between the extreme right and the radical right.

The extreme right and the radical right both go under the umbrella term of *the far right*, and it is generally agreed upon that far right actors share the ideological features of anti-egalitarianism, nativism and authoritarianism (Jupskås and Leidig 2020). A far right actor can either be a person, party or organization, but it can also be a website or movement. The difference, however, between far right extremism and radicalism lays in the actor's views on democracy and how change should be made. The far right extremists are anti-democratic and view violence as a legitimate course of action. The best-known examples of parties or organizations belonging to the extreme right are neo-Nazi and neo-fascist parties, such as the Nordic Resistance Movement in Scandinavia, the Atomwaffen Division based in the south of the US and Blood & Honour from the UK. The extreme part of the term stems from these actors' anti-democratic attitudes, attitudes that outright reject democracy and its institutions such as free and fair elections. For example, Carter (2005) argues that these actors not only reject the procedural aspects of democracy, but that they also reject the fundamental values of democracy and its institutions. Furthermore, these actors are also considered extreme because they often promote violence as, in their view, a legitimate source of action. This behavioural aspect of the extreme right manifests itself both in violent actions and the rhetorical protection of such actions. These actors are considered right-wing because they defend the positions that human beings belong to different social hierarchies, according to this line of thinking, people are usually divided into "in-groups" and "out-groups". These groups are usually defined on the basis of ethnicity. The most prominent and well-known example of this would be neo-Nazi belief that the Aryan race is racially supreme, and all other human races are viewed as inferior. The Aryans would thus be considered as the "in-group", while everybody else who is not considered Aryan would belong to the "out-group".

The primary difference between the radical right and the extreme right would thus be their differing view on democracy, human equality and violence. Whereas the extreme right often will reject the fundamental principles of democracy, defend the use of violence and the division of humans into different social hierarchies, the radical right will not share these ideas. Another fundamental difference between the extreme and the radical right is the political tactics these actors view as legitimate. The extreme right, as explained earlier, will view violence as a legitimate source of action. The radical right, however, will not. A radical, whether situated on the right, left or centre on the political spectrum, will view societal changes as something that should happen progressively and not through the use of violence.

Therefore, the term radical can refer both to the tactics used and how much an actor believes that society should change. An actor that believes changes should have happened inside the established legal framework and that does not want to fundamentally change the frameworks of democracy would therefore be considered a radical.

As I have now established the main difference between the radical right and the extreme right, I will move on to explaining how the far right have developed after the end of World War II. In the next section I will explain how far right success have happened in three waves (Von Beyme 1988), and that the scholarly research on the topic have closely followed these waves (Mudde 2016).

The three waves of far right success

Klaus von Beyme (1988) noted that the development of the electoral success of far right parties had come in three distinct phases, or waves as he called them. Von Beyme also delineates between these phases by explaining the ideological development and difference between the different phases. The first phase he called “post-war neo-fascism”, but it is also sometimes referred to as the nostalgic wave. This wave consisted of parties that had links to the previous Nazi and Fascist governments, particularly in Germany and Italy, but also to some degree in Spain and France. This wave, however, quickly faded out, and was followed by what von Beyme dubbed “new waves of social deprivation”, which may be referred to more accurately as the anti-tax wave.

The anti-tax wave started in France when shopkeeper Pierre Poujade started the Union de Défense des Commerçants et Artisans (UDCA), which to begin with was a movement of artisans and small shopkeepers who protested against the french governments tax inspectors, who were taking action against tax fraud (Shields 2004). Later it developed into a political party and contested its first regional elections in 1956 where it received 12.3% of the votes. Poujadism, as this movement has come to be known, lacked clear ideological features, in part because the Poujadist movement was born out of protest, against economic and social change (Shields 2000). The adherents of Poujadism were protesting against french taxation laws, but many of them were also opposed to structural changes in french society that they perceived as a threat to their identity and the identity of rural France. The Poujadist movement however, in this context, is significant because it signaled the start of the anti-tax wave of far right parties, which soon spread to northern Europe. In the beginning of the 1970s, Denmark and Norway

were the scene of the birth of two new anti-tax parties, the Danish Progress Party founded by Mogens Glistrup and its Norwegian sister party founded by Anders Lange, that eventually became the Norwegian Progress Party. It was the birth of these parties, as Mudde (2017, 151) notes, that first severely challenged Rokkan's hypothesis of the frozen party systems of Western Europe.

Von Beyme (1988) called the third wave of far right success for the "unemployment and xenophobia" phase. This wave has shown to be broader than the two first, and encompasses most, if not all, of Europe. Von Beyme notes that the most prominent example is found in Front National from France, but he also highlights far right parties from many other European countries, like Germany, Italy and the United Kingdom. This third wave, being the broadest and most prominent of all the phases of far right electoral success, will be covered more in subsequent sections when I review the explanations for these parties' electoral success.

Just as von Beyme (1988) argued that the success of far right parties has happened in three waves, Mudde (2016) argues that also the scholarly research into these parties evolved in three phases. These phases closely followed the phases that von Beyme theorized. Mudde explains that the first phase of scholarly research was mostly descriptive and historical in nature and lasted from around 1945 to the 1980s. This phase of scholarly research was fairly limited however, and most of the literature from this period was published in French and German.

Wave number two, according to Mudde (2016), lasted roughly from the 1980s to the 2000s. While the first wave was dominated by descriptive historical literature, the second wave saw an influx of literature from the social scientific world. In this period researchers focused on demand-side explanations for why these parties were electorally successful. These studies tried to explain the emergence of these parties by analysing the grievances that created the demand for these parties. In other words, the parties were treated as the dependent variable, and researcher tried to find out what made people vote for them. However, Mudde (2016) notes that several of these studies were of limited quality because they relied on weak secondary data, and they only studied a small sample of parties from Western Europe. Despite this, there are some really important and influential work stemming from this era of research, the following should be of particular interest for anyone reading about the far right: Betz (1994), Betz and Immerfall (1998), Ignazi (1992), Kitschelt (1997), and Taggart (1995).

The third phase took off from where the second ended, at the start of the twenty-first century. In this period, researchers started focusing on supply-side explanations for far right parties' success. This meant a shift from studying these parties as dependent variables, to also treating them as independent variables. The next section deals with the research that tries to explain the emergence, impact and electoral success of far right parties. It will thus further explain demand-and supply-side explanations for the emergence of far right parties.

Explanations for the electoral success of far right parties

In this section I will review some of the most popular theories that try to explain the emergence and subsequent electoral success of far right parties. The explanations for the electoral success of far right parties have generally focused on either demand-side or supply-side explanations (Golder 2016). Theories that deal with the political issues or grievances that causes people to vote for, and thus demand, far right parties are labelled demand-side explanations. Generally, demand-side studies have focused on theories about modernization, economy and culture. Supply-side explanations, on the other hand, focuses on factors such as political opportunity structure, the ideological appeal of the parties and other organizational features of these parties. In general, one can say that demand-side explanations focus on factors that make these parties appealing from a voter's perspective, while supply-side explanations focus on factors that are important for electoral success from the party's perspective. In this part of thesis, the goal is to review the most frequently researched explanations for far right success. Although there might be, and in many instances are, other studies and researchers that disagree with these explanations and theories of the emergence of the far-right, the goal here is not to come to a conclusion on the reasons for the electoral success for far right parties. The point of this section is simply to show the different and most influential explanations that have been offered as reasons for these parties' success. I will start by reviewing the demand-side explanations, before moving on to the supply-side explanations.

Demand-side explanations

Demand side explanations deal with factors that make these parties appealing for voters. I have decided to focus on the most common demand-side explanations, which I will argue are theories around modernization and cultural and economic grievances.

Scholars that link far right support to modernization theories tend to do so with the premise that the losers in a modernized and post-industrial society are left alienated and are prone to vote for far right parties. Golder (2016) argues that the underlying premise in this theory is that there is a latent support for far right parties in every society, and this support is activated when modernization causes crisis for parts of the population. Ronald Inglehart has dedicated much of his time to explain how modernization has changed modern day societies.

Inglehart's (1977) central thesis is that there has been a silent counter revolution happening in modern advanced democracies, that started at the end of World War II. He argues that the period following the end of World War II produced unprecedented economic and material growth in economically advanced countries. Furthermore, most of these economically advanced countries developed broad welfare states that guaranteed a safety net for their citizens. This, coupled with the absence of large-scale intercontinental warfare between the world's military superpowers, meant that people born in this period no longer had to fear for their existence, in the way that their forefathers had to. These societal changes led to a cultural evolution, and a change from what Inglehart (2018) calls materialist values to post-material values. Materialist values can be seen almost as survivalist values, values that prioritize economic and physical safety. Whereas post-material values are self-expressionist, meaning they can be seen as a broadening of thinking, from concerns of one's own physical and economical safety to thinking more broadly about questions such as "what kind of society do I want to live in". For example, issues such as gender equality, sexual liberation, immigration, democratic values and so forth were now issues that moved to the top of many people's agenda. This led to, as Inglehart argues, massive cultural changes which again led to social and political changes. Ignazi (1992) argued that these changes led to a counter revolution by people whose moral values were more traditional and conservative. In summary what these modernization theorists argue is that these new developments and changes that economically advanced countries were experiencing led to what Minkenberg (2000) argued was an establishment of new cleavage structures. Minkenberg (2000, 181) argues that "new developments such as globalization, international migration and the end of the cold war and state socialism in Eastern Europe resulted in a process of fragmentation in

Western democracies”. The theoretical argument that these theories promote is that losers of this process of modernization were more prone to vote for a far right party, and since large parts of economically advanced countries had experienced such societal changes, this led to the emergence of a new party family on the far right of the political spectrum.

The theories explaining far-right support labelled by Golder (2016) as economic and cultural grievances are to a certain degree theoretically linked to each other. The economic grievances theory hypothesizes that in economically challenged times people are more likely to vote for far right parties. This is because far right parties can capitalize on economically troubling times by linking for example immigration with expenditure, thus putting an in-group up against an out-group. The in-group in this example would be the typical far right voter. Several scholars have found that the typical far right voter is “a young male, with a low level of education, who is either unemployed, self-employed, or a manual worker” (Golder 2016). The typical far right voter would often find himself, or at least imagine himself, to be in direct competition with an immigrant, either for a job or for social benefits. The far right party can thus put these two groups up against each other, blaming the immigrant for the reasons as to why the lowly educated young male is unemployed. However, the studies linking far right support with economic grievance theories are a mixed bag, the following includes some examples of this. Jackman and Volpert (1996) found support for the economic grievance theory, arguing that “higher rates of unemployment provide a favourable environment for these political movements”. However, both Knigge (1998) and Arzheimer and Carter (2006) found the reverse to be true, that higher unemployment rates actually lead to lower levels of far right support.

The studies researching whether cultural grievances influence far right support usually do so by operationalizing cultural grievances as anti-immigration sentiments. The theoretical implications of the cultural grievance theory are that far right parties mobilize supporters by arguing that immigrants bring with them cultural norms and values that are incompatible with the native population. Anti-immigration sentiments and support for far right parties have been thoroughly researched, and several scholars have found compelling evidence supporting the relationship between anti-immigrant sentiments on an individual level leading to electoral support for far right parties. Ivarsflaten (2008, 3) found support for this theory, writing that “no populist right party performed well in elections around 2002 without mobilizing grievances over immigration”. Rydgren (2008, 737) had similar findings, arguing that far

right parties who link “immigration to criminality and social unrest are particularly effective for mobilising voter support”.

Supply-side explanations

While the second wave of scholarly research into the far right generally focused on demand-side explanations, the third wave focused more on supply-side explanations. Supply-side explanations have generally focused on the political opportunity structure that these parties find themselves in, the organizational structure and strength of the parties themselves and finally the ideological formula that makes them appealing.

The political opportunity structures that these parties find themselves in are composed of several factors. Golder (2016) highlights “the electoral rules, the nature of the party competition, the media, and its political cleavage structure” as the most important supply-side factors. The electoral rules refer to the institutional factors, most typically the election system, that shape the competition between parties. Several scholars have used Duverger’s (1954) thesis about the electoral systems impact on the political systems as a background for their own research. Duverger famously argued that majoritarian electoral systems create political systems dominated by two parties, while proportional electoral systems create multi-party systems. The theoretical implications of Duverger’s theory when it comes to the far right, is whether electoral systems and party systems affect the electoral support and success for these kinds of parties. The general implication being that majoritarian electoral systems make it harder for far right parties to have electoral success, while proportional electoral systems imply the opposite. Several scholars have found support for this thesis, one example is Veugelers and Magnan (2005, 855) who found that support for the far right “tended to be higher in countries with systems that were more proportional”. If this theory is correct, the proportional electoral system in Norway would be considered an important factor for the electoral breakthrough of the FrP.

The policy space and competition with other parties are also seen by several scholars as important factors for far right success. Regarding policy space, Kitschelt (1997) famously argued that it was easier for far right parties to experience electoral success, if the mainstream parties converged to the center of the policy space. The argument goes, that this in turn opens up room for a far right party on the ideological fringes of the policy space. Furthermore, it also gives wood to the populist fire, because these far right parties can now claim that the mainstream parties are colluding in an effort to keep power between themselves.

The theories surrounding political cleavage structures generally focus on how these have changed, either by the emergence of new cleavages or because the relevance and strength of the existing cleavages have been reduced. These theories are closely related to the theories of dealignment and realignment processes in European party politics. Dalton et al. (1984) were some of the first scholars to write extensively about this topic. They witnessed that Rokkan's freezing hypothesis were under threat due to increasing voter volatility and party fractionalization in Western Europe.

Van der Brug and Rekker (2021, 777) define dealignment as a change in "the stable and long-term factors that used to be important as determinants of party choice" and that these factors "have lost their relevance and are not being replaced by other stable long-term predictors". These long-term factors they speak of are closely related to political cleavages such as religion, social classes or the economical left-right cleavage. In practice, what dealignment often refers to is the process of people no longer feeling aligned with a particular party, therefore, they have become de-aligned. Realignment, on the other hand, refers to changes to party identification, for example a massive shift in party affiliation, therefore it also refers to a change in voter behaviour. Van der Brug and Rekker (2021, 777) argues that realignment has happened when "long-term and stable determinants of the vote are losing their ability to create stable connections between parties and voters, and are being replaced by other stable factors that connect (groups of) voters to parties". This definition is line with Dalton et al. (1984, 13) who defined realignment as the process were people who had lost affiliation with a party now found affiliation with a new party. In short, realignment is when people who were previously dealigned, find a new party to identify with, thereby becoming aligned again.

The theoretical question that dealignment and realignment theories ask in regard to the emergence of the far right is whether the emergence of this party family is, at least in part, a result of these processes. Several scholars have argued along the lines of dealignment and realignment theories, for example, both Ignazi (1992) and Inglehart (1977) argue that the historic cleavages that had dominated western European politics were reduced in strength and relevance, and thus new issues rose above these cleavages for a lot of people, causing them to vote for new parties.

The party itself, its organization and ideology, is also highlighted in the literature as an important factor for electoral success. Several scholars point to the importance of having a strong party organization and a winning ideological formula in order to be electorally successful. When it comes to party organization, Golder (2016) writes that a party may be able to overcome obstacles and take advantage of the political opportunity structure presented to them, if a party has a strong party organization that is able to exploit such structures. Political opportunity structures change depending on the context, meaning that the opportunity structures the FrP faces in Norway are somewhat different to what the Sweden Democrats may face in Sweden. Factors that influence the political opportunity structures are many, but party system, electoral system and the ideological policy space available are all factors that influence the electoral success of political parties. However, political opportunity structures are something that all parties must deal with, and the literature that focus on the organizational strength of a political party, emphasize that the stronger a party is when it comes to organizational factors, the better equipped they are at exploiting the political opportunity structure that is presented to them. Tavits (2012, 83) writes that “organizational strength is defined as extensive network of branch offices, large membership, and professional staff”. Tavits studied parties in the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary and Poland, and found that the electoral success of parties from these countries was highly dependent on their organizational strength. In other words, parties that were organizationally strong were steady when it came to electoral success. Golder (2016) highlights that a strong party organization helps a party in many ways, from recruiting activists that help mobilizing voters, to the local branches that bring visibility in election campaigns and building a professional party organization with competent staff that gives the party a professional and reliable image. When it comes to the FrP, it can be argued that much of their survival and steady electoral success under leader Carl I. Hagen can be attributed to his organizational evolution of the party. Before Hagen assumed leadership, the party was loosely organized, and on the fringes of Norwegian politics. When he took over, he built up the party organization, and this has definitely been an important factor for their sustained electoral success and survival. The organizational strength of the FrP and its effect on the party’s survival and success is something I will address in more detail in chapter 5.

A winning ideological formula is also important for electoral success. Without ideological appeal, it would be hard to attract voters, as much can be said about almost every political party. When it comes to the far right, Kitschelt (1997), Rydgren (2005) and de Lange (2007)

have all argued that the electoral success of this new party family is down, at least partly, to these parties adoption of a winning ideological formula. The winning formula that these far right parties adopted, according to Kitschelt, was an ideological combination of neo-liberal economic policies and an authoritarian stance on moral and traditional value laden issues. When it comes to the Norwegian Progress Party, they certainly fit at least the first part of Kitschelt's winning formula, as there is no doubt that part of their electoral appeal has been their neo-liberal stance on economic policy. However, I would be doubtful to label the FrP as authoritarian when it comes to social policies. The question of whether the FrP can be labelled as authoritarian, and what kind of authoritarianism the party espouses, will be addressed in subsequent chapters that deal with authoritarianism. However, I will reveal as much that my analysis does find the FrP to be authoritarian, but not when it comes to moral and traditional values. De Lange (2007) updated Kitschelt's winning formula and argued that the ideological appeal of these new far right parties was now down to a centrist position on economic policy, rather than the earlier neo-liberal version that Kitschelt argued. De Lange argued her position by focusing on three cases, the French Front National, the Dutch Pim Fortuyn List, and the Belgian Flemish Block. By focusing on these three cases of far right parties, de Lange argued that far right parties after the millennium took a centrist position, rather than the earlier neo-liberal position they had taken on economic policy. The last argument of a winning ideological formula that I want to include is Rydgren's (2005) model of a new master frame. The new master frame that Rydgren presents is covered extensively in chapter three. However, a short introduction will be given here. Rydgren argues that parts of the electoral success, and appeal, of the new far right parties that have emerged in the post-World War II era can be explained by these parties' adoption of a new master frame. This new master frame is a combination of ethno-pluralism and populism. In contrast to Kitschelt and de Lange, Rydgren's winning formula does not include economic policy.

How to conceptualize the populist radical right party family

Since a large part of this thesis is dedicated to the conceptual nature of the populist radical right party family, there need to be some clarification as to what a party family is supposed to mean, how they usually are conceptualized and how I have done it. Therefore, this section is dedicated to the topic of party families, and it will aim at clarifying three things. Firstly, I will look at how party families traditionally have been defined and conceptualized. Secondly, I will show that this traditional way of defining party families is not very well suited for some populist radical right parties, especially the FrP. Third, and finally, using Muddes (2007)

framework as a basis, I will show how the populist radical right has been conceptualized as a party family and also explain how this party family is conceptualized in my thesis.

Traditionally party families have been conceptualized by the use of four features, (1) party name, (2) transnational linkage, (3) historical origin and (4) ideology (Mair and Mudde 1998). These four features are often not enough on their own to decide whether a political party fits into a party family. Therefore, scholars most often use a combination of some of these features, if not all of them.

The first strategy, using party names as an identifying feature of a party family is fairly superficial, however, it often proves useful. Mair and Mudde (1998) argues that the use of party names as a tool for classification assumes that parties themselves are the best judges of their own ideological identity, and this identity will then be reflected in the party name. The party's name can thus be used to identify which family the party belongs to. Jungar and Jupskås (2014) argues along the same lines and writes that party names can be highly useful for classifying political parties because they often reflect core ideological features or concepts of a party. Party names can thus work as associative tools for voters. This means that party names often work as a guidance tool for voters, enabling them to identify a party on a superficial level based on a political party's name. For example, many western European Social Democratic Labour Parties can be identified by the appearance of words like "labour", "workers" or "social democratic" in the official party name. Examples of such parties include the British Labour Party and the Swedish Social Democratic Worker's Party. Many populist radical right parties also share some similarities when it comes to their party names. For example, Jungar and Jupskås highlights that many PRRPs often use names that have slightly nativist or populist sentiments in their name, in the sense that they often choose names that highlight that they are the party for "the people" or the native group of a country. For example, the Finnish and Swedish populist radical right parties use their countries native group in their party name, naming their parties "the True Finns" and "the Swedish Democrats". While the Danish PRRP, "the Danish People's Party", uses both nativist and populist sentiments in their party name.

Transnational linkage, or international cooperation, is also a strategy that is often used to classify parties into a party family. Many political parties have ties to "sister-parties" in other countries. These ties are often struck because of some sort of ideological similarity. These

ties, or links, can be either informal or formal. Jungar and Jupskås (2014, 218) writes that informal links can be “informal and sporadic contact such as mutual party recognition, visits to each other’s party congresses and support in relation to election campaigns” whereas formal links would constitute “formalized collaboration within various supranational bodies” (Jungar and Jupskås 2014, 218). Many political parties have formalized their collaboration within the European Union, and the political groups that have formed in the European Parliament. The European Union parliamentary group “Identity and Democracy”, which are made up by parties from the far right, are an example of such a formal link between political parties.

Many scholars have also used historical origin as an indicator for grouping political parties together in party families. Mair and Mudde (1998) argues that this approach started with Rokkan’s (1970) influential work on historical cleavages and its impact on party formation. According to Rokkan the national and industrial revolution that happened during the 19th century in Western Europe created four historical cleavages that shaped both voting behaviour and the pattern of the party systems, those cleavages were (1) state vs church, (2), centre vs periphery, (3) owners vs workers and (4) urban vs rural. These cleavage structures were also the birth point for many political parties, and researcher have used these theories to group political parties together. For example, the owner’s vs workers cleavage has, according to this theory, spawned the creation of many labour parties. However, as Mair and Mudde (1998) points out, this cleavage theory, and especially Lipset and Rokkan’s (1967) hypothesis of the freezing of Western European party systems, does not explain the emergence of new party families. When it comes to the emergence of the far right, and in particular the populist radical right, there are some that have argued that a new cleavage has emerged, a post-materialist vs materialist cleavage. This is where scholars such as Inglehart (1977) and Dalton et.al (1984) come in, as they explain, at least in part, that the emergence of these new party families in Western Europe is a result of modernization and the dealignment and realignment processes that have taken place.

The fourth criteria, and I would argue the most important, is party ideology. Political parties in the same party family always share some core ideological features. By using party ideology as the basis for classification, scholars place parties that are ideologically similar together in the same party family. Measuring ideological convergence can be done in a number of different ways, some of the most used methods according to Mair and Mudde

(1998, 217) include “expert judgments, legislative behavior, mass survey data, and formal policy statements”. Another popular way of measuring ideological convergence cross nationally is by using expert surveys or studies, like the Manifesto Project. The Manifesto Project is a database that uses quantitative content analysis to analyse political parties’ manifestos and election programmes so that they can be analysed cross nationally. Another way of doing this is by doing a qualitative content analysis by yourself, looking for ideological features in official party literature, like political action programs, manifestos and websites. This is the method that I have chosen, and the method that Mudde (2007) uses when he classifies political parties.

The three first criteria used for classifying political parties into party families are however difficult to use when it comes to the Norwegian Progress Party. I believe that these three criteria are best used as indicators of whether a party belongs to a particular party family. When it comes to using party names for classification it is a highly superficial tool. Although there are several parties whose party name share some of the same features, there will be outliers. Furthermore, I do not believe party name to be anything other than an indicator, and parties should thus not be excluded from belonging in a party family, on the basis of their name. When it comes to transnational linkage and cooperation, they are often, but not always, very good indicators of whether parties belong together in the same family. Parties who have transnational links and who cooperate in supranational bodies, like the EU, are likely to share some core ideological features, and can often be placed in the same family. However, transnational linkage and cooperation is a difficult indicator to use when it comes to the FrP for a couple of reasons. Firstly, since Norway is not a member of the European Union, the FrP has not been forced into transnational cooperation, as they would have if they were elected to the European Parliament, and thus would join a parliamentary group. Secondly, the Norwegian Progress Party has routinely denied cooperating with other far right and populist radical right parties. This may be down to a number of reasons; however, I believe that this is mainly down to the fact that by distancing themselves from these parties, the FrP does not have to comment or defend the actions these other parties undertake. A glaring example of this happened during the election campaign of 1997, when the leader of Front National, Jean-Marie Le Pen praised the FrP and wished them good luck in the upcoming general election. Carl I. Hagen responded publicly to this, on live TV, and denied any affiliation with Front National. Ringheim (2016, 146-147), who recites this episode in his book, argues that this was a conscious decision and strategy Hagen took, choosing to distance himself from the

Front National and other right-wing extremist parties and leaders in Europe. The distancing strategy that Hagen and the FrP took may be because of ideological differences, but it may also be because the FrP then does not have to answer for actions taken by other right-wing parties.

Historical origin, the third criterion, is hard to use when it comes to new party families, because the tradition of using this to classify party families is deeply rooted to the tradition of historical cleavage structures. Since these historical cleavages does not encapsulate the development of society and politics in Western Europe during the latter part of the 20th century, it makes historical origin hard to use as anything other than an indicator for membership to a party family. And it is even harder to use this for new parties and party families. I have thus chosen, and will argue, that the final criterion of ideology is the best one to use for classifying whether a party belongs to a particular party family. Even though a political party shared all of the aforementioned indicators, party name, transnational linkage and historical origin, it would not matter much if that party diverged from the others when it came to ideological features. I strongly believe that ideological content is the most important factor in classifying political parties. I have thus decided to focus exclusively on this factor in my analysis of whether or not the FrP should be considered as a member of the populist radical right party family.

Chapter 3 - Defining and operationalizing the Populist Radical Right Party

Chapter one aimed at doing two things. The first was to explain the theoretical explanations for the emergence of the far right, while also establishing the difference between the radical and the extreme right. The second was to explain how party families usually have been conceptualized. This chapter, however, is dedicated to defining, conceptualizing and operationalizing the electorally most successful party family of the far right, the populist radical right. The populist radical right was conceptualized by Mudde (2007) as sharing the core ideological features of authoritarianism, nativism and populism. This chapter is dedicated to explaining, critically discussing and further expanding on his conceptualization of the populist radical right.

The chapter is structured according to the defining features of the populist radical right, this means that I will be going through each of these features in turn. This chapter is structured in three parts corresponding to the three ideological features of this party family, (1) authoritarianism, (2) nativism and (3) populism. In these three parts I will firstly explain how Mudde (2007; 2017) defines these features. Then I will discuss his definitions before I move on to the final part, which is how I have operationalized these features. There will be some slight changes to some of these features, as there are some parts of Muddes original definitions that I disagree with him upon. But in general I agree with him that authoritarianism, nativism and populism are the defining features of the populist radical right. My disagreement is more about how these terms are operationalized and measured.

Authoritarianism

The classical understanding of the term authoritarianism in the field of political science usually refers to some sort of undemocratic and authoritarian regime or ideology. However, when it comes to the populist radical right, it refers to something quite different, and not necessarily undemocratic at all. The authoritarianism of the populist radical right refers to these parties' belief in a strict and orderly society, and how such a society is to be achieved (Mudde 2007). Therefore, as Mudde (2007) argues, authoritarianism is in this context to be understood as the ideological conviction that societies rules and laws should be strict in order to achieve an orderly society, and violations of these rules should be severally punished. The

authoritarianism of the populist radical right thus most often manifests itself in their view that criminal activity and criminals should be punished more harshly than they are today.

Mudde (2007) arrived at his definition of authoritarianism heavily inspired by the research tradition of the psychological personality traits of the authoritarian personality, developed by scholars such as Theodor W. Adorno (Adorno, et al. 1950) and Bob Altemeyer (1981). The emergence and development of this research tradition was heavily inspired by the historical events of the 1930s and 40s, when several governments in Europe, in particular Nazi-Germany and Fascist Italy, were controlled by authoritarian leaders, as well as World War II and the Holocaust. Scholars were academically intrigued by the question as to why people were being submissive and, in some instances, even supportive towards anti-democratic, authoritarian and racist leaders. This led researcher such as Adorno et al. (1950) and later Altemeyer (1981) to develop their theory as to what personality traits are common among people who follow authoritarians.

The original theory of the authoritarian personality was developed by Adorno and his fellow researchers at the University of California, Berkeley. In 1950 they published *The Authoritarian Personality*. In this book they outline the personality traits that defined a person that were theoretically prone to have authoritarian personality traits. Adorno and his colleagues theorized that it was a combination of nine variables that made up what they argued was the personality traits of an authoritarian. Altemeyer (1981) inspired by Adorno, refined the theory of the authoritarian personality and developed his own way of measuring this through what is now known as the Right-Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA-Scale). Altemeyer researched Adorno's nine variables, using questionnaires and doing a statistical analysis, finding that only three of the original nine variables correlated with the personality traits of an authoritarian. Altemeyer (2006) explains that the followers of authoritarians typically have three personality traits in common: (1) a high degree of submission towards authoritarians, (2) a high degree of authoritarian aggression, and finally (3) high levels of conventionalism. On the basis of these three variables, Carter (2018, 169) writes that Altemeyer was able to show that a person who displayed authoritarian personality traits "adheres to traditional values, submits to authority and to the social norms that these authorities endorse, and condemns those who violate these norms and values". Inspired by the psychological profiles of the authoritarian personality traits, and especially by the works of Altemeyer and Adorno and his colleagues, Mudde (2007) developed his own definition of

how authoritarianism manifests itself in populist radical right parties. Mudde (2007, 23) defines authoritarianism as “the belief in a strictly ordered society, in which infringements of authority are to be punished severely”. Thus, authoritarianism often manifests itself in these parties’ pursuit of policy changes that seek to strengthen law and order policies

Although one might primarily associate populist radical right parties as first and foremost anti-immigration parties, several scholars also highlight these parties’ promotion of authoritarian policies as a part of their electoral appeal. However, the authoritarianism of these parties can also be closely linked to their anti-immigration policy. For example, Akkerman and de Lange (2012) noted that these parties’ authoritarian stance on law-and-order policies sometimes works as an extension of their view on immigration. Populist radical right parties often argue that there is a casual link between high levels of immigration and crime and terror. Akkerman and de Lange argue that many of these parties adopt authoritarian positions because their stances on tougher “law and order” policy goes well with their tough stance on immigration, because immigration is closely linked with crime and terror in their eyes. Muis and Immerzeel (2017) expand on the general understanding of the authoritarianism of these parties, writing that it also encompasses themes that are usually regarded as conservative, namely promoting a return to traditional values. Rydgren (2018) argues that it is not only these parties’ position on socio-economic issues that place them on the right, he argues that these parties’ emphasis on traditional family values also puts them on the right of the political spectrum. In summary, this means that parties belonging to the populist radical right often takes rightist position on both value laden issues, such as abortion laws, marriage rights, and what would be considered conservative family values. However, they are also placed on the right because of their conservative stance on law-and-order policies and immigration.

Although the populist radical right is arguably the most studied party family of the last couple of decades, Carter (2005) argues that the authoritarian part of these parties has received little scholarly attention. She questions whether authoritarianism is really a central feature of all far right parties, because the term authoritarianism is not fully explained and unpacked in many of these studies. Furthermore, she argues that many do not do a good enough job of explaining what “authoritarian party ideology” entails. This is because, she argues, that the majority of the literature on authoritarianism concerns itself not with the authoritarian ideology of the far right, but rather with authoritarianism as a type of political regime.

Carter's critique of the scholarly focus on the authoritarian aspect of the far right takes a two-headed approach. Firstly, she critiques the scholarly community for not dedicating enough focus into studying the authoritarian aspects of these parties, and secondly, she argues that the term has not been sufficiently explained and defined as a party ideology. I do agree with her on the first point, but not on the second. On the first point, I find her critique to be relevant, as there seems to be a plethora of studies investigating the nativist and populist aspects of the far right. However, the same focus does not seem to be given to the authoritarian aspect of these parties. It is hard to say why that is. One explanation might be that the authoritarianism of these parties is closely linked to the nativist feature of these parties, in particular their promotion of anti-immigration policies. Scholars should take note of this and dedicate more focus to unpacking and researching the authoritarianism of populist radical right parties. On the second part however, I disagree somewhat. Several scholars, in particular Mudde (2007), have done a good job of both defining the concept as well as explaining how the authoritarian aspect of these parties manifests itself. However, in this thesis I seek to remedy parts of Carter's concern, by closely defining and operationalizing authoritarianism, as well as carefully researching the authoritarian features of the FrP. The next part of my thesis will deal with this in more detail, as I thoroughly explain how I have operationalized authoritarianism.

Operationalizing authoritarianism

Authoritarianism in this thesis is to be understood how Mudde (2007) defines it, as an ideology that believes in a strictly ordered society, and infringement of societies rules should be punished harshly. However, in order to be able to measure the authoritarianism of the Norwegian Progress Party, it is important to unpack this definition in a clear manner, so that I am able to measure this aspect of the populist radical right efficiently. Therefore, this part will seek to explain what authoritarianism will look like, so that it becomes abundantly clear what statements will be interpreted as authoritarian. To do this I will explain in detail how I have operationalized the term, as well as explaining the policy areas in which I expect authoritarianism to manifest itself.

I have operationalized authoritarianism along two dimensions, policy initiatives and traditional moral values. Authoritarian policy initiatives are policy initiatives that these parties promote and seek to make into laws. It is thus policy initiatives that aims at making

society more orderly. Authoritarian policies stem from the populist radical rights view on freedom and what they considered to be a just society. Mudde (2007, 145) writes that freedom, in the eyes of the populist radical right, is based on order. Meaning, that in order for freedom to be achieved, society has to be orderly. But how is order achieved according to the populist radical right? When it comes to public policy and policy initiatives, the populist radical right believes that in order to achieve an orderly society there needs to be more focus on strengthening law and order policies. Therefore, these parties often focus on policies that would give law and order agencies and institutions more power, this often mean institutions like the police force, the judiciary and the prison system. Therefore, I am dedicating much focus towards the policy areas that concern themselves with the police force, the judiciary and prisons. Examples of manifestations of authoritarianism can be wanting to educate and hire more police officers, give harsher sentences for criminal activities, or build more prisons in order to have the capacity to carry out these harsher sentences. But it can also manifest itself in support for the death-penalty, giving police broader rights to search suspects without court orders or even lowering the age of criminal responsibility.

Furthermore, by following the arguments of Adorno, et al. (1950), Altemeyer (1981) and Carter (2018) I have also decided to operationalize authoritarianism as containing a moral value aspect. Adorno and Altemeyer conceptualized the authoritarian personality, which is an individual that follows societies rules, conforms to the laws of the government and social norms of society, and strongly rejects and condemns individuals who break societies rules, laws and norms. I have thus decided to measure authoritarianism along two dimensions, these are authoritarian policy initiatives and authoritarian moral values. Although the strongest evidence for authoritarianism would be if the party exhibits both dimensions, I will argue that empirical evidence of one of the two aspects of authoritarianism, is enough to consider the FrP as being authoritarian. This means that finding evidence one of these dimensions will be enough, in this thesis, to conclude that the FrP are in fact authoritarian. I will now go through each of these aspects in turn, starting with authoritarian policy initiatives.

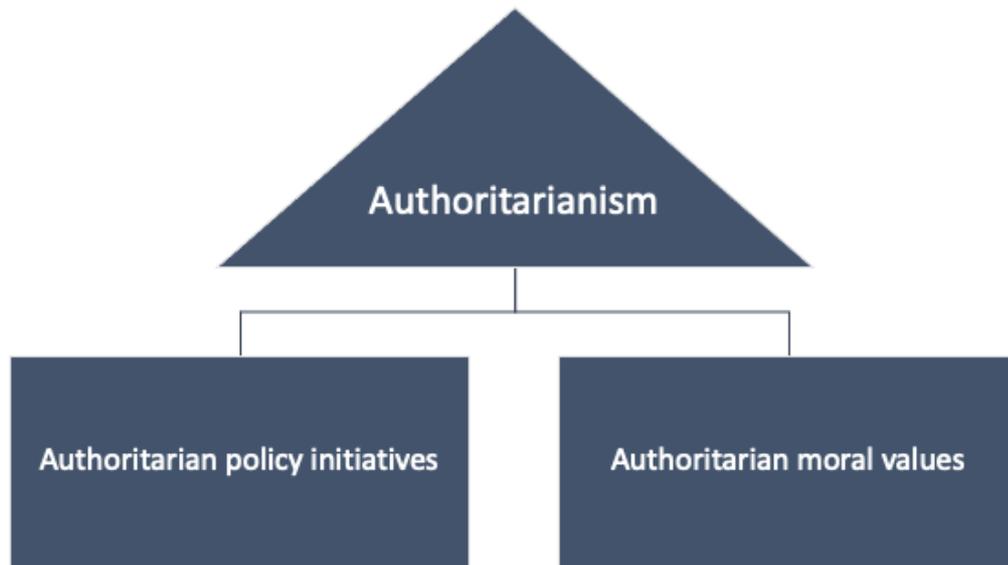


Figure 1: Authoritarianism and its dimensions

Authoritarian policy initiatives

For most populist radical right parties, the path towards a good society goes through the adoption of laws that seek to make society more orderly. The authoritarian aspect of this refers to the general idea that people are supposed to follow societies rules, even though they might disagree with them. For these parties such laws, or policy initiatives, often involves several of the following actions: giving more power to law enforcement agencies and officials, punishing criminal activity harsher, focusing on punishing criminals rather than rehabilitation them, giving more authority and autonomy to the police force, lowering the age of criminal responsibility. The authoritarian aspect of these policy initiatives stems from the way populist radical right actors view human freedom. They strongly believe that societies rules need to be followed, and an infringement of these rules needs to be punished harshly so that people will think twice about breaking them. Populist radical right actors thus sees laws, law enforcement, prisons and the judiciary as important institutions that make sure that people adhere to societies rules, and therefore they often seek to strengthen these institutions so that they can effectively strike down on “rule breakers”. One of the key areas of policy initiatives where authoritarianism manifests itself is the strengthening of the police force. Many populist radical right parties argue that there need to be more police in the streets, they need to be better equipped to tackle the challenges they face, and they need better training to face these challenges. Furthermore, they often argue for greater police autonomy so that the police can go after criminals without having to deal with too much “red tape”. These parties

thus often hammer the need for “more police” as the solution for dealing with criminal activity. Authoritarian policy initiatives are thus supposed to be understood as those initiatives that aim to strengthen the laws that govern society, and those institutions that punish those that break these rules.

Authoritarian moral values

The authoritarian moral values refer to populist radical right actor’s idea that people need to conform to societies rules and values in order for society to be orderly. The authoritarian ideas of moral values are highly tied to the concept of conventionalism, as well as these actors’ belief in order and discipline. Conventionalism, according to Carter (2018, 169), manifests itself “in policies that safeguard and promote traditional social norms, values, morality, roles and lifestyles”. Conventionalism thus manifests itself in the protection of what populist radical right actors deem as societies norms, values and traditions. Carter argues that conventionalism is exemplified by these parties’ protection of traditional family values, patriarchal structures and often an opposition to LGBT-rights. Examples of conventionalism could thus be opposition towards letting gay people getting married, opposition towards abortion laws, opposition towards affirmative action policies based on gender, and the protection of traditional family values. Those that stray away from the conventional norms and values of society would thus be deemed as a threat to the order of society.

Nativism

Nativism is according to Mudde (2007), the second defining feature of the populist radical right. This section aims at explaining what nativism is, as well as reviewing and explaining other ideological aspects that are frequently tied to the far right and populist radical right parties, which are close to nativism in nature. These other aspects are ethno-pluralism and welfare chauvinism. In this thesis I view ethno-pluralism and welfare chauvinism as dimensions of nativism, meaning that I look at these two aspects as features where nativism manifests. The section is structured in the following way. First, I will explain, in general terms, what nativism is. Then I move on to explaining how the ideological features of nativism was developed by the Nouvelle Droit in France through the creation of a new master frame, a master frame that several far right movements, actors and populist radical right parties have copied to great electoral success.

Nativism and its exclusionary nature

Mudde (2007, 19) argues that nativism is closely related to nationalism and xenophobia, and defines it as: “an ideology, which holds that states should be inhabited exclusively by members of the native group (“the nation”) and that nonnative elements (persons and ideas) are fundamentally threatening to the homogenous nation-state”. Nativists will thus argue that a state should be inhabited by that state’s native population, and that non-native elements are a threat to the state. Non-native people are often defined by either culture, nationality, race, religion or ethnicity. However, non-native elements do not necessarily have to be people, it can also refer to other elements in society that are deemed threatening to the state. For example, many anti-immigrants will argue that immigration is a threat to the cultural identity and values of their country, in this context immigrants are seen as a non-native threatening element. However, the new culture that these immigrants are perceived as bringing with them are also seen as a non-native element, that is threatening their homogenous nation state.

Betz (2017) however argues that nativism is different in Latin-America and Europe, he argues that populist leaders in Latin-America use nativism in an “inclusive” manner in order to mobilize people by populist measures. In Europe, on the other hand, populist leaders have used nativism in an “exclusive” manner, in order to mobilize people. Filc (2015) writes that Latin-American populists have used exclusionary nativist and populist tactics to include social groups that have been excluded in the past. The inclusive nature that populism and nativism has taken in Latin-America has thus been a strategy these movements have strategically taken to enlarge their electoral support. In Europe however, populist leaders and movements have chosen an exclusive version of nativism, as defined by Mudde (2007), and often employing what Rydgren (2005) has defined as the new master frame.

The new master frame of the far right

Rydgren (2005) explains that the electoral success of this new party family is best described by the development of a new master frame, that combines ethno-pluralism and populism. According to Rydgren the old master frame, which was employed by the extreme right of the World War II era, was a combination of biologically based racism, antisemitism and overt anti-democratic sentiments. However, this old master frame was rendered useless in the post-World War II era, and the new radical right parties that emerged in this period and later, realised that this old master frame would not translate to anything other than marginal

electoral support. Therefore, a new master frame was needed. The development of this new master frame is usually attributed to the Nouvelle Droite (New Right) movement that emerged in France in the late 1960s. The Nouvelle Droite was according to Bar-On (2011, 199) “a cultural school of thought”, that reformed the discourse of the extreme right-wing political parties and made it more politically correct. The old master frame was used by both the Nazis and Fascists in Germany and Italy, and anything that was associated with those movements and parties were highly stigmatized. The Nouvelle Droite movement understood this and figured out that if far right parties were to be electorally successful, they had to distance themselves from the old far right and their master frame, and thus searched to develop a new and potent master frame. The new master frame that they developed thus had to achieve two things, it had to have some distance to the old master frame employed by the Nazi and Fascist parties, and it had to redevelop, or repackage, a political message that people could vote for.

The new master frame that the Nouvelle Droit developed achieved both goals. Ideologically, this new master frame was a combination of ethno-pluralism and populism. Ethno-pluralism is according to Rydgren (2005) “based on cultural racism”, rather than the biological racism of the old master frame. Whereas biological racism is a doctrine that views other ethnic groups then one’s own as inferior, ethno-pluralism views every culture, ethnicity or race as equal but incompatible with each other. This means that proponents of ethno-pluralism do not view other cultures, ethnicities or races as inferior, what they instead believe is that they cannot coexist together. Multi-culturalism is thus considered as a threat to the state, because different cultures are viewed as incompatible, and would thus lead to social unrest. Golder (2016) argues that the goal for the adherents of the ethno-pluralist doctrine is to establish an ethnocracy, which is a sort of ethnic democracy that prioritizes its own people. Furthermore, Golder writes that the world is envisioned as culturally diverse, however nation states should be monocultural.

By arguing that different people, cultures and races are equal, but incompatible, the New Right has been able to distance themselves from the Old Right and their doctrine of biological racism, and therefore also from the claims that the New Right itself is racist. Although the populism of the new right and the populist radical right will be thoroughly reviewed and explained in the next section, a few sentences on the topic merits attention at this point. The importance of populism in the context of the New Master frame is that the

Nouvelle Droit focused their attention on a populist message of anti-establishment. This anti-establishment critique of the new master frame contrasted with the overt anti-democratic message of the old master frame employed by the old extreme right. The New Rights focus on ethno-pluralism and populism instead of biological racism and an anti-democratic discourse meant that they managed to distance themselves from the old right. This new formula would soon merit electoral success.

The definite breakthrough of the new master frame was, according to Rydgren (2005), the electoral success of the French Front National in 1984. Front Nationals' electoral breakthrough and success signalled to other far right parties that this new master frame was successful in gaining electoral support. Rydgren (2005) argues that the electoral success of Front national in 1984 started a process of cross-national diffusion. In other words, other far right parties and actors started copying this new master frame, and its message of ethno-pluralism and populism.

The development and employment of welfare chauvinism

Another feature of nativism that many far right and populist radical right parties use as a rhetorical approach and as basis for their policy choices is welfare chauvinism. Welfare chauvinism was first used, and popularized, by Goul Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) in their article about the Norwegian and Danish progress parties. They write that welfare chauvinism is the belief that “welfare services should be restricted to our own” (Goul Andersen and Bjørklund 1990, 212). Our own, in this context, is referring to the native population of a nation-state. Welfare chauvinists will argue that the native population of a nation-state should be prioritized before any other group, especially non-native groups and immigrants. Goul Andersen and Bjørklund argued that welfare chauvinism was a central feature for the support of the Norwegian Progress Party. They theorized that many of the FrPs voters came from the working class, a group which was reliant on welfare goods, and thus felt threatened by the increase in immigration. According to this theory, many belonging to the working class thus started voting for the FrP, because they saw the party as protecting them and their access to welfare goods and services. The working class wanted to limit the extension of welfare goods, so that the native population of Norway, meaning themselves, were prioritized ahead of other non-native groups.

Operationalizing nativism

In this thesis I will argue that nativism in the context of Western Europe is best conceptualized as an ideology that combines the features of exclusionary ethno-pluralism and welfare chauvinism. It is by these two features, or dimensions, that I expect nativism to manifest itself. In this section I will explain how I have operationalized and measured these two features. However, although I consider nativism as often manifesting themselves along these two features, strong evidential support of only one of these features will be considered enough for labelling the FrP as nativist. For example, if I find strong empirical support for welfare chauvinist policies in official FrP documents, but no evidence of ethno-pluralism, I will conclude that they should be considered nativist. However, I would note, that the strongest support for nativism will be found if both boxes are checked, meaning, that I find support for both dimensions.

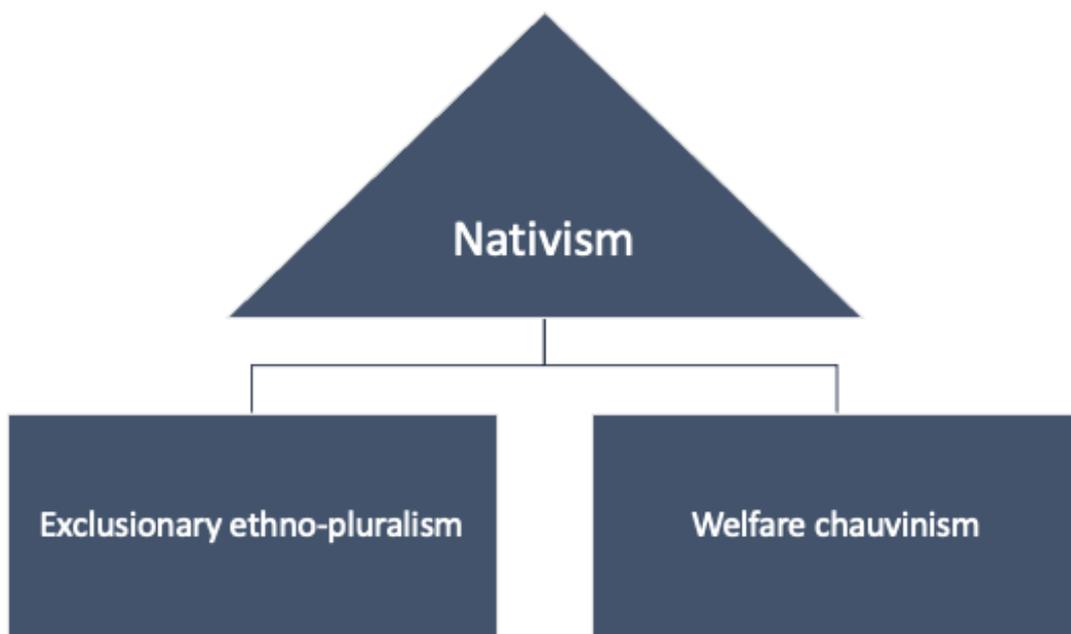


Figure 2: Nativism and its main dimensions

Exclusionary ethno-pluralism

The exclusionary nature of the nativist arguments that populist radical right parties espouse stems from their belief in a homogeneous and monocultural society. Mudde (2007, 138) writes that while their ultimate dream society would be a homogenous monocultural nation state, this is a utopian dream, therefore many populist radical right parties strive for what is considered by them a more attainable alternative, that is an ethnocratic state. Exclusionary

nativist arguments would be those arguments that seek to exclude other non-native elements from the nation state. Examples of exclusionary ethno-pluralist arguments, according to Mudde (2007, 139), include the British National Fronts slogan “Britain for the British”, the Bulgarian Ataka “Bulgaria for the Bulgarians”, and the Dutch Center Party 86s slogan “Netherlands for the Netherlanders!”. Exclusionary ethno-pluralism is thus most easily recognisable by the use of slogans that strongly argues for a homogenous and monocultural national state. Such slogans often include the name of the native people, and by interpretation they exclude other non-native groups and cultures.

Although such slogans represent the most blatant support for exclusionary ethno-pluralism, there are other, more subtler forms that this aspect of nativism can take. Other aspects of ethno-pluralism could manifest itself in statements on topics such as: anti-immigration, anti-Islamism, islamophobia, assimilation policies, citizenship, religion, criminal acts by immigrants and culture.

Welfare chauvinism

Welfare chauvinism is based on the idea that welfare services should be restricted to a state’s native people. In Norway welfare services are distributed evenly and broadly among the whole population, arguments that thus seeks to limit certain people from welfare services on the basis of their race, nationality or immigrant status will thus be considered as welfare chauvinist arguments. Welfare services are to be understood as broad and universal social services that the state provides such as education, healthcare, unemployment benefits or subsidized housing projects. Examples of welfare chauvinism could thus be arguments or policy proposals that seek to limit immigrants’ access to healthcare services.

However, another form of welfare chauvinism, according to Goul Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) is opposition to foreign aid. Opposition towards foreign aid directed at developing countries are thus also seen as a form of welfare chauvinism in this thesis. I have named the opposition towards using the states resources on foreign aid as external welfare chauvinism, while the idea that welfare service should be limited to the native people of a state is called internal welfare chauvinism.

Populism

Populism is arguably one of the most talked about and research topics in recent times.

Important events like the Brexit vote in the UK, the presidential election of Donald Trump and the emergence of the far right have led to an increased interest and growth in research and studies on populism. When it comes to the far right, several scholars agree that populism is a central feature of this party family (See Betz 1994; Betz and Immerfal 1998; Mudde 2007; Taggart 1995). However, there is some disagreement as to what exactly are the central features of populism. Some have argued that populism is democratic, others that it is anti-democratic (Müller 2016). Some highlight the ideological features of populism (Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017), while others argue that it is best understood as a discursive style or rhetorical approach (Moffitt 2016). Others again argue that populism is a leadership style or organizational approach to politics (Weyland 2001). In this thesis however, I have focused on three features that I believe best conceptualizes populism, that is the ideological content of populism, the leadership style that many populist leaders espouse, and finally populism as a rhetorical tool.

By defining populism simply as an ideological feature of these parties, Mudde (2007) neglects the rhetorical and leadership components that I believe are central to understanding populism as a concept. I disagree with his definition, simply because I do not believe that it captures the whole essence of what populism is. Therefore, in this section I will argue that populism is best understood as a combination of a thin ideology, a rhetorical approach and a leadership style. This section will thus aim to develop a new conceptualization of populism, a concept that contains these three features, ideology, a rhetorical approach and a leadership style. Secondly, I will explain how I have operationalized the term, so that it is clear what I am looking for as signs of populism.

The thin ideology of populism

Populism is often understood as a thin ideology, what this means is that it has some ideological features, but it is not so broad that it offers explanations and solutions for many political issues. Mudde (2007) defines populism by focusing on the ideological features of populism, and defines populism as the following:

populism is understood as a thin-centered ideology that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic groups, “the pure people” versus “the corrupt elite,” and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people (Mudde 2007, 23).

Mudde thus argues that populism is best understood by how populists view society. He argues that they view society as a struggle between a “corrupt elite” and “the pure people”, and that they themselves are the champion of “the pure people” and the voice of the general will. Canovan (1999, 2) argued that populism can thus be “understood as an appeal to ‘the people’ against both the established structure of power and the dominant ideas and values”. By Mudde’s definition, populism is conceptualized as containing three core concepts, “the pure people”, “the corrupt elite”, and “the general will” (Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017, 9). This raises the question of who exactly are “the people”, who are “the corrupt elite”, and what is considered as being “the general will”?

When it comes to the question of whom “the pure people” are, Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) argues along the lines of Anderson (2006). Like Anderson, Mudde and Kaltwasser argue that “the people” are an imagined group, a social construction. Since “the pure people” is a social construction, it allows for great flexibility, meaning that populists in different settings can easily change whom it is that belongs to this group. That is why Canovan (1999) argued that populism is context dependent. The context dependency of populism means that populists can change their appeal, meaning that whom the “pure people” are, can change depending on the contextual surroundings of the populists. In the context of this thesis, this means that a populist radical right party can adapt to their contextual surroundings and define what group they consider as being “the pure people”.

Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) argue that “the pure people” and “corrupt elite” are often differentiated on the basis of nationality, socioeconomic class or political power. These

groups can also overlap, so that populists can use all three factors to differentiate between “the people” and “the elite”. For example, the Sweden Democrats often blame immigration and multiculturalism for Sweden’s ailments and problems. One argument the Sweden Democrats often use is that regular native Swedes lose out economically on immigration, because immigrants who comes to Sweden take their jobs and money from the Swedish welfare state, to the detriment of the Swedish working class. They also lay blame on current and former Swedish governments for allowing high numbers of immigrants, with cultural norms that are far removed and incompatible with Swedish values, entering the country. By doing this they define “the pure people” as native Swedes (nationality) belonging to the working class (socioeconomic) that have been betrayed by the politicians who hold political power over them (political power). This is also a good example of internal welfare chauvinist arguments.

“The corrupt elite”, on the other hand, is construed as being an antagonistic group that is in direct opposition to “the people”. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017) writes that “the corrupt elite” is somewhat undertheorized in the scientific literature, however, they argue that this group is often made up by the political establishment, the economic elite, the cultural elite and the media. Furthermore, they argue that this group “are portrayed as one homogeneous corrupt group that works against the “general will” of the people” (Mudde and Kaltwasser 2017, 12). The fundamental distinction between “the people” and “the elite” are made with regards to power, those that are construed as belonging to “the elite” is people who have power and belong to one of these groups. Those people can be politicians, journalists, authors, economists, philanthropists or billionaires. People that hold positions of power in the fields of politics, economics, culture or media are then considered being part of “the corrupt elite”. A notable of example of how a populist leader construed “the corrupt elite” can be found in the United States. Donald Trump regularly blamed the media for spreading “fake news”, often blaming them for reporting what he labelled were establishment friendly “fake news”. Donald Trump’s hostility towards the media works as a great example of how he constructed the media as being part of the corrupt elite.

The final core concept of populism is the general will. Canovan (1999, 2) writes that “populists see themselves as true democrats, voicing popular grievances and opinions systematically ignored by governments, mainstream parties and the media”. Populists thus believe that they themselves represents the voice of the people, and thus it is their job to

articulate the grievances that “the pure people” have. Mudde and Kaltwasser (2017, 16) argue that it is this moral distinction between the “good people” and the “bad and corrupt elite”, that serves as the impetus for the idea of the general will. Populist view “the pure people” as a homogenous group with common interests, that are being cheated by a “corrupt elite” holding power over them. It thus becomes the populist’s mission to express the will of “the people”, since this group is oppressed by “the corrupt elite”. Since “the people” is viewed as a homogenous group with a common interest, and populist believe that they have identified this groups will and interests, they are thus able to argue that the will and interest that they articulate, is “the general will”. The idea that “the pure people” is a homogenous group with one common interest (the general will) is one of the reasons why populists often champion ideas of more direct forms of democracy. Introducing more direct forms of democracy, like referendums or citizens initiatives, are seen as actions that give people more power over “the corrupt elite”. Therefore, populist parties in Western Europe often promote policy changes that take political decision-making processes closer to the people. These policy changes often involve the adoption of direct mechanisms for democratic influence, for example plebiscites and referendums. There are however some that argue that populism is inherently anti-democratic, Müller (2016) being one of them. Müller argues that populism is anti-democratic because it is anti-liberal, while at the same time rejecting representative democracies ruling notion of pluralism. Furthermore, he argues that if populists are given to much power, they will create an authoritarian state. I however do not agree with this. Although many populists are critical of modern liberal democracies, all populists are not inherently anti-democratic. They often seek to reform modern liberal democracies into more direct democracies, but I reject the idea of populism as being inherently anti-democratic. I believe it is better to think of many populists as democracy reformists. Many populists and populist parties want to reform today’s pluralist and representative democracies into more direct democracies, where people have more direct influence over the decision-making process in politics. The idea that populism is anti-democratic, in my view, stems from Latin-America’s experience with authoritarian populist leaders and holds little water in other parts of the world. It is thus wrong, in my opinion, to label populism as inherently anti-democratic, although some populists clearly have anti-democratic ideals. Populism in this thesis is thus not to be understood as an anti-democratic ideology.

Populism as a rhetorical tool and leadership style

While Mudde defines and conceptualizes populism by only focusing on the ideological features, there are other scholars that argue that populism entails more than this. There are two other approaches to defining populism that deserves to be mentioned. Firstly, many scholars argue that populism has a performative aspect, an aspect I have chosen to call the rhetorical approach. Secondly, scholars focusing on Latin American politics often argue that populism can be conceptualized using an organizational approach. I would argue that these two features are of important for understanding populism as a concept, the following section thus seeks to explain what these two other aspects of populism looks like.

Many scholars focus on the ideological contents of populism, there are however others who conceptualized the topic in another way, Moffitt and Brubaker are scholars who focus on other aspects than just the ideological content of populism. Moffitt (2016) argues that it is important to focus on the rhetorical approach and political style of populism. Brubaker (2017, 1) also argues that it is important to account for the “discursive and stylistic repertoire” of populism. These authors’ focus on populism as a rhetorical approach and political style does not however neglect the ideological content of the term. It is better to view it as an expansion of a minimal concept. While Mudde (2007) defines the concept in a minimal way, inspired by Sartori’s (1970) classification of “minimal concepts”. The approach to view populism as a rhetorical approach should thus be seen as a complementary expansion to this definition.

Moffitt (2016, 60) writes that populism should also be understood as a rhetorical approach to politics, in which a political leader is viewed as the performer of populism, who will often adopt “bad manners to distance themselves from other political actors in terms of legitimacy and authenticity, often breaking the unwritten rules about how politicians are ‘supposed’ to conduct themselves”. The populist leader thus exhibits bad manners, in order to distance him/herself from “the corrupt elite”, who in this context would be other political actors. This way of conceptualizing populism is closely related to how Weyland (2001) defines populism as a political strategy. Weyland, arriving at his definition from his studies on populism in Latin America, argues that populism as a political strategy is aimed mostly at gaining political power. The leader is important in this context, because he/she was the one that adopted the political strategy aimed at mobilizing the masses for electoral support.

Furthermore, Moffitt argues that political leaders that utilizes populisms rhetorical tools, do this to distance themselves from other political actors, so that they can claim that they speak for “the people”. Therefore, they will utilize what Moffitt calls “bad manners”, which is a discursive approach or rhetorical tool that distances them from other political actors. These “bad manners” are closely related to what Canovan (1999) labelled “tabloid style” communication. Moffitt (2016, 52) explains that “bad manners” may include using “slang, swearing, political incorrectness, and being overly demonstrative and ‘colourful’”. The rhetorical approach that populism takes should in this thesis be understood as just that, the use of “bad manners” and “tabloid style” communications by political actors in order to distance themselves from the political elite.

Weyland’s (2001) approach to conceptualizing populism is prevalent among scholars who study Latin American politics. Scholars studying populism in Latin America conceptualize it as an organizational approach towards politics. Weyland (2001, 14) argues that this approach views populism “as a political strategy through which a personalistic leader seeks or exercises government power based on direct, unmediated, uninstitutionalized support from large numbers of mostly unorganized follower”. Weyland’s definition of populism is highly influenced by his experience and research of populism in Latin America, where many populist leaders also ruled autocratically. Notable examples include Alberto Fujimori in Peru, Hugo Chavez in Venezuela and current Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro. Weyland’s definition thus reflects the autocratic legacy of many populist leaders in Latin America; however, I still believe parts of his conceptualization of populism can be useful when translated to a European context. In particular, I believe that his approach of viewing populism as a political strategy for gaining political power by mobilizing the people easily translates. Furthermore, Weyland also views the populist leader as important for mobilizing the people, because he is often the one employing the political strategy of populism. Drawing inspiration from Weyland’s work I have thus decided to also conceptualize populism as having a strategic element to it. However, whereas Weyland focused on one leader, I believe that in today’s setting this populist political strategy could be employed by other actors than just the leader of a political party. Therefore, I will present the argument that a populist political strategy can be exercised by a number of political actors in a political party. According to this a leader of a political party can outsource the populist rhetoric to an understudy in the party. By doing this, the leader can easily distance himself from the

populists in his own party, if their rhetoric backfires, as well as enjoying the benefits if the message “hits home”.

Operationalizing populism

The previous section explained populism by focusing on three aspects of the term, as a thin ideology, as a rhetorical tool and as a leadership style. However, since I have chosen to do a qualitative content analysis surveying official party documents, I will be focusing almost exclusively on the ideological contents of populism. The reasons behind this have to do with the nature of the data I am using and where populism is expected to manifest itself. The ideological content of populism will manifest itself in official party literature, if the FrP shows itself to be ideologically populist. However, it will be difficult to find manifestations of populism as a rhetorical tool and as a leadership style in party literature. As these dimensions of populism arguably manifest itself through performative factors. It will thus be hard to find evidence of these two factors in the party literature. Therefore, the qualitative content analysis of the party literature will focus on the ideological content of populism. The other two factors, the rhetorical tool and leadership style will be discussed when I review FrPs history and the main actors that shaped the party’s development, in particular the leaders of the party. I will also discuss this issue in the final part of the thesis.

When it comes to populism as an ideology, I have chosen to operationalize this feature along two dimensions, and it is along these two dimensions that I expect populism to manifest itself in the party literature, if in fact the FrP is populist. These two dimensions are populism’s view on democracy and its critique of “the corrupt elite”. The other two aspects of populism, the leadership style and rhetorical approach will be dealt with when discussing the history of the FrP, but this dimension of populism will be neglected when studying the party literature of the FrP.

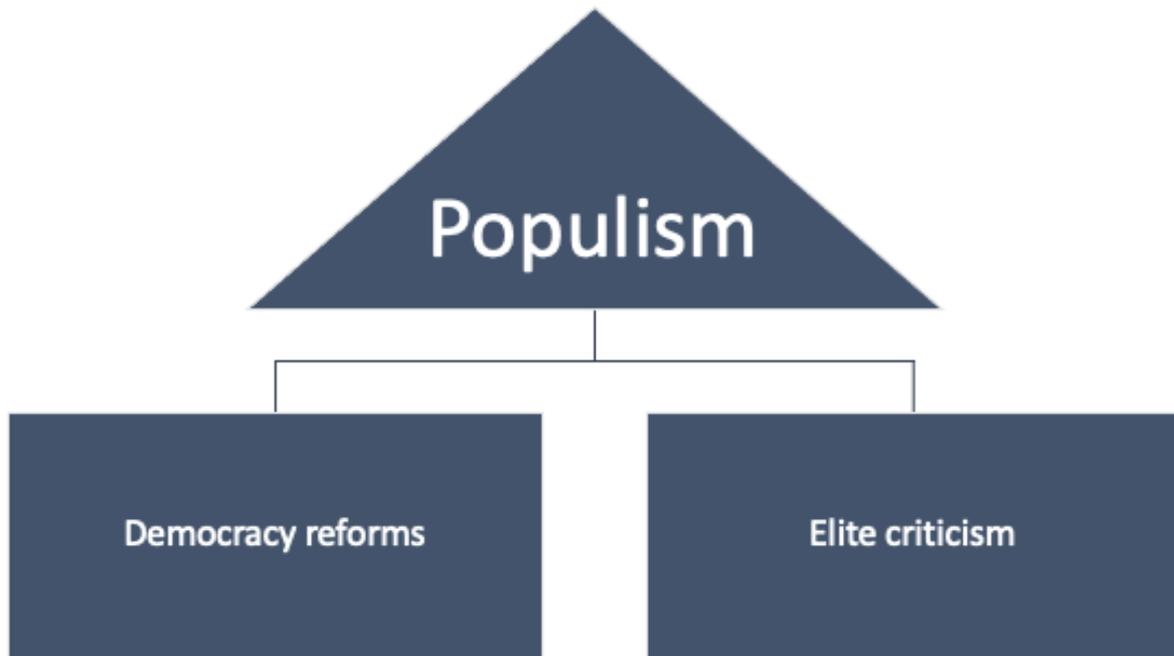


Figure 3: Populism and its main dimensions

Democracy reforms

As populism entails viewing society as divided into two antagonistic groups, “the pure people” and “the corrupt elite”, populists often seek to give more power to the people. The dimension of democracy reforms seeks to measure populism according to this. According to Mudde (2007, 151) populists view modern representative democracy as not being democratic, because political elites “controls all power through the system of representative government and the practice of cartelization”. And it is through the implementation of measures of plebiscitary democracy, that people can take back power from the corrupt elite. Therefore, when I look through the official party literature of the FrP, their website and their political manifestos, I will be looking for signs of democracy reform in the form of plebiscitarianism, meaning policy initiatives that seeks to give the people more direct access to democratic decision makings processes.

Often this means that populists promote the idea of giving people more responsibility in the form of referendums. Populist radical right parties often promote more frequent use of referendums (Mudde 2007, 152). According to Mudde (2007, 155), these parties see referendums as a way to “weaken political parties and fragment party systems, thus undermining key institutions of contemporary democracies”. Therefore, I will look at the

FrPs position on referendums. Other measures that populists can undertake to give the people more power is through the implementation of more direct decision-making power, such as citizens initiatives. A citizen's initiative is a petition that can either force governments to propose a law or force them to vote on a law proposal in parliament, but only if the petition is signed by a certain amount of people.

Populism can however also manifest itself other places than just through policy proposals that aim to reform democracies. Therefore, I am also looking for statements that criticize the overall democratic system. In particular I am looking for statements that critique the Norwegian democratic system and looking to change it more in the form of a direct democracy, where citizens have greater control over policy proposals through voting directly on them. Statements seeking to reform the Norwegian representative democracy into the direction of direct democracy, through the use of referendums, citizens' initiative and direct vote on policy proposals, will be interpreted as populism.

Elite criticism

Statements that critique the elite will also be considered as signs of populism. The "corrupt elite" can be many groups of people, and in many aspects this dimension of populism is highly context specific. However, I do expect some aspect of the elite criticism of populism to be fairly universal. It does seem that populist critique of the ruling political elite, the media, members of the economic, cultural and academic elite, are often at the centre of elite criticism. I will therefore be on the lookout for statements that can be interpreted as critique towards groups that can be considered as holding and wielding considerable power.

However, when a party uses elite criticism as a populist strategy, they often also argue that they are the voice of the people, that they embody the general will of "the pure people".

Therefore, statements where the FrP presents themselves as the "voice of the people" or "the party for the people", or something along the lines of being the party for the general will of the people, will be considered as being populist. Although statements along the lines of being the party of people are not directly tied to elite criticism, it is not far removed from the nature of elite critical arguments. This is because a central part of the populist strategy of critiquing the political power of the elite, stems from a populist actors claim to represent the general will of the "pure people". Therefore, I have included this aspect of elite criticism under this dimension of populism.

Chapter 4 - Methodological approach and data

This chapter aims to do three things. Firstly, I will explain the methodological approach that I have taken, qualitative content analysis, in order to answer the question of whether or not the Norwegian Progress Party is a populist radical right party. I will explain the method and its characteristics and why I believe this method to be very well suited for answering my research question, and thus why I have chosen this approach. Secondly, I will present and explain the data I have used in my analysis, going into what kinds of data I have used, why I have chosen this data and how I collected it. And thirdly, in the final part of this chapter, I will explain how I went about analysing my data, through the creation and use of three different coding frames, each one covering one of the dimensions of populist radical right, i.e., authoritarianism, nativism and populism. These coding frames work as a guiding tool when analysing the ideological features of the FrP with regards to the three dimensions of the populist radical right.

Qualitative Content Analysis

There are many different ways of deciding on a political party's belonging to a party family. Traditionally there are four ways researchers have used to place a political party. (1) Ideology, (2) historical origin, (3) party name and (4) transnational cooperation and links are the most common factors scholars have used for placing a political party into a party family. However, as mentioned earlier, when it comes to the FrP and the populist radical right, all factors other than ideology are difficult to use, for various reasons. Therefore, I have chosen to focus solely on political ideology as the sole factor for considering whether the FrP should be included or excluded from the populist radical right.

There are a couple of different methods that I could have used as a measurement of the ideology of the FrP. One of the research methods that is much used in comparative political research is quantitative content analysis. The Manifesto Project Database (MPD) is a database that is often used for comparing and reviewing political manifestos and election programmes cross nationally. However, this method has its weaknesses, and it is the advantages that the method of qualitative content analysis gives, that led me to choose this method. Since I am not interested in directly comparing different political manifestos to each other, but more interested in a deep dive into the ideological content of the FrP, I believe that qualitative content analysis is more equipped for my purpose.

The research method of Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) is widely used for determining the ideological profile of a political party, and it is exactly this method that Mudde (2007) used for classifying different political parties as belonging to the populist radical right party family, or not. He writes that this method is especially suited for this purpose because it “provides the proximity to the data and flexibility in operationalization necessary for studying highly complex concepts such as nativism, authoritarianism, and populism” (Mudde 2007, 39). The proximity to the data and flexibility are two of the defining features of qualitative content analysis and are two crucial factors to why I have chosen this method. This method lets me personally dive into the ideological content of the FrP, by closely reading and categorizing the ideological content of their political action program, program of principles, and website. It also allows for flexibility in the way that I have developed the coding frame, dimensions and subcategories for how to measure and code authoritarianism, nativism and populism.

At its core qualitative content analysis is used for describing data and its meaning in a systematic way. The method goes beyond mere description by also identifying the meaning of the data, that is why Schreier (2012) argues that QCA is an ideal research method when the material one is analysing needs to be interpreted. I will use a theoretical example to highlight this point. When it comes to the FrP it would be hard to find evidence in their official party literature that clearly states them as authoritarian, nativist or populist. You would be hard-pressed trying to find a statement where the party itself goes out and says, “we are a populist radical right party”. Therefore, the researcher has to conceptualize and operationalize these topics, interpret the meaning of statements found in the party literature and find out if they are in fact any of these things. Interpreting the meaning of the data is thus a crucial part of QCA and is part of the reasons as to why I have chosen this method.

Schreier (2014, 170) writes that there are three features that characterizes qualitative content analysis, (1) the reduction of data material, (2) its systematic nature and (3) the flexible nature of the method. Schreier argues that QCA reduces the data material used because the researcher can choose to focus on the aspects that is important to the research question. When the researcher develops the coding frame, dimensions and categories, he can choose to focus on the aspects he deems important for understanding and answering the overarching research topic. In this thesis I have chosen to focus on the three core features of populist radical right parties, authoritarianism, nativism and populism, and whether these three aspects can be

considered being core ideological features of the FrP. By developing dimensions and subcategories of these three ideological features, I can in a more effective way, study the parts of my data material that deals more directly with these features. For example, when reading the election manifesto of the FrP, I can focus closely on immigration policy, since I have identified this as a subcategory/dimension of nativism.

The systematic nature of QCA lays in the methods use of a coding frame and the sequence of steps. According to Schreier (2012, 5), the sequence of steps involved with QCA is first to decide on a research question, second to find the data material, third to build a coding frame, usually with several categories and subsequent subcategories. Then the researcher has to code the material, before he tests and revise the coding frame and finally discusses and analyses the findings. This sequence of steps is part of what makes QCA systematic. Furthermore, Schreier (2014, 172) writes that the use of a coding frame also mitigates the problem of different people interpreting the data material differently. In addition, QCA can also be considered as being systemic because it requires the researcher to systematically use the coding frame when going through the data material, using it almost as a guiding compass for what to look after.

Thirdly, the flexibility of the method refers to how QCA needs to be matched to the data material that is being used. When developing the coding frame, the researcher needs to take the data material into account, he has to make sure that the data material matches the coding frame, to a certain degree, so that the coding frame gives a good description of the data and the subject that is under investigation. The flexibility of this method also refers to how the coding frame can be composed. As I will explain in the next section, the coding frame can be produced either deductively or inductively, giving the researcher flexibility when developing the coding frame, as well as when coding the material at hand.

Coding frame

The coding frame is one of the defining features and maybe the most important aspect of qualitative content analysis. According to Schreier (2012, 58) the coding frame is “at the heart of the method”. The coding frame consists of the main categories, often also called dimensions. These dimensions constitute the main aspects that are under investigation. In this thesis the dimensions under investigation are authoritarianism, nativism and populism. These

dimensions, or main categories, are then further specified by the development of subcategories. Subcategories thus works as further specification of the main dimensions. Schreier (2012, 60) writes that these subcategories can be developed deductively or inductively. Deductively derived subcategories are those that are developed before looking at the data material, they are developed by using existing knowledge on the concepts at hand, they can therefore also be called concept-driven subcategories. Subcategories that are developed inductively are developed by looking at the data, they are therefore data driven. My coding frame, the dimensions and subcategories, were developed deductively. In practice, this means that I developed my coding frame before I looked at the data material. In my thesis the subcategories are the operationalized categories of my main dimensions, that is authoritarianism, nativism and populism.

In short then, the coding frame structures the data material because it explains what I am looking for in my data material based upon how I have defined and operationalized the main aspects of my research question. The coding frame consists of the main dimensions, in my thesis that would be the ideological aspects of the populist radical right, meaning authoritarianism, nativism and populism. Furthermore, these dimensions are further developed into subcategories, each dimension has its own subcategories, which purpose is to further develop and specify the meaning of the main dimensions. The subcategories tell exactly what it is that I am looking for in my data material. Since the populist radical right is conceptualized as being authoritarian, nativist and populist, it is these three things that I am looking for in the FrP. Therefore, I have developed three coding frames, one for each ideological aspect of the populist radical right. These coding frames highlight what I am looking for in the data material and where in the data I am searching. Tables 1, 2 and 3 contain the coding frames for authoritarianism, nativism and populism. They are structure according to the different dimensions of these ideological features, and the policy issues where I expect these ideological features to manifest themselves. Using authoritarianism as an example, I identified policy initiatives and moral values as dimensions of this features. I expect authoritarian policy initiatives to manifest itself in some of the following policy issues; law enforcement, prison sentences and the judicial arena.

Table 1: Dimensions and subcategories of authoritarianism

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Authoritarianism</u>	
<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Authoritarian policy initiatives</u>	<u>Authoritarian moral values</u>
<u>Policy issues – Manifestations of authoritarianism</u>	<p><u>Justice and immigration policy</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More resources for law enforcement agencies. • Prison sentences. • More resources for the police. • Age of criminal responsibility. • Longer prison sentences. • Harsher punishments for criminal activity. • More independent police. • More independent judiciary. • Citizens right to self-defence. 	<p><u>Traditions values and norms</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Traditional family values • Harsher drug policy. • Abortion rights • Traditions. • Values. • Norms. • Prostitution.

Table 2: Dimensions and subcategories of nativism

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Nativism</u>	
<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Welfare chauvinism</u>	<u>Exclusionary Ethno-pluralism</u>
<u>Policy issues - Manifestations</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign aid • Welfare policies • Housing for immigrants and refugees. • Unemployment rights. • Arguments contrasting immigration with expenses. • Arguing that immigration is 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Citizenship. • Refugees. • Culture. • Criminal immigrants. • Stricter immigration laws. • Cultural arguments against immigration. • Islamophobic arguments.

Table 3: Dimensions and subcategories of populism

<u>Ideology</u>	<u>Populism</u>	
<u>Dimension</u>	<u>Democracy reforms</u>	<u>Elite criticism</u>
<u>Policy issues - Manifestations</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More use of referendums. • Citizen’s initiative. • General critique of how Norwegian democracy works. • Promoting more direct forms of democracy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critique of media • Critique of the economic elite. • Critique of academic elite. • Critique of political elite. • Portraying themselves as the “party for the people”. • Arguing that they represent “the general will”. • General critique of a culture of “political correctness”.

Data material

The research question often, at least to a certain extent, dictates what kinds of data one can use. The overall question that this thesis aims at answering is whether the Norwegian Progress Party should be considered a populist radical right party. There are several measures one can use in order to identify which party family a particular political party belongs to. I have chosen to focus solely on political ideology, for a number of reasons, but most importantly because I believe that political ideology is the most defining feature for classifying a party. The question thus becomes what data best represents a political party's ideology?

The main issue with selecting data is to ensure that the data reflects the core ideological features of the party. Therefore, I have chosen to only include official party documents and communication as my sources of data. I have thus chosen to use the election and party manifesto of the FrP, as well as the Progress Party's own website as my data sources. I have excluded other sources, such as interviews and biographies, because by including those sources I run the risk of including statements that do not reflect the official party line and the ideological core of the party. The selection of this as my data sources has been made while thinking about both the reliability and the validity of the data and method. Reliability, in general, refers to how reliable, or trustworthy, our data is (Grønmo 2016, 242). High levels of reliability would mean that if someone else was to conduct the same analysis using the same data, the results would be the same. For my thesis to have a high degree of reliability would mean that if someone else undertook the same kind of analysis of the FrP, using the same kind of data as I have used, that they would come to the same conclusion. Perfect reliability is almost impossible, and since my method relies heavily on the interpretation of the researcher, it would be more than possible that someone else may come to another conclusion with regards to the FrP, even if that person would use the same data and method. Therefore, what is important then, for the results to be trusted, is openness and clarity. It is extremely important, when doing any kind of interpretive method, that the researcher is open and clear with regards to how he interprets the data. This is important because it gives the reader an insight into how important aspects of the data were coded and interpreted, but also because it makes it easier for others to assess the validity of the results.

Validity, meaning both how well the research method and data are suited for answering the research question (Grønmo 2016, 447), is also something that I carefully evaluated before choosing my method and data. When it comes to the method, I could have chosen other ways of measuring ideology. However, I firmly believe that a qualitative content analysis is best suited for my purpose. When it comes to the validity of the data I have chosen, I do believe that the official election manifesto and the website of the FrP are the best sources for analysing the ideological core of the party. Therefore, I believe that the data I have chosen will give results that have a high degree of validity.

However, the research method and data I have chosen are not without limitations. All parties have factions that to various degrees represent different ideological positions. When it comes to the FrP, the party has a long history of a broad liberal faction, as well as an often-opposing national conservative faction. This may not be reflected very well in official party documents, because they are not the sum of all opinions. An analysis of such documents will therefore not necessarily be the best data source for uncovering the different ideological factions in a party. I would argue that such documents are better viewed as the core ideological features. The aim of this thesis, however, is to find out if nativism, authoritarianism and populism can be considered core ideological features of the Progress Party. Therefore, I have decided to focus on the data that I believe best captures the true ideological core of the FrP, and that is their Political Action Program (*Prinsipp og Handlingsprogram*) and material from their own website. The Political Action Program represents what the party want to achieve in the next election period, a period for four years, therefore, for future reference, I will mostly refer to these documents as election manifestos.

The election manifesto was an obvious choice to use, mainly because of how this document is constructed, and what it reflects. The composition and adoption of the election manifesto of the FrP can be explained as being done in roughly two steps. The Program Committee (Program- og redaksjonskomiteen) is responsible for composing the manifesto. They are responsible for composing an election manifesto that they believe most of the members of the National Convention can vote for. They do this by composing a draft of the manifesto, before sending this draft to all the local and regional branches of the party. These local and regional branches thus review the document, and can then send their feedback to the Program Committee if they want to change something. The final adoption of the document however is down to the National Convention. When the Program Committee submit their final draft,

after consulting with the local and regional branches, they put the document up for debate and vote at the National Convention. When the National Convention finally votes and adopts the election manifesto, they do so for the next parliamentary period, that is for the next four years that the Norwegian Parliament is seated, until a new election occurs. The election manifesto is usually composed of two main parts, part one is program of principles (prinsipp program) and part two is the action program (handlingsprogram). The program of principles in the election manifesto of 2017 only contains 10 pages, pages 7 through 17, and is a declaration of the ideals FrP believes in, as well as a declaration of their own ideological position. This part is thus best viewed as a normative and subjective declaration of how the FrP wants the Norwegian state and society to look like. Part two, the action program makes up the brunt of the document, roughly 100 pages, from page 20 to 119 in the election manifesto from 2017. In the action program the FrP explains what policy changes they want to implement in the next parliamentary period, and it is divided into several parts, each part corresponds to a policy area. The action program from 2017 is divided into 14 different parts, examples of these parts include “democracy”, “immigration policy” and “work and welfare”. This makes it easy to navigate to the parts that it is plausible that the different dimensions of authoritarianism, nativism and populism manifests itself. By using my coding frame, I will navigate to the parts where it is likely that these features manifest itself, furthermore, it is also possible to search for keywords in the document. Corresponding with the coding frame, I will search for keywords and navigate the different sections, looking for manifestations of authoritarianism, nativism and populism. I have used two election manifestos as my main sources of data and analysis in this thesis, those are the manifestos from 2017 and the newest one that was adopted in 2021. I have chosen these two documents because I believe they best represent the ideologically makeup of the FrP today.

In addition to the Political Action Programme, I have also decided to use the FrPs own website as data. The website contains a lot of info on the FrPs own politics, where they have several pages that are devoted to explaining their politics and policy proposals. Since they themselves have made the website and argue that this reflects their policy, I have taken their word for it, and will treat this as official party policy, and thus a reflection of their ideological foundation. Their website is organized in such a manner that by going to a section labelled “Our Politics” (Vår Politikk), you can easily navigate to different policy issues, such as “immigration and integration” (innvandring og integrering), “healthcare” (helse og omsorg) and “justice and preparedness” (justis og beredskap). I will thus, according to my coding

frame and how I have operationalized the core features of the populist radical right, navigate and analyse the sections of their website where it is most likely that these features will manifest itself. For example, when it comes to nativism, I will be analysing the pages on “immigration and integration”, as well as “healthcare”. Furthermore, the FrPs website have their own search engine, making it possible to search for key terms, such as immigration, and find documents published on their website that deal with this topic.

Chapter 5 - The history of the Norwegian Progress Party

Chapter 5 will in most part be a descriptive analysis of what I deem the most important parts of the development of the party throughout their history. However, although this part aims to offer a descriptive account of the development of the FrP, I will also comment and make remarks about events and factors that I deem important for the ideological development of the party, hoping to add some analytical insight. I have focused primarily on trying to explain the roots of the party, factors that made them electorally successful, and main developments to their ideological foundation.

The genesis of the FrP (the populist roots of the FrP)

The Norwegian Progress Party (FrP) was founded as a single-issue party in 1973 by charismatic figure and first leader Anders Lange. Contrary to many of the other populist radical right parties in Western Europe the FrP was not founded on an anti-immigration, nationalist or nativist sentiment, rather it was founded as a single-issue party highly critical of the taxation levels in Norway and the highly bureaucratized Norwegian public sector. Lange, naming the party after himself, called his party “Anders Lange’s Party for the Substantial Reduction in Taxes, Duties and Governmental Interference”, commonly known as Anders Lange’s Party (ALP). Lange was also highly critical of socialism, in the 1930s he was a member of Fedrelanslaget, who Iversen (1998, 14) characterizes as “a centre-right movement which goal was to ensure that the socialists did not gain power in Norway”¹. Lange’s disdain towards socialism can be understood by his belief in the notion that personal freedom is best achieved through a liberal state that protects individual’s personal freedom. He was critical towards a state that invaded people’s personal freedom and saw himself as an uncompromising protector of the individual against such a state. Lange was also sceptical of the organizational structure and political programs of traditional political parties. He wanted to create a loosely organized political movement without the by-laws and political programs that characterized traditional political parties. Lange’s vision of how he wanted to structure his party as well as his leadership style clearly conforms with Weyland’s (2001) conception of populism as a political strategy and leadership style.

¹ My translation, original statement reads: «en borgerlig samlingsbevegelse som hadde som mål å sørge for at sosialistene ikke fikk makten i Norge.»

Lange also drew inspiration from the newly created Danish Progress Party (FrPD), created by the highly controversial and charismatic Danish lawyer Mogens Glistrup. Glistrup gained notoriety and popularity after he appeared on the Danish television show “Focus” in 1971, arguing that paying taxes was immoral while also revealing that he himself, through what must be called “creative accounting” did not pay any income tax at all (Aarhus University 2011). Glistrup founded the Danish Progress Party shortly after this interview, in 1972, and in 1973 they contested their first ever election to the Danish Parliament, the Folketing. The Danish election of 1973 was to be known as a Landslide election, because four of the historically established parties, the social democrats, the Left, the Conservative People’s Party and the Radical Left, all suffered electoral setbacks. While at the same time several new or previously unrepresented parties won seats. This meant that the Danish Folketing’s composition changed significantly, with 44% of voters changing the party they voted for and over half of the Folketing’s MPs were shifted out. One of the winners of this Landslide election were the Danish Progress Party who received 15,9 % of the votes and 28 seats in parliament. Lange was heavily inspired by Glistrup, and when Lange held his first public speech as chairman of ALP in Oslo on May 16, 1973, Glistrup was himself in attendance also making a speech.

Although the ALP, like their Danish sister party, was founded as an anti-taxation and anti-bureaucracy party, their founder Anders Lange, clearly had some populist ideas and beliefs. The populist views of Lange were clearly on display on the night of the foundation of the ALP. Speaking in front of a crowd of around 1400 people on the 8th of April 1973, in Saga Kino, Lange displayed his critical attitude towards the ruling elite in Norway. He talked about himself and the people in the audience having the opportunity to represent a “people’s movement” that could save their fatherland. Lange clearly exclaimed his populist views and rhetoric on this day, even arguing that Norwegians should take back power from their MPs in the Norwegian Storting, making remarks like “Norway, with its strong men, does not want to be treated like children by their MPs” (Ringheim 2016, 13)². Lange, who opposed political programs, still saw the need for publishing some sort of political action program. Therefore, shortly before the founding meeting at Saga Kino in 1973, Lange released his manifest containing 14 statements. The manifesto became known as the “we are sick of” manifesto,

² My translation. Original sentence reads: «Norge med sterke menn som ikke ønsker å være pattebarn under stortingsmenn!»

because every sentence in the manifesto started with the words “we are sick of” before explaining what he was sick of.

The manifesto also exhibits the populist attitude of Anders Lange, where several of the statements contain populist critique of the ruling elite in Norway. Lange criticises politicians in the manifesto, writing “we are sick of politicians interfering in our private life”³. He also directs his attacks towards Norwegian MPs when he writes that “we are sick of members of parliament reducing our wages so much that we have to beg for more”⁴. Using politicians and MPs as examples of the ruling elite, Lange clearly portrays his populist agenda when he critiques them for interfering in and making the lives of ordinary Norwegians worse. Lange also frequently exhibited what Moffitt (2016) refers to as populist “bad manners”, using this as strategy to differentiate himself from the established political elite in Norway. One of the most well-known examples of this comes from a debate in 1973, where Lange pulled out a Viking sword, while at the same time drinking eggnog and smoking a pipe. In addition to populism, the “we are sick of” manifesto also contain a sentence that could easily be interpreted as external welfare chauvinism. Lange, through his manifesto, argues that the party is sick of paying money in foreign aid to states that use money for armament. The overall argument being that these states should use this money otherwise. However, as my analysis will uncover, the FrP today is very critical towards foreign aid, and should thus be considered external welfare chauvinist. It seems that some of the roots of that were planted with Lange at the inception of the party.

The Electoral breakthrough of the FrP

Like the Danish Progress Party, the ALP also contested their first national election in the 1973 election to the Norwegian Storting. The election was held only five months after the foundation of the party, and 5,1% of the Norwegian electorate voted for ALP. Their electoral success, though not as spectacular as their Danish counterparts, was still considered a huge success and a big surprise. The ALP received votes from people who had earlier voted for both the Conservatives (H) and the Labour Party (AP). From their 108 000 voters, 47% of

³ My translation, original statement reads: «Vi er lei av politikere som blander seg opp i vårt privatliv».

⁴ «Vi er lei av stortingsmenn som gjør lønnen så liten at vi må be om mer.»

The full “we are sick of” manifesto can be found in Ringheim (2016, 14), as well as in the database on political manifestos on Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata (NSD).

them voted for the Conservatives at the last parliamentary election, while 30% came from the Labour Party (Ringheim 2016, 36).

Goul Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) highlights two factors that they claim were critical for the ALPs electoral breakthrough and initial success. Firstly, they point towards a general voter dissatisfaction with the taxation policy of the centre-right government that governed Norway from 1965 to 1971 and 1972 to 1973. The post-World War II years in Norway, and especially the 1960s and 1970s, saw a rapid and expansive welfare state emerge. Many centre-right voters were frustrated with the fact that a change in government from the left-wing social democrats to the centre-right did not signal a change in policy. The increasing level of taxation and continued expansion of the welfare state under a centre-right government thus left many voters feeling frustrated and dissatisfied.

Secondly, they point to the European Economic Community (EEC) referendum held in 1972. This referendum is considered a major factor because it alienated portions of the Norwegian electorate with whom they traditionally voted for. The opinions of the general public on whether Norway should become a member of the EEC often went across existing loyalty bonds to the party they used to vote for. The Conservatives and the Labour Party were both yes-parties, but many of their voters voted no in the referendum. Goul Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) explains that the EEC referendum abolished existing loyalty bonds between large portions of voters and the established parties. Thereby making it easier for these voters to vote for another party in upcoming general elections, then the ones they had previously used to vote for. The EEC referendum of 1972 certainly offers some explanatory value as to why some voters shifted allegiance from the Conservatives and the Labour Party to the newly established ALP.

The setbacks of the late seventies

Many pundits and commentators regarded ALP as a flash in the pan party and predicted their downfall after their initial electoral success. The Norwegian newspaper Dagbladet were quick to comment, predicting their electoral downfall, writing the following in an editorial: “In all likelihood, we are dealing with a short-lived creature, but even such insects can cause much damage during their lifespan” (Jupskås 2015, 27; Iversen 1998, 49)⁵. Their prediction could

⁵ This sentence was translated by Jupskås (2015) for his PHD thesis. The original sentence was found in Iversen (1998) and reads the following: «Sannsynligvis har vi med en døgnflue å gjøre, men selv slike insekter kan anrette mye ugang i sin levetid».

have, and initially looked like, being correct. After the party's initial electoral breakthrough and success in 1973, they were now in for harder times. Internal strife and disagreements over party organization, the death of Anders Lange in 1974 and their electoral setbacks in 1975 and 1977 could have been the end of ALP. However, those who predicted a short-lived party would be proven incorrect.

In January 1974, shortly before Lange's death, the ALP was getting ready for their first ever national party convention. The convention was held in Rogaland and present was 40 men and one woman, Anders Lange's wife Karin Lange. Among the issues that were to be debated by the delegates were whether the ALP was to have a political program. Anders Lange was critical of this, he favoured an unorganized political party, who took stances on issues as they appeared. Carl I. Hagen took the opposite stance, he wanted to take the party in a more traditional direction, a direction that meant the implementation of a political action program. Hagen was not alone on this, several others supported his view, among his supporters were prominent delegates like Kristoffer Almås. Ringheim (2016, 43) writes that Almås and Hagen challenged the delegates to take action against Lange's will, and create a political program. This angered Lange and started a conflict that culminated in Almås and Hagen leaving the party. Despite the conflict, Almås was elected as Vice Chairman and Hagen were elected Secretary-General at this meeting, something Lange initially agreed upon. However, shortly after the national convention the conflict between Hagen and Lange became national news when Dagbladet quoted Lange in saying that Carl I. Hagen would only become general secretary in the ALP "over my dead body" (Ringheim 2016, 42)⁶. After this, Hagen and Lange never spoke again.

One would not be alone in being pessimistic about the future of the ALP when the party's popular and charismatic leader Anders Lange suddenly died of heart failure in October 1974. However, Lange's death meant the return of Carl I. Hagen, who sought to revamp the party, organizing it more in the mold of a traditional political party. Hagen had left the ALP in part because of his differing view with Lange on how the party should be organized. Whereas Lange wanted a loosely organized party, based around his own personal style and leadership, that was different to the established and traditional political parties. Hagen wanted an organized party with by-laws, a political program and a structured political organization. And

⁶ My translation, original sentence reads: «Hagen blir generalsekretær over mitt lik»

the two next elections would prove that change was necessary if the party was to survive, as they proved to be highly disappointing for the ALP/FrP. In the regional elections (fylkestingsvalg) of 1975, the party only received 1,4% of the vote, the national election in 1977 proving almost as disappointing, as the party only received 1,9% of the votes, leaving the FrP with zero MPs in the Norwegian Storting. In the run up to the 1977 election, the ALP adopted its Danish sister party's name, and from this point on would be known as the Progress Party (FrP). The new name in itself however was not enough to turn the tide. With almost nothing that resembled a party organization to run an electoral campaign, the party crashed out of the Norwegian Storting. Lange's death in 1974 combined with poor electoral results in 1975 and 1977 signaled that change was necessary if the party was to survive.

From a disorganization to organization – Carl I. Hagen takes control

Arve Lønnum took over as the leader of the party in 1975 after Eivind Eckbo, who had functioned as leader since Lange's death. Lønnum shared Hagen's conviction that the party needed to reform if it was to survive. Lønnum therefore convinced Hagen to return to the ALP from the newly formed Reform Party (Reformpartiet), led by former ALP member Kristoffer Almås. During the party's 1976 national convention the party changed its name to the Progress Party and Hagen was elected second vice chairman. His reign as second vice chairman was short lived however, because in 1978 Hagen was elected as party leader. A position he would hold for almost 30 years. Under Hagen's leadership the party would transform itself into more of a traditional political party. Hagen would oversee changes to the ideological foundations of the party as well as guiding the party from the political fringes to become a highly successful and modern political party. Hagen also revamped the party organizationally, professionalizing it and turning into a traditional and modern political party. Hagen's organizational evolution of the FrP is, in my mind, an important reason for their sustained electoral success. According to Tavits (2012), parties that are organizationally strong have a better chance of electoral success and survival, and I firmly believe that Hagen's ascent to the leadership and his subsequent moves to reform the party made the party stronger organizationally. Which in turn greatly contributed to the party's success and survival.

Table 4: Leaders of the Progress Party

Leaders of the Norwegian Progress Party	
<i>Anders Lange</i>	1973-1974
<i>Eivind Eckbo</i>	1974-1975
<i>Arve Lønnum</i>	1975-1978
<i>Carl Ivar Hagen</i>	1978-2006
<i>Siv Jensen</i>	2006-2021
<i>Sylvi Listhaug</i>	2021-

When Hagen was elected as leader in 1978 the party was on the fringes of extinction, after they were left without any MPs from the general election of 1977. The next decades would see the party taking strides, steadily building their voter base. Hagen would also oversee several important events that would shape the party, two of these are of great importance and deserve to be mentioned. The first is the politicization of immigration policy in Norwegian politics, and the FrPs subsequent adoption of anti-immigrant policies. Secondly, Hagen's years as leader will also be remembered for internal struggles.

The inclusion of anti-immigration policies in the FrP

The campaign and election of 1989 hold an important place in Norwegian political history, because it marked the politicization of immigration policy in Norwegian politics.

Immigration was not a political issue in Norway prior to the 1970s, before this Norway received small numbers of immigrants, and those who came were primarily coming from other Nordic countries (Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland). Countries which are quite similar to Norway when it comes to language and other cultural aspects. From 1967 however, this started to change, and people from other parts of the world starting to emigrate to Norway. Before 1967, Norway had usually had more people emigrating than immigrating. In the 15-year period from 1952 to 1966, net-immigration to Norway was at a minus, meaning more people move out of Norway than inn. In this period, Norway had a net-immigration of minus 19 215. However, since 1967, net-immigration have been steadily increasing, and only two years (1970 and 1989) have seen emigration numbers larger than immigration. In the 20-year period from 1967 to 1986, Norway received in excess of 377 000 immigrants. The low immigration numbers of pre-1967 meant that immigration was not an issue on the forefront of the political agenda, however, this was about to change with the rising numbers of

immigration. Hagelund (2003, 50) writes that as immigration peaked in 1987, with 8600 immigrants coming to Norway, “newspapers were full of articles about new arrivals, and concern arose about what to do with the ‘streams’ and ‘flows’ of refugees entering the country”. Attention was beginning to turn towards the problems that immigration was causing. Norway had not experienced immigration like this before, and Hagelund writes that Norway was not equipped with institutions to deal with this level of immigration. Therefore, asylum seekers had to wait long for their applications to be handled, since there was a lack of mechanisms in place to deal with issues such as placement and housing for immigrants. Many immigrants were put in hotels, and processing of their applications took a long time. This new flow of immigrants started to raise concerns in many local communities. Hagelund (2003, 50) argues that this new level of immigration and Norway’s lack of institutional arrangements to handle them sometimes caused “discontent among the local community and sustaining arguments about all the benefits asylum-seekers received for free that allegedly were out of reach for most Norwegians”. It is around this time that welfare chauvinist sentiments can be found in Norwegian society, and it is certainly around this time that immigration became a political issue. The Norwegian Progress party quickly turned their attention towards this new issue, and according to Hagelund, they were responsible for bringing this issue to the political arena, because they were the ones who sought to make it a political issue. Table 5 contains numbers for net-immigration to Norway, organized according to different time periods.

Table 5: Net-immigration to Norway: 1952 - 2020

Years	Immigration	Emigration	Net-immigration
1952 - 1966	153 340	-172 048	-19 215
1967 - 1976	176 536	-142 265	34 271
1977 - 1986	200 806	-152 340	48 466
1987 - 1996	276 187	-201 604	74 583
1997 - 2006	379 793	-234 796	144 997
2007 – 2016	705 736	-313 274	392 462
2017 - 2020	200 901	-124 795	76 106

Source: Statistisk Sentralbyrå (SSB)⁷

⁷ <https://www.ssb.no/innvandring-og-innvandrere/faktaside/innvandring>

Politicians became aware of the issues that immigration caused to the unprepared Norwegian institution, therefore, in 1974, the Norwegian Storting unanimously decided to temporarily stop immigration. During a parliamentary debate in December of 1974, the anti-immigration sentiments of Erik Gjems-Onstad, member of Anders Lange's Party, became known during a speech he held. Bjørklund (1999, 138-139) writes that Gjems-Onstad criticized immigration from an economic perspective, saying that immigration was a burden for Norwegian taxpayers. According to Bjørklund, the FrP first argued against immigration from an economic perspective, using welfare chauvinist arguments. It was not until later, from the 1990s and forward, that the FrP started to argue against immigration using cultural arguments. In their election manifesto from 1993, they argue against immigration from a cultural perspective, writing the following:

The Progress Party's restrictive immigration policy, which is supplemented by active integration and adaptation to Norwegian social conditions, will prevent contradictions and conflicts between population groups based on different ethnic, cultural and religious backgrounds.⁸ (FrP 1993).

The culturally based arguments against immigration that emerged in the political program of the FrP in 1993 were supported by party leader Carl I. Hagen. During the next decades he would make several comments in which he voiced his criticism towards immigration from a cultural standpoint. In 1997 Hagen argued that "a society without ethnic minorities is a society in harmony" (Bjørklund 1999, 139). Hagen has also at times made anti-Islamic statements, statements that can easily be interpreted as Islamophobic. Islamophobia, in this context, shall be understood as "indiscriminate negative attitudes and sentiments concerning Islam and Muslims" (Bleich 2011, 1581). In 2006 during an interview with Norwegian newspaper *Dagbladet* he said he feared that Muslims could one day be a majority in Norway, and that sharia laws could be implemented in Norway (*Dagbladet* 2006). Another well-known example of Hagen's islamophobia is the incident known as *The Mustafa Letter*.

During the run up towards the regional elections (kommune og fylkestingsvalg) in 1987, Hagen was speaking at a meeting in Rørvik. He argued for stricter immigration laws, and warned that immigration could lead to conflict, if Norway let too many Muslims settle here

⁸ My translation, the original statement reads: «Fremskrittspartiets restriktive innvandringspolitikk, som suppleres med aktiv integrering og tilpasning til norske samfunnsforhold, vil forebygge motsetninger og konflikter mellom befolkningsgrupper med basis i forskjellig etnisk, kulturell og religiøs bakgrunn.»

(Ringheim 2016, 80). During his speech he pulled out a letter he said he had received from a man called Muhammed Mustafa and read from it. In the letter, the man calling himself Mustafa, claimed that Muslims were coming to take over Norway, and that Norway one day would be a Muslim country. The glaring mistake that Hagen had made, was to not check the authenticity of the letter, because as it turned out, the letter was fake. Although a fake, the letter managed to bring out the Islamophobic side of Hagen. It seems that Hagen to some extent had bought into an early version of the now well-known Islamophobic theory of “Eurabia”. The Eurabia theory, at its core, is a conspiracy theory that claims that “Europe is on the verge of being taken over by Muslims” (Bangstad 2013, 369). Furthermore, Bangstad writes that according to the Eurabia theory, the Muslim takeover of Europe will happen by immigration and the Muslim populations higher fertility rate in comparison to the native population of Europe. The Mustafa Letter contained the main aspects of the Eurabia theory, as the last part of the letter reads out how Muslims will take over Norway: “We (Muslims) give birth to more children than you, and several orthodox Muslims come to Norway every year, men of productive age.” (Ringheim 2016, 79-80)⁹. The anti-immigration arguments that emerged in the FrP during the 1990s were thus a development from their earlier strategies of welfare chauvinism. However, the culturally based arguments against immigration did not replace the economical based welfare chauvinist arguments, it is better to see them as an addition to their overall rhetorical and political anti-immigration strategy.

FrPs focus on immigration as a political issue has certainly paid off for them electorally. The rise in immigration levels and the FrPs focus on this issue has certainly garnered more votes in their favor. However, their rise and sustained success cannot solely be attributed to their focus on immigration. There are certainly other aspects of their politics that are appealing to voters; however, one cannot neglect the fact that their focus on immigration has garnered electoral support. In fact, scholars like Hagelund (2003) argues that the FrPs focus on immigration has given them “issue ownership” over this conflict issue in Norwegian politics. Issue ownership means that a party has ownership over a conflict issue in politics, and that voters identify this party as dealing with the issue best. The FrPs issue ownership over immigration in Norway means that those who consider immigration to be a problem, identify the FrP as the party that is best equipped for dealing with this issue. Research of voter

⁹ My translation, the original statement reads: «vi føder flere barn enn dere, og adskillige rett-troende muslimer kommer til Norge hvert år, menn i produktiv alder.»

behaviour supports this. Bjørklund (1999, 168) found that almost every voter who answered that immigration was the most important issue for them when they went to the polls, had voted for the FrP in the local elections of 1995.

The FrP sharpens their stance on immigration

When the FrP included culturally based arguments against immigration, the welfare chauvinism of the party did not disappear. As much became evident in 1995, when the parliamentary group of the FrP presented a proposal to measure the costs of immigration to the Norwegian state. The years prior to this, which I will explain in the next section, had seen several people from the liberal faction of the party leave. This meant that the national conservative and anti-immigrant faction of the party had more leeway. They used this to push more focus on to immigration. One of the proponents of this shift in focus was Øystein Hedstrøm, who at the time was the FrPs spokesperson on immigration policy. The parliamentary group of the FrP approved Hedstrøm's proposal to measure and account for the economic costs that immigration had for the Norwegian state, and they thus sent a proposal to the government, asking them to investigate this. Hedstrøm however, appeared to do the job for them, and presented his own account of the costs this had for Norway. According to Hedstrøm's immigration account, immigrants and refugees cost the Norwegian state 26 billion NOK every year. Furthermore, Hedstrøm argued that in the year 2090, Norway would have 13,2 million immigrants as opposed to only 3,3 million Norwegians (Ringheim 2016, 131).

Hedstrøm's immigration account was heavily criticized by many, however several people in the FrP praised Hedstrøm's report. At the national convention held in Haugesund later that year, MPs Jan Simonsen and Vidar Kleppe, two of the more right-leaning and national conservative people in the party, praised Hedstrøm and said his report was "beautiful, thorough, and serious work"¹⁰ (Ringheim 2016, 131). Simonsen, known as one of the FrPs most ardent supporters of a stronger stance on immigration, portrayed his welfare chauvinism during the national convention in 1993 when he said "we cannot let every African stick a straw into the treasury. We will have our wallets to ourselves"¹¹ (Iversen 1998, 172). He finished his speech at the national convention by saying the following: "Social spending is

¹⁰ My translations, original statements reads: «nydelig, grundig og seriøst arbeid.»

¹¹ «Vi kan ikke la enhver afrikaner stikke et sugerør ned i statskassa. Vi skal ha lommebøkene for oss selv».

high enough. Crime is high enough. There must be a party in Norway that dares to say no. A party that thinks of our own sick and old, of our own oppressed taxpayers”¹² (Iversen 1998, 173). Simonsen speech thus incorporates a combination of nativism and authoritarianism, when he links immigration to both social spending and criminal activity, the implication being that immigration leads to more criminal activity. This is in line with Akkerman and de Lange’s (2012) argument that populist radical right parties, and actors, sometimes mix together authoritarianism and anti-immigration sentiments.

The controversies surrounding Hedstrøm however, was not over. After the release of his immigration account, things were about to heat up for Hedstrøm and the FrP, when news broke of Hedstrøm’s appearance at a meeting hosted by several prominent nationalists and right-wing extremists. On the morning of 3 September, news broke in the Norwegian Newspaper *Dagbladet* that on the day prior Hedstrøm had participated in a meeting at a Cinema in Godlia, Oslo. The meeting was hosted by “Den Norske Forening”, which was a national conservative association, whose main goal was to limit or stop immigration to Norway. Furthermore, *Dagbladet* could report that in attendance were prominent Nazi supporter Bastian Heide, and representatives from three other organizations “Hvit Valgallianse”, “Fedrelandspartiet” and “Folkebevegelsen mot innvandring” (Ringheim 2016, 136). Hedstrøm even held a speech at this event, where he argued that the participants at this meeting had to work together in order to stop immigration to Norway (Aftenposten 1996).

Although several people in the FrP were critical of Hedstrøm’s attendance at this meeting, party leader Carl I. Hagen noted that he believed that if the party handled the case in the right manner, they could come strengthened out of it (Ringheim 2016, 137). However, things only turned for the worse when The Norwegian Centre Against Racism (Anti-rasistisk senter) could document that large portions of Hedstrøm’s proposals on immigration policy was in fact almost perfect transcripts taken from the “Den Norske Forening”. Thor Gjermund Eriksen, reporter in *Dagbladet* at the time, could show that several of the points in FrPs official party program was similar to “Hvit Valgallianse’s” program (Ringheim 2016, 140). Eriksen had also got tipped by “Hvit Valgallianse”, that there had been several meetings between people in the FrP and themselves.

¹² «Sosialutgiftene er høye nok. Kriminaliteten er høy nok. Det må være et parti i Norge som tør å si nei. Et parti som tenker på våre egne syke og gamle, på våre egne undertrykte skattebetalere.»

Although these events led to a media storm and condemnations from several Norwegian Newspapers, politicians and others, Hagen’s prediction that the FrP could emerge out of this strengthened did prove right, at least when you look at it from an electoral standpoint. The FrP, who had gotten 6,8% of the vote in the regional elections of 1991 and 6,3% of the votes in the general elections of 1993, doubled their share of the votes, with an electoral support of 12,8% of the votes in the regional elections of 1995. Like 1987 and 1989, the election of 1995 had proved to the FrP, that immigration was a political issue that served them well, and by making immigration a key political issue in electoral campaigns only seemed to gain them votes. Table 6 contains electoral results for the FrP, in both regional elections and parliamentary elections, from their inception in 1973 until the most recent in 2019.

Table 6: The Norwegian Progress Party’s results in national and regional elections

<i>Year</i>	<i>Percentage of the votes (Stortingsvalg)</i>	<i>Number of MPs</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Percentage of votes (Fylkestingsvalg)</i>
1973	5	4	1975	2.9
1977	1.9	0	1979	2.2
1981	4.4	4	1983	5.8
1985	3.7	2	1987	11.4
1989	13.7	22	1991	6.8
1993	6.3	10	1995	12.8
1997	15.3	25	1999	13
2001	14.6	26	2003	17.9
2005	22.1	38	2007	18.5
2009	22.9	41	2011	11.4
2013	16.3	29	2015	9.5
2017	15.2	27	2019	8.2

Source: Statistisk Sentralbyrå (SSB)

Internal unrest – liberals vs far right actors

Carl I. Hagen’s reign as leader of the FrP will be remembered as a period of success, he led the party from the fringes of Norwegian Politics, to the centre of it. During his reign, he organized and structured the party, something that undoubtedly was important for their electoral success. Hagen also oversaw the inclusion of anti-immigration policy in the FrP, and according to some scholars (Hagelund 2003), it was the FrP themselves that politicized

the issue of immigration in Norwegian politics. However, although his period as party leader will be remembered as a hugely successful period, at least in terms of electoral support, the party also experienced periods of internal unrest. Unrest that threatened to break up the party, and forced many members, influential voices and factions to eventually leave the party. FrPs national convention in 1994, popularly known as “Dolkesjø”, and the internal turmoil before the 2001 general election, are important events that would shape the party in the near future, and in the long run.

Dolkesjø – A liberal exodus

FrPs national convention in 1994, held at Bolkesjø, turned out to be one of the most dramatic events in the history of the party. What happened was a culmination of several things that ultimately led to a large portion of the liberal faction of the FrP leaving the party. The national convention in 1994 is often described as a clash between the liberal faction of the FrP, and the populist, anti-immigrant and national conservative faction of the party. In the run up to the national convention party leader Hagen had, during an annual meeting with the regional faction of the FrP (Vestfold FrP), told that immigration policy would be the FrPs primary focus in the campaign to the upcoming election regional elections in 1995 (Ringheim 2016, 109). This was however, not welcomed with enthusiasm by the liberal faction of the party, they felt that this meant that the party would stray away from their liberal roots.

Furthermore, the poor electoral results of the general election in 1993, where the FrP only received 6,3% of the votes, also contributed to internal unrest. Hagen had made several ad hook comments in the run up to this election, one notable example is an interview he did with the newspaper VG, where he, without consulting with the party leadership, went back on the party’s promise to reduce tax levels in Norway (Ringheim 2016, 111). This angered and confused several people in the FrP, especially among the liberals. For them, the FrP had been the party for tax reduction, and reversing position on this issue was a fundamental break with what they believed was a core feature of their policies. Ellen Wibe, who at that time was deputy leader of the party and also part of the liberal faction of the party, strongly disagreed with Hagen’s sudden policy shift, and commented to VG: “There must be no doubt that the FrP is still a tax relief party. I disagree with Hagen that we should drop tax cuts on income.”¹³ (Ringheim 2016, 111). Another issue that also split the party was the question of Norwegian

¹³ My translation, the original statement reads: «Det må ikke herske tvil om at FrP fortsatt er et skatteletteparti. Jeg er uenig med Hagen i at vi skal droppe skattelettelser på inntekt.»

membership to the EU. Norway was about to have a referendum on this question in 1994, and the FrP was split as to whether they would be a “YES” party or if they were to stay neutral on the issue. The liberal faction of the party was mostly in favour of joining the EU and wanted the national convention to vote for a resolution stating that the party supported Norwegian membership (Ringheim 2016, 115). Hagen, on the other hand, wanted the party to stay neutral.

The prelude to the national convention in 1994 was thus characterized by internal turmoil between two different ideological factions. The question on the party’s stance on the EU referendum was also divisive, where the liberal faction, by and large, mostly favoured a “YES” stance. Hagen, on the other hand, took the side of the national conservatives, and also preferred to stay neutral on the EU-question. His position as party leader was thus questioned by the liberal faction of the party. The national convention became much more than just an ordinary party meeting, it became a meeting over the ideological future of the party. During the convention, it became clear that Hagen and his faction outnumbered the liberal faction. Several prominent members of the liberal faction responded by immediately resigning from the party, among them were Ellen Wibe, deputy leader, and four of FrPs 10 MPs. Lars Erik Grønntun, then leader of the FrPs youth organization, FpU (Fremskrittspartiets Ungdom), summed up the internal unrest and eventual split between the liberal faction and the national conservative faction as down to “a deep political disagreement over economic policy, immigration and the EU”¹⁴ (Ringheim 2016, 121).

2001 – the national conservatives are kicked out

If the early parts of the 1990s were marked by internal unrest among different factions in the FrP, the beginning of the new millennium were almost like a *déjà vu*. However, the prelude to the internal unrest the party were experiencing this time was remarkably different to last time. At the turn of the new millennium, the FrP was soaring in the polls. After Jens Stoltenberg had taken over as prime minister in March of 2000, the Norwegian Labour Party (Ap) had dropped dramatically in the polls. The Conservatives (H), although not in government, were suffering the same fate. In June 2000, the two usually biggest parties in Norwegian politics were reeling, the Labour Party registered only 23%, while the

¹⁴ My translation, the original statement reads: «en dyp politisk uenighet om økonomisk politikk, innvandring og EU»

Conservatives were down to 14%. All of a sudden Carl I. Hagen, according to the polls, were the leader of the biggest political party in Norway, he and many in the party felt the alluring lore of governmental power. According to Ringheim (2016, 160), Hagen meant that it was now time that the FrP took the next step, into government, and the majority of the FrPs MPs agreed with him. However, the liberal exodus after the Bolkesjø convention meant that the populists and national conservatives in the FrP had been given greater room to manoeuvre. Speculations started circulating that Hagen were trying to get rid of some of the people belonging to the populist national conservative faction, who had been on Hagen's side during the Bolkesjø convention. Furthermore, there were brewing rumours that the populist national conservative faction was aware of this, and that they themselves were plotting to get rid of Hagen (Ringheim 2016, 160-161).

Ringheim (2016, 167) argues that Hagen was convinced that he had to get rid of several people belonging to the extreme right of the party, in order to make the party a viable coalition option for other parties. According to Ringheim, Hagen feared that the national conservative faction, if given to much space to operate, would scare away other viable partners, he thus sought to polish the party's image. And an important step in this plan was to get rid of some of the people belonging to the populist national conservative faction. The internal struggles that ensued can be seen as a fight over control of the party, as well as an ideological struggle. Hagen felt that in order to have control of the party, he had to get rid of some of the people that wanted to push the party in a more national conservative direction. Furthermore, by getting rid of the populist national conservative faction, Hagen would achieve both organizational control as well as making the party a more viable coalition partner. Hagen and the FrP suspended Vidar Kleppe, one of the more right leaning members of the party, in march 2001. Nine months later Kleppe left the party. Jan Simonsen, another member of the national conservative faction, was excluded from the party in October 2001. Several others left, and Kleppe and Simonsen responded by creating their own national conservative and anti-immigration party, called the Democrats (Demokratene). A party that has had limited electoral success in local elections, and that has never received enough votes nationally to be represented in the Norwegian parliament.

Although the internal struggles in the early 2000 can be seen as an ideological struggle between two competing factions, it can also be interpreted as a struggle over control of the party. According to Ringheim (2016, 161), there were rumours that members of the populist

national conservative faction were trying to get rid of Hagen. The expulsion and suspension of several of the members of the populist national conservative faction can thus be seen as an action by the party leadership, and Hagen, to try to remain in control of the party. Although Hagen, and his faction, remained in control of the party, his dream of governmental power did not materialize. Although the FrP was plagued by internal intrigues and turmoil in the run up to the general election of 2001, they still ended up as the third largest party with 14,6% of the votes, only trailing the Labour Party and the Conservatives. The Christian Democratic Party (KrF) invited The Liberal Party (V) and The Conservatives (H) to talks about a possible governmental coalition, and together these three parties took office. Hagen, speaking to Ringheim (2016, 215), said the following about the FrP being overlooked as a coalition partner: “I was personally hurt and sorry that the other parties were not at all interested in talking to FrP about possible government cooperation”.¹⁵ It seems that even though Hagen had tried making the FrP more palatable, the other parties, in particular KrF, had not bought it. They did not want to work with the FrP. As much became evident when KrF snubbed Hagen for the position as President of the Norwegian Storting, a position that Hagen wanted. The message Hagen got from KrF messenger, Einar Steensæs, was that even though he was the best qualified, the majority of the KrF did not back him (Ringheim 2016, 215). According to Ringheim, the Conservatives and The Liberal Party also stood by the decision to not elect Hagen as President of the Norwegian Storting. Instead, they elected the Labour Party’s Jørgen Kosmo.

Although Hagen did not achieve perhaps his ultimate dream, to lead the FrP into government, his period as leader of the party was highly successful. When he finally retired as party leader in 2006, he could look back at one of the biggest fairy tales in modern Norwegian political history. When he took the position as party leader in 1978, the party was on the brink of extinction, heavily indebted and after the general election in 1977, they were also left out of the Norwegian Storting. During his period as leader, he oversaw changes to the organizational and ideological makeup of the party. From being a loosely organized political party, he modelled the FrP into a modern political party. Ideologically, the party was founded primarily as an anti-tax protest party. Under Hagen’s leadership the party would expand its ideological foundations, perhaps most notably, the party politicized the immigration issue and

¹⁵ My translation, the original statement reads: «Jeg ble personlig såret og lei meg for at de andre partiene ikke i det hele tatt var interessert i å snakke med FrP om mulig regjeringssamarbeid».

adopted an anti-immigration stance that gave them issue ownership over this political issue. When Hagen left, he passed the torch to Siv Jensen, a young up-and-coming charismatic leader, who would achieve what Hagen could not, governmental office.

Jensen leads the FrP into government

When Hagen stepped down as leader of the FrP in 2006, after holding the position for almost 30 years, Siv Jensen assumed the position of party leader. Hagen certainly left big shoes to fill, during his period, he had taken the party from almost obscurity, to one of the biggest parties in Norwegian politics. When he stepped down in 2006, the party was riding on a wave of electoral success, having a year prior received their greatest ever vote share in a Norwegian general election. With 22,1% of the votes and 38 MPs in the election of 2005, the FrP was the second biggest party in the Storting, only trailing the Labour Party. When Siv Jensen assumed the party leadership 2006, she was leading the second largest party in Norway. Her, and the party's ambitions, was to turn their electoral support into governmental power. Hagen had wanted the same, but he had proved unable to convince the other centre-right parties to work with him in a coalition. Siv Jensen's primary job as leader would be just this, convincing prospective coalition partners that the FrP was a trustworthy governmental partner.

During Jensen's reign as party leader, she would succeed with taking the FrP to the next step, into government. Ultimately, she was able to convince the other centre-right parties that the FrP was a viable coalition partner. In the general election of 2013, the FrP achieved their penultimate dream, together with the Conservatives they formed their first ever government. Important persons close to many of the key actors involved point to the leadership change from Hagen to Jensen, and the change in chemistry between the party leaders as an important factor for why the centre-right parties were now willing to work with the FrP. For example, long serving MP for the FrP Lodve Solholm said that the personal chemistry between Carl I. Hagen and the leaders of the other parties on the right were miserable, in particular Jan Petersen (H), Kåre Willoch (H), Kjell Magne Bondevik (KrF) and Lars Sponheim (V) (Ringheim 2016, 277-278). New leader Jensen had a much better personal chemistry with the new leaders of the Conservatives (Erna Solberg), the Liberal Party (Trine Skei Grande) and the Christian Democrats (Knut Arild Hareide). This new and improved relationship between

the leaders of these parties meant that it was easier to work together on finding common ground on political issues.

Another important factor that led to FrPs governmental breakthrough was how the Bourgeoisie parties started working together to find a common political platform, so that they could challenge the socialist government led by Stoltenberg. Stoltenberg had been prime minister since 2005, and the centre-right parties wanted a change, however they probably understood that governmental change would only be possible by the inclusion of the FrP. All of the centre-right, (KRF, V, H and FrP) started working together in different parliamentary committees to try to find common grounds for cooperation. Hareide (KrF), said to Ringheim (2016, 279), that the four years in opposition together was one of the factors that led to this increase in cooperation. Furthermore, Ringheim (Ringheim 2016, 279) argues that when the leaders of the centre-right parties started talking together, this signaled to other MPs of these parties to start working together.

In 2013, the FrP could for the first time in their history call themselves a government party. The party's relationship with the other centre-right parties had finally gotten to the level that they were willing to work with the FrP in a minority coalition government. This marked a significant change in the FrPs history. In a period of 40 years, the party had gone from being founded as an anti-tax party in 1973 and breaking into the Storting with 5% of the votes. After the voters almost abandoned them in 1977, and the party was left without any MPs, the party has steadily grown since the late 70s into one of Norway's biggest parties, and a stable presence in the Norwegian Storting. Ultimately leading to governmental office. This section has covered the some of the most important events of the history of the FrP. The next section will deal more specifically with the research question of this thesis, when I investigate the authoritarian, nativist and populist elements in the FrP.

Chapter 6 - An analysis of the authoritarian, nativist, and populist elements in the Norwegian Progress Party

This chapter contains the results of my analysis. The results will be presented in three sections, each section dedicated to each of the core ideological features of the populist radical right - authoritarianism, nativism and populism. I will deal with each of these three features in turn, starting with authoritarianism, before I move on to nativism and finally populism. My findings are also presented in three tables, tables 7, 8 and 9.

The Authoritarianism of the FrP

This section will deal with the authoritarianism of the FrP. Specifically, I will present the findings of my analysis into the authoritarian features of the FrP. Through my analysis of the official party literature of the FrP, their own website and election manifestos, I have found that the party has clear authoritarian features. However, the authoritarian features of the FrP are limited to their policy initiatives. This means that I did not find any signs of authoritarian moral values in the FrP, rather I actually found support of the opposite. My analysis thus reveals that the FrP does promote authoritarian policy initiatives, but they are to be considered liberal when it comes to moral values and traditions.

I conceptualized authoritarianism along two dimensions, policy initiatives and moral values. This section is divided into these two main dimensions of authoritarianism. I will firstly deal with the authoritarian policy initiatives, before I move on to my analysis of the authoritarian moral values in the FrP.

Authoritarian policy initiatives in the FrP

Authoritarianism can generally be defined as the overall idea that societies rules need to be strict in order for society to be orderly. And an orderly society is viewed as a good and free society to live in. Therefore, authoritarian policy initiatives are those initiatives that seek to make society's rules stricter. Generally, one could divide these policy initiatives into two main dimensions, (1) policy initiatives that seek to give law enforcement agencies broader autonomy to go after criminals, and (2) those initiatives that seek to punish criminal activities harsher than they are today. Following my coding frame, I searched for policy initiatives in the sections that dealt with justice and immigration policy, while also searching for key words according to the subcategories of my coding frame. What I found was substantial

support for several authoritarian policy initiatives from the FrP. I will now go through the main findings. Table 7 contains the findings and results of my analysis of authoritarianism in the FrP. The table is divided into the two subdimensions, authoritarian policy initiatives and authoritarian moral values. What follows is then what I found. With regards to policy initiatives, I have listed the initiatives that I have coded as authoritarian in table 7. When it comes to moral values however, I found that the FrP was liberal when it came to this subdimension, I have therefore listed findings that are statements of the FrPs liberal moral values.

My analysis shows that the FrP clearly promotes policy initiatives that can be considered as authoritarian. In general terms the party believes that harsher punishment for criminal activity is a good measure for dealing with criminal activity, because harsher punishment will be preventive. The party thus focuses on punishment, rather than rehabilitation, as a measure for dealing with criminal activity. Furthermore, they argue in their political manifestos, from both 2017 and 2021, that the general level of punitive action in Norway is too low, and that they in general want to raise the level of punitive action, for most crimes. Furthermore, they want to raise the minimum level of penalty for crimes of higher severity.

The punitive measures taken against criminals shall deter the person from committing new criminal acts. The current level of punishment in Norway is too low for many types of crimes, it does not harmonize with the population's legal perception. We therefore want higher penalty limits in general and a review of the criminal law. In addition, we want to introduce a minimum penalty for a number of serious offenses to ensure that the courts impose penalties that are more in line with people's legal opinion than is often the case today (FrP 2021, 27).¹⁶

The nature of the authoritarianism in the FrP, manifests itself through different kinds of support of policy initiatives that seek to strengthen the police force, punishing criminal activity harsher, giving courts broader rights and tools to convict criminals faster and more

¹⁶ My translation, the original statement reads: «Straffereaksjonene som iverksettes overfor forbrytere, skal avskrekke vedkommende fra å begå nye straffbare handlinger. Dagens straffenivå i Norge er for mange typer forbrytelser så lavt at det ikke harmonerer med befolkningens rettsoppfatning. Vi ønsker derfor høyere strafferammer generelt sett og en gjennomgang av straffelovgivningen. I tillegg ønsker vi å innføre minimumsstraff for en del alvorlige lovbrudd for å sikre at domstolene utmåler straffer som er mer i tråd med folks rettsoppfatning enn det som ofte er tilfellet i dag.»

efficient. They also want to strengthen the Norwegian military, which can be interpreted as a kind of authoritarianism. They also have a lengthy part in their election program linking criminal activity with immigration. I will now go through these different manifestations of authoritarianism, showing exactly how it manifests itself in the FrP.

Table 7: Authoritarianism in the FrP

<p>Ideological Dimension of the Populist Radical Right</p>	<p><u>Authoritarianism</u></p>	
<p><u>Subcategory</u></p>	<p><u>Authoritarian Policy Initiatives</u></p>	<p><u>Authoritarian Moral Values</u></p>
<p><u>Manifestations of the subcategories of Nativism</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linking criminal activity with immigration. - Harsher punishment for criminal activity. - Strengthening of the police force. More resources and broader autonomy. - General armament of the police. - Defense policy (military). - More effective and efficient courts. - Creation of “speed courts”, to make the judicial system more effective and efficient at convicting in cases where suspect is apprehended, with compelling evidence. - Lowering age of criminal responsibility to 14 (currently 15). - Punishing crimes of a sexual nature harsher: this includes allowing chemically castration of people convicted of sexual crimes and the establishment of a public register for people convicted of sexual crimes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Found support of the opposite. - The FrP is morally and socially very liberal. - Found no support for traditional family values. - The liberal side of the party manifests itself clearly in this policy dimension.

Firstly, the FrP is highly concerned with what they argue is a rise in criminal activity, especially in Oslo. They have a whole section in their election program for 2021-2025 dedicated towards criminal gangs (gjengkriminalitet) and how to deal with this issue. This section can broadly be explained as containing three parts, firstly they identify the problem, secondly, they explain what has caused it, and thirdly they present solutions to deal with it. On the first point, they explain the phenomenon shortly and explain that it is important to deal with this issue. Secondly, they argue that the reasons behind the growth in gang activity is a high degree of non-western immigration, that has created problems of integration, which in turn leads to a growth in criminal activity. Thirdly, their solution of this problem is, in my opinion, highly authoritarian. They mostly focus on how to catch and punish these individuals, instead of dealing with what may be other underlying factors contributing to the problem of increased criminal activity. They present many solutions to this problem, for example, they want to create closed juvenile hall institutions for underage criminals, give the police more resources to deal with the problem, and also create what they call an “exit-program” to help people get out of gangs. Furthermore, they also argue for harsher punishment for individuals involved in criminal activity that can be tied to gangs, they want to create new courts that deal with gang criminality that can hand out sentences faster than the current system, and finally they also want to punish parents of underage criminals. On the last point, the FrP proposes that parents of children under the age of 16 can lose their permit of residency (oppholdstillatelse) if the child is convicted of a serious crime. In effect, this would mean that parents of children under 16 that are convicted of a serious crime, can be sent out of Norway.

It is also apparent, from analyzing the election manifesto of the FrP, that the party’s authoritarianism is closely linked with nativism, understood in this context as claiming that there is a causal link between high levels of non-western immigration and criminal activity. This finding is in line with Akkerman and de Lange’s (2012) argument that the authoritarianism and immigration stance of many far right parties’ often go hand-in-hand. This certainly appears to be the case with the FrP. The FrP indicates that there is a link between high levels of non-western immigration and the rising levels of crime in Norway.

The other policy initiatives that the FrP promotes, that I have coded as authoritarian, deals primarily with the policy areas of law enforcement and the courts. When it comes to the law enforcement, the FrP believes that in order to be able to punish criminal activity and create

order, it is important with an efficient, effective and capable police force. Therefore, they want to do several things. Examples include initiatives like giving the police more resources, like police dogs and helicopters, implementing changes to the education of police officers, and giving the police more resources to be able to fight crime that happens on the internet. Furthermore, the FrP also wants general armament of the police force in Norway. In Norway, the police do not carry guns around at all times, they only carry guns if the severity of a situation allows for it. Otherwise, a police officer's gun is held locked in his/her car. However, the FrP wants to change this, and allow police officers to carry guns around at all times, no matter the situation.

When it comes to the judicial arena, the FrP wants to do several things. However, I have grouped the policy initiatives when it comes to the judicial arena into two categories, effectivization and harsher punishment. On the first point, the effectivization of the courts, the FrP is strongly in favor of making the courts more effective and efficient in their work. In order to do this, they propose the development of what they call "speed courts" (hurtigdomstoler). These speed courts are supposed to be limited to dealing with cases of everyday criminal activity, which most likely means cases of lower severity, and they will only deal with cases where the police have apprehended the suspect and has compelling evidence. The FrP sees the development and implementation of speed courts as a way of making the judicial system more effective, so that the courts are able to get more cases treated. Another way of making the courts more effective, according to the FrP, is by making use of more technology, so that confessions and testimonies can be held digitally.

When it comes to harsher punishment for criminal activity, the FrP wants to raise the level of punishment for several types of crimes. Examples of this include raising the maximum prison sentence a person can receive from the current level of 21 years to 50 years. They also want to lower the age of criminal responsibility from 15 to 14. Furthermore, every foreign citizen that receives a suspended sentence of more than 3 months shall also be expelled from Norway.

A final point that I will include in my analysis on authoritarianism is the party's stance on sexual crimes against children. In their election manifesto for 2021-2025, they have a section dedicated to this topic alone. The FrP believes there should be done much more in the fight against crimes against children of a sexual nature. There are four things in the election manifesto of 2021-2025 that I have coded as authoritarian. Firstly, the FrP wants to open up

for the possibility that people who have been convicted of molesting children can be chemically castrated. Secondly, they want to create a public registry, where people convicted of sexual assault must register themselves. Thirdly, they want to remove the statute of limitations for these kinds of crimes. Fourthly, everybody that is convicted of severe sexual assault against children should automatically receive a sentence of special detention (forvaring). Such a sentence is one of the harshest sentences the courts in Norway can give, because in effect, such a sentence means that a person must show that he/she is no longer a threat to society for him/her to be released. If a convict cannot prove that he/she is a threat to society, his sentence can be prolonged, and in theory, could risk life imprisonment, if he/she is not able to prove that he/she is no longer a threat. In general, the FrP believes that crimes of a sexual nature against children should be punished much harsher than they are today.

The Moral Values of the FrP

The second subcategory of authoritarianism, defined as authoritarian moral values, is one where I found that the FrP deviated from what I theorized many other populist radical right parties to position themselves. Whereas it is expected that many, if not most, PRRPs are morally and socially conservative, I found the opposite to be true when it came to the FrP. The FrP has a broad liberal faction, and their liberal values were reflected in their election manifestos and on their website when it came to morals and values. Firstly, in the election manifesto of 2017-2021, the FrP labels itself as a liberal people's party (FrP 2017, 8). Furthermore, they highlight several liberal ideas, perhaps most notably the liberal idea that individual freedom is a birth given right. They also highlight that everybody should live their lives as they see fit, as long as they do not infringe on others. However, they do also moderate their liberal position, writing that their values are built around "Norwegian and western traditions and cultural heritage, with a basis on the Christian way of life and humanistic values" (FrP 2017, 8). However, in general, I will argue that the FrP is a socially and morally liberal party. I arrived at this conclusion mostly by the absence of any evidence of the contrary. What I mean by this is that I did not find any statements that I interpreted as being morally or socially conservative, other than the one above. Therefore, the absence of such statements, in combination with how the FrP does label themselves as liberals, led me to the conclusion that they are socially and morally liberal.

To further explain and exemplify my conclusion that the FrP is a morally and socially liberal party, I will turn to the family policies of the FrP. On this political issue, if the FrP was a morally and socially conservative party, I would expect to find statements in support of a family composition along the traditionally and conservative lines as being made up by a man and a woman. Although the FrP does highlight the importance of family, they do not define the family along conservative lines, in fact they explain that a family should be built around the principles of voluntary composition. The FrP believes that the most important principle for family composition, is that a family is composed of people that voluntarily chooses to be together. Thereby indirectly arguing that voluntariness trumps the sexual orientation of the family members. The FrP seems to argue that what matters is not if a family is composed of two married men, or women for that sake, but rather that the marriage is consensual.

I have not found enough evidence to be able to code the FrP as morally or socially authoritarian, however, I did find them to be very authoritarian when it comes to their policy initiatives. Therefore, my overall conclusion is that the FrP should be considered as a party with authoritarian features.

Analysis of the nativist features in the FrP

When it comes to nativism, I operationalized this ideological feature along two dimensions, welfare chauvinism and exclusionary ethno-populism. Welfare chauvinism was divided into two subcategories, external and internal welfare chauvinism. Internal welfare chauvinism was defined as the idea that a state's welfare services should be limited to a nation's own native population, while external welfare chauvinism was explained as opposition towards foreign aid. The second dimension of nativism, exclusionary ethno-pluralism is the idea that a state should be inhabited primarily by its native population. What I have found in my analysis is strong support for welfare chauvinism in the FrP, both internal and external. When it comes to exclusionary ethno-pluralism, I also found enough evidence to support the argument that the FrP should be considered as exclusionary ethno-pluralist. I will now go through each of these two dimensions of nativism, starting with welfare chauvinism. Table 8 presents an illustration of the nativism in the FrP. It is divided into the three subdimensions of nativism, internal and external welfare chauvinism and exclusionary ethno-pluralism. It also contains categories of statements that I have coded as belonging to these subdimensions.

Welfare chauvinism and the FrP

It was Ghoul Andersen and Bjørklund (1990) who first came up with the term welfare chauvinism. They used it to describe the stance that the Norwegian and Danish Progress Parties took on how welfare services should be limited to their own nation's native population. With this in mind, I did expect to find support for welfare chauvinist policies in the election manifestos and on the FrPs website. However, it was still theoretically interesting to research this, given that Andersen and Bjørklund's theoretical argument is now over 30-years old. And as it turns out, their argument still holds true. My analysis shows that the FrP should still be considered welfare chauvinist, having found support for both external and internal arguments of welfare chauvinist policies by the FrP.

When it comes to internal welfare chauvinism, the FrP focuses heavily on the cost of immigration. They argue both in terms of immigration as threatening for the Norwegian welfare state and system, based on universal distribution of welfare services. Their arguments range from general statements saying that immigration is a threat to Norwegian society and our welfare system, to more policy specific proposals. When it comes to internal welfare chauvinism however, there is a strong emphasis on how much money the Norwegian state could save, by tightening up its immigration policy. On the FrPs website, under "our politics", and "immigration and integration", they have a page dedicated to "welfare benefits" (sosiale ytelser) (Welfare Benefits - FrP 2021). On this page they explain that they want to remove the special benefits (særordninger) that immigrants receive. They do not go into great detail what this means, however, they do make one example of such special benefits. They argue that disability benefits (uføretrygd) are not given to Norwegian citizens that have lived abroad for a couple of years, and that have now moved back, before this person has lived in Norway for three years. Refugees, on the other hand, can apply for disability benefits as soon as they get to Norway. Other than this one example, the FrP does not mention other kinds of special benefits immigrants or refugees receive.

Table 8: Nativism in the FrP

Ideological Dimension of the Populist Radical Right	<u>Nativism</u>		
<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Internal Welfare Chauvinism</u>	<u>External Welfare Chauvinism</u>	<u>Exclusionary Ethno-Pluralism</u>
<u>Manifestations of the subcategories of Nativism</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Immigration is seen as threatening for the Norwegian Welfare State and System. - Benefits from the Norwegian Welfare System should primarily go to Norwegian Citizens. - There is a high degree of focus on the cost of immigration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FrP wants to sharply reduce Norway’s budget for foreign aid. - Reducing the number of countries that receive aid from Norway. - Humanitarian aid can be used as a bargaining agreement, for example on policy areas such as asylum and immigration. - Creation of a new asylum system, with asylum seekers having to apply for asylum in “third party countries”. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The FrP sees it as important to protect Norway’s cultural heritage. - The magnitude immigration today is not sustainable, not to our welfare model or Norwegian society. - Immigration is seen as threatening and can lead to conflict between different ethnic groups in Norway. - Favors a much stricter immigration policy than what is being practiced today.

Another example of the internal welfare chauvinism of the FrP is their focus on the cost of immigration. The FrP argues, on the same page regarding welfare benefits on their website, that Norway would save approximately 175 million NOK in the first year alone, if special benefits to immigrants were removed. Furthermore, they write, that in the future, if special benefits were removed, the Norwegian state could save up towards 5.1 billion NOK. They do not explain what benefits they mean, other than using the example of disability benefits, and they do not disclose how they arrived at this number. The FrPs focus on the cost of immigration is something that has a long tradition within the FrP, dating back at least as far as the Hedstrøm accounts from the middle of the 1990s.

Another important part of the FrPs policy on immigration and asylum, is their belief that the current system for applying for asylum is broken. They propose the creation of a new asylum system. They want to create a system where refugees and asylum seekers apply for asylum in other “third party countries” (FrP 2021). The FrP argues that asylum seekers and refugees who crosses the border to Norway, should immediately be returned to these safe third-party countries, if they do not have legal entry papers. These asylum centers will be created outside of Europe, and the FrP believes this new asylum system will achieve several things. First of all, it will give Norway greater control over immigration, and second it will help combat human trafficking. Thirdly, they also believe this new system will help in aiding with the many dangers that asylum seekers face when travelling to Europe from other parts of the world, like the risk of drowning in the Mediterranean crossing from Africa to get to Europe.

The final subcategory of nativism, ethno-pluralism, was not as prominent in the official party literature of the FrP as welfare chauvinism. However, I have found evidence of support for exclusionary ethno-pluralist arguments in the FrP. The easiest and most recognizable examples of exclusionary ethno-pluralist sentiments would be slogans such as “Norway for Norwegians” or arguments that resemble such kinds of slogans. This is what I would argue is the most blatant support for exclusionary ethno-pluralism. I have however not found such statements, or statements like that, in official FrP literature. I have however, found more subtler forms of what I believe is evidence of exclusionary ethno-pluralism. The most notable example of exclusionary ethno-pluralism in the FrP is that they are the party that has the staunchest anti-immigration stance among the parties that are represented in the Storting. As recognized by Hagelund (2003) who argues that the FrP has issue ownership over this

political issue in Norwegian politics. Their stance as staunch supporters of stricter immigration policies are reflected in both the election program for 2017-2021 and their newest program that was adopted in the spring of 2021 for the period 2021 to 2025. In these programs the FrP argues that the current asylum system and level of immigration to Norway in recent years is not sustainable, to our society or to our welfare system. Furthermore, they also argue that immigration poses serious threats to our society, because immigration can lead to conflict between different ethnic groups:

There are reasons to believe that sustained immigration by asylum seekers, of only approximately the extent that we have had in recent years, will lead to serious contradictions and conflicts based on value between different ethnic groups in Norway in the long run. (FrP 2021, 18) ¹⁷

Although this statement, and the FrP in general, do not blatantly argue against a multicultural society, they are however in the very least, skeptical towards such a society. Mudde (2007, 19) argued that nativism at its core is an ideology that views non-native elements as threatening. I would argue that there is enough evidence in the party literature of the FrP to say that they believe that immigration is threatening to the Norwegian welfare state, system and society, and furthermore that they believe that immigration can lead to conflict.

There are also more subtler forms of exclusionary ethno-pluralism in the election manifestos of the FrP. For example, when it comes to culture, the FrP argues that it is important to protect Norwegian cultural heritage. However, the sections that deal with culture in their election manifestos mostly deal with other topics, such as sports, media and public health, and little attention is directed towards the protection of Norwegian culture. Although exclusionary ethno-pluralism is not as blatant as perhaps the other dimensions of nativism, I still believe there is enough evidence to conclude that the FrP should be considered as promoting exclusionary ethno-pluralist policies and ideas. In summary, I have found evidence for all dimensions of nativism, leading me to the conclusion that the FrP is a nativist party.

¹⁷ My translation, the original statement reads: «Det er grunn til å frykte at en fortsatt innvandring av asylsøkere, av bare tilnærmet det omfang som man har hatt i de senere år, vil føre til alvorlige motsetninger og verdikonflikter mellom folkegrupper i Norge på sikt.»

Populism and the FrP

Populism was operationalized as having two subdimensions, identified as democracy reforms and elite criticism. The democracy reforms of populism were operationalized as overall critique of the current political system as well as initiatives that seek to give people more decision-making power. This could be measured through ideas promoting referendums and different kinds of citizens' initiative. Elite criticism was operationalized as arguments that critique some sort of elite, for example people belonging to the cultural, economic or political elite, or often also members of the media. Elite criticism can also manifest itself by an actor claiming to represent "the pure people" or being "the voice of the people". Such an actor will then often put himself in opposition towards an antagonistic group, referred to as "the corrupt elite". I will now go through each of these two features of populism in turn, starting with democracy reforms, before I move on to elite criticism.

The Democracy reforms of FrP

When it comes to the first subcategory of populism, democracy reforms, the FrP exhibits traits that I deem as populist, especially when it comes to how they want to reform Norwegian democracy. First, they argue that there are "weaknesses" in the Norwegian democracy (FrP 2017, 12). They do not go into great detail about what exactly these weaknesses are supposed to be, but they offer some general explanations and proposes some changes to Norway's political system. It is evident however, that one of the "weaknesses" the FrP sees in Norway's democratic system is that citizens have too little direct influence over the policy making process. Therefore, the FrP argues strongly for Norway to adopt a system where referendums are more frequently used. The FrP sees this as a step towards making citizens more engaged in the political process, as well as giving citizens more direct decision-making power.

The Progress Party sees weaknesses in our democracy. A system should therefore be introduced in which voters, through referendums, are given direct decisive decision-making power (FrP 2017, 12).¹⁸

¹⁸ My translation, original statement reads: «Fremskrittspartiet ser svakheter ved vårt demokrati. Det bør derfor innføres et system der velgerne, gjennom folkeavstemninger, får direkte avgjørende beslutningsrett.»

The FrPs support for referendums is something that has been a staple of their political programs, dating back as far as their election manifesto of 1977 (FrP 1977, 15). Their support of referendums is easily recognizable, as they often advocate for their use on several issues. For example, during the migration crisis of 2015, the FrP argued that the Norwegian electorate should decide, through a referendum, whether Norway should take in approximately 8000 refugees (NRK 2015). Another issue involving referendums that is highlighted on their own website, is the issue of wind power. Many Norwegian municipalities want to build wind power stations, however there are many that opposes this. The FrP argues that the solution to this disagreement is to decide the issue through the use of a referendum. Furthermore, in 2020, FrPs MP Erlend Wiborg, fielded a law proposal for binding referendums on initiative. In essence, the proposal that Wiborg fielded in the Norwegian Storting was that if 300 000 Norwegian citizens demand an issue to be put to a referendum, the Norwegian Storting has to abide by this. In this case a binding referendum means that the results of the referendum must be followed by the Storting. What is interesting however, is Wiborg's explanation for why it is important that referendums become part of Norway's political system:

We have far too few referendums in Norway. The politicians who are afraid of this proposal should search their inner selves, the country is for the people, not the politicians. FrP has always fought to shift power from politicians and bureaucrats, back to most people.¹⁹ (FrP 2020).

This statement from Wiborg is a great example of the populism of the FrP. The FrP is critical towards power being concentrated in the hands of politicians and bureaucrats, and they see referendums as one step towards giving more power to the people. Table 9 contains the results of my analysis of populism in the FrP. The table is divided according to the subdimensions of populism, democracy reforms and elite criticism, and how these features manifest themselves in the party.

¹⁹ My translation, the original statement reads: «Vi har alt for få folkeavstemninger i Norge. De politikere som er redd for dette forslaget bør gå i seg selv, landet er til for folket, ikke politikerne. FrP har alltid kjempet for å flytte makt fra politikere og byråkrater, tilbake til folk flest»

Table 9: The Populism of the FrP

Ideological Dimension of the Populist Radical Right	<u>Populism</u>	
<u>Subcategory</u>	<u>Democracy reforms</u>	<u>Elite criticism</u>
<u>Manifestations of the subcategories of populism</u>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They critique the Norwegian political system. - FrP promotes using more referendums. - FrP wants to discontinue and shut down The Norwegian County Municipality and the Sami-Parliament. - Raise the electoral threshold. - Give the Norwegian Storting the right of dissolution. - Reducing the bureaucracy. - Critical towards the Norwegian states regulatory power. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They critique the current system where Norway has a national broadcaster – the NRK. The FrP sees the NRK as a threat to a free and independent press. - FrP presents themselves as the party for “most people”. - Portrays themselves as the “protector” of “most people” and their interests. - They argue, in general terms, to give power to the people. - Anti-statism arguments.

Another political issue that the FrP has routinely argued against is the expansion of the Norwegian bureaucracy. This is something that Wiborg highlights in the statement recited above and is also something that is reflected in their political manifestos. In general, their critique towards the bureaucracy is aimed at the expansions of the number of employees in ministries, directorates and other government related agencies. They are also highly concerned with the resources being spent on the bureaucracy; therefore, they want to reduce the bureaucracy and one of the solutions they present is to terminate and lay down the Norwegian County Municipalities (fylkeskommunene). One of the reasons for this is, according to the FrP, that they lack legitimacy: “The county municipality and regions do not have sufficient legitimacy as an independent level of administration”²⁰ (FrP 2017, 22). The FrPs anti-bureaucracy stance has been coded as populist because I believe that the FrP sees the bureaucracy as a governmental entity that has grown to large, and therefore does not serve the people. Therefore, the FrP sees the reduction of the bureaucracy as a step towards giving the power back to the people. Their critique of the bureaucracy has thus been interpreted as the FrP acting as “the voice” of the “pure people”, and the grievance they are voicing are that the growing bureaucracy is both inefficient, a drain on resources and illegitimate. The populism of the FrP, reflected in their anti-bureaucracy stance, has an aspect of anti-statism to it. Anti-statism is according to Gallaher (2009, 260) “opposition to the state and its power to regulate social, economic and political life”. My analysis has uncovered that the FrP is highly critical towards the Norwegian state, and in particular the bureaucracy, regulatory power. Thereby leading me to the conclusion that the populism of the FrP has an anti-statism aspect to it.

The Party for the Common Man

Elite criticism can manifest itself as direct critique against a group that is considered to wield some sort of power, but it can also manifest itself as acting as the “voice of the people”. When it comes to the FrP the elite criticism they espouse can generally be grouped into these two categories. The aforementioned critique that the FrP directs at the growing bureaucracy in Norway also fits into the elite criticism subcategory of populism, mainly because their critique against the bureaucracy is rooted in their belief that this level of government in

²⁰ My translation, the original statement reads: «Fylkeskommunen og regioner har ikke tilstrekkelig legitimitet som selvstendig forvaltningsnivå.»

Norway does not have legitimate support from the people. Also, since the bureaucrats obviously wields some sort of power, the FrPs anti-bureaucratic stance can be interpreted as anti-elite sentiments. However, I coded this under democracy reforms, because their proposals to change the bureaucratic makeup of the Norwegian system would mean systematic changes to our political system. It could, however, easily be coded as elite criticism as well, seeing as their critique towards the bureaucracy contains both elite criticism as well as proposals to reform the system. The importance is not into which subcategory of populism the anti-bureaucratic sentiments of the FrP gets coded, but rather that it is recognized as populism.

The elite criticism of the FrP, as exhibited on their website and election manifestos, mostly revolved around how they portray themselves as the party for the people. On their website there are several references to how the FrP is working for “the common man”. When it comes to their rhetoric surrounding their positions as “the party for the people”, there needs to be some explanation regarding the translation of this term from Norwegian to English. In Norwegian, they often use the term “folk flest”, which can roughly be translated to “most people”. However, the meaning of the term “folk flest” can be understood as referring to “the common man”, meaning the people in general. However, it could also refer to the majority of people. The importance of this term, however, is that the FrP routinely refers to themselves as the party for “most people”, whilst also portraying themselves as the protectors of this group. Examples of the FrP portraying themselves as the party for “most people”, is manifold, both on their website and in their election manifestos. The following examples are all taken from the election manifesto of 2017: “we want to make everyday life easier for most people”; “power should be moved from politicians to most people”; “our program lays out how we want to give more freedom and security to most people”²¹. The FrP routinely argues that they are the party for the people, and this has thus been coded as populism.

The final example of populism in the FrP that I want to include, is their critique of the current media system in Norway. Norway has a state owned and financed general broadcaster, the NRK, and the FrP argues that the media is not independent if it is dependent on financial support from the state. Furthermore, they argue that Norway is in danger of having a media

²¹ My translations, the original statements reads: «vi vil skape en enklere hverdag for folk flest»; «Makt bør overføres fra politikerne til folk flest.»; «Vårt program forteller hvordan vi vil gi mer frihet og trygghet til folk flest.»

landscape that is less critical of the state's actions because of the financial support they receive, therefore they propose that the state should sell the NRK and stop its financing of the media. I have coded this as populism, even though the FrP does not label the media directly as corrupt or anything in the realm of that. However, since the FrP argues that the Norwegian media landscape is not independent, and that the business is at risk of not being able to carry out its job as "watchdog" over the state's institutions, I have decided to code this as populism.

Chapter 7 - Discussion and concluding remarks

In this final chapter I will discuss my findings, as well as if the FrP should be considered a populist radical right party, which I will argue that they should. I will also present some concluding remarks, recapping what I have done and reiterating my results.

Having found support for authoritarianism, nativism and populism in the FrP, the main question that needs to be answered is whether these features should be considered core ideological features of the party. According to Mudde (2007, 40) a party cannot be considered as being part of the populist radical right party family if these features are not considered core ideological features. He writes that he excludes “political parties that have significant ideological wings that are not populist radical right.” (Mudde 2007, 40). One of the parties that Mudde excludes from his list of populist radical right parties is the FrP. He argues that the FrP is a neoliberal populist party (Mudde 2007, 47), and therefore not populist radical right. One of the reasons for why he excludes the party is because, as he argues, “nativism does not constitute part of its core ideology” (Mudde 2007, 47). He does however acknowledge that the FrPs electoral campaigns can on occasion be classified as highly xenophobic, and that they should be considered as welfare chauvinist. However, his issue with classifying the FrP as populist radical right seems to lay with how he conceptualizes core ideology. Core ideology, according to Mudde (2007, 40), is something that most members of the party would agree upon. But how do we know that most of the members of a political party agrees upon an ideological issue, and furthermore, how do we define and measure “most people in a party”?

I present the argument that election manifestos and official party documents should be considered as manifestations of core ideological features of a political party. I would also argue that most people in the FrP would agree upon the argument that these documents represent their parties’ core ideological features. This has to do with the way these documents, especially the election manifestos, are composed. As I explained earlier, the election manifestos of the FrP are voted on at the national convention, and the document is subject to review by every local branch of the FrP before the national convention. These branches can, before the national convention, make suggestions for changes, that are thus voted upon. Therefore, I would argue, that this document represents the core ideological features of the FrP, because core members of the party have voted to adopt this document.

Although there may be dissenting voices, the majority of the party has to accept the document for it to be adopted.

The second problem that Mudde has with the FrP, seems to be with the fact that the FrP has a broad liberal faction. Mudde prefers to exclude parties with other ideological factions, I however believe this is a fallacy, especially in the case of the FrP. First of all, I would argue that it is wrong to exclude the FrP simply because they have a neoliberal faction. I firmly believe that it is entirely possible to be economically liberal, while at the same time being authoritarian, nativist and populist. I will argue that it is possible to mix economical liberalism with the ideological features of the populist radical right. Kitschelt (1997) made the argument that the winning formula for many of these new far right parties was down to their adoption of neoliberal economic policies in combination with authoritarianism. As an extension of this, I would argue that the FrPs winning ideology is their combination of neoliberal economic policies, in combination with an authoritarian stance on law and order, a very tough stance on immigration, recognized by their issue ownership on this topic (Hagelund 2003), as well as arguing that they are the party that protects the people. By combining the ideological positions of authoritarianism, nativism and populism, the FrP is able to appeal to voters on a broad specter, they can appeal to voters that consider themselves neoliberals, as well as voters that hold authoritarian, nativist and populist ideals. In other words, the FrP has found their own winning ideological formula, that has proven electorally successful over several decades.

Furthermore, the populist radical right is a highly heterogenous party family, at least when comparing this party family to other party families. When Jungar and Jupskås (2014) examined populist radical right parties in the Nordic region, they found that this party family was amongst the least coherent party families, when it came to ideology. By using data from the Chapel Hill Expert Survey of 2010 and from the Comparative Manifesto Project, Jungar and Jupskås, among other things, examined the ideological coherence among different party families. Among these were the populist radical right parties in the Nordic. They measured ideological coherence to see whether the PRRPs in the Nordic region should be considered a new and distinct party family. They measured ideological coherence both with and without the FrP and found that the FrP did deviate from the other PRRPs in the region, arguing that the FrP was “less authoritarian and more economically right-wing” (Jungar and Jupskås 2014, 227). However, what is interesting is that even when they removed the FrP from the

populist radical right family, this party family still proved to be amongst the least ideologically coherent party families. Jungar and Jupskås showed that although the Nordic populist radical right parties were more coherent ideologically when they left out the FrP, this party family was still among the most heterogenous party families. The point I am trying to make here, is that the populist radical right is a highly heterogenous party family. Therefore, even though the FrP may have a strong liberal faction and therefore may deviate from other populist radical right parties, especially when it comes to economic policy. I strongly argue for the inclusion of the FrP in the populist radical right party family, simply because I believe there is room for the party, even though they may deviate on some ideological positions. The party does not deviate too much, in my opinion, when it comes to the core ideological features of the populist radical right, to warrant their exclusion from this party family.

A final argument has to do with nativism specifically. Mudde argues that the FrP are not nativist at its core. I disagree. As I have demonstrated, the FrP does espouse enough nativist arguments in their election manifestos to be classified as nativist. As I have shown, there is strong evidence to support the fact that the FrP is welfare chauvinist, both internally and externally, as well as advocating exclusionary ethno-pluralist arguments.

Conclusion

This thesis started with the simple question of whether the FrP should be considered a populist radical right party. As I have demonstrated throughout this thesis, I argue that there is enough empirical evidence to support the fact that the FrP should be included in this party family, on the basis of their ideological stances on authoritarianism, nativism and populism. Despite the party having a broad liberal faction, my position is firm and thus deviates from Muddes conclusion with regards to the FrP. Although liberalism is a core feature of the party, I do not believe this excludes them from membership. The reason for this is that authoritarianism, nativism and populism are also core features of the ideological makeup of the party. I would argue that an important part of their ideological appeal is their combination of these four ideologies. Although this makes the party a difficult case to evaluate and place, my conclusion is clear, the FrP is a populist radical right party.

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