Setting Boundaries to Solidarity

Explaining Danish and Swedish asylum policy divergences, 1989-2001

MA Thesis History – Cities, Migration and Global Interdependence
Kjell Winkens
k.winkens@umail.leidenuniv.nl
Supervisor: Dr. I. A. Glynn
Second Reader: Prof.dr. M.L.J.C. Schrover
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Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

In recent years, a relatively large increase has taken place in the amount of asylum-seekers that make their way towards Europe. Dubbed the 'Syrian refugee crisis', though with significant numbers of asylum-seekers from other countries as well,[1] the arrival of large amounts of refugees sparked renewed debates regarding asylum and immigration policy in most European states. The Scandinavian states in the north were no exception.

Though the Scandinavian states are often described as relatively similar in terms of the organisation of their welfare states (often called the 'Scandinavian' or 'Nordic' model),[2] their responses towards the arrival of refugees within their borders have proven quite different. Focusing on Denmark and Sweden, the latter seems a much more attractive destination country in terms of both the amount asylum-seekers it has received in the past years and the percentage of non-nationals who are naturalised each year.[3] Meanwhile, controversial Danish policies like the seizing of refugees' valuables seem to designate Denmark as a much less welcoming country. Nevertheless Sweden, in 2016, also tried to reduce the amount of asylum-seekers arriving within its borders, by implementing passport controls on the bridge across the Sound, citing the supposed role Denmark played as a 'transit country' towards Sweden.[4] In response, Denmark also implemented passport controls along its German border.

Given the (perceived) differing responses towards the arrival of refugees in Denmark and Sweden, I would argue that it is interesting to look at the earlier development of Danish and Swedish asylum policy. In this thesis, I specifically want to look at the period between 1989 and 2001, when notable divergences developed, to trace the reasons for why Denmark imposed more restrictive asylum policies during this time than Sweden.

The specific question that I want to answer through this thesis is the following: "When, how, and why did the Danish asylum system become more restrictive than the Swedish one between 1989 and 2001?" In the analysis of these reasons, I place a particular emphasis on the different political perceptions of both countries' welfare states on the one hand, and their different political culture on the other.

The use of the nation-state as a unit of analysis is sometimes (rightly) criticised, as it might point towards a certain degree of 'methodological nationalism'.[5] However, I am analysing two separate political entities, each with their own legal system and political actors; and these state actors are the ones that shape national asylum systems. I would therefore argue that my use of the nation-state as a unit is legitimised. Of course, I will also change my focus throughout this thesis when other units of analysis are more relevant, such as municipal actors in both countries.

1.1. Sub-questions

To help answer my main research question and to highlight some of the important aspects of the development of Danish and Swedish asylum policy, I have formulated the following sub-questions:

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[1] Eurostat, *Countries of origin of non-EU asylum-seekers*.

[2] See, for example,

[3] Eurostat, *Asylum and first-time asylum applicants*; Eurostat, *Acquisition of citizenship and naturalisation rate*.

[4] As reported by the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, on January 4 2016, in a quote from Swedish Migration Minister Morgan Johansson.

[5] Andreas Wimmer & Nina Glick-Schiller, 'Methodological nationalism and beyond: nation-state building, migration and the social sciences'.

'What reasons were given for changes in the amount of refugees both countries accepted and the duration of their refugee visas?'

In terms of differing degrees of openness towards refugees, the amount of refugees being allowed into the respective countries is in my opinion a good starting point for an analysis. As I will explain in the following chapters, both Denmark and Sweden have at multiple points implemented measures to limit the amount of people seeking asylum within their borders, though these policies had differing degrees of permanence. However, the acceptance of refugees, from a political point of view, does not stop at the numbers of refugees a country receives. For example, while a country might take in large numbers of refugees, these refugees might have a limited freedom of movement within the country, fewer rights than 'natives', or it might be difficult for them to find work. I have therefore also formulated the following sub-question:

'What reasons were given for changes in refugees' access to social amenities and citizenship opportunities?'

Since different political parties might have different views on refugee acceptance, and both Denmark and Sweden, as democracies, are subject to changes in their governments' coalition parties, I also want to focus on the influence these changes in political culture had on the shape of policy. I therefore formulated the following sub-question:

'What influence did changes in coalition and government parties have on the development of national asylum policy?'

In my opinion, the (perceived) degree of popularity that anti-immigration parties (e.g. the Danish People's Party, or Sweden's New Democracy party) had amongst the national electorates also heavily influenced the degree to which governments implemented more restrictive immigration policies, regardless of whether those parties were in government or not. As I will explain in the following parts of this thesis, 'mainstream' parties might, for example, seek to co-opt anti-immigration parties' policies to gain more electoral success or try to block attempts at implementing such policies in an attempt to keep them from gaining political legitimacy. The role of party representation in the media is thereby also an important factor to consider.

Since anti-immigration parties in Sweden have had less political success than in Denmark, I also formulated the following sub-question to gain more insight into why certain parties failed, while others succeeded, and what this meant for immigration policy:

'Why were anti-immigration parties in Denmark more successful than in Sweden?'

1.2. Social and Scientific Relevance

From an international perspective, when talking about welfare states, Scandinavia is often portrayed as a relatively homogeneous region. An influential work by sociologist Gøsta Esping-Andersen, for example, groups together the Scandinavian states within an ideal type of a 'Scandinavian universalist welfare state' that manages to incorporate citizens from all socio-economic segments of society.[6] However, with this thesis, I want to partially deconstruct this 'Scandinavian model'. I thereby want to show that while, in terms of welfare state policy or immigration policy, the same ideals (like solidarity and equality) lie at the basis of their respective policies, the development and implementation of these often occurred along different paths.[7] With this thesis, I also hope to contribute to the current

[6] Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, p. 32.
[7] Grete Brochmann & Anniken Hagelund, 'Comparison: A Model with Three Exceptions?', p. 259.

public, political, and scientific debates regarding the reception and integration of refugees, both in Scandinavia and beyond. While the context of the 'Syrian refugee crisis' is certainly not the same as those in the period I am discussing, I want to help put the current refugee debates in a broader historical context by showing how Danish and Swedish political actors reacted to the previous largest refugee influx during the breaking-up of Yugoslavia, or the reasons for the seemingly diverging paths that both countries later took with regard to their openness towards refugees.

With regard to scientific relevance, I also want to contribute to various debates in both the fields of history and the social sciences. As my theoretical framework shows, I employ a heavy political focus in this thesis, and pay special attention to the role of the welfare state in shaping political decision-making. Through this, I hope to contribute to a range of debates regarding concepts like welfare chauvinism, the development of anti-immigration parties, and the politics of inclusion, exclusion and belonging.

Furthermore, while a relatively large body of work already exists on comparisons between Danish and Swedish attitudes towards refugees and asylum-seekers, and a body of work exists comparing their respective welfare states, relatively little has been written on the role of the welfare state (discourses) in helping shape states' asylum policies.[8] With this thesis, I want to help address this topic by assessing the accessibility of the welfare state to refugees, and the reasons for changes in this accessibility over the years. By doing a comparative study, I thereby want to show how states with similar welfare systems came to develop markedly different asylum policies.

1.3. Sources and Methodology

With regard to sources, I will primarily base my analysis on parliamentary documents, in the form of debate minutes, bills and laws and reports of parliamentary committees.[9] Through this focus on the political sphere, I want to find out both how the Danish and Swedish states see themselves, and how they want to be portrayed. For example, the laws they pass and the reports they produce frame the position and rights of refugees within their societies in a certain way. The discursive or ideological background of different ruling parties also influences this framing.

As the amount of documents produced in the period I study is quite large, I have firstly identified key moments in the development of Danish and Swedish asylum policy (e.g. watershed legislation that was passed or turning-points in the reaction to the numbers of asylum-seekers) through the use of secondary sources and media sources, and snowball sampled my way through the relevant earlier documents that are referenced in those debates, legislations and reports.

However, this focus also has its drawbacks. While commission and committee reports, paired with for example parliamentary debates, might give an idea of the stance of government and opposition parties towards the arrival of Bosnian refugees, they do not always give a clear insight into the decision-making process surrounding it. This drawback warranted the use of secondary sources to give broader explanations regarding these processes. Furthermore, because the time-frame of my thesis starts in 1989, there were some issues regarding the accessibility of sources. While all Swedish

[8] Though noteable exceptions exist, like Brochmann & Hagelund's *Immigration Policy and the Scandinavian Welfare State*, or Borevi's 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden'.

[9] While Danish commission reports, 'betænkninger' (abbreviated as 'bet.' In the Danish archives) are written by either parliamentary commissions or expert commissions, Swedish 'betänkanden' solely consist of parliamentary commission reports. Swedish expert committee reports are designated with the abbreviation 'SOU', which stands for 'Statens offentliga utredningar' (*The state's public investigations*). As the abbreviation is used in both official documents and the Swedish archives, I have also chosen to describe these reports as 'SOU's.

parliamentary minutes are available online, practically none of the Danish ones are (at the time of writing). Furthermore, some archives of, for example, newspapers have restrictions regarding the (amount of) articles that can be viewed from outside their respective countries. I solved this by visiting the national library in Copenhagen, but the sheer amount of (inaccessible) newspapers limited certain areas of analysis.

As I mentioned earlier, civil society and the media can also have a large impact on the political decision-making process. While I presume that a sufficiently large or controversial enough public debate shows up in the explanations regarding policy-decisions in the committee reports, these still afford a relatively narrow insight into the broader societal contexts. Where possible, I therefore looked at newspapers, or other media coverage, of important political decisions to provide this context, though the analysis of primary sources from the Danish and Swedish parliaments is still the primary focus of this thesis.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

Having explained my research questions and the sources and methodology I draw upon to answer them, I will explain the theoretical basis of my research in the next chapter. In the subsequent chapters, I will analyse the Danish and Swedish asylum policy through three main thematic foci: border policy (chapter three), integration policy (chapter four), and the varying successes of anti-immigration parties (chapter five). In the final chapter, I will conclude my thesis by summarising my main arguments, and by answering my research questions. As will become apparent in the following chapters, my main argument will be that differences in welfare and integration philosophy and the comparatively greater success of Danish anti-immigration parties led to a greater strictness in Danish asylum policy.

While there is some chronological overlap between the themes described above, I employ this division to show that asylum policy affects (and is affected by) multiple areas of governance and policy-making. In that sense, I partially follow Didier Fassin's model of 'borders and boundaries' to show that asylum policy does not end at the national (physical) borders. [10] I will elaborate further on this dichotomy in my theoretical framework. Through this thematic division, I also want to make a clearer comparison between the Danish and Swedish asylum 'restrictiveness'. By comparing different components of their policy, I want to give a clearer overview of the differences and similarities between the states' policy-developments, and the reasons behind this difference.

[10] Didier Fassin, 'Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times'.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

When talking about Scandinavian welfare states, it is easy to spot similarities between their welfare regimes. The sociologist Esping-Andersen, for example, describes the ideal type of the Scandinavian welfare regimes as a universalist model, with broad social services and a focus on public employment.[11] The focus on (full) employment and the prevention of welfare -dependency is often called the 'workline' within the Scandinavian welfare regime.[12]

Given the long historic developments that shaped the national welfare states, and the influence those welfare states have had on their respective societies, it could be argued that the ideas at the foundation of the welfare states have slowly become a part of the respective nations' national identity.[13] However, while the general organisation of the welfare states in Scandinavia is similar, one could argue that the notions of the role of the welfare state within the respective societies differs.

Generally speaking, in relation to one another, the Swedish welfare state could be viewed as the more 'multiculturally-focused' of the two,[14] while the Danish one appears to be focused more on cultural homogeneity, whereby an 'outsider' first needs to become properly 'Danish' before being able to reap its full benefits.[15] In terms of immigrant integration, different ideas regarding solidarity and equality that lie at the basis of the welfare states are also reflected in the states' immigration policies. As Karen Borevi argues, the Swedish 'philosophy of integration' seems to stem from a notion that the welfare state promotes social cohesion and integration (through participation in the labour market), thereby creating national solidarity; while the Danish one seems to stem from a notion that the welfare state is created by social cohesion and solidarity.[16] Therefore, while cultural sameness and integration are seen as vital for the existence of the Danish welfare state, the Swedish system places less emphasis on cultural integration, as participation in the welfare state and labour market will promote integration anyway.[17]

It would, however, be inaccurate to view the Danish and Swedish welfare states as unchanging throughout the period of interest in my thesis.[18] Like many European countries, Denmark and Sweden have been subjected to neoliberal economic pressures, and their effects on notions of solidarity and social resilience, which lie at the basis of the welfare states, should not be overlooked.[19] Hall and Lamont, for example, argue that neoliberal ideas might lead to the privatisation of public services and an increasing focus on the economic mobility of the individual. This includes an increasing focus of the welfare state to promote 'self-reliance' on an individual

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[11] Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*.

[12] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 30.

[13] Steffen Jöhncke, 'Integrating Denmark: The Welfare State as a National(ist) Accomplishment', p.39.

[14] Marita Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Difference: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p.292.

[15] See, for example, Karen Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p.379; Karen Fog Olwig, ''Integration': Migrants and Refugees between Scandinavian Welfare Societies and Family Relations', p. 183.

[16] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 367.

[17] Ibid. p. 379.

[18] Jens Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 43.

[19] As to why neoliberalism influenced Scandinavian societies, a proper examination would warrant a thesis of its own. Though multiple reasons can be found in the literature. Authors like Jens Rydgren attribute this to broad political developments like the 'fall of communism' or the influence of the growing policy pressures from Britain (under Thatcher) and the US (under Reagan). [19] See Jens Rydgren, 'Sweden: The Scandinavian Exception', p. 137-138.

level.[20] However, the presence of social institutions like strong unions and the idea of the welfare state in a state's national imagination might prevent the (perceived) social resilience of a society from declining too much under neoliberal pressures.[21]

While an increasing focus on individualism might appear to warrant an increasing focus on restrictive migration policies, so as to maximise the economic chances of the 'native' population, neoliberal pressures might, under certain circumstances, actually promote a degree of multiculturalism.[22] From an economic point of view, migrants can be seen as economic actors that seek to maximise their economic potential either at 'home' or abroad, while cultural markers like food or fashion can be monetised as well.[23] Increasing focus on neoliberal policies also meant that under free movement and labour policies, minorities would gain increasing rights to participation in the welfare state.[24] Multiculturalism and neoliberalisation would therefore become increasingly associated with one another. However, while minorities were increasingly included in national welfare schemes, states did little to address issues like the social marginalisation of certain minority groups, in effect enacting a form of 'inclusiveness without solidarity'.[25] Kymlicka argues that protest against either neoliberalism or immigration therefore often takes a diametrically opposed form of 'solidarity without inclusiveness',[26] which can be described as a form of welfare chauvinism: a rhetoric that is not anti-welfare, but seeks to bar 'outsiders' from reaping the benefits of the welfare state.[27] Despite the economic principles of neoliberal theory, however, the perceived 'cultural threat' that increasing immigration under a neoliberal policy might bring is sometimes seen as a greater danger to society than mere 'economic pressure' on the welfare state.[28]

When speaking about the 'insiders' and 'outsiders' of a society, I would argue that it is useful to incorporate the concept of 'imagined community' in my thesis. Through this concept, Benedict Anderson argues that ideas regarding citizenship are based on an (imagined) notion of shared identity, values, and ideas.[29] Earlier, I already gave the example that welfare states, due to their perceived history of national solidarity, often play a role in the formation of national identities.[30] This then raises the question whether 'outsiders', who might not be seen as part of a shared history, have equal access to social amenities on a par with 'native' citizens.

While refugees and asylum-seekers might therefore cross physical borders to reach their countries of refuge, they still might encounter social boundaries that limit their freedom of (socio-economic) movement and participation within their host societies, based on their perceived outsider-status.[31] This 'borders' versus 'boundaries' dichotomy is also similar to the 'external' and 'internal' sphere that authors such as Brochmann and Hagelund describe, as both make a distinction between the physical borders of a country and the policy regarding immigrants within those borders, but see both 'spheres'

[20] Peter A. Hall & Michèle Lamont, 'Introduction', p. 6.
[21] Ibid., p. 17.
[22] Will Kymlicka, 'Neoliberal Multiculturalism?', p. 108-109.
[23] Ibid. p. 109.
[24] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 6-7.
[25] Ibid. p. 7.
[26] Ibid. p. 7-8.
[27] Jørgen Goul Andersen & Tor Bjørklund, 'Structural Changes and New Cleavages: the Progress Parties in Denmark and Norway', p. 214; Kymlicka 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 8.
[28] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p.11.
[29] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
[30] Karen Fog Olwig & Karsten Pærregaard, 'Introduction: "Strangers" in the Nation', p. 15.
[31] Fassin, 'Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times', p. 214-215.

as part of the same migration policy spectrum. This dichotomy is reflected in the structure of this thesis, whereby border policy and (social) integration policy have separate chapters dedicated to them. However, as the linkages between the chapters and the overlap in policy will show, it is difficult to make a strict demarcation between the two concepts.

As the above example already partially demonstrated, the analysis and reproduction of national identity often tends to focus on ethnic identity, and might therefore be difficult to properly operationalise. [32] In the following chapters (especially chapter four) I will therefore predominantly focus on the notions of national identity that are present within Danish and Swedish integration policy, whereby a certain knowledge of the national culture is often required of immigrants, and is therefore 'quantified' within those requirements.

With regard to imagined communities, it is then also interesting to look at the degree of 'sameness' migrants need to achieve before they (if ever) are regarded as a full part of their community. Olwig and Pærregaard, for example, give a chronological overview of the different meanings and connotations the concept of 'integration' has had in Danish politics, ranging from a purely economic meaning towards an increasing focus on the perceived irreconcilable cultural differences between 'Danes' and 'non-Danes'.[33] In practice, however, concepts like 'integration' are often used interchangeably with concepts like 'assimilation' in both public and political debates. The tensions between notions of 'universalism' and 'alikeness' or 'equality', in terms of rights to the welfare state, are often central concepts in the study of the Scandinavian welfare states. [34]

When discussing imagined communities and integration, it is also useful to look at the requirements one needs to fulfil in order to gain citizenship, and the rights and duties linked to that citizenship, as a form of 'politics of belonging'. As Nira Yuval-Davis argues, citizenship is not just a way through which 'imagined communities' can be demarcated (in 'citizens' and 'non-citizens'). Instead, it is also a way to study larger 'politics of belonging' and identify the degree to which certain groups in society are seen as 'belonging' to a certain nation-state, while also focusing on ways through which policy can create feelings of belonging to a state, within those groups. [35] The right to work in, and migrate to, a country are thereby seen as examples of the interplay between notions of 'belonging' and the granting of certain rights.[36] For example, people that are seen as too 'different', and therefore as not belonging to a certain imagined community, can be forbidden or actively discouraged to migrate to and work in a certain country.

As concepts like 'imagined community' and 'belonging' already show, I would argue that it is important to look at the 'discursive' context of both bordering processes and the creation of boundaries whereby political and social framings, such as discourses regarding the differences between social groups, play an important role.[37] The implementation of restrictive policy and discourse could thereby also be seen as a form of 'spectacle', meant to appease certain (political) groups within a given society.[38] It can also be argued that the framing of certain refugee groups, by for example categorising them in 'desirable' or 'undesirable' categories or highlighting their 'humanitarian' need, becomes an increasingly important aspect for the granting of asylum visas, and

[32] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 26.
[33] Olwig & Pærregaard, 'Introduction: "Strangers" in the Nation', p. 12-14.
[34] Jöhncke, 'Integrating Denmark: The Welfare State as a National(ist) Accomplishment', p. 40.
[35] Nira Yuval-Davis, 'Belonging and the Politics of Belonging'.
[36] Ibid. p. 208.
[37] James Wesley Scott, 'European Politics of Borders, Border Symbolism and Cross-Border Cooperation', p. 88.
[38] Fassin, 'Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times', p. 220.

possible citizenship, to groups of asylum-seekers that try to gain access to European countries.[39] Furthermore, this humanitarian framing can often be used to legitimise a range of (opposing) policy measures.[40] Discursive bordering practices during the 1990s should also be seen in the context of an increasing internationalisation of border policy that, for example, resulted in 'Fortress Europe'. When discussing national border policy, it is therefore also useful to look at the concept of 'policing at a distance', whereby control over national borders is increasingly externalised to other European states.[41] For example, the establishment of immigration offices in the Balkans during the crisis in Yugoslavia meant that, in practice, the border crossing for refugees in the region took place in the Balkans, and not at the physical Scandinavian borders.

When discussing national policy and the influence of ideas regarding national identity and imagined community, I also argue that it is important to look at the role that the concept of 'political culture' plays in shaping governments' decisions regarding access to the welfare state. In this thesis I employ Piet de Rooy's model of political culture, whereby he looks at the general shape of the political system (e.g. the presence and contents of its constitution) and the organisation of its parliament (e.g. the presence of political parties), and the interplay between civil society and the political system.[42] As I also mentioned in the 'sub-questions' section, different layers in politics and general society might influence the political decision-making process. Plenty of examples of how the philosophies and preferences of different political parties influenced Danish and Swedish policy, or how a society's or political system's 'permissiveness' or 'restrictiveness' influences the degree of influence of non-mainstream parties, can be found in the literature.[43]

With regard to the growing popularity of anti-immigration parties (and sentiments), most theories fall inside a 'supply-side' versus 'demand-side' spectrum that seeks to explain why certain parties become successful, while others do not. 'Supply-side' theories focus more heavily on the political sphere, which parties present themselves to the electorate, the spread of, and differences between anti-immigration policies, and so on. 'Demand-side' theories focus more on societal issues that generate anti-immigration electoral success.[44] However, as the 'spectrum' aspect implies, a stronger focus on either side does not automatically exclude the other from these theories. One of the more dominant supply-side theories is the concept of 'political opportunity structures', whereby an emphasis lies on the dominant political culture that influences the degree of 'extremity' with which a party is branded, and for example the degree to which 'mainstream' parties are willing to cooperate with anti-immigration parties and their policies.[45] With regard to my own research, I lean towards a supply-side analysis, because I focus predominantly on the Danish and Swedish political spheres. Nevertheless, my research could also fall under what Rensmann and Miller call 'mixed' models, as I also incorporate discursive and ideological practices that, while originating in my analysis from the

[39] Fassin, 'Policing Borders, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times', p. 220-221.
[40] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, p. 14.
[41] Didier Bigot & Elspeth Guild, 'Policing at a Distance: Schengen Visa Policies'.
[42] Piet de Rooy, *A Tiny Spot on the Earth: The Political Culture of the Netherlands in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, p. 12-14.
[43] Regarding the influence of political parties, see Peter Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1991-2001', p. 97; regarding permissiveness and restrictiveness, see David Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 44-45.
[44] Lars Rensmann & Jennifer Miller, 'Xenophobia & Anti-Immigrant Politics'.
[45] Roger Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Right', p. 102.

political sphere (and, to a lesser degree, the media), these influence both political and social or electoral processes.[46]

With regard to the success or failure (e.g. in terms of political influence or electoral success) of anti-immigration parties, I would also argue that it is important to look at the influence that the media might have on politics. Political parties might, on the one hand, use the media for 'framing' purposes, or to introduce certain topics into public debates.[47] On the other hand, controversial topics, and 'underdog parties' might also be used by media outlets in order to attract a larger audience.[48]

David Art also argues that a party's activists and members are an important factor in determining the eventual success or failure of parties, as they help build the party during its early stages and, among other things, are a pool from which parties can draw their parliamentary candidates.[49]

As I already mentioned in the introduction, the reactions of 'mainstream' parties to the policy of more populist, anti-immigration parties, influences the legitimacy of those parties. Authors like Mazzoleni thereby also argue that the mainstream media, in criticising populist parties, might actually help populist parties win votes by allowing them to frame themselves as a legitimate threat to the parties that make up the 'Establishment'.[50] The charisma (though a difficult to operationalise concept) of important figures within the party thereby might also heavily influence the degree of success parties have in the media.[51] This 'charisma thesis' is, however, disputed by David Art, who argues that leaders might be seen as charismatic precisely because they are successful, and that perceptions of charisma stem from the degree of success a party (leader) has, instead of charisma causing success.[52] Personally, I would argue that both 'theses' have a certain degree of validity to them.

Nevertheless, when discussing government policy, it is often useful to keep in mind that a 'gap' can exist between the rhetoric of political actors, or policy-measures that are being drafted, and the actual implementation of policy 'on the ground'. The gap between the goals and results of immigration policy might therefore widen, prompting increased hostility towards immigrants with the electorate.[53]

2.1. Hypotheses

With regard to the 'when' part of my research question on the turn towards restrictiveness in Denmark, my main hypothesis is that Danish and Swedish asylum policy did not significantly differ until after the resolution of the 'Bosnian refugee crisis', around 1995. Based on my preliminary research, I presumed that, while differences did exist between the Danish and Swedish response to the crisis, the general policy line (shown by, for example, deliberations between the governments) was similar. In the later years, these differences would at least become much more apparent. My presumption thereby is that the Danish asylum policy became significantly more restrictive than the Swedish one during the second half of the 1990s.

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[46] Rensmann & Miller, 'Xenophobia & Anti-Immigrant Politics'.
[47] Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Right', p. 114.
[48] Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1991-2001', p.100; Gianpietro Mazzoleni, 'Populism and the Media', p. 54.
[49] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 22.
[50] Mazzoleni, 'Populism and the Media', p. 57.
[51] Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Right', p. 103.
[52] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 57.
[53] James F. Hollifield, Philip L. Martin & Pia M. Orrenius, 'The Dilemmas of Immigration Control', p. 3-4.

When debating the 'how' part of my research question, I firstly argue that it is important to deconstruct the concept of 'asylum policy' into its internal and external components. In the chapter division of this thesis, this is done through a focus on border policy (chapter 3) and integration policy (chapter 4). I presume that theories like Kymlicka's model of solidarity and inclusiveness, or Borevi's 'philosophies of integration' are relatively generalising immigration and asylum policy.[54] On the one hand, these kinds of theories are usually based on policy developments over the course of multiple decades or based on cases that that are quite dissimilar to the Danish and Swedish cases that I am studying. On the other hand, my hypothesis is that these theories should be more nuanced with regard to this 'borders' and 'boundaries' dichotomy that I described earlier. When discussing the openness or permissiveness of asylum policy I presume that it is possible that countries become more restrictive in the area of border policy, while maintaining a relative permissiveness in terms of integration policy. My hypothesis for the 'how' part of my research question is that, though the border policies of both countries remained relatively similar, both states diverged in terms of their integration policies. Using Borevi's concept of a 'society-centred' welfare state, I presume that the Danish integration policy focused much more heavily than the Swedish one on cultural integration and 'sameness' as a prerequisite to access institutions like the welfare state or labour market.

One of the main hypotheses for the reasons behind eventual differences in policy between the two countries is that Danish anti-immigration parties gained more electoral success, and therefore political influence, than their Swedish counterparts. The degree of attention in the media that anti-immigration parties receive also strongly influence both the parties' electoral success and their political influence. While the Danish People's Party would for example only 'enter' government in 2001, by supporting a centre-right minority government, my hypothesis is that their growing electoral popularity in the second half of the 1990s prompted the coalition parties to take a more restrictive stance on immigration.

I do not presume, however, that anti-immigration parties are the only reason for differences in the restrictiveness of Danish and Swedish asylum policy. For example, the Swedish policy also become more restrictive after the Bosnian Crisis, even though no popular anti-immigration party was present at the time. I therefore presume that 'societal' issues, like the cost of hosting refugees, perceived disconnects from the labour market, and increasing costs of the national welfare states, also played an important role in the decision-making process regarding the shape of asylum policy. While supply-side arguments, in the form of the presence of anti-immigration parties, are important, turns towards asylum-restrictiveness can therefore not be completely explained without an examination of demand-side arguments as well.

With regard to the factors influencing the degree of success of anti-immigration parties, I firstly presume that, following the line of argumentation in David Art's book, the organisation of these parties plays a major role.[55] In-fighting or unclear policy lines might for example influence the degree of trust that the electorate has in them. Furthermore, as my theoretical framework shows, I presume that political culture also plays a large role in determining which parties are seen as possible partners in coalition governments, and seen as viable parties by the electorate. For example, a party that breaks political taboos, even though they are electorally successful, might be seen as too extreme to cooperate with the other parties. Lastly, Kymlicka's notion of increasing welfare chauvinism as a result of changing economic conditions provides the last factor in my hypothesis on the growing

[54] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 367; Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 7-8.
[55] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*.

popularity of anti-immigration parties, and highlights the two main pillars of my overall analysis: economic or welfare rhetoric and political culture.[56]

[56] Kymlicka 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 8.

Chapter 3: Border policy

The refugee crisis that emerged as a result of the wars in Yugoslavia was not the first time that Denmark and Sweden debated taking in refugees. Over the course of the Cold War, various groups of displaced and persecuted people had made their way towards Europe. Sweden, especially, had taken up a role as a neutral country that protected international human rights. Around the end of the Cold War, however, refugees would become increasingly politicised in both countries.

In this chapter, I will describe and explain the choices that both states made with regard to their border policy in especially the first half of the 1990s. I will thereby start with an overview of both countries' refugee situations at the end of the Cold War and an explanation of the reasons behind a proposed Swedish turn towards asylum-restrictiveness. I will then explain the states' different choices regarding the implementation of temporary asylum measures during the Bosnian refugee crisis. I will subsequently discuss the role that various framings in the media had on policy-development. Lastly, I will focus on the increasing internationalisation of border policy in a European context during this period.

3.1. Pre-1989 Border Policy

The end of 1989 would see a dramatic shift in the political situation in Europe. The fall of the Berlin Wall and the opening up of the Iron Curtain, as well as the increasing number of Eastern-European states that distanced themselves from the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union, would gradually mean the end for the political division of Europe along the lines of Cold War politics.

The significance of these first cracks in the Eastern Bloc did not go by unnoticed in Northern Europe either. The end of the Iron Curtain brought prospects of peace, trade, and even a possible expansion eastwards of the European Union.[57] In Denmark, only a populist minority in the opposition focused on possible migration issues, such as increasing numbers of asylum-seekers.[58]

The Swedish government, while optimistic about the opening up of the Eastern Bloc, also viewed it through a more pragmatic lens. In December 1989, Maj-Lis Lööw, the Social Democratic Minister for Migration, addressed the Swedish parliament regarding the implementation of a more restrictive asylum system. She explained that, because of (expected) increasing demands for asylum in Sweden, it would become difficult to grant every asylum seeker a 'worthy reception'. The government's solution would therefore be to limit the granting of refugee visas to those asylum-seekers that fulfilled the requirements for refugeehood enshrined in the UN's refugee conventions, or those in particularly urgent need for protection.[59]

To understand both governments' relative differences in attitude, it is necessary to take a brief look at the Scandinavian asylum situation in the decade before. Looking at the adjusted numbers in the illustration on the next page, it becomes clear that the number of applications in both states steadily increased during the 1980s. Denmark especially showed a marked growth, which has several causes: the country, for example, adopted a much more generous Aliens Act in 1983, but the ongoing war between Iran and Iraq also contributed to a spike in the amount of asylum applications.[60]

However, while Denmark and Sweden took in relatively comparable numbers throughout the second half of the decade, this changed quite abruptly in 1989. The amount of Danish applications halved,

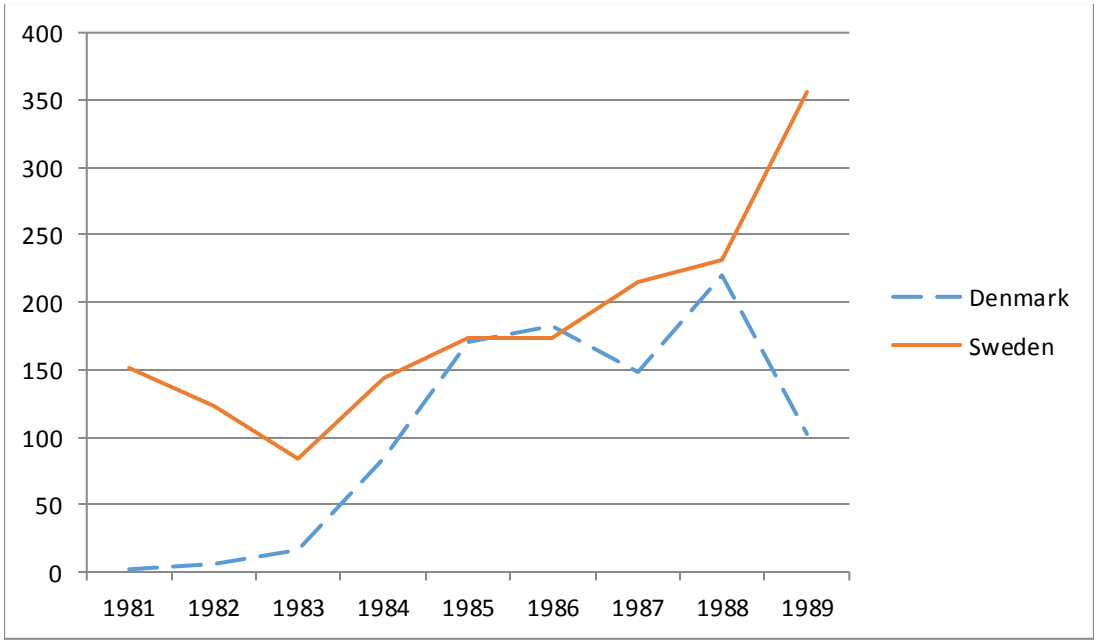
[57] Folketingstidende 1989-90, FF 10932.
[58] Ibid. 11004-11005.
[59] Prot. 1989/90; 46: 78-79.
[60] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State Meets the World', p. 115.

while the amount of Swedish applications rose by about 50 percent. A major factor at play was the growing instability of the Eastern Bloc, with large increases in the amount of applications from countries like Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.[61] Given the large increase in asylum applications in Sweden between 1988 and 1989, compared to the significant decrease in Denmark, it is therefore understandable that the government regarded the opening up of the Eastern Bloc with mixed feelings.

I would argue that it is also important to look at the role that Sweden, as a neutral country, played concerning refugee-acceptance during the Cold War. In the post-World War II era, Sweden maintained an outward profile based on international solidarity. Part of the reason for this image was Sweden's relatively open labour immigration and asylum schemes, through which they took in a relatively large number of political refugees under either scheme over the years.[62] As the number of asylum applications started to increase in 1989, it was this same generous and efficient asylum system, as well as the positive reception of refugees in local municipalities, that was regarded by the government as causing asylum-seekers to choose Sweden over other European countries to lodge their application.[63]

3.2. The Swedish Lucia Decision

The prospect of a continued trend of increasing amounts of asylum-seekers travelling to Sweden due to the instability in the Eastern Bloc (Lööw, the Minister for Migration, for example specifically mentioned the arrival of about 5000 Bulgarian Turks as a new, large asylum-seeking group)[64] eventually pushed the Swedish government to implement a more restrictive asylum policy. In 1989, the Swedish asylum system differentiated four separate categories under which asylum-seekers could receive a permanent residence permit: convention refugees (who fulfilled the UN Refugee



Ill. 1 Asylum Applications in Denmark and Sweden 1981-1989 per capita, adjusted per 100.000 population.
Sources: UNHCR, 'Asylum Applications in Industrialized Countries'; Statistics Denmark; Statistics Sweden.

[61] UNHCR, *Asylum Applications in Industrialized Countries*, p. 39.
[62] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 13.
[63] Prot. 1989/90:46, p. 79.
[64] Ibid. p. 78.

Convention's requirements); people who had an otherwise especially urgent need for protection; as well as conscientious objectors; and 'de facto' refugees (without immediate need for protection).[65] After the announcement of the government's policy change on 13 December 1989, which later would be called the 'Lucia Decision', only two categories for asylum would be recognised: Convention refugees and those in particular need of protection.[66]

Though the measure was contested by the opposition, who saw it as too harsh in relation to the degree of 'crisis' the country was going through, the government argued that it was an unfortunate necessity.[67] The Migration Minister framed the issue as a problem of space, and humanitarianism, stating that there were too few houses available to provide asylum-seekers with a 'worthy reception'.[68] It is hereby important to note the relative lack of 'cultural' arguments and arguments relating to the 'cost' of immigration within the framing of the issue at this point.

While the minister presented the issue as a problem of space, and inadequate means to properly house refugees, I would argue that it is also important to link this measure to the earlier described notion that Sweden's reputation of generosity was a problematic 'pull-factor'. The move to restrict the openness of the border could therefore, in my opinion, be seen as a 'discursive bordering practice' whereby border-restrictiveness was framed as a solution to both the 'problem of space' and the problematic generous image of the country.[69]

With help from the Moderate Party in the opposition, the intention to implement a more restrictive refugee policy found a majority in parliament. A commission of inquiry was subsequently appointed to explore possible opportunities for reform. The government wanted to pass the necessary reforms with a certain degree of urgency, as the prospective of increasing immigration flows, and the possible costs those would bear, had not changed in the meantime.[70]

The majority of their report was in line with the government's wishes to reduce the amount of asylum-categories. One of the more interesting parts, however, concerned the question of introducing a broad temporary asylum scheme, which could replace parts of the existing asylum system. The standard asylum procedure usually led to permanent residence visas for the asylum-seekers that were accepted. The general opinion of the committee was that temporary protection visas should not be introduced for all cases. Even temporary stay in Sweden could cause refugees to form 'significant ties' to the country, and severing them could be considered inhumane according to the commission. Nevertheless, the commission also stated that sudden mass-migration movements were still possible and that a temporary protection clause should remain in the Aliens Act as a possible tool to handle such an event.[71] This caveat would become important during the Bosnian Crisis, when just such a mass-movement of asylum-seekers happened.

After the quite heated debates in 1989, it is to a certain degree ironic that the measures set out in the 'Lucia Decision' were not implemented for quite a few years. The Swedish election of 1991 would prove to be somewhat of a turning point in Swedish political history. While the Swedish government

[65] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 13; Prot. 1989/90: 46, p. 79.
[66] The 13th of December marks the celebration of '*Luciadagen*' (Saint Lucy's Day) in both Sweden and Denmark. Though this is not an official holiday in either country, it is sometimes regarded as the beginning of the Christmas season. See also Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 49 and Prot. 1989/90:46, p. 79.
[67] Prot. 1989/90:46, p. 78-82.
[68] Ibid. p. 78.
[69] James Wesley Scott, 'European Politics of Borders, Border Symbolism and Cross-Border Cooperation', p. 88.
[70] SOU 1991: 1, p. 9-10.
[71] Ibid. p. 22-23.

had a sufficient majority in parliament to pass the bill, the actual vote on it was delayed by the 1991 general elections.[72] However, these elections would see a relative political upheaval with the appearance of the anti-immigration New Democracy (*Ny Demokrati*) party. Running on an anti-immigration and anti-established parties campaign, the party shook Swedish political culture. While the Lucia Decision entailed immigration restrictions, all political parties held a general consensus that Sweden, in essence, should remain a pro-refugee country.[73] While a more detailed analysis of the circumstances of their founding will be left for chapter five, it is important to mention that New Democracy was expected to gain about 12 percent of the vote. As New Democracy was breaking political taboos with its anti-immigration rhetoric, the established parties sought to prevent it from gaining political legitimacy by trying to de-politicise migration during the 1991 election campaigns.[74] This included discussions about immigration restrictions.

After the Social Democrats lost the elections, the new centre-right coalition took a comparatively pro-refugee stance. Though the Moderate Party headed the coalition, their coalition partners had taken a pro-refugee stance during the election campaigns, enticing the coalition to follow suit.[75] Furthermore, the new government expected the number of asylum-applications to decline in the near future, which removed the 'problem of space' argument that legitimised the initial turn towards restrictiveness.[76] However, since New Democracy also advocated similar measures as were put forth in the by then withdrawn 'Lucia' bill, it is also plausible that the new government parties took a more pro-asylum stance to distance themselves further from the populist party.[77]

This 'distancing motivation' seems validated by the fact that Sweden implemented the planned border-restrictions after the Social Democrats won the 1994 elections. At the same time, New Democracy lost all of their seats in parliament. As Abiri notes, the Social Democrats and Moderates therefore encountered fewer objections to asylum-restrictiveness (like lending legitimacy to New Democracy) than was the case during the attempted de-politicisation of migration during the 1991 election campaigns.[78] I will return in greater detail to the influence that anti-immigration populist parties, like New Democracy, had on mainstream parties in chapter five.

3.3. Temporary Asylum

On the eve of the Bosnian War, the official stance of the Swedish government therefore was more or less a reiteration of the earlier, relatively generous asylum policy. Meanwhile, in Denmark too, an albeit somewhat less intense public and political debate took place regarding immigrants and refugees in Danish society. After the increase in asylum applications in the 1980s, a broad debate took place in the summer of 1990 about the exact living conditions of immigrants and refugees in Denmark, and the costs that the Danish immigrant policy bore.[79] The Danish sociologist Lise Togeby sought to illustrate the growing public debate regarding immigration and asylum by looking at the amount of articles published about immigration in the national Danish newspapers. She showed that over the course of the 1980s, a steady increase in coverage of immigration-issues took place in the

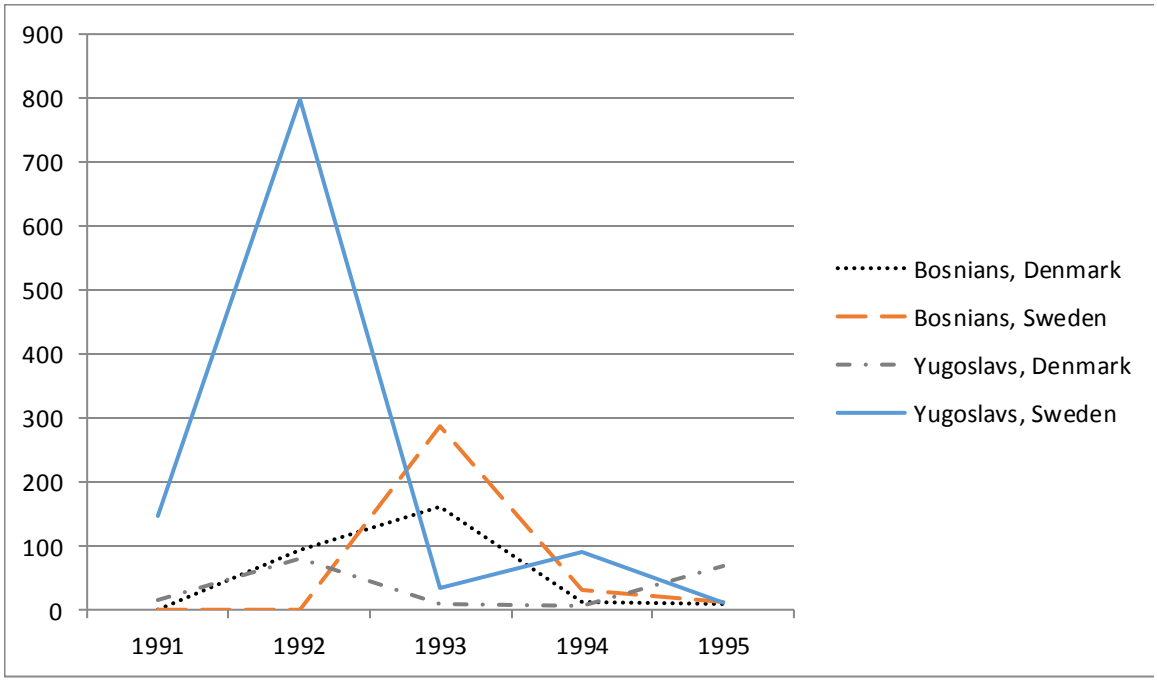
[72] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 17-18.
[73] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 60.
[74] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[75] Ibid. p. 19.
[76] Prot. 1991/92:49.
[77] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 62.
[78] Abiri', 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity', p. 24.
[79] Betænkning 1214, 1991, p. 7.

Danish papers, though the peak would only take place in 1993, at the height of the Bosnian Crisis.[80] Though later authors argue that Togeby's quantitative approach failed to capture the nuances of the Danish public's positive or negative perceptions of refugees and immigrants, I still agree with her argument that the degree of media-coverage of a certain topic shows that there is an audience, or a market, for a sustained focus on a point of public debate.[81]

Despite the public and political debates about immigration in both countries, and remarks about possible rises in Yugoslav refugee numbers, neither Denmark nor Sweden had foreseen the violence into which Yugoslavia would disintegrate, and the scale of the refugee crisis it would cause.

In the graph below, I have plotted the amount of asylum applications that both countries received during the crisis in Yugoslavia. It is hereby important to note that the Danish statistics agency only started differentiating between Yugoslav and Bosnian applications in 1992, while the Swedish one did so in 1993. This is also one of the causes for the sharp drop in Yugoslav applications for both countries. It is nonetheless still important to differentiate between Bosnian and Yugoslav applications, as both groups were framed differently with regard to aspects like their need for protection. As I will discuss later on in this chapter, a different policy was therefore made for both groups.

Given the unexpectedly large numbers of asylum applications, both the Danish and Swedish migration authorities quickly reported that their systems were being overwhelmed. Even before the bulk of the asylum-seekers arrived, *Venstre* (the Danish Liberal Party) who were the largest government party at that point, entered the political debate with a statement that 'Denmark only has a limited amount of resources' for the reception and processing of refugees, and that that limit was being reached.[82] However, the question of temporary asylum, in relation to the migrants' rights



Ill. 2 Amount of Bosnian and Yugoslav asylum applications 1991-1995 per capita, adjusted per 100.000 population. ***Sources: UNHCR, 'Asylum Applications in Industrialized Countries'; Statistics Denmark; Statistics Sweden.***

[80] Lise Togeby, 'Er vi ved at vænne "os" til "dem"?: Ændringer i danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og invandrere, 1993-1996', p. 71-72.
[81] Hervik, 'The Danish Cultural World of Unbridgeable Differences', p. 248.
[82] Folketingstidende, 1991-92, FF 8855-8856.

and protection-practicalities, was still seen as too difficult to answer.[83]

The refugee crisis started at a particularly bad time for Sweden, as it was in the middle of an economic crisis.[84] Furthermore, as the graph shows, the amount of asylum applications they received was significantly higher per capita than that of Denmark. Like in Denmark, the debates regarding the reception of refugees relatively quickly turned to the question of the cost this would bear. As I mentioned earlier, the possibility of a large-scale movement of refugees towards Sweden was something that the government already deemed possible in 1991.[85] While the subsequently appointed committee tasked with tackling the Yugoslav refugee problem advocated streamlining the application-processing procedures to cut costs, temporary asylum measures were still out of the question.[86]

While Denmark and Sweden were struggling to come up with ways to effectively handle the increasing amounts of asylum-seekers that were seeking protection in Northern Europe, other (Western-) European countries were facing many of the same challenges. In July 1992, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees therefore convened an emergency meeting. Recognising that the flow of people out of the Former Yugoslavia was reaching "dramatic proportions", and that the situation was both rapidly draining the resources of receiving states while a resolution to the conflict was not yet in sight, the goal of the meeting was to formulate an effective response at an international level.[87] The response that the participants to the meeting endorsed focused, among other things, heavily on burden-sharing mechanisms, and the need for international solidarity as the basis of any comprehensive approach. One of the measures particularly advocated by the UNHCR as a way to lighten the burden the refugee crisis placed on the resources of the receiving states. was the implementation of temporary protection measures for a (then yet) indeterminate amount of time ; the same measures that both Denmark and Sweden until then had decided to not yet implement.[88]

The UNHCR's advice came as a surprise to Scandinavian politicians. Though both Denmark and Sweden had debated the measures, the only large-scale implementation of temporary asylum, until then, had been in Africa and Asia, where war-refugees were housed in camps until they could return home. As it was therefore associated with the 'third world', the advice to implement temporary asylum in Western Europe came relatively unexpectedly.[89]

It is interesting to see the difference between the Danish and Swedish responses to the proposal for temporary protection measures. The centre-right government in Denmark was quite eager to implement the measures, introducing a bill regarding temporary asylum for people fleeing the Former Yugoslavia in October 1992. Under the new law, asylum-seekers deemed in particular need of protection could receive temporary asylum in Denmark for six months at a time, for up to a limit of two years. During this stay, their asylum applications would not be further processed, which meant they could not receive an official refugee status until two years had passed and if the crisis in Yugoslavia was not then over.[90]

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[83] Folketingstidende, 1991-92, FF 8878,
[84] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 59-60.
[85] SOU 1991:1, p. 22-23; Prot. 1991/92:49.
[86] SOU 1992:133, p. 22.
[87] UNHCR, 'Report of the International Meeting on Humanitarian Aid to Victims of the Conflict in the former Yugoslavia'.
[88] UNHCR, 'A Comprehensive Response to the Humanitarian Crisis in the former Yugoslavia'.
[89] See, for example, Folketingstidende 1994-95, FF 1480-1481.
[90] Lov 933, 28-11-1992.

In Sweden, on the other hand, the government still decided against implementing temporary asylum for Bosnian asylum-seekers at this point. As mentioned earlier, the measure was deemed inhumane for people who fled crisis situations without a clear prospect of rapid improvement, and could therefore establish significant ties to Sweden. In fact, while Sweden did apply certain temporary asylum measures in 1993, the Bosnian case was given as just such an example of a protracted crisis in which temporary asylum did not apply.[91] In that sense, the Swedish stance was framed through a notion of 'humanitarianism'. While restricting immigration could lessen the burden on the national asylum system, the emotional wellbeing of the asylum-seekers was also taken into account. I would also argue that the generous asylum system for Bosnians could be seen as an extension of the generous immigration rules that lent Sweden its reputation of humanitarianism throughout the Cold War.

Interestingly enough, the implementation of temporary protection in Denmark was also legitimised through a humanitarian lens. The government's reasoning was, under reported advice from the UN, that permanent asylum would in fact facilitate ethnic cleansing in Bosnia by motivating people to leave their country and not return in the future.[92] Furthermore, they argued that money spent towards establishing protection in the region would be much more (cost-)effective than taking in long-term refugees.[93] Though the centre-right government was also adamant that Denmark had a duty to protect asylum-seekers, the crisis in Yugoslavia should not be turned into a permanent refugee situation in Denmark.[94]

On the other hand, when a Danish Social-Democratic government decided to start processing the Bosnian asylum-applications after the two-year term was up in 1994, they also framed their decision through humanitarian arguments. Similarly to the Swedish arguments to not implement temporary protection, the government argued that indefinite temporary asylum would be both undesirable and inhumane.[95] Interestingly enough, the centre-right opposition responded by echoing the arguments that temporary asylum was actually the more humanitarian choice, as it prevented the situation in Yugoslavia from becoming a permanent refugee situation and the aid was best spent in the region anyway.[96]

This use of humanitarian arguments to argue for both sides of the 'temporary asylum de bate' is in line with Didier Fassin's notion of 'humanitarian government'. Through that concept, he argues that appeals to emotional sentiments are increasingly used by governments to legitimise their actions, but that those can also be applied to a whole range of (contrasting) policy measures.[97] In this case, both border restrictions and openness are framed through a measure of humanitarianism and morality.

3.4. Media Influences

Although Bosnian asylum-seekers were seen as too vulnerable a population to warrant temporary asylum, the Swedish government did implement immigration restrictions in 1992, in the form of visa-

[91] Prop. 1993/94:94, p. 80-81.
[92] Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 11530.
[93] Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 518.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Folketingstidende 1993-94, FF 1471, FF 10991.
[96] Ibid. FF 10986-10987.
[97] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, p. 14.

requirements for Yugoslav citizens. The situation in Serbia-Montenegro was simply not deemed dangerous enough to warrant a blanket visa-waver, as opposed to the Bosnian case.[98]

The degree to which asylum-seekers were actually in need of protection was, as described earlier, a major influence on the debates regarding the implementation of temporary protection in both Denmark and Sweden. These kinds of debates regarding the 'realness' of refugees were not new in either country, and had existed in both the public and political spheres since at least since the fall of the Iron Curtain.[99] The political debates about protection for asylum-seekers should therefore not be seen as separated from the public (media) debates regarding refugees.

John Aggergaard Larsen, for example, describes how a debate took place in the Danish media regarding the 'realness' of refugees. This debate was sparked by images of well-dressed and well-fed refugees in Danish asylum-seeker centres, as well as by stereotypes regarding the 'criminality' of certain groups of refugees.[100] Bosnians were generally perceived as 'real' refugees, however, because of the media coverage of the atrocities that were being committed in the country and the associations those evoked with Danish suffering during the Second World War.[101] These associations with Danes also helped downplay the fact that many of the refugees were Bosniaks, Bosnian Muslims. Their (imagined) similarities with an episode of Danish history also helped frame their religion as a minor part of their identity, and their religiousness as 'just like Danes are nominally Christians'.[102] In that sense, the relative absence of 'cultural tension' arguments could also be seen in the light of these perceived similarities.

A similar debate about 'refugee-realness' took place in Sweden, but the debate there focused on whether the situation for Kosovars was pressing enough to warrant visa-free travel.[103] The aforementioned implementation of visa-requirements shows that that was not the case.

The influence of the media on national decision-making processes also extended to the possibility of provoking national political debates. When the two-year term for the freezing of Bosnian asylum cases in Denmark was up in 1994, several mayors (from across the political spectrum) expressed their concerns in national newspapers regarding the possibility of the arrival of such a large number of refugees within society. The themes they raised focused on relatively pragmatic issues, like the possibility of housing shortages, welfare costs and job prospects.[104] However, despite the relative lack of arguments relating to ethnic tensions in the national border policy debates, these local politicians also often cited fears of increasing tensions and the possible 'ghettoisation' of Danish cities.[105]

The influence of local politics on national policy-making extended outside the 'media-arena' in Sweden, as the municipalities there had much greater autonomy in, for example, deciding to allow refugees to be resettled within their community.[106] While the Danish mayors mostly caused a public debate through their media-appearances, the possible outright refusal of Swedish municipal

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[98] Prot. 1991/92: 4.
[99] Jensen, *De fremmede i Dansk Avisdebat: fra 1870'erne til 1990'erne*, p. 479.
[100] John Aggergaard Larsen, 'Holdninger til de fremmede - forstillingen om bosniske krigsflygtninge i den danske offentlighed', p. 15-16.
[101] Ibid, p. 17; Jensen, *De fremmede i Dansk Avisdebat: fra 1870'erne til 1990'erne*, p. 485-486.
[102] Larsen, 'Holdninger til de fremmede - forstillingen om bosniske krigsflygtninge i den danske offentlighed', p. 16-17.
[103] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 20.
[104] Jensen, *De fremmede i Dansk Avisdebat: fra 1870'erne til 1990'erne*, p. 484.
[105] Ibid. p. 484, 488.
[106] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 52.

politicians to take in refugees allowed them a much greater influence on national policy-making.[107] This was regardless of their appearance in the media, although the public arguments that they gave were quite similar to the Danish ones, in that they for example focused more heavily on economic matters. It also became clear that many municipalities instead chose to focus on the positive economic effects that refugees could have, such as filling unoccupied housing.[108]

It is interesting to note the difference in framings that were being used for the 'local' and 'national' levels of the asylum-debate. As I showed earlier, notions like 'humanitarianism' and 'protection needs' appeared prevalent in the debates at a national level, while more pragmatic arguments were dominant at a local level, although this was also influenced by the 'asylum stage' that both levels dealt with. When the decision for temporary asylum was made in Denmark, there was a reasonable chance that asylum-seekers would not 'enter society proper' as they might be sent back within two years. Issues of job security and welfare costs were therefore not yet really at hand. When the end-term of the border-restrictiveness neared, it was also municipal politicians who would sooner see the effects that refugees could have on their local resources. As I will show in the next chapter, arguments regarding the economic and cultural issues arising from immigration also become more prevalent on the national level when it became clear that a large number of asylum-seekers would stay in Denmark, and the issue of integration policy was discussed.

It is difficult to say to what degree the criticism of local politicians influenced the policy-making process at a national level. However, the debates in newspapers and other national media were occasionally used in parliament to, among other things, legitimise criticism by and of the opposition parties and as a reason for demanding lengthy debates about a certain issue.[109] The concerns of local politicians were therefore at least visible at a national level.

3.5. Internationalisation and Burden-Sharing

The 'temporary protection advice' that the UNHCR gave in 1992 would be the start of an increasing internationalisation of the refugee question. For example, when Sweden implemented visa-requirements for Yugoslavs, this decision was made after deliberation with the other Nordic countries, and Denmark implemented similar requirements for persons from Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia around the same time.[110]

As the crisis in Yugoslavia progressed, international burden-sharing would also increasingly be used to legitimise restrictive national asylum policies. After the amount of asylum-applications in Sweden increased dramatically over the course of 1992 and early 1993, the Swedish government felt itself forced to extend visa-requirements to Bosnian asylum-seekers as well. When the decision was announced, about 65,000 asylum-seekers were still waiting on a decision regarding their asylum-application, and another 90,000 were waiting for their assigned housing.[111] In terms of resources and capacity, the Swedish asylum system seemed to be reaching its limits. The restrictive policy of other European countries, and therefore their negligence in terms of burden-sharing, was cited as making it impossible for Sweden to maintain a generous border policy.[112] Denmark followed suit two days

[107] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 59.
[108] Ibid.
[109] See, for example, Folketingstidende 1994-95, FF 1821; 1829.
[110] Larsen, 'Holdninger til de fremmede - forstillingen om bosniske krigsflygtninge i den danske offentlighed', p. 15.
[111] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 62.
[112] Dagens Nyheter, 18th of March 1993.

later, arguing that the Swedish policy would cause even further pressures on the Danish asylum system if it had not done so.[113]

Besides blaming other countries for not fulfilling their burden-sharing duties, the earlier mentioned humanitarian arguments were also used to legitimise both countries' turn towards restrictiveness. The UNHCR's and the Danish argument that generous refugee policies contributed to the ethnic cleansing efforts in Yugoslavia were now also echoed by Sweden,[114] although they still argued against the implementation of temporary asylum for Bosnians, because of the reasons cited earlier. [115] Furthermore, the government also granted all Bosnian asylum-seekers present in the country before the restrictions were enforced a blanket permanent residence permit.[116] In Denmark, the restrictive turn was also framed through a humanitarian protection lens, with the argument that visa-requirements would allow the government to 'invite' those persons who were most in need of protection.[117]

The remarks by both Sweden and Denmark regarding the implementation of visa-requirements should in my opinion also be seen as a sign that both countries wanted to focus more heavily on international burden-sharing. In their press release on those measures in Sweden, the Swedish Minister for Migration summarised it by remarking that 'Sweden could not solve the world's problems on its own'.[118] Similar remarks were made in the Danish parliament, where the government stated that it was due to the fact that other countries did not follow the UNHCR's advice for temporary asylum that the asylum systems like the Swedish one were in 'total collapse'.[119]

The implementation of visa-requirements in both countries was paired with greater investments in refugee camps and immigration offices in safe third countries within the general Balkan area. The idea was that Danish and Swedish immigration officials could then select those people most in need and grant them a visa.[120] In that sense, the earlier 'protection' arguments were fulfilled. However, as Abiri notes, this emphasis on 'protection needs' was also inspired by the Danish and Swedish insights that asylum-seekers often travelled through several other safe countries before arriving in Scandinavia.[121] The Danish-Swedish agreement to implement visa-restrictions was therefore also presented by both governments as a sign to these third countries (and the rest of Europe) of a desire to implement a common European approach to refugee issues.[122] Despite this justification, the move was also criticised by organisations like the UNHCR and Amnesty International as an unnecessary hardening of the border. [123]

The move towards remote immigration offices within the Balkan regions could also be viewed as a form of 'remote policing' of potential refugees. Institutions like consulates and embassies were thereby used to keep out 'unwanted' asylum-seekers by refusing them a visa.[124] When the Bosnian refugee crisis started, the processing of asylum cases was seen as one of the most costly components

[113] Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 11534.
[114] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 20.
[115] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 62.
[116] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 20; Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 61.
[117] Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 11530-31.
[118] Dagens Nyheter, 18th of March 1993.
[119] Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 11645.
[120] Betænkning 1288, 1995, p. 178-179; Folketingstidende 1992-93, FF 11530.
[121] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 21.
[122] Folketingtidende 1992-93, FF 11531.
[123] Ibid. FF 11634.
[124] Bigo & Guild, 'Policing at a Distance: Schengen Visa Policies', p. 235.

of the Danish and Swedish asylum systems.[125] By setting up remote immigration offices, apart from the humanitarian arguments above, both states therefore also gained the ability to keep out those whose asylum-applications would be rejected either way, and would therefore place an 'unnecessary' burden on the state's resources.

Hopes for (regional) burden-sharing were also echoed on a broader European Union context (which Sweden would join in 1995). In 1994, Germany (which had in absolute numbers taken in more refugees during this period than Sweden and Denmark combined)[126] for example used its EU-Presidency to introduce a Draft Council Resolution on Burden-Sharing, which would distribute asylum-seekers among the member states, which both Denmark and Sweden supported.[127] However, opposition from countries like the UK and France would prevent it from gaining majority support, although the French Presidency of 1995 would eventually see a watered-down version of the policy implemented.[128]

The reasons for an increasing focus on burden-sharing, as posited here, in my opinion fit Thielemann's model in which cost-benefit and norm-based motivations play a role.[129] As mentioned earlier, the internationalisation of the response towards refugees from Yugoslavia allowed states to cut costs in their asylum systems by pre-emptively keeping out 'improper' refugees. On the other hand, the objections that both Sweden and Denmark showed towards restrictive border practices, or rejection of certain policy advice abroad could also be seen as a way to enforce a certain norm of burden-sharing on the rest of Europe. The undertone of their objections thereby was that they were unjustly disadvantaged by the amount of refugees that supposedly made their way to Scandinavia because of other states' policies.

3.6. Conclusion

Comparing the restrictiveness of the Danish and Swedish border policy in the early 1990s, there are more similarities than differences to be found. Under pressure from the continuing refugee crisis in Yugoslavia, for example, both countries externalised their immigration procedures through the establishment of immigration offices within the Balkan region. On the one hand, this was motivated by the sheer scale of the crisis and the amount of refugees that subsequently made their way towards Scandinavia, nearly overwhelming both countries' asylum systems. On the other hand, this move towards restrictiveness also appeared to be a question of resources, in terms of states' capacity to take in asylum-seekers. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this included the rising cost of the processing and reception of asylum-seekers, but also related to issues such as 'questions of space' and the logistics of housing refugees. The implementation of 'remote policing' practices could also be viewed through this economic lens.[130] However, while economics played a large role in the choices regarding border-restrictiveness, these issues were also often framed through notions of 'humanitarianism', though, as Fassin's concept of 'humanitarian government' or 'humanitarian reason' shows,[131] these kinds of arguments can be used to frame and legitimise a range of (conflicting) policy-measures.

[125] See, for example, Betænkning 1249, 1993; SOU 1991.
[126] UNHCR, *Asylum Applications in Industrialized Countries*, p. 153-154.
[127] Folketingstidende 1995-96, FF 1644.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Thielemann, 'Between Interest and Norms: Explaining Burden-Sharing in the European Union'.
[130] Didier Bigo & Elspeth Guild, 'Policing at a Distance: Schengen Visa Policies', p. 235.
[131] Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, p. 14.

Throughout the crisis, the importance of looking at the influence of international politics on national-policy-making also became increasingly clear. Advice from international organisations like the UNHCR was for example reflected in the policy and discourse of both the Danish and Swedish parliaments. Notions of international burden-sharing lay at the basis of many of the restrictive measures that were put in place, often after certain degrees of international deliberation. Using Thielemann's model of motivations for international burden-sharing, the 'norm-based' notion that no state should carry an undue burden, or the 'cost-benefits' of remote policing, were reflected in the move towards burden-sharing during this period.[132]

As showed through the example of municipal objections to the arrival of refugees, it is also important to consider the influence of local politics on national policy-making. I will show in the next chapter that this became especially relevant when discussing changes to integration policies. As temporary asylum meant that it was plausible that many asylum-seekers would never enter 'society proper', the impact on local communities was not yet of the same political magnitude as it would become during the integration debates, when it became clear that many people did stay. While my thesis focuses predominantly on national policy-making, the influence of all other spheres of politics, both local and international, and the public sphere and the media, are also important to take into account.

The implementation of temporary asylum was also the main difference between the Danish and the Swedish responses to the Bosnian refugee crisis. While Sweden refused to implement temporary asylum for Bosnians, Denmark was relatively quick in doing so. As I argued earlier in this chapter, the notions of both economics and humanitarianism seemed to play a large role in explaining this difference. Sweden argued for abstaining from temporary asylum because it was deemed inhumane to leave people in indefinite uncertainty, which was also a reason for the Danish Social Democrats to start processing Bosnian asylum cases again. Furthermore, the country already had a history of humanitarianism in relation to open immigration schemes. On the other hand, the implementation of temporary asylum in Denmark was also legitimised through humanitarian arguments, as it was for example argued that this freed up resources that could be spent (much more effectively) within the region, to help the most vulnerable.

When discussing the difference in border policy of the two countries, it is also important to look at the relative influence of anti-immigration parties on national policy-making. New Democracy in Sweden was, for example, a large reason for the government's pro-refugee stance. However, the Progress Party, Denmark's anti-immigration party, seemed to have little influence during this period, by comparison. In chapter five, I will go into greater detail about why anti-immigration had varying degrees of success and influence in both countries.

[132] Thielemann, 'Between Interest and Norms: Explaining Burden-Sharing in the European Union'.

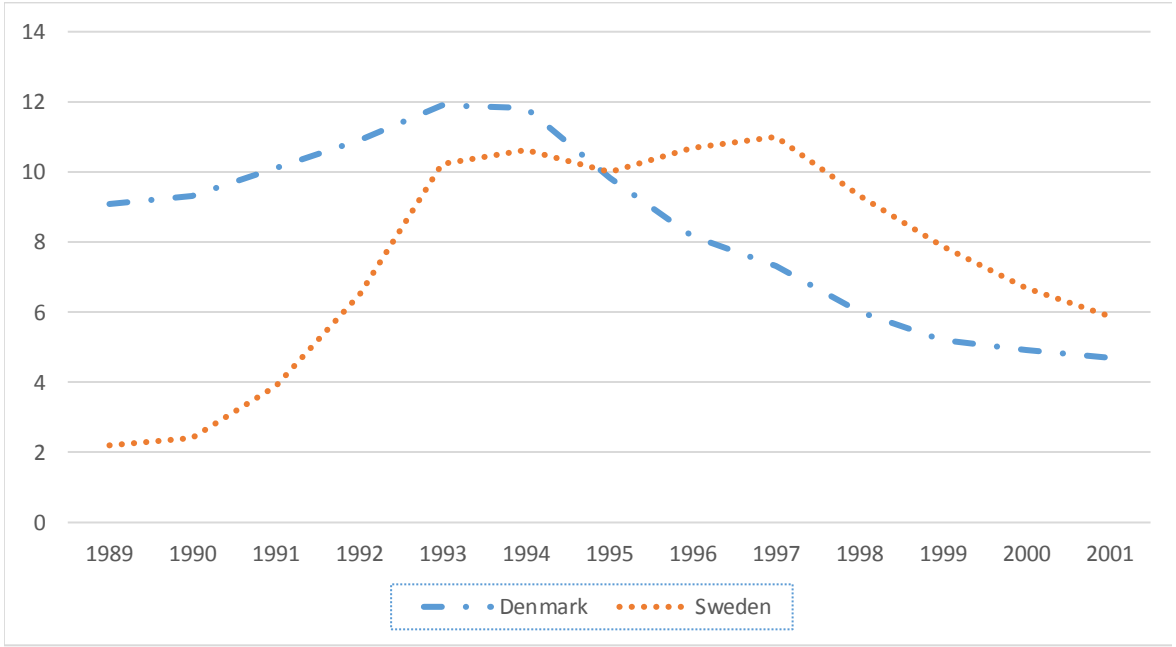
Chapter 4: Integration Policy

When Yugoslavia disintegrated, and large amounts of asylum-seekers made their way towards Scandinavia, the openness of the border and the reception-capacity of the asylum systems was increasingly debated. In Denmark especially, which implemented temporary asylum measures, the question of integration seemed less contested. With large numbers of asylum-seekers expected to return home after a short while, their reception and temporary accommodation seemed more pressing.

For both Denmark and Sweden, the events of the early 1990s would gradually change their political discourse on refugees, and the ideas regarding their need for integration. In this chapter, I will describe and explain the different choices both countries made with regards to their integration policy throughout the 1990s. I will thereby firstly explain the impact that the economic crisis in the early 1990s had on the (perceived) need to connect immigrants to the national labour markets. Afterwards, I will explain the reasons for the different degrees of emphasis on cultural integration within the Danish and Swedish integration policies, specifically why Denmark took a much stronger cultural integrationist turn than Sweden.

4.1. Labour Market Integration

I explained in the previous chapter that the asylum debates in the early 1990s were partially framed as questions of limited resources. I would argue that it is therefore firstly important to look at the influence that the economic recession of the early 1990s had when discussing integration policy, especially since it grew into a full-blown economic crisis in Sweden.[133] The different impacts that this trend had on the national economies of both countries becomes clear through their unemployment rates throughout the 1990s. While the Danish unemployment rate rose significantly between 1990 and 1993, the Swedish one showed an especially marked growth.



Ill. 3 Unemployed percentage of the workforce in Denmark and Sweden, 1989-2001.
Sources: Statistics Denmark, Statistics Sweden.

[133] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 59-60.

The economic recession heavily influenced the integration debates of both countries. Though economics influences almost all aspects of asylum policy, integration policy at this time was especially linked to economic issues. While the general unemployment rates of both countries were high, reports showed that there was a significant difference between the labour market participation of refugees and 'native' Danes or Swedes.[134] Partially due to this 'disconnect' with the labour market, and therefore a greater reliance on welfare benefits, refugees and immigrants were seen as bringing greater costs to their national welfare states.[135]

In both countries, the political reaction to these reports was to implement policy aimed at connecting immigrants and refugees to the labour market, or at least lessening the economic impact of unemployment. In Sweden, this meant that asylum-seekers had to start 'meaningful' activities from the moment they lived in an asylum-seeker centre. While the government acknowledged that it was difficult for them to find 'real' work, these asylum-seekers were at least expected to start learning the Swedish language or vocational skills, or to help maintain and clean their temporary accommodation.[136] These measures were presented as an obligation for asylum-seekers, and included possible repercussions for the allowances that they received, should they not participate in those activities.[137] Borevi argues that the measures were also a sign towards the Swedish electorate that asylum-seekers, like everyone in Sweden, had to contribute to society instead of just 'creaming off' social benefits.[138] In that sense, it also shows how integration policy, like the border policy described in the previous chapter, can also have a 'discursive' element or creates a 'spectacle' through which the government sends signals to relevant social groups.[139]

In Denmark too, participation in the labour market was framed as an obligation towards the welfare state.[140] However, in comparison with Sweden, asylum-seekers, refugees and immigrants were not necessarily seen as a group in need of a specific policy. Instead, the government's reforms were aimed at every individual receiving welfare benefits who could, in theory, find gainful employment.[141] The measures in Denmark were quite comparable to the Swedish ones, as the emphasis lay on job training and education in order to overcome people's disconnect to the labour market. If these measures were unsuccessful, the welfare benefits would be cut after a set amount of years.[142]

This emphasis on 'activation' and active participation in the workforce as an obligation towards the state falls within the general notion of a 'workline' within the welfare state, whereby the primary focus lies on guiding people towards work instead of merely providing welfare benefits.[143] The workline could be seen as an integral part of the Scandinavian universalistic welfare states, as the model presupposes that everyone contributes to it according to their capacity.[144] However, the balance between an emphasis on the rights (to welfare benefits) and the duties (to contribute) of the welfare state, tends to fluctuate over time. For example, Halvorsen and Jensen argue that the

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[134] Betænkning 1337, 1997, p. 395; Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 65.
[135] SOU 2000:3, p. 99.
[136] Prop. 1993/94:94, p. 38-39.
[137] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 65.
[138] Ibid. p. 66.
[139] Fassin, 'Policing Border, Producing Boundaries', p. 220; Scott, 'European Politics of Borders, Border Symbolism and Cross-Border Cooperation', p. 88.
[140] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 123.
[141] Ibid. p. 123-124.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 30; Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 283.
[144] Brochmann & Hagelund, 'Comparison: A Model With Three Exceptions', p. 225.

requirements to receive welfare benefits tend to be more lenient in periods of low unemployment, and vice versa. It is therefore debateable to what degree the turn towards 'activation' in the early 1990s constituted a dramatic change by comparison to earlier welfare (integration) policies.[145]

The above policy focused heavily on the individual agency of migrants, but other policies were introduced around the same time to address issues within the broader economic structure. In both Denmark and Sweden, these policies focused on issues like combatting ethnic discrimination in the labour market, or addressing gender issues that might cause 'barriers' for women wanting to enter the workforce.[146]

While the policy in the middle of the 1990s emphasised individual agency, the general discourse regarding immigrants and refugees in both countries often singled them out as particularly problematic groups in terms of their connection to the labour market. This was especially deemed to be the case in Sweden, where the government followed an explicit multicultural immigration policy.[147] Policy was thereby made for whole groups of immigrants. From a policy perspective, however, the problem was that 'immigrants' were not a homogeneous group, but that the category had people from completely different backgrounds collected within it.[148] The emphasis within the Swedish policy of 1997 therefore shifted from a collective 'immigrant' group towards the individual needs and 'shortcomings' of persons, regardless of their country of origin. As Hall and Lamont argue, this turn towards individual economic self-reliability could also be seen as an example of increasing neoliberal influences on welfare state policy.[149] In theory, this individualist turn meant that (after a brief introduction period) no real distinction was made between 'Swedes' and refugees within the integration policy.[150] Nevertheless, in practice, government officials and policy-makers still often formulated policy for immigrant 'categories' instead of individual persons.[151]

I mentioned earlier that this turn towards individualism was already present in the Danish labour policy of the early 1990s. The official policy was one whereby immigrants, in theory, had access to social amenities and the labour market 'on the same footing' as the general Danish population.[152] However, the integration policy of 1998 would focus more heavily on the (perceived) shortcomings of immigrants as a particular group. Whereas the earlier policy grouped together both Danes and refugees in terms of their lack of, for example, labour market integration, the white paper for the 1998 Integration Act focused exclusively on refugees and immigrants.[153] In contrast to Sweden, the Danish policy thereby took a marked turn towards cultural integration, as I will explain in the next part of this chapter. It is important to note that the 're-categorisation' of immigrants as a specific group did not mean that the Danish policy contained less of an individualistic approach than the Swedish one, as it also heavily focused on, for example, the individual 'shortcomings' of refugees that prevent them from actively participating in the labour market.

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[145] Halvorsen & Jensen, 'Activation in Scandinavian Welfare Policy: Denmark and Norway in a Comparative Perspective', p. 478-479.

[146] See, for example, Lov 459, 12-06-1996 for (Danish) measures combatting ethnic discrimination; and SOU 1995: 75, p. 22 for (Swedish) attempts to remove gendered biases from the labour market.

[147] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 68.

[148] Brekke & Borchgrevink, *Talking about Integration: Discourses, alliances and theories on labour market integration in Sweden*, p. 56.

[149] Peter A. Hall & Michèle Lamont, 'Introduction', p. 6.

[150] Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 283.

[151] Brekke & Borchgrevink, *Talking about Integration: Discourses, alliances and theories on labour market integration in Sweden*, p. 57.

[152] Bet. 1337: 1997, p. 45.

[153] See betænkning 1337, 1997.

As with earlier policy, the Danish Integration Act of 1998 included a heavy focus on 'activation' in relation to labour market issues. Similar to the policy of the early 1990s, an emphasis was placed on the 'obligation' that refugees had in terms of participation in the labour market, or in education that could prepare them for gainful employment. Failure to do so had implications for their 'rights' within the welfare state, in the form of cuts to their introduction benefits.[154] In that sense, I would argue that the labour focus of the Integration Act was a continuation of the earlier 'workline', that is seen as an integral part of the Scandinavian universalistic welfare model.[155]

It can be argued that the universalistic foundations of the Scandinavian welfare model heavily influenced the policy-decision whether or not to focus on immigrants as a separate group within society. References to the 'Swedish' welfare model were made by Swedish political parties when arguing for the necessity of an individual welfare focus.[156] Similarly, in Denmark debates had been going on about the implementation of a comprehensive integration policy since the early 1970s. However, governments usually hesitated to formulate policy specifically targeting immigrants as a separate group within society, as this would not fit within the Danish universalist welfare model.[157]

The increasing focus on individual agency and obligations, instead of policy focused on collective categories, within the Danish and Swedish integration policies can also be seen within a broader context of increasing neoliberal influences on national welfare states. Kymlicka, for example, argues that neoliberal integration and education policy often focuses on creating economically successful individuals.[158] Eastmond thereby addresses the seemingly paradoxical idea behind neoliberal integration policy that, in order to promote individual responsibility and self-sufficiently, states increasingly intervene in the lives of immigrants through integration policies.[159]

Increasing neoliberalist influences can also partially explain the changing opinions of refugees that I am describing in this chapter. For example, Kymlicka argues that people might become more welfare chauvinist when economies and labour markets change due to globalisation.[160] Though the welfare state itself is not criticized, its openness towards 'outsiders' could be if immigrants are seen as a particular drain on the welfare state. The solidarity that lies at the basis of the welfare state then becomes what Kymlicka calls 'solidarity without inclusivity', whereby groups within society, but outside the imagined community, are excluded from the welfare state.[161] Under this discourse, refugees could also be framed as an 'economic threat' to an already changing (increasingly neoliberal) labour market.[162] The earlier discursive elements to both countries' activation policies, like signalling that refugees were not (necessarily) 'creaming off welfare', could in my opinion also be seen as measures against this notion of refugees as an economic 'threat' to the welfare state.

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[154] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 130.
[155] Brochmann & Hagelund, 'Comparison: A Model With Three Exceptions', p. 225.
[156] See, for example, prot. 1997/98:38, p. 24.
[157] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 128.
[158] Kymlicka, 'Neoliberal Multiculturalism?', p. 111.
[159] Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 291.
[160] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 7-8.
[161] Ibid. p. 13.
[162] Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 279; Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 7-8.

4.2. Cultural Integration

One of the primary objectives of the Danish and Swedish integration policies over the course of the 1990s was connecting immigrants, and other 'problematic' groups within society, to the labour market. As I mentioned earlier, high unemployment rates and increasing costs to the welfare state were some of the main reasons for changes within integration policy. However, the perceived importance of labour market integration stretched beyond purely economic motivations. In both countries, participation in the labour market was also seen as a way to promote social integration within broader society. The idea was that having a job prevented refugees from falling into social isolation or marginalisation, besides the psychological and economic costs that unemployment could bear for both the refugee and the welfare state.[163] The (perceived) disconnect between immigrants and the labour market therefore also contained a marked socio-cultural dimension, as unemployment was seen as an obstruction to integration.

In the previous part, I showed that there were some differences between the Danish and Swedish labour market integration policies, for example in relation to their emphasis on individual needs or generalised 'refugee' categories. Nonetheless, in general, there were many similarities to be found, like the increasing (neoliberal) focus on individual obligations and rights. The economic impact of unemployed immigrants and the economic crisis thereby prompted both countries to change their integration policies. Besides labour market integration, however, the Danish policy of 1998 was also different from the Swedish one because it placed a much heavier focus on 'cultural' integration.

Before the 1998 Integration Act, the Danish integration policy was a *de facto* multicultural one. Equal opportunities were promoted, for example in terms of economic opportunities, but an emphasis was also placed on the possibilities for immigrants to maintain their own cultural backgrounds.[164]

Under the Integration Act, this emphasis on refugees' own cultural background was still present, but it now also included an emphasis on the *duty* that refugees had to take part in mandatory integration programmes.[165] These programmes, besides the earlier mentioned labour market focus, also placed a heavy emphasis on issues like 'knowledge of various aspects of Danish society'.[166] The fact that integration and contribution to society was now perceived as a duty for the refugee was emphasised in the Integration Act, which stated that refugees could lose their introduction benefits if they either refused to participate in the introduction programme or turned down a job offer without good reason.[167]

To a certain degree, the emphasis on 'cultural skills' falls within the earlier described broader Scandinavian focus on the 'workline' within the welfare state. In Sweden as well, for example, a certain degree of knowledge regarding the national language and 'culture' was often seen as necessary to improve a refugee's chance of employment.[168] The Danish focus, however, was more controversial, due to the linkages between integration and introduction benefits. The introduction benefit was introduced in the Integration Act and entailed that immigrants and refugees within the integration programmes received social welfare on a substantially lower level than Danish nationals. Implicitly, this pointed towards a categorisation of immigrants as 'second-class citizens'.[169]

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[163] Bet. 1337, 1997, p. 394; Prop. 1997/98:16, p. 45.
[164] Bet. 1337, 1997, p. 45.
[165] Ibid. p. 517.
[166] Ibid. p. 179.; LOV 474, 01-07-1998, chapter 4.
[167] LOV 474, 01-07-1998.
[168] Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 283.
[169] Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1992-2001', p. 101.

Furthermore, this distinction between refugees and 'natives' was possibly in breach of the UN Refugee Convention.[170] The introduction benefits were therefore abolished again after a few months.

The benefits were not necessarily a Danish innovation. Sweden implemented a similar policy in 1993, though that was framed as an 'introduction allowance'. The Swedish idea was quite similar, in that it entailed possible welfare cuts for refugees who did not participate in introduction programmes to a satisfactory degree.[171] However, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Swedish municipalities had relatively extensive autonomy in deciding whether or not to implement immigration policy. Due to unclear guidelines and few ways for the national government to enforce local policy, most municipalities chose not to implement the allowances.[172]

Though the introduction benefits were only present temporarily, I include them in this chapter because they are part of a move towards an increasing differentiation between Danes and refugees in the Danish welfare state. By comparison, I started this chapter with a description of the labour policy of the early 1990s, where no such distinction was present. Furthermore, the controversial policy was implemented by a Social Democratic government that, during the Bosnian Crisis, was much more permissive in terms of integration. The Social Democrats, for example, advocated for the integration of Bosnians within Denmark, instead of sending them back after the crisis in Yugoslavia had run its course.[173]

One of the reasons for this turn towards restrictiveness was the increasing media attention on integration and welfare issues during the second half of the 1990s. In 1997, the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* ran a large campaign against (supposed) welfare misuse by immigrants. One of the main arguments of the newspaper was that the allowances for refugees were too high, and promoted both immigration towards Denmark and continued unemployment for immigrants who had already arrived.[174] The campaign caused quite a stir within the Danish public debate, and was later used by the government to legitimise the reduced welfare payments of the introduction benefits.[175]

At the same time, the emergence of the anti-immigration Danish People's Party also caused quite a stir within the political sphere. Though only founded in 1995 (after separating from the anti-immigration Progress Party), the party quickly gained popularity. The Danish People's Party joined the centre-right Liberal Party in criticising the government's asylum policy, which led to a decline in the Social-Democrats' popularity.[176] As a result, some authors argue that the Social-Democratic government turned towards a more restrictive (integration) policy, in the hope of curbing the right-wing parties' growing popularity.[177] However, I will leave a more detailed explanation of the impact of anti-immigration parties on national political cultures for the next chapter.

Returning to the 'rights and obligations' dichotomy that I referenced earlier, the initial implementation of introduction benefits in Denmark signalled that refugees had a greater obligation under the Danish asylum system to adhere to the requirements of the introduction programmes –

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[170] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 129.
[171] Prop. 1991/92:172.
[172] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 67.
[173] See, for example, Folketingstidende 1994-95, FF 1466-1467.
[174] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 128.
[175] Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1992-2001', p. 101.
[176] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 494.
[177] See, for example, Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Parties and the Danish People's Party', p. 24; Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1992-2001', p. 101; Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 494.

compared to Sweden, at least, especially given the practical non-enforcement of the Swedish introduction allowances. I would thereby argue that the Danish government also used the (controversial) restrictiveness of the integration policy as a 'discursive policy', to respond towards criticism regarding the permissiveness of the previous asylum policy.[178] The focus on 'cultural knowledge' should thereby also be seen within the broader, public immigration debate. Lise Togeby, for example, shows that problems arising from 'cultural differences' between immigrants and 'native' Danes received increasing media coverage in the second half of the 1990s.[179]

In Sweden, by comparison, the socio-cultural cleavage was much less politicised at the time.[180] As a matter of fact, while the dichotomy between 'immigrant groups' and 'natives' seemed increasingly politicised in Denmark, the Swedish integration policy sought to turn away from the 'immigrant' category altogether.[181] While authors like Steffen Jöhncke argue that the Danish rhetoric of 'putting refugees on an equal footing with Danes' in practice meant that refugees had to 'turn Danish';[182] the Swedish government took a stance that the notion of 'normal Swedishness' should be altered to include both 'native Swedes' and the now (in theory) outdated category of 'immigrants'.[183]

4.3. State Intervention in Private Lives

It could be argued that a certain degree of national solidarity is a prerequisite for the Scandinavian universalist welfare model.[184] In practice, this model presupposes a degree of conformity to certain national values among the citizens of the welfare state, like solidarity, which can be guaranteed through certain state interventions in the private lives of citizens.[185] The integration packages of both Sweden and Denmark in the 1990s also contained these types of interventions, in the form of dispersal policies and changes to family unification laws.

The Danish Integration Act of 1998 included provisions for dispersing newly-arrived refugees throughout almost all municipalities across the country.[186] The previous policy allocated social housing within the Danish urban centres to refugees. On the other hand, the new policy was specifically aimed at both fostering integration by placing refugees in 'mainstream' Danish society within both cities and villages, and preventing the formation of 'ethnic ghettoes' within the cities.[187] Larsen notes that a lot of the rural municipalities had fewer possibilities for employment than the urban centres. However, refugees were not allowed to move away from their assigned housing for a set amount of time. Therefore, she argues, the government simultaneously kept reinforcing a 'workline' discourse, while also limiting the employment chances of refugees.[188]

With regard to the presence of anti-immigration sentiment within society, it could be argued that an unfamiliarity with certain immigrant groups creates (unfounded) fears such as the 'cultural threats' I

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[178] Scott, 'European Politics of Borders, Border Symbolism and Cross-Border Cooperation', p. 88.
[179] Togeby, 'Er vi ved at vænne "os" til "dem"?: Ændringer i danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og invandrere, 1993-1996', p. 73-74.
[180] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 76-77.
[181] Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 283.
[182] Jöhncke, 'Integrating Denmark: The Welfare State as a National(ist) Accomplishment', p. 33.
[183] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 69.
[184] Ibid. p. 25.
[185] Garbi Schmidt, 'Law and Identity: Transnational Arranged Marriages and the Boundaries of Danishness', p. 258.
[186] LOV 474, 01-07-1998, chapter 3.
[187] Birgitte Romme Larsen, 'Becoming Part of Welfare Scandinavia', p. 335.
[188] Ibid. p. 334-335.

discussed earlier. While it is difficult to estimate the impact of the Danish dispersal policy on public sentiments regarding immigrant groups, the presence of refugees within an increasing number of municipalities could be expected to impact public opinions. However, it appears as if there was little correlation between the two, as the presence of anti-immigration sentiment within society did not significantly change after the implementation of the policy.[189]

The situation in Sweden was somewhat different, as refugees had much greater freedom to arrange their own accommodation. During the 'activation' reforms of the early 1990s, the government decided to also implement a system where refugees had the choice (if they were able to) to find their own accommodation outside of the refugee centres or state-provided housing.[190] From an 'activation' point of view, the possibility to find their own housing reduced the possibility of refugees becoming 'passive' in the refugee centres.[191] The so-called 'own accommodation' (*eget boende*, or *ebo*) policy also had implications for (later) integration policy. As mentioned earlier, the local municipalities had extensive autonomy in determining which types of allowances refugees had access to, but also to a certain degree what the content of local integration programmes was. If refugees were therefore free to find their own housing, they could also make choices regarding the extensiveness of, for example, language courses and labour market integration schemes.[192] In that sense, the policy was in line with the overall turn towards 'activation' during the 1990s, as it meant an increasing focus on the individual responsibilities of refugees within their own integration trajectories and the broader society and economy.[193]

As mentioned earlier, one of the main reasons behind the Danish dispersal policy was a fear of 'ethnic ghettoes' forming within the country's urban centres.[194] The possibility of refugees and immigrants clustering together in certain areas of Sweden was also acknowledged by Swedish policy-makers, but was deemed less problematic than in Denmark. Their argument was that ethnic tensions and the like would probably not rise, as those areas already had a high percentage of immigration either way, and such areas were not deemed a negative influence on the refugee's integration chances.[195] Borevi thereby argues that the expected benefits of prompting refugees to 'help themselves' within the welfare state outweighed the possible drawbacks of the policy.[196]

The differences in dispersal or housing policy between the two countries fall in line with their different foci on cultural integration. The fear of 'ethnic ghettoes' within the Danish Integration Act of 1998 contrasts sharply with the Swedish intention to focus less on a dichotomy of 'natives' versus 'immigrants'. This falls in line with the aforementioned increasing politicisation of the socio-cultural cleavage within Danish politics and society. Over the course of the 1990s, the discourse regarding immigrants and 'natives' in the Danish public and political debates increasingly focused on what Peter Hervik calls 'unbridgeable cultural differences'.[197] It is this 'cultural threat' which, I would argue, also explains the apparent paradoxical Danish dispersal measure that Larsen addressed: the obligations for refugees to find work were increasingly highlighted through 'activation policies', but dispersal could actually decrease their chances of employment.[198] However, dispersal also meant

[189] See, for example, Andersen, 'Danskernes holdninger til invandrere. En oversigt', p. 9.
[190] SOU 1992:133, p. 99-100.
[191] Ibid. p. 99.
[192] Brochmann & Hagelund, 'Comparison: A Model With Three Exceptions', p.253.
[193] Kymlicka, 'Neoliberal Multiculturalism?', p. 111.
[194] Birgitte Romme Larsen, 'Becoming Part of Welfare Scandinavia', p. 335.
[195] SOU 1992:133, p. 100-101.
[196] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 66.
[197] Hervik, 'The Danish Cultural World of Unbridgeable Differences', p. 249.
[198] Larsen, 'Becoming Part of Welfare Scandinavia', p. 335.

that fewer refugees could live in the same neighbourhoods, thereby reducing their visibility within the urban centres.

Kymlicka's notion of 'economic' versus 'cultural threats' therefore also does apply to this situation. Kymlicka namely argues that 'cultural threats' are often seen as greater dangers to a (welfare) state than economic pressures. It could therefore be deemed preferential to have fewer immigrants in one given place, even if it means that the overall economic pressure from the whole immigrant group increases.[199] In the Danish case, the threat of 'ethnic ghettoization' can therefore be seen as being more pressing than the effects dispersal had on the welfare-dependency of refugees. Although, as I will explain in the next chapter, the policy can also be seen as a form of a 'restrictiveness spectacle' to appease anti-immigration parties and voters within Danish society.[200]

The focus on cultural issues and 'conformity' in Denmark, in my opinion, became even clearer in the final years of the 1990s. As Jønsson and Petersen describe, for example, the concept of 'foreignness' in Denmark was expanded during this time, with the implementation of integration policies for second-generation immigrants as well.[201] The title of the committee involved, in my opinion, shows the implicit discourse of cultural differences between immigrants and 'Danes': the Ministerial Committee on Integration and Maladjusted Young People (*Ministerudvalget om Integration og Utilpassede Unge*). The idea thereby seems to be that second-generation immigrants have to adjust to a certain degree of conformity regarding the broader Danish society, to a larger extent than 'native' young people.

As mentioned earlier, the universalist Scandinavian welfare state requires a certain degree of conformity among its citizens, which legitimises certain state interventions in citizens' private lives.[202] Besides allocating a location where refugees can live, these interventions also apply to the question of with whom one can live, through family unification laws. Schmidt thereby argues that the relative Danish restrictiveness in the Integration Act also extents to family unification. Besides discourse regarding the (increasing) number of immigrants that arrive under unification, she also argues that an explicit notion of cultural differences between immigrant groups and the general Danish population lay at the heart of the policy.[203] She thereby gives examples of notions regarding 'forced marriages' and immigrants' different ideas regarding gender roles as legitimisation of a restriction of family unification.[204] The restrictions to family unification should thereby also be seen in the light of broader public debates at the time, which stated that, besides forming 'ethnic ghettoes', immigrants also predominantly married within their own ethnic groups.[205]

Restrictions to family unification had already been implemented in Sweden as part of the Social-Democratic border restrictions in 1996.[206] However, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, these restrictions were predominantly legitimised through notions of 'problems of space' and limited economic resources.[207] The 'cultural turn' that appeared in Danish policy therefore seemed comparatively absent within the Swedish legitimation of restrictiveness. I would thereby argue that

[199] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 11.
[200] Fassin, 'Policing Border, Producing Boundaries. The Governmentality of Immigration in Dark Times', p. 220.
[201] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 130.
[202] Schmidt, 'Law and Identity: Transnational Arranged Marriages and the Boundaries of Danishness', p. 258.
[203] Ibid. p. 260.
[204] Ibid.
[205] Folketingstidende 1991-92, FF 8845-8846; Olwig & Pærregaard, 'Introduction: "Strangers" in the Nation', p. 13.
[206] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 63.
[207] See, for example, prot. 1989/90:46, p. 78.

this falls within the broader policy-line of downplaying the significance of 'ethnic ghettoization' on the one hand, and a move towards the abolition of the 'immigrant' category on the other.

The Danish legitimation of the family unification restrictions adheres to Mikkel Rytter's theory of physical borders being used as 'moral boundaries'. He argues that the requirements for immigration to and integration within Danish society reflect the perceptions that policy-makers and politicians have of national values and 'culture'.[208] Access to the country, or to the welfare state, can therefore be made difficult to people who do not fit within this notion of morality, as is shown with the family unification restrictions that were legitimised through an emphasis on gender roles and (presumably) 'forced' marriages.

4.4. Differences in Integration Philosophy

In my opinion, the differences between the Danish and Swedish integration policies that I described above could be seen through Karen Borevi's lens of national identity and 'philosophies of integration'. In her article, Borevi explains two ideal types that represent the Swedish and Danish notions of integration. She argues that, in line with Schmidt's notion of 'conformity', the Danish model is a society-centred one, whereby a certain degree of cultural homogeneity and solidarity is needed to sustain the national welfare state.[209] I would argue that the underlying thought is best explained through Kymlicka's notion of 'solidarity without inclusiveness'.[210] The welfare state could be seen as the achievement of (the solidarity of) the general Danish population, but the cultural diversity that immigration brings might undermine this notion of a homogeneous Danish society. Therefore, in order to mitigate cultural threats to the Danish society, immigrants have to achieve a certain level of 'Danishness' before they can reap the full benefits of Danish society and the welfare state.[211]

The introduction benefits that were linked to refugees' participation in introduction programmes, under the Danish Integration Act of 1998, could be seen as quantifying these cultural differences. Since the goal of the integration programme was to 'put refugees on an equal footing with Danes', which often meant 'turning refugees Danish',[212] this meant that refugees had less access to the welfare state's benefits if they could not prove their sufficient 'Danishness' through the completion of the integration programmes.

The Swedish integration philosophy, Borevi argues, takes an opposing view of 'equality' than the Danish one. There, she argues, it was thought that access to the welfare state will implicitly also promote national solidarity, which she calls a state-centred approach.[213] Furthermore, whereas the Danish national identity seems focused on a notion of cultural homogeneity, the Swedish one seems more open to include diversity.[214] The relatively fluid notion of Swedish national identity, from a political perspective, was reflected in the 1997 integration policy. In line with the government's intentions to do away with the generalisation of immigrants within a general 'immigrant' category,

[208] Mikkel Rytter, 'Semi-Legal Family Life: Pakistani couples in the borderlands of Denmark and Sweden', p.104.
[209] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 377; Schmidt, 'Law and Identity: Transnational Arranged Marriages and the Boundaries of Danishness', p. 258.
[210] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 13.
[211] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 377.
[212] Jöhncke, 'Integrating Denmark: The Welfare State as a National(ist) Accomplishment', p. 33.
[213] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 378.
[214] Ibid.

the government tried to revise the national identity to include the whole, diverse population of Sweden.[215]

I would argue that 'Danishness' and 'Swedishness', with their many different interpretations across groups within society, are markers of a national imagined community.[216] Integration programmes could thereby be seen as 'politics of belonging', that determine who is seen as part of these communities, but also to which degree refugees feel like they are part of those.[217] The concept of 'belonging' was thereby seen differently in both communities. I would argue that 'Danishness' required an 'active' effort to generate feelings of belonging, by proving a certain degree of conformity through the completion of a (cultural) integration programme. The Swedish one, on the other hand, seems more 'passive', since it did not require a similarly large degree of conformity, but incorporated anyone who contributes to the (welfare) state by, for example, participating in the labour market.

These different views on belonging and integration were also reflected in the countries' citizenship policies. When the Swedish government wanted to revise citizenship policy in 1999, they argued against the implementation of, for example, language requirements, as it would prevent many immigrants from ever receiving citizenship, and those skills would be learned automatically over time either way.[218] In Denmark, on the other hand, increasing citizenship requirements regarding language and 'cultural' skills have been implemented since the 1998 Integration Act.[219]

The differences here could be explained through a different notion of the role citizenship plays in integration and politics of belonging. Borevi, for example, argues that citizenship in Sweden was not regarded as the 'final goal' of integration, but as a tool to promote further integration. The idea was, she argues, that citizenship opened up opportunities for immigrants to, for example, learn the language and engage with the rest of Swedish society, which facilitates further integration.[220] Brochmann and Hagelund, returning to the 'rights and obligations' dichotomy, argue that citizenship in Denmark requires active participation in Danish society and the fulfilment of obligations to the (welfare) state, in the form of participating in integration programmes and the labour market, before an immigrant can receive citizenship.[221] By comparison, Swedish citizenship is therefore represented more as a 'right' for anyone living in the country (after a certain amount of time).

As to why Sweden and Denmark took an especially different integration approach during the second half of the 1990s, multiple reasons can be given. As I described in this chapter, the rising unemployment of the early 1990s framed the immigration debates through a notion of the obligations that refugees have to contribute to the welfare state under a workline policy. However, in Denmark, a much greater focus was placed on cultural differences as decreasing refugees' chances of employment, by comparison to Sweden, where the emphasis lay on language and education. Furthermore, the politicisation of the Danish socio-cultural cleavage created a much more permissive environment for what Kymlicka calls 'solidarity without inclusivity', whereby cultural threats to the welfare state were also highlighted. Lastly, as I will explain in the next chapter, the varying success of anti-immigration parties, and the prevalence of anti-immigration sentiments within the public

[215] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 69; Eastmond, 'Egalitarian Ambitions, Constructions of Differences: The Paradoxes of Refugee Integration in Sweden', p. 283.
[216] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
[217] Yuval-Davis, 'Belonging and the politics of belonging', p. 204.
[218] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 81-82.
[219] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 140.
[220] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 81-82.
[221] Brochmann & Hagelund, 'Comparison: A Model With Three Exceptions', p. 255.

debates, were also instrumental in explaining the differences in strictness between the Danish and Swedish asylum policies.

Chapter 5: Political Culture and Anti-Immigration Parties

In chapter three, I described changes that the Danish and Swedish governments made in their border policies from 1989 onwards, during and after the Bosnian refugee crisis. Throughout the chapter, I also talked about the influence that the various ideologies of political parties, both in the government and in the opposition, had on the national policy that was eventually implemented. The decision to overturn the Swedish 'Lucia Decision' was for example, heavily influenced by the formation and growing popularity of the anti-immigration New Democracy Party as well as by the need for the Swedish immigration-sceptic Moderate Party to cooperate with the pro-immigration Liberal Party. In this chapter, I therefore want to examine the political culture of Denmark and Sweden further, and focus on the influence that the various parties had on changes in the national asylum policy.

I will begin this chapter with an explanation of the sudden, unexpected rise of the New Democracy party in Sweden, which I will compare to the niche that the Progress Party occupied in Danish politics. Subsequently, I will explain why both New Democracy and the Progress Party failed around the middle of the 1990s. I will then focus on the rising popularity of the Danish People's Party after 1995, and explore the reasons for the absence of viable Swedish anti-immigration parties at this time. Lastly, I will describe the ways in which anti-immigration parties impacted the political culture of 'mainstream' parties in both countries.

5.1. The Rise of New Democracy in Sweden

The run-up to the 1991 election is an interesting period with regard to changes in the Swedish political landscape. Officially founded barely seven months before the election, the populist New Democracy party nonetheless was expected to win approximately 12 percent of the vote.[222] Because of the party's anti-establishment, anti-immigration focus, it was not really a surprise that the 'established' parties were not in favour of New Democracy entering parliament.

The question first, however, is why New Democracy could (in theory) mobilise such a large portion of the electorate in the first place. As I mentioned in chapter three, Sweden's international image in the late 1980s and early 1990s was still one that was focused on international humanitarianism and a reputation for defending human rights, with relatively open immigration schemes to accompany it, although the restrictive policy discussed in the Lucia Decision sought to change this image to a certain degree.[223] This idea of humanitarianism and a generous immigration system was also reflected in the policy of the Swedish political parties, through a general consensus on the role of Sweden as a refugee-receiving country.[224] With this political climate and historical reputation, New Democracy seemed a political outlier.

Taking a look at the political opportunity structures that enabled its relative success, it could be argued that New Democracy's outsider status also fed its popularity.[225] During the run-ups to the 1991 election, opinion polls suggested that about 61% of the Swedish electorate thought too many immigrants were arriving in Sweden.[226] During this time, both the Social Democrats and the Moderate Party advocated immigration restrictions (as described in chapter three) that could have appealed to this group of voters. However, I would argue that the underlying pro-immigration ideals

[222] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[223] Ibid, p. 13; Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 49-50.
[224] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 60.
[225] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 42.
[226] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 61.

of both parties made them lose their attractiveness towards the group of voters who harboured stricter anti-immigration sentiments, as opposed to the ones in favour of mere immigration restrictions. The explicit anti-immigration stance and anti-immigrant rhetoric that New Democracy took therefore enabled them to carve out a niche for themselves within the political landscape.[227]

Anti-immigration policy, while controversial, is not the only reason that can be given for the rising popularity of New Democracy. As David Art asks: if immigration was the main issue that caused the success of New Democracy, why did no other successful anti-immigration party pop up before the 1990s?[228] Jens Rydgren argues that the party's economic policies, and the intention to for example reduce welfare provisions, fitted a general political and electoral trend towards neoliberal policies from the 1980s onwards.[229] This neoliberal trend meant that the Swedish economy and labour market had changed throughout the 1980s, resulting in increasing unhappiness as jobs in sectors such as the manufacturing industry disappeared.[230] Furthermore, the rise of New Democracy coincided with the Swedish economic crisis of the early 1990s, during which unemployment rapidly rose. Economic protests and debates were not new in Swedish politics, but New Democracy managed to introduce an ethnic dimension to the debate which never had been present in a significant way.[231] In its rhetoric, the Swedish pool of welfare resources was threatened by the arrival of 'economic refugees'.[232] The notion of the 'limited resources of the welfare state' was especially highlighted in the public's imagination between late 1989 and early 1990, when the Social Democratic government had to take quite drastic economic measures to address the developing national economic crisis.[233]

In that sense, the rise of New Democracy fits Will Kymlicka's analysis of changing notions of solidarity under neoliberal pressures, to a certain degree. While he focuses mostly on increasing labour migration as part of globalised neoliberal economies, I would argue that his analysis of 'solidarity without inclusiveness' fits the support that New Democracy managed to quickly gain.[234] The welfare chauvinistic rhetoric of New Democracy emphasised that the welfare state, despite its flaws, was the achievement of the solidarity of the Swedish people, but did not include immigrants in its notion of 'Swedishness'. As Kymlicka also describes, the cultural or ethnic dimension of the 'threat' that immigrants pose is thereby equal to, or even greater than, their economic pressures on the welfare state.[235] Similar concerns had, as I described in the previous chapter, influenced the Danish government's decision to implement a dispersal policy in 1998. The economic drawbacks of dispersal, in the form of fewer possibilities for employment, were compensated by the reduced population density, and therefore perceived cultural threat, of refugee groups within Denmark.

Kymlicka mostly views welfare chauvinism as a form of protest against neoliberalist economic changes,[236] while New Democracy favoured neoliberal economic policies similar to the centre-right

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[227] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 44.
[228] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 13.
[229] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 42-43.
[230] Ibid. p. 45-46.
[231] Ibid. p. 47.
[232] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 61.
[233] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 49.
[234] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 13.
[235] Ibid. p. 11.
[236] Ibid. p. 7-8.

Moderate Party.[237] New Democracy nonetheless managed to combine the two by framing itself as a protest party. Changes in the economy created mistrust amongst part of the electorate.[238] The party managed to channel these feelings against the established parties by focusing on topics like the 'hidden cost of immigration' that the established parties were somehow keeping hidden from the general public.[239] I would thereby argue that New Democracy's introduction of notions of ethnic tensions in the public and political debates allowed them both to set the tone of the debate, and profile themselves as the new anti-establishment party that addressed issues other parties would not. Voting for New Democracy could therefore also contain a certain protest-element.[240]

From an international context, neither this protest dimension, nor neoliberal policies or 'cultural arguments', could really explain the large impact that New Democracy had on Swedish policy in the early 1990s. Denmark, for example, also went through a period of economic globalisation and neoliberalisation, and had a public debate regarding sovereignty over border policy within the European Union.[241] Furthermore, Denmark had its own anti-immigration party, with a strong protest-dimension, in the form of the Progress Party.[242] In fact, that party (though initially predominantly anti-taxation) had existed since the 1970s.

I would therefore also argue that New Democracy's influence stemmed from its 'shock value' when it entered politics. The Danish Progress Party was not a new party anymore in the late 1980s, and drastic immigration-restrictions were discussed within the 'mainstream' Danish parties around this time as well.[243] While they gained about 9 percent of the vote in the 1988 elections, their electoral results had hovered around the 6,5 percent mark throughout the early 1990s. However, as mentioned earlier, within the Swedish political debates, restrictions like those in the Lucia Decision were already deemed somewhat extreme, let alone the proposition of anti-immigration policies. From a political culture perspective, I would therefore argue that New Democracy's rapidly increasing popularity, despite it being outside the 'accepted' range of immigration-restrictiveness, prompted the mainstream parties into knee-jerk reactions to try and mitigate the party's influence. By trying to de-politicise migration in the 1991 election campaigns, or taking a pro-refugee stance and refusing to cooperate with New Democracy, the established parties sought to prevent the party from gaining political legitimacy.[244]

Whether New Democracy was hit with a 'proper' cordon sanitaire during the elections, and the subsequent government term, is up for debate. David Art, for example, argues that (in the opposition) New Democracy's parliamentary votes were still instrumental to the implementation of the government's economic policies, and certain newspapers devoted plenty of articles to the party, as a 'good story'.[245] Other authors argue that New Democracy's access to the media was actually strained, by comparison to other parties.[246] Nevertheless, their degree of media accessibility also fluctuated

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[237] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 43.
[238] Ibid. p. 45.
[239] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 61.
[240] See Rydgren, 'Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties', p. 176-177 regarding the introduction of notions of ethnic tensions.
[241] Olwig & Pærregaard, 'Introduction: "Strangers" in the Nation', p. 14.
[242] Rydgren,'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 488.
[243] Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 117-118.
[244] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[245] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 177.
[246] Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Extreme Right', p. 114.

over time, and the party's founders were already well-known media figures before formally founding New Democracy.[247]

Regardless of the 'properness' of the cordon sanitaire against New Democracy, and the extent of its popularity, I would argue that New Democracy's main influence on the Swedish asylum-policy developments manifested itself through the reaction of the other parties. As Abiri argues, the party's populist anti-immigration message led to the delay of the already planned asylum-restrictions in favour of a continuation of the status quo regarding refugee-acceptance.[248] The 'shock' to the political system that New Democracy caused therefore, in my opinion, led to the continuation of a policy that was the opposite of New Democracy's propositions. While both the Moderate Party and the Social Democrats (the two largest parties) were already in favour immigration-restrictions, the Moderate-led coalition upheld the pro-refugee election promises of their Liberal Party coalition partner. By doing so, the parties could distance themselves from New Democracy. In that sense, New Democracy had a major impact on Swedish policy, though not as they intended. As I described in chapter three, this 'distancing motivation' also meant that the implementation of a more restrictive border policy gained a majority in parliament after New Democracy failed, since there was no anti-immigration party left that the 'mainstream' parties wanted to distance themselves from.

Though the Danish Progress Party also took an anti-immigration stance in political debates, I would argue that they did not have the same apparent influence on the Danish decision-making process as New Democracy, because it did not deviate from the Danish political culture to the same degree. Nor did the party have the same momentum during this period. The Progress Party had lost its novelty-value to a certain degree, as the party was already established in the 1970s. Furthermore, the party, though not mainstream yet, had become 'integrated' into Danish politics throughout the 1980s, as minority right-wing governments depended on its parliamentary votes for certain reforms.[249] As a result, in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the party generally won around 7 percent of the vote. Although less than the 12 percent expected, the fact that New Democracy gained a similar percentage of the vote in 1991 shows the sudden popularity of the party in Sweden, as the Progress Party had to become relatively established to gain a similar electoral success. Also, as David Art shows, while national parties showed little willingness for enduring cooperation with the Progress Party, they did often include the party at a municipal level.[250] The permissiveness of these (primarily right-wing) parties towards the Progress Party's politics would have made a cordon sanitaire impossible.[251] Nonetheless, the party's focus on (hypothetical) ethnic and cultural tensions still often met with criticism in debates.[252]

5.2. The Fall of New Democracy and the Progress Party

Despite the political shock that the establishment of New Democracy caused, the party itself was relatively short-lived, losing all of its parliamentary seats in the 1994 general elections. Art therefore gives it the apt description of a 'flash party'.[253] The Progress Party would not fare much better after dissident members founded the Danish People's Party in 1995. In order to explain the downfall of

[247] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 54-55.
[248] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[249] Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway', p. 23.
[250] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 157.
[251] Ibid, p. 156-157.
[252] See, for example, Folketingstidende 1991-92, FF 10565.
[253] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 175.

these parties, I firstly want to look back at the factors that facilitated them at the beginning of the 1990s.

While New Democracy's economic policy fit in with a general right-wing tendency towards neoliberalism in the late 1980s, the Swedish economic crisis swiftly turned the electorate's favour towards leftist economic policies.[254] As a result of the crisis, the main foci of the 1994 election campaign focused more heavily on economic policy than socio-economic issues like asylum and immigration.[255] While I would have expected immigration issues to become an even greater topic of interest in times of economic crisis, New Democracy could not manage to politicise immigration to any significant extent.[256] Jens Rydgren explains this absence of socio-cultural issues as a return to the 'traditional' socio-economic conflict between the Social Democrats and the centre-right Moderate Party, as 'traditional' issues like the welfare state were usually viewed through those two parties' economic lenses.[257] While immigration briefly became a contentious issue during the 1991 elections, the economic crisis therefore seemed to 'reset' the debates to issues that had already been points of contention for a much longer period.

The changing economic winds, and reduced attention for immigration issues, meant that New Democracy lost a large part of the political opportunity structure that enabled it to mobilise both neoliberal and anti-immigration voters.[258] However, policy mismatches with the electorate were not the largest cause for its decline. New Democracy's rising popularity drew in an increasing number of local sub-parties and inexperienced staff members, but the party's organisation was unable to properly vet everyone, impose a singly policy line, or to keep out right-wing extremists. As a result, both the national party and its local branches suffered from increasing infighting and violent internal debates.[259] This disorder within the party became total when a leadership-struggle broke out in 1994, which led to the party leader's resignation.[260] New Democracy failed to clear the electoral threshold in the 1994 elections and, with a dwindling municipal representation, would not gain any more parliamentary seats before its dissolution in the year 2000.

The impact that parties' organisational structure have on their electoral success also becomes apparent in the case of the Danish Progress Party. In his book, David Art distinguishes three types of activists that might join a political party: extremists, moderates, and opportunists. He thereby argues that extremists usually fail to connect with democratic institutions as they rigidly follow their ideology, while opportunists might have little loyalty to the party and its policy in favour of personal (economic) gains.[261] In terms of their ability to follow a coherent party-wide policy-line and cooperate with other parties in parliament, Art therefore argues that a successful party mostly needs moderate activists and party members.[262]

Since the late 1980s, there had been tensions between the pragmatic (moderate) and extremist elements within the Danish Progress Party. Similarly to New Democracy, the party did not manage to

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[254] Rydgren, 'Sweden: The Scandinavian Exception', p. 138.
[255] Borevi, 'Sweden: The Flagship of Multiculturalism', p. 63.
[256] Christoffer Green-Pedersen & Jesper Krogstrup, 'Immigration as a political issue in Denmark and Sweden', p. 625.
[257] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 76-77.
[258] Ibid. p. 77.
[259] Art, 'Inside the Radical Right', p. 178.
[260] Rydgren, 'Sweden: The Scandinavian Exception', p. 138.
[261] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 32-33.
[262] Ibid. p. 32.

properly vet its candidates, allowing a relatively large percentage of extremists and opportunists to join.[263] Eventually a leadership struggle emerged between the moderate and the extremist factions within the party, which was 'won' by the moderates, but was not beneficial to its image as a 'proper' party to vote on or cooperate with.[264] It has to be said that Pia Kjærsgaard, the (moderate) party leader, did manage to rehabilitate the Progress Party's image, to a certain degree, during the Yugoslavia Crisis. While the party was usually shunned during debates in the early 1990s, they steadily started to cooperate with the Liberal and Conservative parties in the opposition, through for example jointly formulating amendments on immigration-restrictions.[265] During the 1994 election campaigns, the Progress Party even cooperated as a supporting partner with a liberal-conservative coalition (that ultimately lost to the Social Democratic coalition).[266]

However, while the public image of the Progress Party was being rehabilitated, the internal power struggles between its moderate and extremist factions simmered on. In the summer of 1995, these tensions came to a head when Kjærsgaard's moderates split from the Progress Party, taking a third of its representatives with them, and founded the Danish People's Party (*Dansk Folkeparti*).[267] Similarly to the Swedish New Democracy, this infighting appears to have spelt the end for the Progress Party. After the moderates split from the party, the Progress Party quickly lost its electoral support, barely crossing the electoral threshold in the 1998 elections, and as good as completely disappearing after the 2001 ones. Rydgren describes how the immigration-discourse of the Progress Party gradually became more extreme after Kjærsgaard's departure, culminating in a series of controversial statements between 1999 and 2001, like proposing policy to deport all Muslims and using phrases like 'Mohammedan pests'. The Danish People's Party looked moderate in comparison.[268] The extremism of the Progress Party's statements effectively meant that it lost its political legitimacy, while boosting that of the Danish People's Party.[269] Though the party never officially disbanded, and has participated in several local elections since 2001, the Progress Party never had any noteworthy political success again.

5.3. Anti-Immigration Parties after 1995

After New Democracy's electoral defeat in 1994, Swedish politics would not see a viable anti-immigration party for the remainder of the decade. The Sweden Democrats (*Sverigedemokraterne*), who are the established anti-immigration party today, suffered from much the same issues of extremism and poor party organisation throughout the second half of the 1990s.[270] Though it gradually managed to soften its extremist (neo-Nazi) image, the Sweden Democrats would only enter parliament in 2010. The situation was quite different, however, in Denmark, where the Danish People's Party would build upon Kjærsgaard's work for the Progress Party to profile themselves as a legitimate party and coalition partner.

To explain the success of the Danish People's Party, as opposed to its predecessor, it is firstly important to note that Kjærsgaard took her experiences with the Progress Party's instability to heart. While the latter failed to properly vet its candidates, Kjærsgaard implemented an extensive selection

[263] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 153.
[264] Ibid. p. 154.
[265] See, for example, Folketingstidende 1994-95, FF 1825.
[266] Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Parties and the Danish People's Party', p. 24.
[267] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 154.
[268] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 487.
[269] Ibid. p. 487-488.
[270] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 89-90.

process and centralised organisational structure that effectively managed to bar extremists from gaining any noteworthy position within her party.[271] Yet, the culture of infighting that led to the party's foundation never completely went away in the early years.[272] Her promise that the Danish People's Party would follow the same policy as her former party, as well as the Progress Party's increasing radicalisation, enabled the new party to draw in an increasing number of the latter's disgruntled voter base and parliamentary members.[273]

In terms of a clear policy-position, the *Folkeparti* also had a distinct advantage over the Progress Party. The Progress Party started out in the 1970s as an anti-taxation party, and it never completely lost the anarchist image of its early days.[274] Kjærsgaard, however, was able to draw on her work for the Progress Party and managed to establish a strong anti-immigration image from the start.[275] From a policy-perspective, the People's Party also focused much more heavily and exclusively on ethno-nationalist anti-immigration reforms, whereas tax reforms remained one of the key pillars of the Progress Party.[276] In that sense, the image that the party adopted, combining ethno-nationalism and populism, seems inspired by and similar to other (successful) anti-immigration parties in Europe, like the French *Front National*.[277]

With a better image than the Progress Party, and a clear anti-immigration and anti-establishment political profile, the People's Party was able to jump into the niche that their predecessors used to occupy within Danish politics. Though parties like the Liberal Party, as we have seen earlier, also took an asylum-critical position within political debates, the People's Party managed to present itself as an alternative for an electorate that was disgruntled with the established parties.[278] Besides an anti-immigration voter base, the party furthermore established itself as the authoritative anti-EU party and, like New Democracy with neoliberalist voters, also managed to draw in anti-establishment voters that did not necessarily share its socio-cultural views.[279]

As the Danish People's Party was only founded after the 1994 general elections, the first 'real' test of its viability in the eyes of the electorate took place during the 1997 municipal elections. After the votes were counted, the party was the fifth largest party on a municipal (5 percent of the vote) and county (6.5 percent) level.[280] While the party was not universally liked, it managed to deliver several vice-mayors in the process, showing that the People's Party was seen as a possible coalition partner for the established parties on at least a local level.[281] This willingness to cooperate on a local level would gradually turn into increasing cooperation at a national level, culminating in the party's support for a right-wing coalition government after the 2001 national elections.

When New Democracy was hampered in Sweden by an unofficial cordon sanitaire, as mentioned earlier, the two main spheres in which the party was denied a platform, and a degree of political legitimacy, were politics and the media. With regard to the Danish People's Party, neither seemed willing to implement a cordon. As a matter of fact, the media might have played an instrumental role

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[271] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 155-156.
[272] Ibid. p. 155.
[273] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 156; Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 487-488.
[274] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 480.
[275] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 156.
[276] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 480.
[277] Ibid. p. 497.
[278] Ibid. p. 488.
[279] Ibid.
[280] Statistics Denmark, *Statistisk Årbog 2002*, p. 85-86.
[281] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 157.

in mobilising support for the party, especially around the 1997 integration debates, and local elections.

As Lise Togeby shows, the quantity of the debates in newspapers regarding Danish asylum policy was on the decline after the end of the Bosnian Crisis, but issues regarding 'cultural differences' and criminality by immigrants actually received more coverage than earlier.[282] One of the more publicised and influential media campaigns ran in the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet* in 1995. The campaign, with the title 'the price of goodness' (*Godhedens pris*), featured stories of (alleged) welfare state abuses by foreigners.[283]

Since Togeby published her article in 1997, she was not able to include an even larger campaign by *Ekstra Bladet* in that year, which would propel the popularity of the Danish People's Party. Similarly to its 1995 campaign, the newspaper ran a series of stories criticising the Danish 'multicultural' society, and addressed the 'natural hostility' between the 'Danish' and 'foreign' (essentialised) cultures.[284] As I described in the previous chapter, the supposed misuse of welfare resources by immigrant groups was also addressed by the tabloid which linked notions of cultural threat with welfare debates. The campaign was a close collaboration between *Ekstra Bladet* and the Danish People's Party, with members and supporters of the latter supplying the newspaper with articles, interviews, and letters to the editor. The campaign about 'ethnic tensions' within Danish society turned out to be a mutually beneficial undertaking, with an increase in both readers and voters.[285] Art sees the relatively positive reception of this campaign therefore also as a sign that the People's Party, or at least its rhetoric, became acceptable for a larger social group within Danish society.[286]

The collaboration between the Danish People's Party and *Ekstra Bladet* in my opinion follows the broader theoretical literature on the way that populist parties and the media benefit from each other. Eatwell, for example, writes about the use of media outlets for 'framing' purposes, which in this case includes framing the immigration debates through an ethno-nationalist lens.[287] Mazzoleni argues that media outlets, like Ekstra Bladet, might be willing to facilitate such agenda-setting if it provides them with more readers and viewers.[288] The extent to which the People's Party's discourse spread due to its access to the media would become clear during the 2001 general election campaigns, when Pia Kjærsgaard became the second most quoted person on immigration matters in the Danish media.[289]

Rydgren argues that the Danish People's Party's prominence in immigration issues in the late 1990s, and early 2000s, also stemmed from the willingness of other (right-wing) parties, to adopt far-right discourse and policies. He gives the example of the Liberal Party (*Venstre*), which, influenced by the growing popularity of the People's Party, made increasingly unsympathetic remarks about immigration between the integration debate of 1997, and the 2001 general elections.[290] The further politicisation of immigration also gave the Liberal Party an opportunity to criticise the Social

[282] Togeby, 'Er vi ved at vænne "os" til "dem"?: Ændringer i danskernes holdninger til flygtninge og invandrere, 1993-1996', p. 73-74.
[283] Ibid. p. 74.
[284] Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark', p. 99.
[285] Ibid. p. 99-100.
[286] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 157.
[287] Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Right', p. 114.
[288] Mazzoleni, 'Populism and the Media', p. 54.
[289] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 493.
[290] Ibid. p. 493-494.

Democrats, who took a comparatively more generous stance on immigration and asylum matters,[291] as the debates regarding the 1997 integration policy for example also showed.

5.4. Shifts in the Political Culture of 'Mainstream' Parties

In the previous parts of this chapter, I have posited reasons for the varying degrees of success for Danish and Swedish anti-immigration parties. However, continuing from the example of Venstre's gradual turn towards anti-immigration discourse, I would argue that it is important to look at the ways in which these anti-immigration parties have influenced the policy-developments of the 'mainstream' parties as well.

Taking Sweden as a starting point again, the appearance of New Democracy does not seem to have made a lasting impact on the general Swedish political culture, or the general discourse of its political parties. At least not one that persevered after the party disappeared from parliament. Earlier, I already mentioned how the potential popularity of New Democracy caused the right-wing coalition to (initially) maintain Sweden's generous asylum system.[292] But when New Democracy lost the 1994 elections, as I described in chapter three, the Social Democrats continued with the 1991 plans to restrict the Swedish border policy. They thereby received support from the Moderate Party who, in the centre-right coalition, tried to maintain a generous immigration policy, but supported restrictions in 1991. I would therefore argue that, despite New Democracy's influence on the pro-refugee stance of the Swedish (centre-right) government parties, this change was only of a temporary nature.

The electoral victories of the Liberal Party and the other centre-right parties fit into a general economic 'turn to the right' of the Swedish electorate around the late 1980s and early 1990s. After all, the left-wing parties, regardless of their immigration-policy, had their greatest loss yet during the 1991 elections.[293] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the economic crisis seems to have reversed this turn back to the left, leading to the electoral victory of the Social Democrats in the 1994 elections (and the loss of New Democracy).[294] In that sense, economic trends seem to have had a larger impact on the Swedish political culture than its (short-lived) anti-immigration parties during this period. However, part of this return to the 'pre-1991' situation might also have been due to the fact that there was no viable anti-immigration party in Sweden after New Democracy failed, although this absence might have been caused by the economic crisis as well.

The 'turn to the left' during the economic crisis not only deprived New Democracy of its neoliberal niche, but also re-politicised the socio-economic cleavage in which the Social Democrats and the Moderate Party were the traditional choices, while socio-cultural issues were downplayed.[295] Rydgren thereby argues that the relative absence of anti-immigration parties in Sweden was due to the salience of this socio-economic cleavage and de-politicisation of immigration-issues.[296] Since the Moderate Party and the Social Democrats provided enough variety in economic policy,[297] no populist anti-immigration party could use the same political opportunity structure New Democracy had.

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[291] Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Parties and the Danish People's Party', p. 25-26.
[292] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[293] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 43.
[294] Ibid. p. 76-77.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Rydgren, 'Sweden: The Scandinavian Exception', p. 149.
[297] Ibid. p. 144.

The situation in Denmark appears slightly different. As mentioned earlier, one of the most striking developments was the gradual acceptance of the Progress Party (as well as the later Danish People's Party) as a potential political ally for the 'mainstream' right-wing parties. The Progress Party's anti-immigration policies did not deviate that much from the dominant political culture like New Democracy's in Sweden. Anti-immigration was, for example, less of a political taboo, as extensive restrictions to the provisions for immigrants were already discussed by the mainstream parties at the beginning of the 1990s.[298] The relative eagerness, by comparison to Sweden, with which the Danish parliament implemented temporary protection measures during the Bosnian Crisis also points in this direction.

Cooperation with anti-immigration populist parties was not exclusive to Danish parties, as both New Democracy and the Progress Party cooperated with local or parliamentary 'established' parties to a certain degree.[299] However, whereas Sweden did not have a viable anti-immigration party after the collapse of New Democracy, the Danish People's Party managed to build further upon the political legitimacy that (the moderate) Pia Kjærsgaard garnered for the Progress Party. While the degree of cooperation between the centre-right parties and the People's Party diminished during the 1998 election campaign, accepting their possible support during the government formation but refusing to have any official contacts;[300] the degree of indirect influence that the People's Party had on the other party became more apparent during this time as well.

At the same time, as Rydgren argues, the Social Democratic and Liberal socio-economic policies started to drift towards each other, reducing the variance within that cleavage.[301] In contrast to the situation in Sweden, this convergence meant that the socio-cultural cleavage became increasingly politicised as an area in which parties could distinguish themselves from one another.[302] Earlier in this thesis, I already mentioned how the media facilitated the public and political debates regarding socio-cultural issues. The Danish People's Party, with anti-immigration policy as its main pillar, therefore also gained political legitimacy.

Earlier on in this chapter, I already wrote about the adoption of far-right discourse by the Danish Liberal Party from 1998 onwards, influenced by the People's Party's growing popularity. The Social Democratic policies, however, also shifted due to the party's successes. While the Social Democrats, in the early 1990s presented themselves as a relatively pro-refugee party, its policies were increasingly attacked by both the Liberal Party and the Danish People's Party throughout the decade. As the party was losing voters to the People's Party, their stance on immigration became progressively unsympathetic.[303] Whereas the Swedish political parties tried to refute New Democracy's anti-immigration policies, the Danish Social Democrats' reaction was not to defend its humanitarian viewpoints, but to gradually tighten the Danish asylum system.[304] The cultural integrationist turn in the Danish integration policy that I described in the previous chapter would be an example of this. The relative de-politicisation of the Swedish cultural cleavage thereby also provides another reason for the absence of this cultural turn within their integration policy.

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[298] See, for example, Jønsson & Petersen, 'Denmark: A National Welfare State meets the World', p. 118.
[299] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 157; 177.
[300] Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Parties and the Danish People's Party', p. 24.
[301] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 495.
[302] Ibid. p. 495-496.
[303] Ibid. p. 494.
[304] Bjørklund & Andersen, 'Anti-Immigration Parties in Denmark and Norway: The Progress Parties and the Danish People's Party', p. 24.

The Danish People's Party was also aware of the influence that it had on the policy-development of the mainstream parties. During the debates regarding the implementation of the integration policy, Pia Kjærsgaard for example pointed out that it appeared as if the government's turn towards restrictiveness was influenced largely by the "very, very large advances" that the People's Party was making.[305]

After the 1998 elections, which the Social Democrats won by a narrow margin, the cooperation between the Danish People's Party and the centre-right parties would increase again. While the Liberal Party gladly politicised immigration-issues during the 1998 election campaigns, against the wishes of the Social Democrats,[306] the party leader refused to focus on matters related to identity politics. After the party leadership changed due to their narrow election loss, the Liberal Party heavily focused on immigrants and refugees during the 2001 election campaign.[307] At the same time, the party leader published an article in the journal of the Danish People's Party, stating that cooperation between the two parties was desirable in order to achieve political change.[308] They would keep this promise after the 2001 elections, when a Liberal/Conservative coalition won the elections with the official support from the Danish People's Party. As Rydgren argues, the position of the People's Party within the Danish political culture became fully normalised at that point, as their rhetoric and discourse did not differ too much from the other right-wing parties anymore.[309]

5.5. Conclusion

When discussing the differences between the Danish and Swedish asylum policies throughout the 1990s, the differing position of anti-immigration parties within their political spheres should not be overlooked. While none of the Danish or Swedish anti-immigration parties was part of a government coalition before 2001, their influence on the political culture of the 'mainstream' parties also impacted the states' asylum policies. The gradual turn towards restrictiveness in Denmark throughout the 1990s for both the Social Democrats and the Liberal Party is a good example.

With regard to the reasons for the success of anti-immigration parties, the Danish and Swedish examples seem to centre around two main concepts. On the one hand, the parties were dependent on an anti-immigration niche within the political landscape, possibly combined with the reputation of being a 'protest party'.[310] New Democracy thereby also showed that catering to changing economic preferences with the electorate, like increasing neoliberalisation,[311] or the politicisation of socio-economic and socio-cultural cleavages,[312] influences an anti-immigration party's chance of success.

I would furthermore argue that a party's degree of deviation from the general political culture impacts its influence and legitimacy. New Democracy's anti-immigration rhetoric was for example so controversial that it was one of the reasons for the government to maintain a generous refugee

[305] Folketinget Web Archive L59, 26 June 1998, Speech 46.
[306] Ibid. p. 26.
[307] Hervik, 'The Emergence of Neo-Nationalism in Denmark, 1992-2001', p. 101-102.
[308] Rydgren, 'Explaining the Emergence of Radical Right-Wing Populist Parties: The Case of Denmark', p. 496.
[309] Ibid p. 496-497.
[310] Rydgren, *Från Skattemissnöje till Etnisk Nationalism: Högerpopulism och parlementarisk högerextremism i Sverige*, p. 42.
[311] Ibid. p. 42-43.
[312] Ibid. p. 76-77.

system.[313] However, as the Progress Party initially showed, a smaller gap between anti-immigration rhetoric and the political culture prevents the other parties from enforcing a cordon sanitaire. [314]

Furthermore, as Art shows, political legitimacy and party success also depends on the internal organisation and structure of a party.[315] While the Progress Party and New Democracy were both moderately successful, one of the reasons for their eventual failure was the prevalence of extremist elements within their parties, and the inability to form coherent policy. Meanwhile, one of the reasons for the success of the Danish People's Party was its 'moderate' reputation, and willingness to cooperate with other parties.

In terms of political culture, a certain amount of deviance from the general political culture might therefore be beneficial for an anti-immigration party's electoral success, despite possible cordon sanitaires. New Democracy could for example overcome the (debatable) cordon by framing themselves as a protest party. But too great a deviance, through for example the prevalence of extremist factions within a party, can ruin a party's legitimacy in the eyes of both the electorate and other political parties.

The Danish People's Party's rise also fits inside theories regarding populist parties and media-usages. Their cooperation with *Ekstra Bladet* for example fits Eatwell's argument that anti-immigration parties can use media-coverage for framing purposes.[316] This cooperation is mutually beneficial, as the amount of readers and viewers of these media-outlets might also grow.[317]

Ultimately, though, I would argue that the Danish People's Party can really be described as a 'success' because it both managed to present itself as a legitimate political party, and by the willingness of the centre-right parties to cooperate with it and move towards them in terms of their discourse and policies.

[313] Abiri, 'The Changing Praxis of Generosity: Swedish Refugee Policy during the 1990s', p. 18.
[314] Art, *Inside the Radical Right: The Development of Anti-Immigration Parties in Western Europe*, p. 156-157.
[315] Ibid. p. 22.
[316] Eatwell, 'Charisma and the Revival of the European Right', p. 114.
[317] Mazzoleni, 'Populism and the Media', p. 54.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

I began this thesis with a brief description of some of the recent developments regarding the openness of Danish and Swedish asylum policy. I thereby argued that while both states have become more restrictive in recent years, Denmark has become especially so. This comparison between both states was also an integral part of my main question, which focused on trying to answer when, how and why Denmark adopted a harsher asylum policy than Sweden between 1989 and 2001.

When discussing asylum policy, it is firstly important to distinguish between its external and internal elements. In this thesis, those are represented by the chapters on border and integration policy, respectively. While both spheres were often simultaneously influenced by policy changes, the motivations to change them and the degree of restrictiveness present within them often differed. For example, the Swedish border policy was significantly tightened in 1996, while the integration policy of 1997 was comparatively open towards granting immigrants access to Swedish social amenities. In terms of legitimations, changes to both spheres were also framed through different issues. The cultural turn that can be seen within Danish integration policy was, for example, relatively absent from the border policy debates. The distinction between these internal and external elements therefore allows more nuance in an analysis of restrictiveness within asylum policy.

With regard to the 'when' part of my research question, I hypothesised in chapter 2 that the main divergence between Danish and Swedish asylum policy emerged in the second half of the 1990s. My analysis in chapter three confirms this hypothesis. It is important to acknowledge that Denmark and Sweden played different roles during the Cold War and that, before 1989, Sweden already had a significantly more permissive refugee policy, although Denmark also maintained a relatively generous refugee policy. Nevertheless, chapter 3 showed that there were more similarities than differences to be found in both countries' policies during the early 1990s, which makes Denmark's turn towards restrictiveness in the second half of the 1990s more notable.

While both countries differed slightly in relation to border issues like temporary asylum, the main differences between the Danish and Swedish openness towards refugees can be found in their respective integration policies during this period. The degree to which immigrants were singled out as a specifically problematic group within society heavily differed between the two countries. Influenced by the economic crisis of the early 1990s, both states placed greater emphasis on a workline element within their respective welfare states. However, when comparing the Swedish Integration policy of 1997 and the Danish one of 1998, the Danish one took a decidedly heavier cultural integrationist and restrictive turn. Under the 'rights and duties' in relation to the Danish workline, 'becoming Danish' became a duty, as it was framed as a way to facilitate migrants' entry onto the labour market.

With regard to how the Danish asylum system became more restrictive, I looked at Borevi's model of a Swedish 'state-centred' integration approach versus the Danish 'society-centred' one to explain the divergence in both countries' integration policy towards asylum seekers and refugees.[318] As hypothesised in chapter 2, the Danish restrictiveness manifested itself through a focus on cultural integration. The Danish policy's focus on becoming Danish, in combination with its emphasis on the workline, fits with Borevi's focus on integration as a way to combat threats to the welfare state. However, contrary to my hypothesis, I would argue that different conceptions of the welfare state alone do not fully explain the differences between the Danish and Swedish asylum approach between 1989 and 2001. For example, the turn towards cultural integration in Denmark was carried

[318] Borevi, 'Diversity and Solidarity in Denmark and Sweden', p. 377-378.

out by the same Social Democratic party that, earlier in this period, advocated a relatively open stance towards refugees.

To explain the different degrees of restrictiveness in Danish and Swedish policy, I therefore argue that the varying degrees of success that anti-immigration parties had in both countries are also important factors to consider, besides the earlier mentioned differences in integration philosophy. Apart from economic pressures, the Danish turn towards cultural integration could also be linked to the political 'pressure' that was caused by the increasing electoral success of national anti-immigration parties. As the example of the Danish People's Party shows, a party thereby does not necessarily need to be part of the ruling coalition to influence a government's policy towards restrictiveness.

Differences in political culture and national identity help explain both the differences in anti-immigration success in both countries, and the varying degrees of restrictiveness present in their asylum policy. The self-image of Sweden as a 'humanitarian country', and the political consensus for a (relatively) pro-immigration stance were, for example, both reflected in the permissive asylum policy and the relative failure of anti-immigration parties in Sweden.

It is thereby also important to view the Danish and Swedish asylum policy through a discursive or 'spectacle' lens. The degree of restrictiveness was used to appease groups within the Danish and Swedish societies. Both turns towards openness, like the Swedish one in 1991, or restrictiveness, like the Danish cultural integration policy, thereby served to convey political discourse. The call for burden-sharing after the border restrictions during the Bosnian Crisis also shows that national policy can be used to influence international decision-making processes.

Returning to my main question, I would argue that two main dimensions are important when discussing the reasons behind changes to Danish and Swedish asylum policy: economic (welfare) considerations and political culture. The developments within Danish and Swedish asylum policy during this period show that a multi-dimensional approach is necessary to explain the reasons behind policy changes. For example, the relatively large impact that the economic crisis of the early 1990s had on the Swedish unemployment rates could have provided a legitimation for border-restrictiveness or the implementation of more restrictive integration policy. Measures like those in the 'Lucia Decision' were, after all, mostly reactions to (expected) questions of limited economic resources. Instead, political reasons like New Democracy's breaking of taboos delayed these restrictions until 1996, when the crisis was nearing its end. Furthermore, political self-images like the reputation of humanitarianism heavily impacted the (Swedish) debates regarding the implementation of temporary asylum measures. The above examples therefore show that economic downturns do not necessarily immediately correlate to asylum restrictiveness, but that political culture is also a deciding factor in changes to countries' policy.

The turn towards restrictiveness in Danish integration policy appears to follow Kymlicka's model of neoliberal pressures on welfare solidarity. The welfare chauvinist rhetoric of anti-immigration parties and their (temporary) electoral success, could in both countries be placed within his category of increasing 'solidarity without inclusivity'.[319] The different impact of populist policy within both states, however, shows that neoliberal pressures do not necessarily automatically equate to tensions within immigration debates, or to increasing popularity of anti-immigration parties. For example, the Swedish Moderate Party advocated neoliberal economic policies that were quite similar to New Democracy's in 1991, but actually followed a relatively pro-refugee stance due to their political

[319] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 13.

cooperation with pro-refugee parties. Furthermore, I would argue that the Social Democratic attempts in 1997 to re-work Swedish national identity to also include foreigners, even though neoliberal foci on individualism were present in their integration policy, came close to what Kymlicka describes as 'inclusive solidarity'. While Kymlicka posits the concept as relatively hypothetical, his premise of an inclusive solidarity through a multicultural welfare state, in my opinion, bears a certain resemblance to these inclusive intentions of the Swedish government.[320] Since Kymlicka draws heavily on the Anglosphere countries to test his model, the Swedish case shows that a broader perspective might be needed to construct a more comprehensive model on the relation between neoliberal pressures and the implementation of welfare chauvinistic policy.

The economic crisis politicised the socio-economic cleavage within Swedish politics, while downplaying the socio-cultural one. Protests against neoliberalism, which could take the form of welfare chauvinism, were thereby also thrust back into the 'traditional' economic debates between the two main Swedish parties. The relatively low variance between the Danish parties' socio-economic policies, on the other hand, could be seen as contributing to the increasing politicisation of the Danish socio-cultural cleavage during this period, which coincided with a turn towards restrictiveness. I would therefore argue that there is a correlation between neoliberalism and asylum restrictiveness, but that this is heavily influenced by the political culture of a society; specifically, the degree of politicisation of its socio-cultural and economic cleavages.

Throughout this thesis, I have focused predominantly on a national level of policy-making, with regard to Danish and Swedish asylum developments. I have thereby tried to describe the influence of international actors and events when relevant, like the UNHCR's advice and broader Scandinavian multi-lateral arrangements. However, this focus meant that I could not make a full analysis of the influence that the local, municipal level of governance had on the development and implementation of national asylum policy, though I have mentioned the influence of these local actors on national politics when possible, for example, through their presence in the media. I thereby described how local parties often had different opinions regarding the placement and integration of refugees than their national counterparts. As hopefully became clear in this thesis, the interplay between different levels of governance has had a significant influence on the decisions that were being made on the national policy-making levels in Denmark and Sweden.

For future research, I would therefore suggest that it would be interesting to look at the differences regarding openness towards refugees in the discourse of local and national political parties. If possible, an analysis of internal party discussions would in my opinion provide interesting insights into the decision-making and policy-development processes of ruling parties. I would thereby argue that this interplay between local and national parties is a relatively under-researched topic within the field of Scandinavian migration history.

Lastly, I started this thesis with a brief description of the Danish and Swedish responses to the recent 'Syrian Refugee Crisis'. Though this thesis only covered the period between 1989 and 2001, I think it would be interesting for future research to see how the divergence between Danish and Swedish asylum policy developed after 2001. In terms of political culture, the relative success of the Sweden Democrats, for example, and the re-politicisation of asylum policy as a result of the recent crisis form a contrast to the Swedish situation before 2001 that I described above. A similar study as this one would, in my opinion, provide interesting insights into the recent developments in Scandinavian asylum policy.

[320] Kymlicka, 'Solidarity in Diverse Societies: beyond neoliberal multiculturalism and welfare chauvinism', p. 8.

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