



Master Thesis Public Administration | International & European Governance Track

WELFARE STATE-IMMIGRATION NEXUS

Do larger welfare states have more restrictive immigration policies? A
functionalist and discursive institutionalist approach

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Chapter 1- Introduction

The recent surge in international immigration and the resulting demographic changes are inciting interest in the relationship between immigration and social policies concerning the welfare state (Gal, 2008). In several welfare states, immigrants are considered to be less deserving of welfare benefits and services in comparison to members belonging to other social groups. According to a 2015 Eurobarometer survey, public opinion views immigration to be the most crucial problem that the European Union (EU) faces (European Commission , 2015). As a result of this, immigration is considered as being a crucial determinant in the rise of negative public opinion towards aspect of the welfare state, especially aspects regarded as universal in that they are of an attractive quality to immigrants. 51% of the respondents of a 2009 EU barometer survey believed immigrants gained more from welfare benefits than they contributed through taxes (European Commission, 2009). Furthermore, objections have continued to rise in regard to calls for state demands to fund welfare service programs through taxation. Regardless of the absence of an unequivocal evidence, alarm has been raised over the excessive use of social welfare services by immigrants and has created the implication that such excessive usage places a burden on native taxpayers (Strang, 2008). On the other hand, some researchers (Hemerijck, 2013; Drabing , Hemerijck, Vis, Nelson, & Soentken, 2013; Eichhorst & Hemerijck, 2010) perceive immigration to be a feasible solution to the decline in birth rates and the increasing growth of elderly populations, as well as dependent populations in advanced capitalist states.

Furthermore, the increased surge in refugees since 2013 into Europe has become forefront on the political agenda and poses a large crisis in the face of the EU. Even with the presence of EU directives on handling the issue, varying differences still exists among countries as to how

best to handle the inflow of refugees. Countries such as the United Kingdom (UK) and Denmark responded to the large inflow by enacting restrictive immigration (asylum) policies, whereas other countries like Italy and Sweden demanded for solutions that entailed burden sharing and an EU wide solution to the problem. The Common European Asylum System (CEAS) was drawn up as a result of this and to ensure that the needs of these refugees were met. Nevertheless, it is pertinent to understand the driving force behind enacting restrictive immigration policies. Does concern for the longevity and sustainability of the welfare state and its institutions lead policymakers to implement stricter immigration policies?

Existing literature has mainly focused on an individual-level relationship in terms of the extent to which immigration influences preference for redistribution and social welfare among voters (Burgoon, Koster, & Egmond, 2012; Brady & Finnigan, 2013; Burgoon, 2014). On the other hand, a few researchers (Swank & Betz, 2003) have sought to explore how welfare protection can direct preferences about immigration, however this has remained on the individual level with regards to factors that influence voting behaviour in leaning to the spectrum of right-wing parties. Furthermore, existing studies (Borevi, 2014) have attempted to assess the effect of varying economic variables that influences migration, of which includes explanatory variables from both the destination and source countries. Nevertheless, little research remains at the policy level as to how welfare state institutions control immigration related policies over time and in different countries. This is primarily owing to the lack of quality and well-grounded indices that measure the restrictiveness of immigration policies (Bjerre, Helbling, Romer, & Zobel, 2014).

This research is therefore going to be a pioneer in methodically using a comparative approach to examine the relationship between welfare generosity in regard to the provision of loans and

housing and medical benefits on one hand, and the level of restrictiveness of immigration policy on the other in Sweden and the United Kingdom (UK) over an extended time period. This will be done using qualitative and critical discourse analysis to measure the restrictiveness of immigration policies in the two countries across time. The principle objective of this research is to determine by focusing on Sweden and the UK whether there is a relationship between having a more generous welfare state and the likelihood of adopting a set of restrictive immigration policies. The central research question therefore is:

Do larger welfare states have more restrictive immigration policies? Does the welfare structure in the UK and Sweden lead their respective policymakers to adopt more restrictive or less restrictive immigration policies?

The theoretical basis for this research is that concerns about the welfare state can be a factor guiding the motivations of policy makers when it comes to restricting immigration. The underlying notion then is that if a welfare state is generous in terms of its spending on welfare services and accrual of benefits, then it attracts more migrants and the potential costs of immigration becomes high which may lead to the restriction of immigration flows on the part of policymakers. Conversely, the potential costs of immigration diminishes in a less generous welfare state and thereby decreasing the incentives to restrict immigration.

1.1 Why Sweden and the United Kingdom?

The UK and Sweden present an interesting case in uncovering the underlying causal mechanism that may exist between welfare state generosity and immigration policy restrictiveness, especially in light of the recent and ongoing European migrant crisis. The UK has a relatively skimpy set of welfare services and is also characterised as having restrictive

immigration laws; conversely, it appears that Sweden has taken a significant number of immigrants (refugees inclusive) while having a relatively generous welfare state. However, as Sweden has seen a dramatic rise in refugees, there has been more pressure on the welfare state and thus a large call for a decrease in immigration. The UK has had more of a steady simmering and has therefore not seen such a surge. Therefore, such differences present an opportunity to focus on the possibility of how changes have affected outcomes.

These countries are often cited as being representative of the models of European welfare states. In general, the United Kingdom is characterised as a residual state that has a *laissez-faire* approach, largely deregulated and flexible market place and social programmes that place an emphasis on alleviating poverty (Clasen , 2005, p. 4). Contrasting with this, Sweden is portrayed as having a welfare system that is based on the notion that everyone has a right to social benefits such as family services, support for the unemployed and health care, amongst other benefit programs notwithstanding their income (Schall, 2016); this welfare system was in essence developed to meet all contingencies.

Additionally, when looking at baseline diversity in these countries at the inception of their individual welfare states and crossing it with current baseline diversity, certain elements become apparent. Between 1945 and 1975 when Sweden began to expand its welfare state, the country was largely homogenous, whereas the development of the British welfare state in the 1940s coincided with changes in its demographic profile. As such, the discourses that prevailed and were perpetuated by the elites to the domain of the masses can provide tangible insight into the relationship between the social welfare system and the level of restrictiveness of immigration policies either at entry level or once within the country. Sweden is still fairly homogenous, but the influx of asylum seekers and refugees have increased diversity

dramatically. The UK has not experienced such a dramatic change and it is therefore a phenomenon worth entangling to discover the tendency and extent to which welfare state concerns brings about the tightening of immigration policies. Still focusing on the idea of baseline diversity and demographic profile, Merrill-Glover (2012), argues that the way narratives of identity, nationality and welfare are built into political discourses influences the interplay between domestic welfare provision and immigration. As such, it is important to understand if such processes are at play in the case of the UK or Sweden and how such framing guides policymakers in their shaping of immigration policies regarding entry and beneficiaries of social services. Thence, this would contribute to enriching existing knowledge of the welfare state.

Moving further, this research is informed by existing influential literature (Tichenor, 2002; Alesina & Glaeser, 2004) that have focused on the impact of immigration on welfare and redistribution preferences on the micro level. Citizens accept redistribution when the state ensures that their taxes and payroll contributions will be received by those they regard as being legitimate recipients. According to Brady and Finnigan (2014) who followed in the footsteps of Alesina and Glaeser (2004), ethnic boundaries may be a crucial factor in determining such parameters of deservingness. Citizens may be disinclined to redistribute through social mechanisms of taxation, public services, welfare etc. if they think such redistributions mainly benefit migrants or those belonging to another ethnic background. Further echoed by Habyarimana, Humphreys, Posner and Weinstein (2007), ethnic differences undermine people's eagerness to invest in public goods. Therefore, as welfare programs expand in generosity, policymakers may have the incentive to restrict immigration. This rationale has become influential in explaining why the US being a traditional country of immigration has a low level of generosity in regard to welfare. The UK's welfare state is not extensively

developed, and it shows a significant level of ethnic heterogeneity. Whereas with Sweden, an extensive welfare state is prevalent with high ethnic homogeneity in the early beginnings of its welfare state (Drabing et al., 2013). The argument that the structure of the welfare state may influence the decisions that policymakers make is therefore worth exploring with an in-depth analysis focusing on two countries.

1.2 Research Purpose

1.2.1 Theoretical Relevance

This research will primarily be driven by functionalist theory and the theory of discursive institutionalism as they are best suited for investigating the effect of the size of a welfare state in terms of benefits and programs on the British and Swedish immigration policies. In the case of Sweden and the UK, I aim to uncover whether and how the welfare state became a factor in the structuring of the respective immigration policies. Whether or not the decision of policy makers to enact restrictive immigration policies is considered to be good or bad is not the focus here, but instead, the intrigue is in uncovering why concerns for the welfare state could be reflected in immigration policy output. Numerous studies have focused on the relationship between immigration and the welfare state; in terms of how immigration hinders support for policies of redistribution and increase opposition towards immigrants' social rights (BRENAU 2017), however, only a handful of research have sought to consider the possibility of an inverse relationship of these variables.

Therefore, the framing of the welfare state given extrinsic factors is important because by tracing this process, the way through which British and Swedish policymakers set the framework for immigration policy becomes visible. The use of discursive institutionalism is relevant as it allows for the use of a historical approach in witnessing and explaining the process of the emergence of certain narratives associated to the welfare state and its preservation. In

this regard, the starting point of this research begins in 1945 with the establishment of welfare institutions in the UK and Sweden; understanding the national context during this time period is therefore a crucial step in piecing together the relationship of the rate at which the level of the extensiveness of a welfare state may come to have a bearing on immigration policies or policies that direct the dispersion of welfare services to immigrants..

Furthermore, in addition to the abovementioned theory, the rationale of functionalism becomes pertinent to this research as it shows that the welfare state can be regarded as a societal equilibrium for which if something occurs that disrupts the flow and sustenance of the system- in this case, increase in migration flow- the need arises to adjust in order to achieve a state whereby everyone can benefit from (Hwang, 2017). As such this theory lends an explanatory hand to questions relating to welfare states at large and not just the ones pertaining to either the UK or Sweden because findings from this research can be adapted to other scenarios and serve as an informed basis to which further work can be done.

Understanding the reasoning behind the establishment of the welfare state in these countries is instrumental in identifying under what conditions welfare provisions may influence economic and social outcomes. By identifying the *raison d'être* of these welfare states, it then becomes possible to infer the difference in the level of immigration policy restrictiveness that can be expected from a social democratic welfare regime (Scandinavian model) and a liberal welfare state system. This will therefore be of added value to the field of comparative welfare state analysis. By studying the dynamics of two countries, I mitigate the risk of overlooking and as an extension, underplaying important international developments that may have an impact on domestic processes. Questions of immigration that relate back to the welfare state transcends borders and it is thus myopic to disregard the larger context of the welfare state-immigration

paradigm. Therefore, by using theories of institutionalism and functionalism, it allows for the possibility of theoretical innovation. I employ the rationale of these theories because they are complementary to each other for the purpose of this research and highlight novel perspectives. The literature on comparative welfare state has traditionally focused on economic bottom-up pressures (Yeates, 2001), thereby limiting perspectives that advocate other dynamic processes. Institutionalism moves the readers away from traditional views of a two-tiered model of welfarism and emphasizes the nested nature of mutually constitutive actors (Schmidt, 2008). By introducing welfare extensiveness via an institutionalist and functionalist approach into the theorisation of how the welfare state may be a determinant in the outcome of immigration policies, the changing perceptions of actors and institutional frameworks is then included to what could otherwise be a vapid analysis of the Swedish and British immigration policy without due diligence paid to wider developments.

1.2.2 Societal Relevance

The societal relevance of this research stems from the reality that the welfare state lies in the heart of community life. It creates an essential political relationship that is shared and shaped by power dynamics between capital and labour and the distribution of wealth within a given society (Bosch, Lehdorff, & Rubery, 2009). This research will therefore help to have a better understanding of the mechanism behind changes with respect to the restrictiveness of immigration policies vis-à-vis the welfare state, while heeding to domestic subtleties and differing narratives of the UK and Sweden.

This line of research provides the opportunity to gain a greater level of understanding into the internal dynamics of the British and Swedish political, economic and social system within the context of the structure of the welfare state. During the period of 1997-2007, the UK

experienced its largest immigration flow in the aftermath of the A8 countries ascension in 2004 and also saw the introduction of five new immigration policies (Boswell, 2008; Consterdine & Hampshire, 2014). Sweden began to introduce major changes in its immigration laws from 2013 following the massive influx of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa. Fast forwarding to present day, the social relevance of this is apparent when looking through newspaper headlines.

At the time of this writing, the European Union (EU) is challenged with a migrant crisis with an estimate of 25,000 refugees and asylum seekers arriving at its borders via land and sea monthly (UNHCR, 2016). The Southern EU countries of Greece and Italy have taken in the largest number of arrivals by boat and are demanding for support from other EU countries. Amongst EU member states, there is a general atmosphere of non-cooperation in taking a joint effort to take responsibility of these refugees. Member states such as Poland and Hungary have rejected the mandatory migrant quotas (Traynor, 2015). Given all these, the practical relevance of this research is glaring. The knowledge from this research can then be applied to other welfare state scenarios.

Everything considered, this thesis is situated within the locus of current discourse on comparative welfare state study through the connection of literature on immigration policy. It aims to identify whether larger welfare states have more restrictive immigration policies by focusing on domestic processes at the time of welfare institution set-up, narratives and most importantly, welfare density. For the purpose of this research, the fields covered under immigration policy includes labour migration, asylum/refugees and family reunification. These factors are chosen because they occupy a key position in the larger context of welfare state systems that might be overlooked. It will be argued that when a welfare state provides

extensive welfare services and programs, there is the tendency to have more restrictive immigration policies as this ensures that a form of control is exerted in maintaining welfare institutions; also, narratives of the welfare state feeds into this process which directs policy outcome. Citing the need for more empirical research to shed light on the relationship between welfare state density and immigration policy, this research therefore endeavours to make a contribution to empirical analysis on the question of welfare state density using the praxis of Sweden and the UK and analysing changes that have occurred in the respective immigration policy over time.

Given the aforementioned, the thesis is structured as follows. After the introduction, the next chapter will proceed with an overview of existing literature -that situates this research and its added value- and theoretical framework that examines various arguments that link different welfare systems and how they may influence immigration policies. The theories of functionalism and institutionalism would be explicated upon, for which the hypotheses guiding this analysis will be formulated to fit the context of the UK and Sweden; also, alternative approaches and the rationale they entail will be considered and briefly elaborated on so as to have a well-rounded basis for this research topic. This will then be followed by an outline on methods and how data will be gathered for both countries and analysed in a systematic format. Key concepts such as immigration policy restrictiveness or openness will be conceptualised and justification for the research method chose will be provided. Afterwards, the findings and analysis will ensue. I then conclude with a brief discussion of the results and the broader implications they may have and also outline possible trajectories for future research.

Chapter 2- Theory

2.1 Theoretical Background

The analytical framework for this research builds upon knowledge from comparative research on welfare states and the increasing literature on international migration. Initial scholarship theorised important distinctions in social provision across different countries by developing models of welfare state typologies and social policy (Sainsbury, 2006). Based on these, it is expected that the type of welfare state would not only affect immigrants' social rights but also immigration policies. One of the most influential contribution in this field is Esping-Andersen's welfare regime typology (Sainsbury, 2006). His typology has served as a point of departure in most comparative welfare studies in regard to the four dimensions of variation he evaluates. However, this welfare typology has been complemented by international migration researchers with the idea of immigration policy regime and the form of immigration so as to analyse the distinctive circumstances of immigrants. Albeit, it should be noted that existing literature have generally addressed the topic of welfare state generosity being a magnet for migrants; this is also regarded as the welfare migration phenomenon (Razin, Suwankiri, & Sadka, 2011, p. 19).

Using data gathered from the United States (U.S), Southwick (1981) highlighted that the large welfare benefit gap between the regions of origin and destination in the U.S. created an upsurge in the share of welfare benefit recipients in the migrant community. Gramlich and Laren (1984) having analysed a sample from the U.S. census of 1980 concluded that the regions that provided higher welfare benefits magnetized higher number of welfare recipient migrants, in comparison to regions that offered lower benefits. With the same data, but using a multinomial logit model, Blank (1988) showed that welfare benefits have a significant effect on the choice of relocation of female-headed households. In naming a few, all these studies go to show the

unidirectionality of research when considering the relationship between immigration and the welfare state. By overlooking the significance of the welfare state itself in relation to immigration policy output, a research gap has been created that hinders a holistic understanding of comparative welfare state study.

As mentioned earlier, directionality has mainly been geared towards the effect of immigrants (or asylum seekers) on the welfare state and not looking at the relationship the other way round. In their analysis of post-war immigration politics from the frame of reference of the Scandinavian welfare states, Brochmann and Hagelund (2012) acknowledged this about the relationship between these two variables. On one hand, the welfare state offers meaningful premises as to the type of immigration policies that can be developed and at the same time, welfare policy may have significant consequences in the everyday lives of migrants; alternatively, the actions of migrants can be an influencing factor on the welfare state because they consume and produce welfare goods (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 2).

Albeit given recent linkage between welfare state and immigration policy, the exact nature of this relationship is yet to be made clear in current literature; two mutually exclusive perspectives exist on this. One perspective argues that social democracy leads to a conclusive and open set of immigration policy whereas another argues that liberalism leads to a conclusive and open immigration policy (Brennenstuhl, Quesnel-Vallee, & McDonough, 2012). Even with the novelty in this approach, the debate here is largely based on welfare state type -either liberal or social democratic in nature- and the implication of this for immigration and asylum policies with the conclusion that a social-democratic welfare state is more generous in terms of welfare services and benefits and more open with regards to immigration when compared to a liberal welfare state (Brennenstuhl et al., 2012). Yet, there has been no direct mention of the

levels of generosity of welfare services and restrictiveness of immigration policy. It therefore goes without saying that a recurring assumption in the literature of international migration is that immigration poses a threat to generous welfare states. In so far as welfare regime variations go, significant attention has been made.

In moving forward, I attempt to fill the research gap by examining the level of generosity of a welfare state through the consideration of services and welfare benefits and how this may pattern immigration policy (asylum policy inclusive) in the UK and Sweden.

2.2 Welfare State and Immigration

2.2.1 Functionalist Approach

A functionalist explanatory approach to the generosity of a welfare state and the level of restrictiveness or openness of its immigration policy cites a process of the simultaneous creation of welfarism and through its growth, the need to feed and maintain the structure (Rimlinger, 1971; Wilensky, 1975; Kaufmann, 2013) in order to ensure that services are provided to the relevant parties. Welfare regimes are established and over time developed with the purpose of being able to promote and protect the economic and social well-being of citizens, and as such, it is imperative to fulfil such *raison d'être*.

H₁: It is expected that the UK and Sweden will limit immigration and enact stringent immigration policies so as to be able to efficiently provide welfare benefits and services to those already within the country

From this perspective, domestic processes in the form of historical circumstances and political conditions within these countries will only come to play a subordinate role in explaining the

underlying mechanism of welfare state generosity and how it may or may not yield in the need to enact immigration policies that are restrictive in either allowing for the entrance of migrants or limiting the benefits made available to them or eligibility requirements to benefits. Furthermore, Friedman (1977) asserts that political authorities may have the incentive to protect their welfare state by restricting immigration when states have generous welfare programs that are regarded as being of an attractive quality to migrants who reap the benefits without necessarily having to pay the cost. Such attractive benefits would lead to an increase in migrants, but even though everyone mutually benefits, in the long run, this therefore means that the benefits provided by a state would need to be minimized in order to ensure that there is at least something left to go around. Following this line of reasoning, a second hypothesis can be formulated along the line of reasoning that:

H₂: The larger the welfare benefits, programs and services of a state are, the more restrictive its immigration policies will be

This line of reasoning is also shared by Hero and Preuhs (2007) in their analysis of the evolving welfare state of the United States in which they concluded that the open migration policy of the U.S. had to be discontinued because of the emergence of its welfare state. Through the analysis of state policies pertaining to welfare reforms, the conclusion was drawn which suggested that the states' decision concerning inclusion inadvertently affects benefit levels.

In addition to this functional understanding, Freeman (1986) made a claim about the incompatibility of the logic of closure of the welfare state, with the logic of openness that serves as a basis for international migration. The notion of redistribution which is embedded within a welfare regime creates an atmosphere whereby a demarcation exists between the group who

contributes to the welfare state system and the group that benefits from such a system. Therefore, a state characterised with an extensive welfare structure and provides generous entitlements and benefits will attract a large pool of benefactor, whereas, the population that contributes, shrinks. Given this rationale, Freeman (1986) argued that the openness of migration is detrimental to the longevity of a welfare state structure. In linking this concept on welfare sustenance to the context of Sweden, the premise then is that because of Sweden's vast social spending and welfare services especially as regarding asylum seekers, this opens up the opportunity to an influx of migrants; in order for policymakers to sustain the Swedish welfare model, this requires the allocation of restrictions in the form of immigration policies and eligibility rules that will allow for the continuance of already established welfare benefits and services. Applying this same premise to the case of the UK, it should be expected that since the welfare services and programs provided by the British authority is not as extensive as that of Sweden then immigration policy should be open. However, this does not entirely seem to be the case and that is where another theory comes into play which will be elaborated upon, shortly. Nevertheless, this approach in establishing a link between the independent and outcome variables of this research emphasizes the potential financial burden that immigration may come to bear on redistribution and the welfare state as being a reason for why policymakers may be inclined to restrict migratory flows.

Even though not given high priority in the functionalist thought, the political effects of immigration on preferences for redistribution is worth considering. Alesina and Glaeser (2004) argues that ethnic diversity and immigration can undermine support for welfare programs because citizens prefer to transfer resources to individuals with whom they can share a sense of identity. Thence, this suggests that an increase in immigration would bring about a declined support for welfare and redistribution (Brady & Finnigan, 2013; Schmidt-Catran & Spies,

2016). If we assume that politicians have an interest in maintaining public budgets then it can be expected that as the welfare state grows, they would restrict immigration so as to maintain an equilibrium on social spending. Since Sweden is characterised as being ethnically homogenous and its welfare system established in a context of homogeneity in creating a vision of the ‘people’s home’, then political authorities and labour unions can garner support and acceptance for the welfare services that was proposed by the Swedish Social Democratic Party (SDP). There is a guarantee that the citizens’ taxes and contributions would go to recipients that they find to be legitimate (Alesina & Glaeser, 2004). However, it will be interesting to apply this rationale to the period of the recent EU refugee crisis in order to examine if there would be any changes given the massive influx of refugee to the Swedish border. Such juxtaposition would be instrumental in assessing how notions of diversity and bureaucratic interest seeps into structuring immigration policies. On the other hand, with the UK, the development of the welfare state coincided with migration influx from the commonwealth countries and following Alesina and Glaeser’s (2004) premise, such ethnic diversity would either hamper on support for welfare generosity and social spending or lead to the creation of a specific ethnic identity that is deemed befitting of the welfare programmes offered by the state so as to permissible by the general populace. With both countries, what we see is different ethnic/identity underpinnings that give rise to the welfare state and it would then be interesting what further analysis would uncover in regard to the effect of such on immigration policies.

2.2.2 Discursive Institutionalism

To the best of my knowledge, discursive institutionalism (DI) is yet to be applied as an explanatory tool in how the level of generosity of a welfare state can be a structuring factor for immigration policy output. As such, it is useful to briefly discuss this theory and how it will be adapted to the objective of this research. Ideas and discourse set within an institutional context

is at the very heart of understanding what this approach entails and as such encompasses both the substantive content of ideas, as well as the interactive processes through which these ideas are conveyed (Schmidt, 2008). Ideas can be regarded as narratives that structure the understandings of an event; as strategic constructions that enable the reconstruction of visions of the world (Jobert, 1989; Muller, 1995; Blyth, 2002); as collective memories (Rothstein , 2005); and as policy cores that give prescriptive set of actions (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). This approach with its ideational power argues that change is not static but rather dynamic through ideas and discursive interaction of sentient agents who have background ideational and foreground discursive abilities that enables them to speak, think and act outside of institutional constraints, deliberate about rules and persuade each other to either maintain those institutions or change them (Campbell, 2004, pp. 93-95).

In investigating welfare generosity and restrictiveness of immigration policy, DI becomes relevant when focusing on the constitutive feedback effect of welfarism and domestic socio-political discourse; policymakers' comprehension of immigration policy is moulded by the structure of the welfare state which in turn influences their decisions. The institution of the welfare state should not be considered merely as an entity that constrains the policy choices of decisions makers; it not only provides the fundamental "rules of the game" (Risse, 2004, p. 163), but also shapes how actors define their identities and interests. Therefore, it is erroneous to conceive of the welfare state as being external to the actors within. As such, in accordance with DI, the properties- incentives towards a set of policies- of social agents cannot be identified without referring to the narratives and ideas propagated about the particular social institutions they are embedded in (in this case, the welfare state).

The perception of the welfare state is constructed through coordinative and communicative discourses and ideas which becomes valid when actors regard it as so. For example, a narrative of the welfare state constructed along the lines of identity as regarding welfare entitlements may influence a policymaker's decision in the kind of immigration policies to formulate; or even the eligibility requirements to formulate in the name of adhering to the *raison d'être* of the welfare state. This perception made possible through the ideational construct then informs the kind of policy that is created; either creating a set of rather open immigration policy or restrictive immigration policy. This premise is further iterated by Boswell and Hampshire (2016) who argue that strategically selecting discursive representations can “modify existing public philosophy and programme ideas” (Boswell & Hampshire, 2016), which then influences policy output. This can then be applied to the context of the UK and Sweden in the initial stages of the development of their welfare states and presently as this will enable the ascertaining of certain occurrences that may have led to the creation of new welfare state discourses and how these have then influenced the inclinations of policymakers as regarding immigration policies.

Narratives, shared beliefs and ideas are deeply embedded within welfare institutions (Risse, 2004) and a policy area like immigration serves as a platform where such narrative is made manifest. With the establishment of the British welfare state from 1945 onward, certain narratives became dominant in regard to the way the welfare state and its institutions came to be conceived of. These narratives coupled with the demographic composition further solidified the perception of the welfare state and those who were entitled to its benefits and services. On the other hand, in Sweden, the establishment of the welfare state can be regarded as an integration project with the aim of promoting solidarity and national cohesion. Therefore, looking at what underlies the Swedish welfare, it is possible to recognise discourses and ideas regarding the organisation of the actual distribution of resources with the intent to advance the

object of solidarity. Unlike the United Kingdom, the ethnic/identity component of welfare benefits and services in Sweden was defined in an exceptionally vague way.

Taking into account that a universal welfare model implies that the entire population is included in the right to receive support from the state and that communicative discourses propagated about such a narrative led to the acceptance of the idea that the welfare of all is a common concern, then an assumption can be stipulated that:

H₃: The type of discourses created and narrative shared about what the (objective) welfare state entails influences immigration policy output – either making it more restrictive or less restrictive.

2.3 Other theories

2.3.1 Theories of inclusion and benefit levels

Furthermore, in ascertaining the directionality and relationship between welfare state capacity and immigration policies, 3 theoretical interpretations of inclusion and benefit levels can prove beneficial. Such interpretations share certain commonality with a functional approach and as such, there seem to be some form of layering when both approaches are placed together. Hero and Preuhs (2007) added that demographic variables such as urbanization and education, diffusion and citizen ideology are key explanatory variables for a model of immigrant inclusion and open immigration policies in states' welfare programs. However, as immigrants are more extensively included for welfare eligibility, states tend to provide smaller cash benefit levels as the size of the non-citizen population increases. In studies pertaining to the United States following the same theoretical interpretation, Soss, Schram, Vartanian and O'Brien (2001) found that coupled with the reaffirmation of the negative relationship between black and Latino populations and cash benefit levels, while immigrant eligibility for welfare may not be a

racialized process itself, decisions about welfare benefit levels are in ways and to a degree not previously recognized.

Employing an ideological interpretation means that since governments respond to the pressures of citizens, then their decisions about providing welfare benefits to immigrants is dependent on the ideological orientations of the citizens; in this way ideology is expected to affect decisions about the levels of benefit (Hero & Preuhs, 2007; Kaufmann, 2012; Erikson, Wright & McIver, 1993). If either the UK or Sweden are more ideologically conservative then according to this interpretation, it would be expected that policy-makers would be less willing to include immigrants for welfare and would also have lower cash benefit levels. Taking welfare state regime type into consideration, more liberal states would be expected to be more inclusive and to provide higher benefit levels (Kaufmann 2012).

Furthermore, looking at the premise of racial/social diversity, it predicts that since minority groups are generally perceived to benefit inordinately from social welfare programs, decisions regarding both inclusion and benefit levels are affected primarily by the size of racial/ethnic minorities who are perceived to be disproportionate beneficiaries. When a link becomes apparent by the dominant group between racial/ethnic minority group size and welfare beneficiary group size and associated costs, there is the tendency for benefits levels and eligibility to vary in accordance. (Hero & Preuhs, 2007). The assumption is that there will be a negative relationship between the size of the minority group and benefit levels since there is an incentive for the dominant population to prevent the allocation of economic resources and policy distribution to the minority population (Fellowes & Row, 2004). The third interpretation known as the erosion argument (Hero, 2003; Preuhs, 2013) argues that when certain groups are targeted or singled out on cultural considerations for inclusion, support for welfare

programs reduces which suggests that although ideology may shape decisions, the extent to which other cultural groups are included inadvertently reduces benefit levels. In as much as these 3 aforementioned models encompass a larger interconnection of the notions of race, welfare state and immigration that is tailored to the social, political and economic context of the U.S., they are not relevant for the purpose of this research and will therefore not be used. Nevertheless, their rationales should be kept in mind.

2.3.2 Other assumptions

Bucken-Knapp (2009) asserts that depending on the construction of labour migration policy it can generate certain tensions for full employment policies and the universal welfare state. With regards to full employment policies, labour migration can bring about possible tension for full employment of a welfare state when for example gatekeeping authority over the approval of work permits is entirely relinquished to employers who “prioritize immediate access to foreign labour over continued reliance on active labour market policy measures” (Bucken-Knapp, 2009, p.30) which potentially keeps domestic labour reserves at a minimum. On the other hand, with the universal welfare state, tension rises as regarding labour migration when policy-makers have the fear that the main reason for why migrants are drawn to the receiving country’s labour market is because of the highly generous set of welfare state rights that are made available and accessible to those having a minimum level of employment. These assumptions provide a window of opportunity into the nitty gritty aspects of immigration policies and helps to shed light on the relationship of how welfare and social spending can influence the varying facets of immigration policies in the UK and Sweden; one of which is the focus of the previous discussion on labour migration. Taken together, these tensions point to the idea that it is not necessarily labour migration that serves as a threat to the functioning of a welfare regime, but instead is a specific composition of the policy that grants foreign workers access to a country’s

labour market (Bucken-Knapp, 2009; Freeman, Foner & Bertossi, 2011; Van der Waal, De Koster, Van Oorschot, 2013). It is important to focus on assumptions that take into consideration different subtypes of immigration policies such as with asylum policies or labour migration policies as it is possible that different inferences could be drawn or that it could map out different forces at play which would bring out a whole new meaning to comparative welfare studies.

As briefly iterated, the theoretical assumptions that have been previously discussed and for which inference would be drawn from in delving into the focus of this research tend to borrow from each other in explaining tendencies of welfare state policy makers to either restrict immigration or have an open immigration policy. As a result of this overlap, this research in arguing that the more extensive a welfare regime is, the more stringent and restrictive its immigration policies become would place primacy in building upon discursive institutionalist theories and functionalist approaches in uncovering the intricate relationship that exists between these variables. Iterating once more, the stance of this research paper is that because of the need to sustain the welfare state and provide adequate services to those within the borders of a country, policy makers are inclined to restrict immigration. A country with an extensive welfare regime would attract migrants which could bring about the potential risk of abuse of the welfare programs provided by a state government. Such influx of migrants will incur great fiscal costs and debilitate the government's abilities to invest in efficient social spending be it in terms of pension or healthcare or unemployment benefits etc. which in turn weakens overall welfare institutions. Also, the circulating ideas and beliefs prevalent at the time of the establishment of a welfare state serves as a structuring factor to the type of immigration policies that would be enacted. These premises will be applied to the context of the UK and Sweden if

they hold true or not which would then contribute to the field of comparative welfare research; especially, in a time where the EU is struggling with the refugee crisis.

Chapter 3- Research Design

3.1 Methodology

Given the research question and hypotheses outlined in the earlier chapters, the objective of this thesis is to account for the underlying mechanisms involved in the relationship of the generosity of the welfare state -in terms of benefits and programs- as a structuring factor in the choices of policymakers in immigration policy. For this purpose, the level of analysis is the state level and in order to gain in-depth knowledge into the underlying linkages of this relationship, a comparative qualitative and discourse analysis of the United Kingdom and Sweden will ensue; additionally, policymakers and governments are considered to be the central actors in the making and implementation of immigration policy. A primary justification for selecting this method can be given on the basis of the nature of the phenomenon this thesis has set out to shed light on and case availability. Comparative analysis is particularly suitable for a small-N research as it captures the intricacies of this phenomenon. The following section introduces the methodology and then continues with the conceptualization of the explanatory and outcome variables examined in this thesis.

3.1.1 Data Analysis using Case Studies (Qualitative Analysis)

The research described here is to be regarded as a comparative analysis of the United Kingdom (UK) and Sweden across time periods. Even though comparative analysis that focuses on two cases is generally criticized for having a purely descriptive nature and cannot necessarily be generalized to a larger set of cases, there are certain advantages inherent in opting for such research method. A comparative analysis of this nature- that focuses on two cases- allows for the provision of in-depth details into a particular phenomenon that are often times not possible for other methods to provide, such as with the large-N. The analysis brought about through the comparing and contrasting of cases gives room for the clarification of whether or not the

findings are valuable and reliable in regard to contributing to existing literature. Furthermore, this type of analysis gives rise to a rather deeper understanding and holistic study of a complex web of social networks and structures by being able to access rich information over certain time periods and by employing different sources; as a result of the ability to analyse data “between the case analyses and make a cross-case analysis, the researcher has the power of ability to look at subunits that are located within a larger case” (Yin, 2003). Owing to such close engagement with sources, a comparative analysis that makes use of two cases is therefore then appropriate to provide understandings and explanations that are relevant within the framework of this research.

This research method offers a to-the-point mechanism for including time into the analysis which is particularly advantageous to the research at hand. Citing the dynamic nature of immigration and immigration policies, the consideration of different time periods will serve to highlight how time affects changes in immigration policies in welfare states. This also implies that I will not need to control for as much variables which will aid in insulating the effects brought about by the variables of interest- in this case, the restrictiveness of immigration policies and the extensiveness of the welfare states. However, it is important to keep in mind that the past affects the present and future and as such, there may be somewhat of a spill-over effect of events that occurred in earlier time frames to later ones. This on one hand shows continuity.

3.1.2 Data Analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

In addition to the use of a comparative case study approach, discourse analysis will serve a complementary role in understanding the logic of policymakers in making and implementing immigration policy with the consideration of the generosity of the welfare state. Having been

influenced by the works of Michel Foucault, Karl Marx and Jurgen Habermas, critical discourse analysis aims to uncover the construction, negotiation and maintenance of social power relations through the use of language (Rogers, 2011; Fairclough, 1995). In other words, this type of analysis aids in the interpretation of discourse structures in political and social contexts. Therefore, the use of critical discourse analysis in this thesis is not only to examine the narratives and ideational constructs about the welfare state, but also to understand the way in which the very existence of welfare state and its role is a structuring factor in immigration policy through thinking and speaking.

This methodology systematically explores the relationship of “determination and causality between discursive texts, practices and events, and broader social structures and processes in order to investigate how such practices, texts and events” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 132) shapes policy trajectory. Communicative discourses and language are therefore to be examined in their particular social context, as they shape and are informed by larger processes. In this regard, written documentations do not just passively describe the world, they infuse it with meaning, construct it and solidify perspectives that influence the choices of policymakers and government. Discourse should not be analysed in isolation, but instead should be considered intertextually which situates discourse within a network political, economic and social concerns (Fairclough, 1995). Some discourses are more dominant than others and analysing the ideational constructs in the British and Swedish context during the development of their welfare states and in the aftermath will aid in uncovering the subtle means through which agents become subjects through discursive features. An example of this would be policymakers who define the perimeters of operation through policy choices. Nevertheless, there are also subtle domineering discourses that serve to sustain attitudes and perceptions such as with

modes of exclusionary discourses that portray migrants as problematic or even a threat (van Dijk, 1991).

Complementing case study research with a critical discourse analysis allows for the establishment of invaluable contexts for the kind of knowledge CDA obtains from ideas, narratives and texts. This analysis provides a rather powerful, yet subtle and meticulous insights to locate banal displays and manifestations of social constructs in interaction and communication. Discourse plays an important role in the communicative reproduction, socio-political decision procedures and institutional representation and management of issues pertaining to the welfare state. Thus, the subtle analysis of the way, be it indirect, that ideas and communicative discourses of welfare state benefits and entitlements can influence considerations in immigration policy output becomes apparent.

3.2 Case Selection

Given that this research only makes use of two cases (the UK and Sweden), does not mean that its logic of inference cannot be transferred to other cases. This study serves to provide insight on cases that are similar or at least have certain aspects that are similar to either the context of the UK or Sweden. Even though it is impossible to find another country that is almost a mirror image to the UK or Sweden whereby the arguments provided in the earlier chapter can be taken in their entirety without making contextual changes and applying to another, the findings concerning the nature of the welfare state in these countries and their effect on immigration policies can inform future studies on expected outcomes of when certain institutional, economic, political, cultural conditions are placed together. At the end, it can also improve on existing theories and assumptions of the relationship between welfare institutions and

immigration policies. This comparative analysis is therefore not only valuable in and of itself but propels comparative work that entails a larger number of cases.

The UK and Sweden have both been categorically selected for this comparative study because they present a unique case of a most dissimilar systems design which begs the question of if there is a shared similarity that would account for the restrictiveness of immigration policies or perhaps there are other variables at play that are not common to either settings. The UK has a relatively sparse welfare state with relatively restrictive immigration laws for an EU country, whereas Sweden has taken on a significant amount of refugees while still maintaining a generous welfare state; however, in regards to Sweden, it has become evident that the recent refugee crisis of 2014 with an influx of refugees from the Middle East and North Africa has ushered in a series of changes mostly in regards to the dependent variable of this research, of which would be discussed in a later chapter.

In trying to discover the causal linkages between welfare state and immigration policies, Sweden stands out as a model social-democratic welfare state and as a late bloomer in experiencing immigration. Sweden provides a lifetime worth of social services, so to say which is based not on needs, but on citizenship and is characterised by “high levels of redistribution, taxation and decommodification” (Usanov, Chivot, Kogut, & Gonzalez, 2015, p. 4). This makes it a textbook case when a reference is being made to what and how a welfare state should run especially since during the inception of its welfare state in the 1920s, the country was homogenous and policies regulating immigrants and their admissibility for welfare services were more or less lenient. On the other hand, the establishment of the British welfare state coincided with a massive influx of immigrants from the commonwealth states. Welfare benefits/welfarism was founded on the notion geared towards a proportion of the population

with non-extensive services provided and immigration laws are stringent. Having this in mind, it is important to understand through the analysis of both countries why the institution of the welfare state may be an important factor in influencing the type of immigration policies that policymakers make and implement; and how immigrants come to fit into the framework of an ‘already established welfare system.’ In order to understand how this works, it is important to take into consideration factors that can be regarded as intermediaries in the relationship between social spending and incentives to limiting access to the services made available by government agencies.

The decision to examine the effect that welfare robustness has on immigration policies over different time intervals and within two countries, does require that a great deal of attention be made to information and sources that will be made use of; however, given time constraint of the thesis process and language barrier- citing that a large proportion of information retrieved on Sweden will not be in English,- some level of detail would have to be sacrificed. Nevertheless, the nature of this research has ensured that some of the sacrifice can be mitigated and this is in terms of the comparative nature of the research. By pairing Sweden with the UK as the population pool for which observation and data would be drawn from, there becomes an established balance in the richness of information that will be gathered. This thusly shifts over reliance off of one country where a large proportion of data is not available in English.

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Data source will be drawn from online archival records such as *Hansard* and the national archives of Sweden and the UK; these sources will include the analysis of parliamentary debates (from the Riksdag, the House of Commons and the House of Lords), speeches, text of laws, ministerial questions and correspondence, as well as committee hearings. Noting that the

parliamentary debates and speeches in Sweden will be in a language other than English, a translating tool will be made use of so as to gain basic comprehension of the concerns of policymakers and the government. The parliamentary debates from these countries will prove useful in highlighting instances of policy reforms pertaining to the distribution of welfare services and immigration. Additionally, the range of primary sources will be valuable in providing a historical perspective of parliamentary discourses which then sheds light on welfare programs being a structuring factor for policymakers in regard to immigration policy.

Secondary sources will contribute valuable information on the generosity of the welfare state and the implication of this in policy domain. There are a number of literatures on welfare generosity being a magnet for migrants (Borjas, 1999; De Giorgi & Pellizzari, 2009; Schram & Krueger, 1994; Brueckner, 2000; Razin & Wahba, 2015) and the effect of immigration on the welfare state (Fenwick, 2017; Facchini & Mayda, 2009; Felbermayr & Kohler, 2007; Ferrera, 2008) from which this thesis can borrow a thing or two from their insight and make adaptable to the context of this research. The welfare state and immigration are central topics that have recently become weighty in both academia and politics; especially with immigration, a plethora of literature exists as to the possible implication of this phenomenon for state sovereignty, borders (Iversen & Cusack, 2000) and welfare state accessibility.

In further testing the hypotheses, secondary sources such as newspaper coverage and the Immigration Policies in Comparison (IMPIC) dataset will be made use of. The newspapers considered are the *Daily Mirror* and *The Sun* for the UK and *Dagens Nyheter* and *Svenska Dagbladet* for Sweden. These newspapers have been selected because of their running period and large readership and as such, allows me to analyse the kind of discourses that became prevalent about the welfare state; how governments and policymakers communicated certain

ideas relating to welfare state institutions and how people came to perceive the welfare state. I will use the *Svenska Dagstidningar* database for Sweden and *The British Newspaper Archive* for the UK to narrow down the search to issues published that are of relevance to this thesis. Coding on these articles and other documents will rely on themes like attitude towards immigrants (good citizens, welfare service abusers), values and equality, welfare (support for welfare programs and social policies and equality), efficiency of the welfare state, efficiency of welfare programs, inclusion, exclusion, welfare entitlements/requirements and nation. These sources will help in the better understanding of the broader context for which the examined processes in this research unfolds and by so doing create a narrative of welfare state and the development of migration policy through the focus of Sweden and the UK.

The choice to use parliamentary debates serves as a check on the secondary sources to an extent in ascertaining the similarities of output information which increases the credibility of the sources. Having identified the sources, the time period for this research ranges from 1945 till 2013, for which the chronological and developmental periods are as follows:

1945 – 1970: In contrast to the UK, immigration took place at a lesser extent in Sweden and was subject to low levels of regulation, politicisation and problematisation

1970 – 1980: Immigration regulation began to be solidified

1980 – 2000: Further development of institutions and principles established for labour migration

1990 – 2013: Further development/modification of refugee policy and integration policy

This time periods have been selected because they coincide with moments in which it seemed plausible that conditions surrounding the sustainability of the welfare state caused there to be changes that may have influenced the decisions of policymakers in implementing restrictive immigration policy or modifying eligibility requirements. Documents will be selected based on a coding scheme (to be discussed briefly) that draws out main themes such as welfare, longevity of the welfare system, attitude towards immigrants, inclusion and exclusion and how the nation in regard to welfare is conceived. These themes will help to align the data retrieved with the focus of this research.

3.2.1 Coding

Critical discourse analysis which takes into account framing requires the understanding of how actors make sense of a situation. In order to identify the communicative and coordinative discourses of governments and policymakers, a coding scheme will be used. This coding scheme is shown in Table 1 and will be used when studying the narratives of sentient agents. Tables 1 and 2 shows the keywords that will be used in the search for relevant documents in testing the hypotheses.

Table 1: Discourse on welfare state and immigration

The welfare state	Problematised as facing risk	Not problematised	(Broad of abuse (Narrow ideational construct)
		ideational construct)	

Production	Immigrants	Immigrants
	Refugees	Solidarity
Form/ (focusing on specific aspects of a situation)	Asylum seekers	Refugees
		Asylum seekers
		Universalism
	Fiscal cost	Universal schemes
	Welfare state longevity	The people's home
	Welfare burden	
	Abuse of the asylum system	

Table 2: Search terms used for the time periods

	English	Swedish
Social Policy	social politics	socialpolitik
	welfare	välfärd
	benefit	bidrag
	unemployment	arbetslöshet
	pension	pension
	insurance/parental leave	föräldra
Migration	immigrant	invandrare
	refugee	flykting
	foreigner	utlänning
	minority	minoritet
	asylum-seeker	asylsökande

	(race)racism	rasism
Others	homeland	fosterl/folkhem
	equality	jämlikhet
	nationalism	nation
	solidarity	solidar
	security	trygghet
	freedom of choice	frihet att välja/valfrihet

This coding scheme functions as a starting point in tracing the narrative process of immigration policy and migrant welfare eligibility requirement being influenced by the welfare state. It is in the process of communicating that agents are able to map out the context in which certain narratives come to be. The sifting and coding of archival records and parliamentary debates will be carried out digitally; every appearance of a narrative will be labelled in accordance with either of the two categorizations in Table 1 and the document will be read. The number of times each narrative appear will be tallied in order to identify the most dominant narrative. The following section conceptualises the variables that are of importance to this research.

3.3 Variable Conceptualization

Outcome

Migration has not always been a major topic in the field of political science or public administration, its growing importance became notable over the last two decades with an increasing number of scholars (Hollifield & Wong, 2013; Helbling, Bjerre, Romer, & Zobel, 2016) working in this research field. Hollifield and Wong (2013) initiated the discussion by observing that the study of migration has slowly rooted itself mainstream political science with an ascending trend in the number of articles related to migration. However, this did not lead to an inherent focus on immigration policies. Beginning in the early 2000s, scholars (Geddes,

2003; Messina, 2007; Schain, 2008) began to analyse immigration policies by focusing on single countries, or a handful of countries.

In defining an intricate and multifaceted concept as immigration policy, Bjerre et al.'s (2016) definition will be used which highlights the parameters of immigration policy as:

Government's statements of what it intends to do or not do (including laws, regulations, decisions or orders) in regard to the selection, admission, settlement and deportation of foreign citizens residing in the country (Helbling, Bjerre, Romer, & Zobef, 2016, p. 82).

These policies target people migrating for social (family reunification), economic (labour migration), humanitarian (asylum, refugees), historical and cultural reasons. For the purpose of this thesis, this definition of immigration policy is a narrow definition that focuses only on policy output which encompasses binding decisions. Immigration policy has been conceptualised this way because this thesis is not concerned about the relationship of welfare generosity on immigration rates, but instead on “legally binding regulations” (Dreher, 2002; Bjerre et al., 2016) that constrain or create rights. In gauging the degree of restrictiveness of immigration policy in the UK and Sweden, in addition to evaluating immigration regulations, the IMPIC dataset technical report will be consulted as a means of corroboration.

The analysis of the level of restrictiveness of immigration policy of the UK and Sweden will be determined using certain labels illustrated below:

Table 3: Contents represented based on level of policy restrictiveness

Category	Represented content
Restrictive immigration policy	Closed borders, restrictions legal assistance, social welfare restrictions, health care restrictions, education right restrictions, right to work restriction, fines, no appeal, detention, visa requirements, returned, fraudulent, labour market restrictions, pension restrictions
Non-restrictive immigration policy	Right to health care, right to legal assistance, security, open border, recognition, social welfare benefits, protection, human rights, humanitarian status, appeal, right to education, access to labour market, right to work, accommodation/accommodating, access to pension

This categorical labelling is unambiguous and has been modelled based on the UNHCR’s categorisation of asylum policies vis-à-vis refugees (UNHCR, 1997). Analysis will take the form of marking statements in the data and placing in a literature set. Labelling of the data serves to ensure that patterns are uncovered. Furthermore, this labelling which has been established for hypotheses 1 and 2 will be in two folds wherein an initial labelling is based on the categorisation in Table 3 and a neutral category is included to double-check that excerpts and quotations that may be important are not excluded while refraining from making judgements. When these excerpts from the documents have been given two labels, conclusions

can then be drawn on concerns about the welfare state affecting the level of restrictiveness. The policy labels are specified in Table 4. Although the labels are not extensive, they nevertheless provide content as to what should be considered when looking at the labels.

Table 4: Second level labels

Category	Content represented
Welfare programs/ social policy conditions	Employment
	Access to services and benefits
	Health care access
	Reception conditions
Conditions relating to immigration	Border procedures
	Determining status
	Accessibility of legal guidance

After the latent coding of the data set retrieved from archival records and parliamentary debates, the data is transferred to a literature set provided through the coding of the computer program, *atlas.ti*; this guarantees the visibility of which quote leads to which coding. Analysis proper that tests the hypotheses will then follow after this as the data becomes compressed into a concise and easily comprehensible manner. The benefit of collecting data this way is that the context within which the quotations are retrieved from is maintained.

Table 5: Process of data collection and analysis

Step I	Word counting with atlas.ti
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Step II	The use of atlas to retrieve information on the density of the different labels
Step III	Manual labelling of ‘blank’ quotations – which are quotations not considered by the coding scheme
Step IV	Interpretation and summarisation of ‘blank’ coding into a literature set
Step V	The provision of an analytical arguments based on data from atlas and the literature set

Explanatory Variable

Since focus is on the extent of the generosity of the welfare state, then the welfare state can be regarded as the public bodies that through legal, administrative and economic regulations, aim to ensure individuals and families security concerning health, life, income and welfare throughout their lives (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012). Therefore, a larger welfare state will invest more in social spending and social policies and will provide numerous benefits and programs that will cater to the possible needs that may arise in society. The social policies of the UK and Sweden that will be analysed using the control variables in table 2 will reveal how wealth is redistributed within these countries.

Once data was gathered, the analysis of the data ensued. The following chapter proceeds with the presentation of the empirical findings together with the analysis of the findings in line theoretical framework set out in chapter 2.

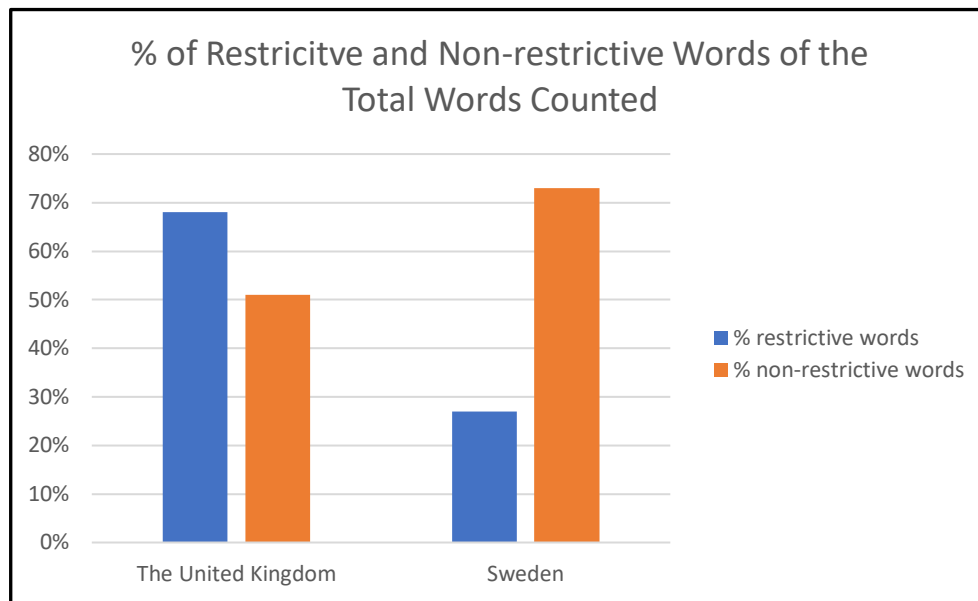
Chapter 4- Empirical Findings and Analysis

This chapter discusses the findings of this research. Firstly, a brief outline will be given on the result of the document word count, as well as the findings of the latent coding and discuss the implications of the findings. Given the data from the critical discourse analysis, the relationship between the welfare state of the UK and Sweden and the level of restrictiveness of their immigration policies will be examined. Finally, a conclusion will then be drawn as to the relationship between welfare state generosity and restrictiveness level of immigration policy from the analysis of the context of the UK and Sweden.

4.1 Restrictiveness of the UK and Sweden by Manifest and Latent Analysis

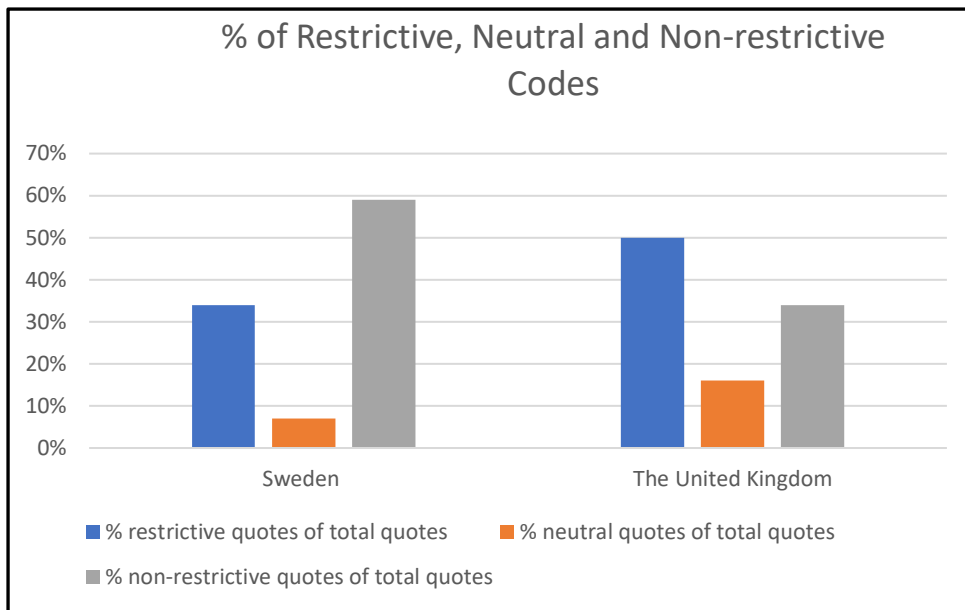
Through a manifest coding, the significance of the content of the text of laws, parliamentary debates, committee hearings etc. becomes identifiable. The analysis for this section was carried out by tallying the frequency of signal phrases that belong to a particular label mentioned in the texts. The table below illustrates the percentage of the counted words for both countries vis-à-vis either a non-restrictive or restrictive labelling in comparison to the total counted words. When looking at the result, certain things become evident: although Sweden has a significant percentage of restrictive words, the UK has a much higher percentage and also scores lower on the percentage of non-restrictive words than Sweden. With this in mind, the results do not seem to be very close together. Following from this, the conclusion then is that with Sweden, the result points to a potential relationship between the generosity of the welfare state and restrictiveness of immigration policy in that the more generous a welfare state is, the more restrictive its immigration policy is likely to be. However, looking at the UK there is no direct relationship between welfare generosity and immigration policy restrictiveness; the welfare state of the UK is skimpy and is therefore not generous, but its immigration policy is significantly restrictive.

Figure 1: % restrictive and non-restrictive phrases/words of the total words counted



The latent coding aids in the realisation of the underlying meaning of the phrases and words retrieved from the texts as the meaning of the text is looked into and then coded. In considering the outcomes of the latent coding as per restrictive, non-restrictive, or neutral coding, between both countries Sweden has the most non-restrictive quotations; whereas the UK has the most restrictive quotations. This result highlights that there are restrictive aspects to the Swedish immigration policy, nevertheless, the level of non-restrictiveness outweighs the former. Given the theoretical basis of this thesis, the expectation was that the United Kingdom would have a rather non-restrictive immigration policy owing to the size of its welfare regime, whereas Sweden would have a slightly higher percentage in the restrictiveness of its immigration policy than is currently shown in the figure, owing to how large its welfare regime is. What is however evident is that Sweden still remains relatively unrestrictive in comparison to the UK.

Figure 2: % restrictive, neutral (ambiguous) and non-restrictive coding



4.1.1 The British State

As stated earlier, based on the result of the coding, the UK shows a higher restrictive immigration policy. In looking at the restrictiveness level in terms of either welfare provisions or policies pertaining to the processing of applications, a high level of stringency is noted. Taking an example from humanitarian migration, there have been reports of push backs when trying to apply for asylum which are not formally recorded by the UK immigration office (Home Office Research and Statistics Directorate, 2012; Asylum Aid, 2014). Juxtaposing this with the welfare provisions of the UK, there is a liberal method to the distribution of welfare wherein programs and services are only provided to the demonstrable needy. When migrants are eligible to receive benefits, it is not always sufficient.

The British welfare state is built on the concept of self-responsible individuals, equal opportunities and on the notion that a freely functioning market will maximise welfare (Hemerijck, 2013, p. 14). As a result of this, the provisions and services offered by the welfare state has served primarily as a residual safety net aimed at individuals in dire need regardless

of high dependency on the state institution due to the fragmented and weak family system. The period from 1979-1997 can be regarded as an effort to “roll back the state” (Giddens, 2006) as the White Paper published by the government at that time emphasized how public expenditure was the heart of the UK’s economic difficulties (HM Treasury, 1979, p. 1). Veritably, the Social Citizenship indicator portrays significant reduction in the generosity of the welfare state’s benefits and provisions. Entitlement levels drastically dropped in the wake of the Thatcher government coming to power in 1979; unemployment insurance at 24% was two thirds of the value in 1930; unemployment rate continually reduced and in 2004 it was approximately 54% (OECD, 2004).

It should nevertheless be emphasized that before Thatcher rose to power, the notion behind the British welfare state was not just to alleviate poverty, but to also universally provide welfare services and not just to those who are in dire need of assistance. With reforms came an increased restrictiveness to the access of unemployment benefits. The burden of benefits of public pension provision was transferred to the private sector as an effort to reduce cost to the state. With all this in place, it is easy to visualise how non-extensive and uncharitable the British welfare state is, to the point that welfare is provided to those who are able to prove their eligibility. This therefore tremendously limits the opportunity of migrants and does not necessarily create space for them within the welfare framework.

The 2004 EU enlargement to include the A8 countries saw the UK experience huge migratory flows. This had brought about the fear that by allowing migrants from these states enter the UK to an extent without restriction, then there would be an influx of people migrating primarily for the purpose of claiming the welfare benefits provided by the state than for the purpose of working. Such concerns therefore led the British government to implement the decision that in

order to lay claim to any welfare benefit, migrants from the A8 countries had to have been residing in the UK for a year. Additionally, prior to May 2009, migrant workers from the A8 had to be registered with the Worldwide Recruitment Solutions (WRS) within a month of getting a job, however, a significant percentage of these workers were non-compliant. When analysing the accession monitoring reports of the British government pooled from 2004 till 2009, there is the indication that welfare participation by migrants from the A8 countries have been low. In regard to income related benefits, 42,576 applications were submitted, of which about a quarter were allowed to proceed in the subsequent years after the enlargement (Home Office UK Border Agency, 2004-2009). The recession saw the doubling of submitted out-of-work benefits applications of which less than a quarter was approved. Having this in mind leads to the conclusion that when the British welfare state was designed, diversity was not in mind for which its welfare institutions have come to reflect a service philosophy that is ineffective in meeting the needs of the dynamic population; as opposed to the Swedish state, which will shortly be discussed.

The institutional framework of the British welfare state portrays a level of ambivalence towards immigrants. The structuring of its welfare institution in such manner has continued to perpetuate the idea that immigrants and minorities drain the nation's welfare resources and therefore pose a threat to the reciprocities that form the basis of collectivism of the welfare state. As a result of this, the notion of welfare in the British context has to a degree become conditional for immigrants, as well as ethnic minorities.

Furthermore, it becomes evident that the Swedish government does not make use of all the same labels as the UK government. An apparent example of this is the concept of 'safe country of origin'; this is non-restrictive in nature as it permits all nationalities to apply for asylum,

whereas in the UK, this is restricted to a list of safe country of origin countries. Alongside this is the extensive provision made available for those belonging to the vulnerable groups (Caritas Sweden, 2015); within the institutions of the welfare state, there is the establishment of a legal framework that gives account of the provision of the needs of these vulnerable groups. Furthermore, as per 2015, there is no explicit clause within the law that restricts the movement of migrants -asylum seekers included- within the country. However, the increase in the restrictiveness of the Swedish immigration policy comes about as a result of the influx of refugees that have flocked the country for over a decade now. Looking at welfare eligibility as a form of exerting control, the Swedish government has been considering making learning the Swedish language obligatory in order for immigrants to claim welfare.

4.1.2 The Swedish State

From the mid 1940s, there was a carefree and non-restrictive attitude towards immigration as the anxiety about a possible economic backlash had proven to be unfounded. Together with the solidification of the welfare state in line with the vision of the '*folkhemmet*', there was a successive relaxation of visa requirements together with the liberalisation of applications for work and residence permits. To elaborate further, anyone in search of employment in Sweden could easily gain entrance into the country as a tourist in order to seek a job; if said individual was offered a job, then it just became a matter of applying for a work permit for which upon approval automatically led to a residence permit. By 1955, the number of migrants working in Sweden coincided with 3.7 percent of the working population (Svanberg & Mattias, 1992, p. 330). However, at the time, this did not imply that the country was following a 'guest-worker' policy; nevertheless, because of the coverage of the residence permits, foreign workers were covered by the generous social security systems. The right to unemployment benefit fund -*a-kassa*- and aid were individually accessible within a short period of time. Bringing family

members was allowed and the conditions for this was generous. Also, the mid 1950s saw the introduction of the special *permanent residence permit* which offered more security to foreigners.

After the rather unproblematic approach to immigration in the 1950s, a debate emerged in the early 1960s regarding the further long-term consequences that immigration may come to bear on the Swedish welfare state. In the public debate, demands began to be perceived for immigration to be restricted. However, the call for restriction was not on the basis of profitability, but instead, the aim in controlling immigration was to ensure that it paralleled the needs and ability of the country. Regulations were introduced to limit immigration from countries outside the Nordic area and applications for work permits had to be made from outside Sweden. The timing of such a decision shows that there was not any concrete economic reason for restricting immigration. These new calls for regulation stemmed from the concern that immigration would induce social stratification within the society wherein foreign labourers would be affected by socio-economic marginalisation. Such awareness as to the socially exposed category of immigrants can be further related to the radical critique that began in the late 1960s about the welfare state. Numerous reports pointed to the prevalence of groups that have failed to be included by the welfare state (Sejersted, 2005, p. 407); thus, portraying a scenario of modern poverty amidst affluence in society. Furthermore, the calls for regulation corresponded with an increase in immigration especially in the period from 1965 onwards. Also, immigrant distribution changed as well, with a notable increase in the proportion of migrants from the Balkans and Southern Europe. This composition in conjunction with the overall increase made immigration a rather noticeable aspect in the Swedish society.

In 1968, the principle of regulated immigration was laid out in a bill on immigration policy. In this bill, migrants were included in the welfare state goal of achieving equal social rights for all, but this necessitated that the Swedish state could control immigration. In line with this, the then minister of interior asserted that the condition of the labour market should not be the only determinant to the scale of immigration, but instead the society's ability to offer immigrants education, housing and social care are important factors that must be taken into account. During this time, there was also refugee immigrants, however, this was limited in the sense that the largest groups were from Hungary in the aftermath of a crisis that occurred in 1956 and Yugoslavia in the 1960s (Lundh & Ohlsson, 1994, pp. 90-93). To emphasize, it becomes evident that the change from free to regulated immigration signified the beginning of immigrant policy being entrenched within the Swedish welfare policy.

It became apparent that the principle of equality became somewhat of a guiding force with regards to the realization of the Swedish welfare state; "that immigrants shall have the opportunity to live under the same conditions as the indigenous population" (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2012, p. 39). Albeit, with the influx of refugees in the 1980s, restrictive decisions regarding refugee policy began to be implemented. The year 1989 can be regarded as the time from when such policy became restrictive as this saw the invoking of the exception of the Aliens Act which implied the nullification being granted asylum as a *de facto* refugee; only in the advent of a particularly strong protection need. This decision came about as a result of the emergency situation in receiving refugees. Maj-Lis Loow, the then minister for immigrants described the event as "the Swedish reception of refugees facing a crisis" (Johansson, 1989). The number of refugees budgeted for an entire year arrived within the period of 6 months and the strain on the capacity of welfare institutions made it impossible to adequately and effectively receive refugees. The welfare state had reached its limit and in order to have been able to offer

better services to those who needed it, it was pertinent for the Swedish policymakers to restrict the likelihood for others to acquire residence permits.

This occurrence therefore supports the reasoning of hypothesis 1 in that the abovementioned decision brought the relationship between concerns about the welfare state and the regulation of immigration. Owing to the lack of welfare resources, refugees were not granted asylum. In as much as the country wanted to still portray the international image of being a moral pioneer with a generous refugee policy, this was not possible at the time as policymakers had to take into deep consideration the condition of welfare institutions and the possible implications to welfare of not limiting immigration. During the 2000s, a brief change of tune so to say can be noted in the Swedish welfare-immigration nexus as the country began to accept more refugees and immigrants in general. Whether this is owing to the ability of welfare institutions as being better equipped to provide welfare services and benefits or to other reasons that have to do with the humanitarian self-image of the country, still remains inconclusive. Regardless, as there continued to be an influx in total number of immigrants, which put strain on Swedish welfare institutions in terms of deliverables and services, policymakers began to exert more control on immigration by way through primarily limiting access to the Swedish territory and then slowly redefining the boundaries of welfare eligibility.

4.2 Restrictiveness Level in Different Aspects of Immigration Policy

In this section, a discussion will ensue on the result of the analysis with regards to the different areas of immigration policy; the investigated area looks at the processing of application and the criteria and condition that informs migrant intake (selection and admission). When comparing the policies on welfare provisions to policies governing border control (selection and admission) and the processing of application, both policy arena remains restrictive in the UK,

however the level of restrictiveness of policies in the latter exceeds that in the former. For Sweden, even though both policy areas remain relatively non-restrictive, the policy regarding border control and processing of application is still more restrictive. An explanation for this comes from the ideological underpinnings of the Swedish welfare state that allows for the provision of large welfare distributions, especially to vulnerable groups. When these countries are taken together, we see that on one hand, the less restrictive policies are on welfare provisions, the more restrictive policies are on border control and the processing of applications. On the other hand, the more non-restrictive policies are on welfare provisions, the less non-restrictive policies are on border control; these patterns can be respectively attributed to each of the welfare states under review. The pattern that can be identified in the Swedish context confirms the claim made by Bommers and Geddes (2003) that so long as migrants are within the borders and have been able to settle down, large welfare states are more generous in welfare provisions, however, opportunity for entrance will be restricted. Compared to the restrictiveness level of the UK, it is evident that Sweden is not stricter in their policy output, but instead there is an apparent tendency in line with Bommers and Geddes' (2003) argument.

Figure 3: % restrictive, neutral and non-restrictive phrases on welfare provision

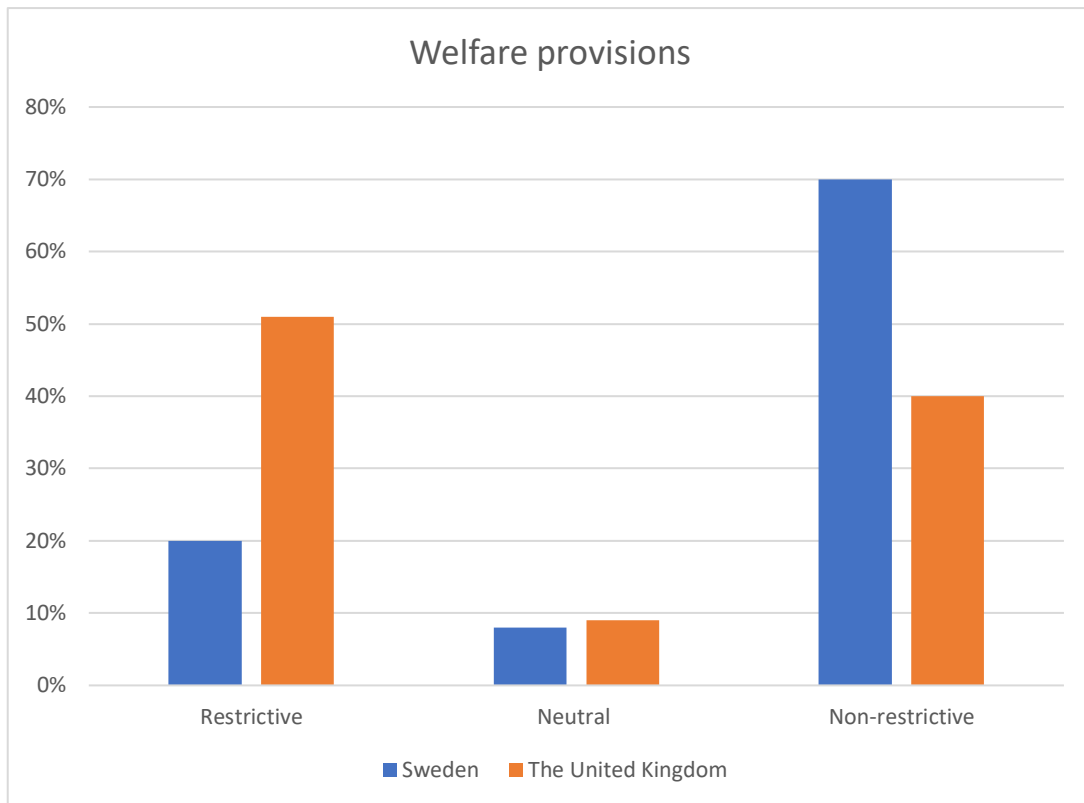
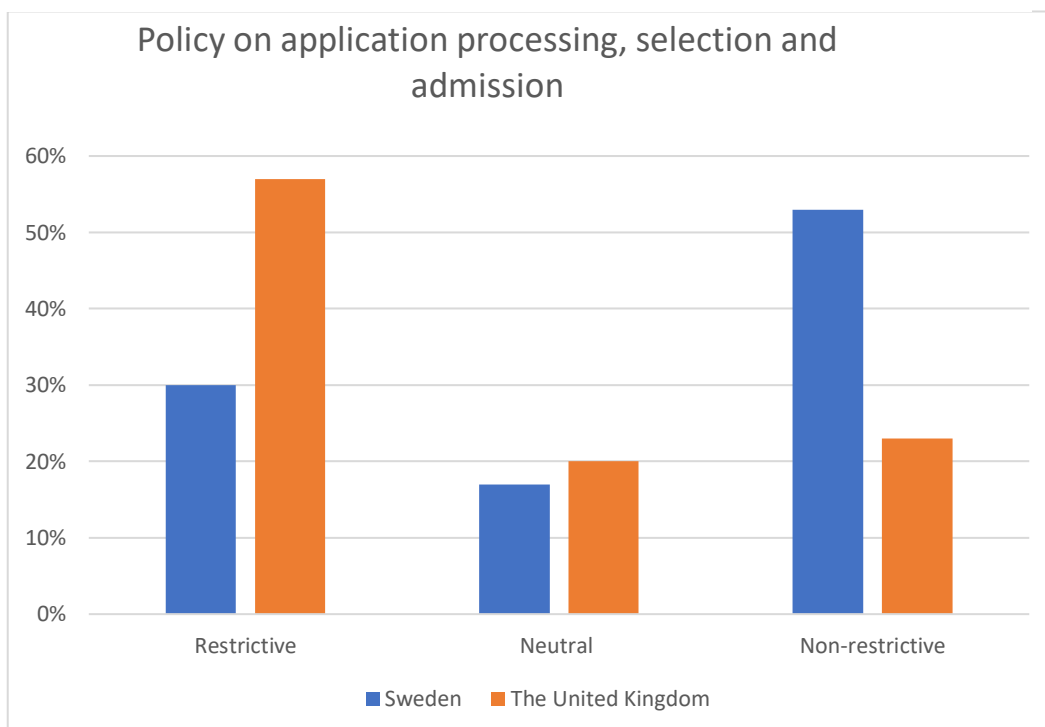


Figure 4: % restrictive, neutral and non-restrictive phrases in policies regarding application processing, selection and admission



In the UK, welfare provisions are kept at a minimum and everyone is made almost equal because they do not receive the welfare provisions (Department for Work and Pensions, 2014), which means that there is less at stake, yet immigration policy maintains a high level of restrictiveness. Even though there is practically no real distinction between non-citizens and citizens in the distribution of welfare provisions, there are almost no provisions; this implies are no open border, not much welfare entitlement. This outcome therefore disproves hypothesis 1 -that the larger/more generous a welfare state is, the more restrictive its immigration policy will be- in the context of the UK. It is hence imperative to now look to the influence of discourse in the welfare state-immigration policy nexus to make a conclusive report. In essence there is a fuzzy trade-off between welfare generosity and level of restrictiveness of immigration policy (selection, processing of application and admission). Such trade-off becomes largely defined in the Swedish context. Additionally, policy pertaining to selection, processing and admission is generally more restrictive.

4.3 The Role of Discourse

This section proceeds with the presentation of parliamentary documents and media findings selected based on the ‘named’ categories in Tables 1 and read in relation to their selected features. The advantage of a historical application to discursal coding is that it gives rise to ascertaining not only the kinds of discourses that emerged, but also when they emerged -either simultaneously or through agency- and remained dominant. Hence, this enriches the understanding of the relationship between large welfare state and immigration policy restrictiveness beyond that which has been discussed in the previous section.

Between the period from 1945 to 1960 and 1998 to 2013, a total of 1,054 (761 debates from the House of Lords and 293 debates from the House of Commons) debates from the UK and 1,021

debates from the Swedish Riksdag which contained phrases from either of the categories in Tables 1 and 2 were read for evidence in accordance with hypothesis 3; the result of which is illustrated below. In a number of instances, it was the case that a particular debate consisted of references belonging to more than one narrative frame which accounts for the high number of frames than the actual parliamentary documents scanned. Looking at the tables at face value, it is evident that Sweden has a broad ideational construct of the welfare state in general in comparison to the UK and only up until the mid 2000s did the construct of the welfare state as an entity begin to gradually shift to a rather narrow ideational construct. The ebb and flow of the ideational discourse in these countries will be juxtaposed against policy restrictiveness of the individual countries in analysing the role of discourse in affecting policy choices of decision makers.

Table 6: Debates signifying named welfare and immigration categories

		The UK		Sweden
		HoL	HoC	Riksdag
1945 – 1960	1945 - 1950	120	39	199
	1950 - 1955	96	31	143
	1955 - 1960	74	23	128
1998 – 2013		127	52	134
	1998 - 2003			
	2003 - 2008	156	45	188
	2008 - 2013	219	72	229

Table 7: Distributional prevalence of broad and narrow welfare state discourse in parliamentary debates

		Welfare State Discourse		
			Narrow ideational welfare construct	Broad welfare ideational construct
1945 – 1960	1945 - 1950	HoL & HoC	125	41
		Riksdag	42	173
	1950 - 1955	HoL & HoC	119	27
		Riksdag	26	117
	1955 - 1960	HoL & HoC	90	7
		Riksdag	10	120
1998 – 2013	1998 - 2003	HoL & HoC	128	51
		Riksdag	33	104
	2003 - 2008	HoL & HoC	138	67
		Riksdag	90	101
	2008 - 2013	HoL & HoC	205	91
		Riksdag	100	130

4.3.1 The Swedish Welfare Discourse

In the mid 1940s with the establishment of the Swedish welfare state, the ideational discourse of the welfare state that became rampant was that of equality; there was an effort to promulgate and engrain the idea that the welfare state played a crucial role in maintaining a certain level of social equality and in staving the rise of significant socio-economic gaps between various groups of citizens. This kind of discourse can be associated with a broad ideational understanding of the welfare institution in the sense that the welfare state is not recognised as

benefitting only a minute set of individuals or only providing a limited set of benefits and services. In this regard in reading through the parliamentary debates and proceedings, the welfare state was perceived in terms of the process of the actual allocation of resources so as to promote solidarity. This discourse tallies with the immigration policies enacted in the period between 1945- 1950 (as is evident in the graph below) whereby the restrictiveness of the output immigration policy is a general reflection of the communicative discourse of sentient agents in the public and civic domain. In equating the idea of social equality to the welfare state, this gave room for the latter to adopt the existence of a sense of national belonging that largely differed from the rather banal understanding of the concept.

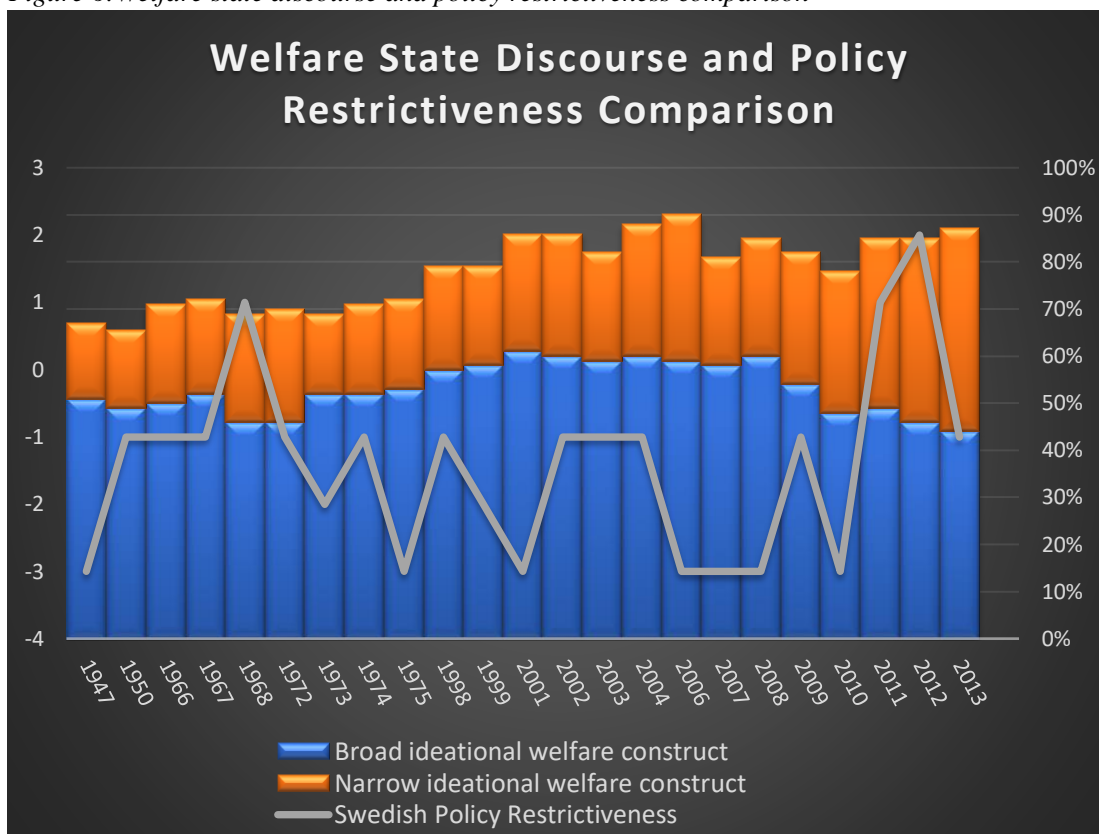
For the sake of emphasis, the graph below highlights the trend in welfare state discourse vis-à-vis the restrictiveness of immigration policy between 1945-2013; The data in measuring policy restrictiveness was retrieved by taking stock of each of the immigration policies enacted between 1945 and 2013 in the UK and Sweden and coding them in such a way that:

- The code 1 represented more restrictive
- The code 0 represented neutral or no policy change
- The code -1 represented less restrictive

This was then tallied and a number above 1 signifies the increase in restrictiveness and a number below 0 signifies the opposite; the precise policy restrictiveness numerical values can be seen in appendix C. In plotting the graph of welfare state discourse and policy restrictiveness -figures 5 and 6- the texts and documents for each year was analysed based on the provided categories in table 1, for which an extensive categorisation can also be seen in appendix B, and then recurring themes were counted depending on whether they fell under the broad or narrow ideational construct and then averaged out in order to get a percentage and to observe the prevailing discourse in a given year. By streamlining the data in this way, it then became feasible to plot a graph depicting changes in welfare discourse and policy restrictiveness.

The discussion on the Swedish welfare state, is largely dominated by an increase in broad ideational constructs. However, by 2008, there began to be a gradual increase in the percentage of narrow ideational welfare construct which signifies prominent changes in the construal of the welfare state and its institutions which will soon be discussed. In weighing the discourses, the frequency of particular narratives was counted and the percentage to the overall text was extrapolated. By doing this, it became possible to gauge the prominence of the two main categorical discourses (broad ideational and narrow ideational) pertinent to this research.

Figure 6: Welfare state discourse and policy restrictiveness comparison



Belonging to the Swedish welfare state discourse from the mid 1940s, was the narrative of the *folkhemmet*- the people's home- which had strong communitarian associations which was described in several editions of the *Svenska Dagbladet* as portraying an image of the Swedish

population as a family- *fammlj*. This narrative was stressed in a neutral way, thus imbuing a sense of modernity in line with an earlier speech given by Per Albin Hansson, the then leader of the Social Democrats in 1935; such neutralism gave way to seeing the welfare state as not just meant for reinforcing constitutional patriotism, but of a larger set of dispositions and traditions that yielded in a communitarian vision of society. This type of discourse then fits under the category of a broad ideational welfare construct as it served to mitigate associating the welfare programs and benefits with a view of national identity that was exclusive. However, in the period between 1967-1970, there was a slight increase in the percentage of narrow ideational welfare construct compared to the previous years and for which it is also apparent that immigration policy restrictiveness rose during that time period. The analysis of debates during this period reflected an emergence of the idea of the *folkhemmet* as having excluding elements; this gave rise to policies directed at national minorities that were characterised by an assimilatory outlook. Within this context, the gipsy policy which was directed at the Roma minority in the late 1960s can be cited, as this policy aimed at encouraging Romanis to disregard their cultural conception and patterns in order to attain living conditions that were parallel to the rest of the population. This narrative was in effect a narrow construct of the perception of the welfare state institution because it created expectations on either how a person should act or what they should be like as a citizen, which could consequently give rise to an exclusionary effect. Within this institutional framework, social equality that constituted welfare benefits and programs began to be changed to presuppose a certain level of cultural assimilation.

Based on the graph, from 1972 onwards, the ratio between broad and narrow ideational construct of the Swedish welfare state becomes widened in the sense that the narrow construct of the *raison d'être* of the welfare state such as that which pervaded the late 1960s began to diminish. There was a rising narrative that attributed the welfare state (programs and services)

to a vague formulation of the ethnic component of welfare eligibility rules. Stripping the notion of the welfare state from strict ethnic demarcations of eligibility further reinforced the idea of the people's home that was envisioned in the development of the welfare state. Such loose categorisation widens the beneficiaries of welfare services and when the welfare state is not tied to an 'us vs. them' ideational mantra, there is no immediate need for policymakers to restrict immigration policy or delimit the boundaries of welfarism.

Another discourse that entered the communicative and coordinative realm during this period was that of welfare as a common concern of all. The welfare state was framed in accordance with the universal model, which according to Rothstein and Kumlin (2005) leads to a form of investment in social capital (Rothstein & Kumlin, 2005) as the entire population is included in the right to state support. The analysed texts showed that there were attempts made at 'commonalising' welfare concern so as to circumvent selective measures that target the weakest groups. The idea of the welfare state in the minds of the people was framed in a manner that tried to regard all inhabitants equally which serves as a broad ideational construct that does not see the need of limitation of access to social rights.

The link between welfare and immigration policy presupposes an interaction between rights and obligations. Therefore, the regulation of immigration typifies the obligation and conditions that delineate rights. This kind of narrative which for the purpose of this thesis has been categorised under the umbrella of narrow ideational welfare construct has grown to become more prevalent within the Swedish welfare context from 2009 onwards as is evident in the graph above. Given the surge in migration into the country especially with asylum seekers and refugees, parliamentarians have increasingly argued for the importance of regulation in sustaining public trust in the welfare system. Speeches of governmental officials such as Goran

Persson (1999) and Gunilla Carlsson (2012) as well as parliamentary debates have continued to stress the need to limit access so as to guarantee the advantages that are enjoyed by members of the welfare state. During this time period as well, immigration policy began to be more restrictive. When analysing the time period from 2009 till 2013 in regard to discourse and policy output, two options become discernible in terms of those allowed to enjoy the welfare policy.

These are:

1. Introducing limitations regarding those allowed to immigrate, while everyone legally residing within Sweden has equal access to the welfare policy
2. Applying a free immigration policy, while the right to welfare programs and benefits are distinguished for different inhabitants.

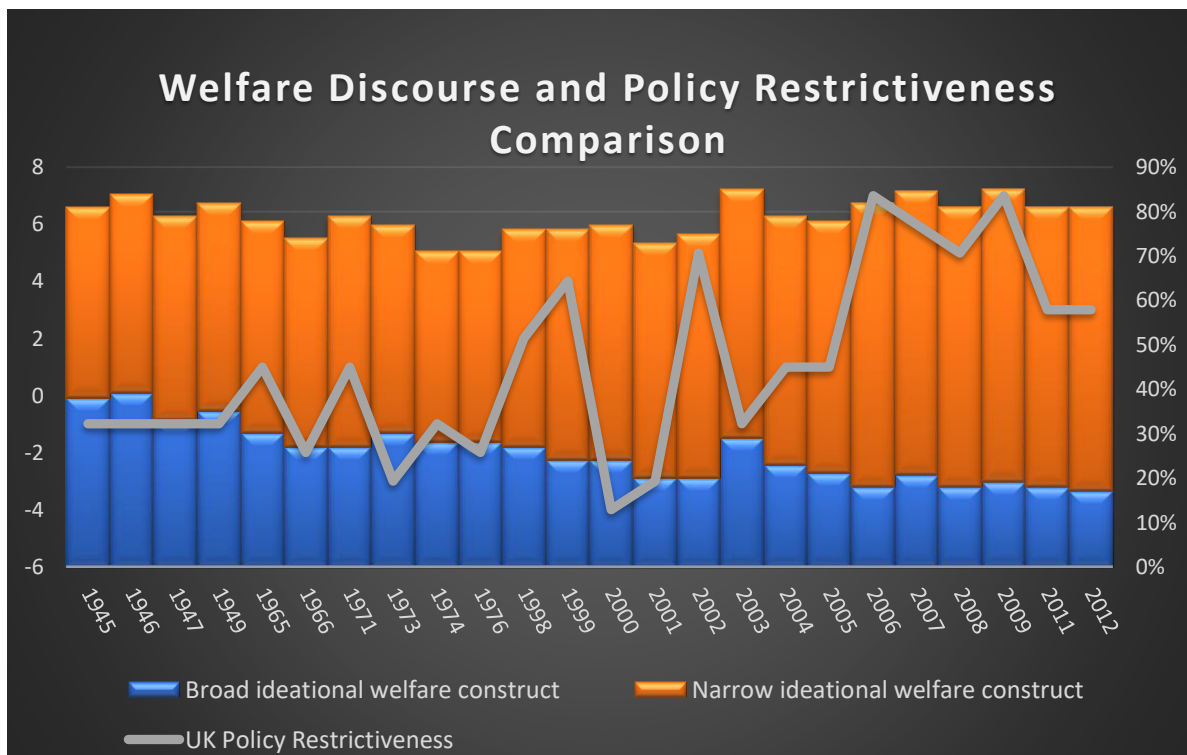
Looking at the Swedish context through the analysis of parliamentary documents and texts from newspapers, the first option that introduces limits on immigration became adopted as the nature of immigration into the country remarkably changed from labour migration to asylum-seekers, refugees and family reunification. The idea of the prolonged preservation of the welfare state began to saturate the discursive sphere of welfare which led to a change in the way decisionmakers tried to acquire public trust for the immigration policy implemented. Conclusively, the trajectory of the welfare state discourse has tallied with that of the immigration policy restrictiveness over the years; the kind of discourse promulgated not only about the welfare state, but also about its *raison d'être* influenced the decisions of policy makers regarding immigration policy output. Within the Swedish context, the functionalist approach goes hand in hand with the approach of discursive institutionalism whereby restrictive immigration policies were enacted so as to be able to preserve welfare institutions and this was strengthened through the shared narrative of how the welfare state was to be perceived. In

should be mentioned that although, Sweden has enacted restrictive immigration policy, the level of restrictiveness is not as high as that of the UK for example.

4.3.2 The British Welfare Discourse

In the years after the Second World War, British policymakers maintained an open door to immigration from the Commonwealth mainly because of the desire to preserve ties with the former colonies which is illustrated in the graph below. However, discourse about the welfare state began to change and was problematised to the point that by the 1990s the UK could be more or less regarded as the most restrictive of any western European country. The incentive to enact restrictive immigration policy was initially associated with a narrative of a rather inclusionary approach, regarded as the ‘limitation-integration equation’.

Figure 8: Welfare discourse and policy restrictiveness comparison



The British welfare state was based on the ideational construct of a homogenous and bounded national community in which the so called ‘others’ would only have access to welfare benefits

and services on the parameter of limited rights. The understanding of the welfare state in this light directs the scope of policymakers towards a particular outcome- in this case restriction- in the implementation of immigration policy even though welfare benefits are already on the not-generous spectrum.

It is argued that the British immigration policy is more rigid especially towards third country nationals than EU member states (Groenendijk, Fernhout, Van Dam, Van Oers & Strik, 2007). Family reunification is linked to the categorization of labour migration which is based on a 5-level tier system with each tier corresponding to different sets of rights (Boswell, 2008). Migrants belonging to either of the first 2 tiers enjoy more privileges and benefits than the other tiers. Based on this, it can be argued that the UK has a complicated system compounded with an insufficient welfare structure that unevenly distributes provisions and benefits.

In this regard, the policy concerning family reunification as it is linked to the tiers of labour migration is less favourable. With the election of the labour government in 1997, there was an ambivalent set of ideas circulating around the welfare state and immigration; a welfare policy structure that was both exclusionary (on welfare services and migrant entry) and inclusive with regards to integration- of which is not entirely the focus of this research.

Narratives were propagated that depicted the British welfare state as open with a tradition of being accessible to foreigners, as well as exclusionary nationalistic tendencies which were articulated by prominent people such as Margaret Thatcher and Enoch Powell. Nevertheless, a higher proportion of the narrow ideational construct of the welfare state still persisted wherein the welfare state was construed as selectively focusing on certain population categories and also had an ethnic/identity component to it that differed from that of Sweden.

In the year from 1999-2000, there is a decrease in the percentage of narrow ideational welfare construct and immigration policy was less restrictive. An explanation for this stems from the Labour government's attempt to enhance the image of the welfare state through a new discursive strategy. Labour sought to perpetuate a modernisation view of welfare institutions which led to the expansion of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme and the relaxation of the work permit criteria for skilled workers, yet this remained as piecemeal measures. Such ad-hoc policy changes were then introduced as a necessary adjustment to welfare structural changes. The British welfare state nevertheless largely remained a selective welfare model where only the poorest section of the population could receive support through welfare services and programs as laid down in the Beveridge report. Over the course of the years, the discourse of the welfare state was further entrenched along the lines that not all inhabitants could partake in the rights and resources made available in society. There was a blurred line concerning the actual distribution of goods and resources. The welfare state became synonymous to selective and special measures that target those who are worse off. Thence the British welfare state existed to alleviate abject poverty which fuelled existing perception of immigrants as 'strangers' and therefore different or not worthy of being regarded into the scheme of the welfare state.

From 2005 onwards, there has been a steady rise in not only the narrow ideational discourse held about the welfare state, but also in the restrictiveness of immigration policy. The speeches made by Gordon Brown (Prime Minister in 2007) resonated with a national inflexion of the British welfare state which included repeated references to British identity, values and interests and also inferring that the welfare state was not established with the purpose of providing services and benefits to non-British inhabitants; but instead, to overcome society's greatest ills by alleviating the circumstance of the 'less-privileged'. The graph therefore highlights a relationship between discourse and its ability to bring about institutional change and the

tendencies of policymakers in not only implementing immigration policy, but also defining the boundaries of welfare eligibility.

4.4 Conclusion

4.4.1 What Changes are Observed in Sweden and the UK?

Given the results drawn from the qualitative analysis and the critical discourse analysis, it remains uncertain as to whether there is in fact a direct relationship between welfare generosity and immigration policy restrictiveness. Whereas data on Sweden points to such a relationship and supports the hypothesis that is informed by the functionalist theory, the data on the UK relates a different story; nevertheless, the introduction of discourse as a variable in the relationship between welfare generosity and restrictiveness of immigration policy highlights the power of narratives and ideational constructs as being instrumental in guiding the trajectory of policy output. With that being said, there does not seem to be a direct causal link between increased generosity of welfare services and the tendency of policymakers to implement immigration policy as the UK is a country that provides little in the way of welfare services but still has a high level of restrictiveness and eligibility rules continue to remain stringent.

In the past decades, a coherent change of the welfare regimes in both countries leaning towards the spectrum of increased restrictiveness as a result of changes to the structure and understanding of the welfare state can be observed. The changes in the welfare structure- which included access to social protection, healthcare services, education system and atypical employment- ultimately exerted pressure that became channelled towards immigration policy and eligibility requirements, by extension. Applying a functionalist theory and the discursive approach of Vivien Schmidt (2008), it then becomes possible to describe such transformations from 1945 till 2013, while layering persists. However, domain and country specific differences are observed.

In Sweden, the transformation of the understanding of the welfare state and the impending restrictiveness of its immigration policy occurred more radically with the urgency to sustain the welfare state. Sweden as a model example of the Scandinavian welfare system developed a welfare system that was not only extensive and generous, but also accommodating to migrants, regardless of background. The state made welfare the concern of all citizens and by instilling such idea in the minds of the inhabitants it made redistribution of resources and wealth easily acceptable as the perception was the welfare state was not tied to a deep-seated notion of national identity as is the case in other countries; neither was welfare established for the purpose of selectivity, in terms of privileging inhabitants who could not afford to provide for themselves. This idea of welfare that embodied the essence of the people's home compounded with the extensiveness of the welfare state did not give much room to pique the incentives of policymakers to restrict immigration policy; the welfare state was not under threat of collapsing and as everyone could equally benefit from the benefits and services provided.

However, from the early 2000s, a shift in perception occurred and a threat to the longevity of the welfare state began to be perceived as there was an influx in migrants for which the Swedish state could not handle. With this change, the exhaustion of welfare institutions became apparent; but as a point of first response, instead of government officials and policymakers to tighten eligibility rules of welfare or protect the most vulnerable group in society, they tightened immigration control which is still in line with a universal welfare model. This tightening of immigration control means that welfare only becomes available when an individual has been able cross into the Swedish territory; so long as a person is residing in Sweden, then he/she is entitled to welfare benefits. The state played an active role in ensuring that resources are distributed in an equitable manner amongst all inhabitants. Thus, the rigidity of Swedish

institutions together with the high popularity of the welfare state amongst its inhabitants had prevented the implementation of radical reforms with regards to the welfare state and immigration. However, since 2012 tensions about the welfare state is bringing about the possibility of major changes to come; major, for a welfare state such as Sweden.

Transformation within the British context was not as sudden and radical as that of Sweden since the UK has right from time maintained a high level of restrictiveness in its immigration policy; and also has a system that gives room for more decisive reforms to take place. The British welfare state was initially intended to be universalistic in nature, however, with the coming to government of Thatcher, this never materialised and social provisions were significantly limited. The welfare state became the embodiment of social assistance for most vulnerable in terms of being in dire need of support; this kind of narrative about the welfare state is already limiting in itself and with the relocation of migrants into the country, there was the general sense that since provisions are limited then it is not necessarily beneficial to largely increase the pool of individuals who are to benefit from receiving aid from the state. In creating this idea, not only has welfare provisions and eligibility remained restrictive, but so too, has the country's immigration policy. In this regard, it is apparent that the government tries to intervene as little as possible, except in the advent of urgency. The British welfare state was not established with the same motif as that of Sweden as such, it becomes clear to understand the immigration policy trajectory that followed. Given how the conception of the British welfare state was tied to selective measures, it became difficult to legitimise open immigration and increased welfare provisions. The discourse of welfare provisions followed the same trajectory as the level of immigration policy restrictiveness over the years with an even higher increase in both variables in the wake of the European migration crisis. Even though the case of the UK

nullifies the functionalist driven hypothesis, it directs focus toward the linkage between welfare discourse and immigration policy.

The need therefore arises for deeper analysis to concretely ascertain the effect of the welfare structure on immigration policy. This research has laid the groundwork for which future research can build upon and discourse and narrative which is usually relinquished to the background in the field of public administration and political science can be brought to the foreground as they bolster the explanatory power of other approaches. Discourse fills in the gap by accounting for instances of institutional and policy changes that other theories do not sufficiently account for.

Chapter 5- Discussion and Conclusion

In the introduction, the question of how the setup of the welfare state in terms of generosity and size can shape the preferences of policymakers in the field of immigration was raised and the question was taken a step further by considering the role of this discourse in this relationship. The answer to this question can be simplified as that: there does seem to be a direct causal relationship between welfare generosity and immigration policy; whereas the trends in Sweden suggests there is a relationship and that policymakers are motivated to restrict immigration so as to ensure the sustenance of current welfare structures, trends in the UK does not suggest the same pattern. The UK proffers little in the way of welfare programs and services, yet the immigration policy remains a consistently high level of restrictiveness which led to the need to consider the role of constructed narratives and discourse in welfare state generosity-immigration policy nexus to get a clearer picture of the institutional changes being brought about. The results pointed in the general direction that the kind of communicative discourses shared about the welfare state does influence immigration policy output as such discourses then in turn legitimises the implementation of the policies, be it in the direction of more restrictiveness or less restrictiveness.

The analysis of the discursive strategies of politicians in the UK and Sweden illustrates that while programmatic ideas may be impervious to be easily influenced by individual actors, there is ample opportunity for sentient agents to categorically establish different elements of these ideational constructs. Perceptive politicians can garner support by way through foregrounding certain ideational levels; favourable elements of background ideas can be drawn upon and propagated in such a way that becomes a shared narrative that then influences policy output. The discursive representations of the welfare state led to changes in the ideational repertoires that was drawn upon in both Sweden and the UK which in turn shaped which policies were

considered feasible and appropriate given shared notions of welfare state institutions. The strength of narrow ideational social constructs of the welfare state must not be overlooked, especially in the case of the UK which became much dominant in the years following 1999, while also coinciding with an economic migration framing. These factors echoed the primacy of the ability to allow entry of people who fit a UK defined criterion of not being a burden to the welfare state and being economically beneficial; in this regard, the welfare state was circumscribed as being accessible to British inhabitants who score low on the socioeconomic status scale and offering a degree of access to economic migrants but not exactly to other forms of migrants.

The protection and preservation of the welfare state becomes an important matter in the Swedish context especially when faced with the pressures of globalisation- especially in the aftermath of the EU migration crisis. In recent years, the normative and economic sustainability of the country's welfare state has been the epicentre of public debates with more narratives geared towards protecting the welfare state so as for welfare institutions to still be able to provide adequate services for those within the nation's borders. Therefore, especially for groups that are not able to properly support themselves, the state had to adopt strict intake policies (reducing the number of granted application and ending permanent residence). Nevertheless, there still remain a solid consensus on the basis of which the welfare state is built.

Looking at the general debate of welfare state and immigration policy, consensus on welfare distribution needs to be taken care of in changing environments. Immigration has become part of an ongoing process of differentiation, where the legitimacy of the welfare state has to be regenerated with broader foundations and in a new form. With its traditional means, the welfare state has not been to manage the issue of passing on the policy of equality to migrants. There is

a schism between those who prefer that the welfare state remain an engine of the incorporation process and would like to press down on the accelerator and those who think that the state has remained too soft and hence sent immigrants to the back of the queue. Nonetheless, both stances relate to the welfare state either as a barrier or driving force to the acceptance of immigrants.

5.1 Reflection and Further Research

This paper hypothesized that the larger (more generous) a welfare state is, the more restrictive its immigration policy is likely to be and also focused on the role of discourse about the welfare state in playing a constitutive role in shaping the choices of policymakers in implementing immigration policy. However, one of the major difficulties encountered in the course of this research was the separation of discourses and qualitative categories. Often times, it is quite easy to make theoretical abstractions about real life phenomenon and isolate from other factors, however, in reality, the discussion surrounding the welfare state and immigration policy remains complex with a multifaceted layer. Teasing out each facet of the discussion presents a challenge that is filled with overlaps and has a form of duality to them whereby one element affects the other.

A limitation of this research is that even with the added knowledge from discursive institutionalism, it cannot be precisely determined why the UK with a skimpy welfare state that provides limited welfare provisions seemed to implement significantly more restrictive immigration policies. A possible explanation could be from the liberal ideological grounding of the state and the welfare regime type it represents which makes the country more susceptible to implementing restrictive policies; another explanation could be derived from historical lock-ins and path dependency that has put the country in a form of loop that prevents outright deviation. Therefore, a limitation in the theoretical approach of this research is that

functionalism and discourse alone are not enough to account for certain differences that are experienced in different national contexts because of the plausibility of more than one potential explanatory variable. This then impacts on the generalizability of the results of this research as no two countries are ever the same and there are always minute differences that can significantly alter a finding. Additionally, for the analysis of primary documents, this research relied on the use of the online machine, Google translate to translate texts from Swedish to English. In as much as this machine was able to provide general translation of the text, it would be improper to dismiss the fact that it is unable to put a translation into its proper context of which was pertinent to this research (being a qualitative and discourse analysis) and therefore meant I had to objectively imply the given context. Sometimes, the machine generated errors and inept translations which would have caused critical information to have gone unnoticed. Owing to the direct translative nature of the online machine and its inability to incorporate context, meanings were sometimes lost in translation, however, I tried to mitigate the occurrence of this by consulting various other sources written in English.

Furthermore, time constraint restricted the scope of this investigation as this dictated the level of depth in investigating the relationship between welfare generosity, discourse and immigration policy. To further clarify the impact of and understand the relationship between welfare generosity and levels of immigration policy restrictiveness, future research should be geared towards quantitative analysis in order to systematically examine this relationship over a wide range of countries and use newly released indicators of immigration policy restrictiveness. This will provide a more generalizable finding into the interaction of these variables. Another angle of departure for research can stem from trying to identify if a relationship can be established between welfare regime type and immigration policy restrictiveness; even though this was not the focus of this research, Sweden and the UK coincidentally represent two

different welfare models and as such, the welfare state-immigration nexus can be enriched by investigating the influence of welfare regime type on immigration policy.

Additionally, further research needs to be carried out into the other important means through which governments may attempt to control access to the welfare state- which is through eligibility requirements/rules. Focusing on this aspect will provide a whole new insight into the dimension of welfare state protection, together with looking deeper at the language and history of immigration and welfare discourse so as to uncover the deeper understanding of the motives of primary policymakers in a policy arena that is recurrently wrought with emotive concepts like 'national 'values'.

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Appendix A

Sweden		
Territorial/border access		
	+	No problems have been reported for migrants (asylum seekers and refugees included) regarding registration
	+	There is relatively stress free access to coming into Sweden
Application processing, selection and admission		
	-	Seeing as the official language is Swedish, all decisions are therefore written in Swedish
	-	As iterated by the Migration Court of Appeal, the burden of proof rests with applicants to provide evidence of legitimate documentation
	-	No guidelines exist for medical examinations and there is no standard of procedure to refer trauma victims to a medical examination within the Aliens Acts. The Migration Agency is looking to investigate and address the issue, but hitherto, institutionalised practices are yet to be established
	-	In regard to asylum seekers, there is no suspensive effect for appeals against decisions taken; this implies that applicants can be expelled by the police which will render the appeal to be inevitably abandoned
	-	The Swedish authority interprets the rules set down by the Dublin Regulation strictly and highly regards the hierarchy established by the Regulation. Contained

		within the Swedish Alien Act are points of references to the Dublin Regulation, however, this is not in detail as the Regulation directly affects Swedish jurisprudence
	+	Legal assistance is made available to migrants who might be in need of such provision
	+	No laid down specific time limit for making a claim
	+	'Accelerated procedures' can be granted to migrants in certain instances which is up to the discretion of the Migration Agency
	+	Decisions made by the Migration Agency can be appealed and is liable to the suspensive effect
	+	Swedish asylum procedure is based off the idea that any evidence can be used in support of an asylum claim
Welfare provision	-	For asylum-seekers, adults do not have access to the education system
	-	Allowance given to those in need of social assistance, especially asylum-seekers, is significantly lower than that given to Swedish nationals
	+	There are no restrictions on leisure and religious activities that migrants choose/can participate in
	+	The right is given to free medical examination and entitlements are given for urgent medical care
	+	Migrants have the rights to have lessons in their mother tongue if there are more people speaking the language within a given location
	+	Migrants are allowed to live wherever they want and to

		choose their location of accommodation. Access is not restricted
	+	Migrants are allowed to receive permanent residence in the fulfilment of the criteria outlined by the Migration Agency

The United Kingdom		
Territorial/border access		
	-	There are tremendous hurdles that migrants have to fulfil before they are considered to come into the UK
	-	There are instances of people being refused entrance and expelled before having the opportunity to apply for asylum and this is not handled formally as official records are not being made
Application processing, selection and admission		
	-	For asylum seekers, there is no personal interview in the Dublin procedure
	-	Publicly funded legal advice is in shortage and there are limits placed on judicial review
	-	Overall, more migrant application is rejected than accepted
	-	The legislation sets down the concept of a safe country of origin
	-	A specific mechanism does not exist to identify those immigrants that may require special procedures
	-+	Where there is admissibility on the basis of merits for highly skilled migrants, this is not entirely the case for other forms of migrants
	-	According to lawyers, the humanitarian clause of the Dublin Regulation is rarely applied by the British authority
	-	Owing to limited availability of judicial representation, this may lead to asylum-

		seekers sending their appeals without having prior proper legal representation
	+	Immigration laws permit that asylum seekers be given “effective opportunity” to get legal advice
	+	The ability to fast track an application is permitted
Welfare provisions		
	-	Access to mental health services is not always guaranteed
	-	The support given is enough to meet
	-	No transparent mechanism for the review of support rates given
	-	In higher and further education, different provisions exist for ‘overseas’ and ‘home’ students. The former is charged considerably higher than the latter
	-	Inadequate levels of support impede on proper healthcare access
	+	Compulsory education for children between 5-16 is enforced

Appendix B- Coding Scheme

Outlined below is the coding scheme used in analysing the parliamentary debates and relevant documents for the qualitative analysis

Categories

- Immigration and Border control
- Welfare programs and benefits

Selected features

- Control of border/frontiers
- Decision on who is allowed to enter the country
 - Managed migration
- High skilled and low skilled
- Burdened welfare state
 - Welfare as a ‘pull factor’
 - Welfare shopping
 - Welfare abuse
 - Fiscal and social costs
 - Burden on education system, healthcare, detention, housing
 - Abuse of asylum system and asylum shopping
- British/Swedish society
- British/Swedish values
- Interest of the British/Swedish people

Once the parliamentary debates and documents had been scanned and coded according to the categories, they were scanned through again to identify the discourse about the welfare state: either the welfare was construed with a broad ideational construct or a narrow ideational construct.

Appendix C- Immigration Policy Restrictiveness

Policy Restrictiveness in Sweden and the UK

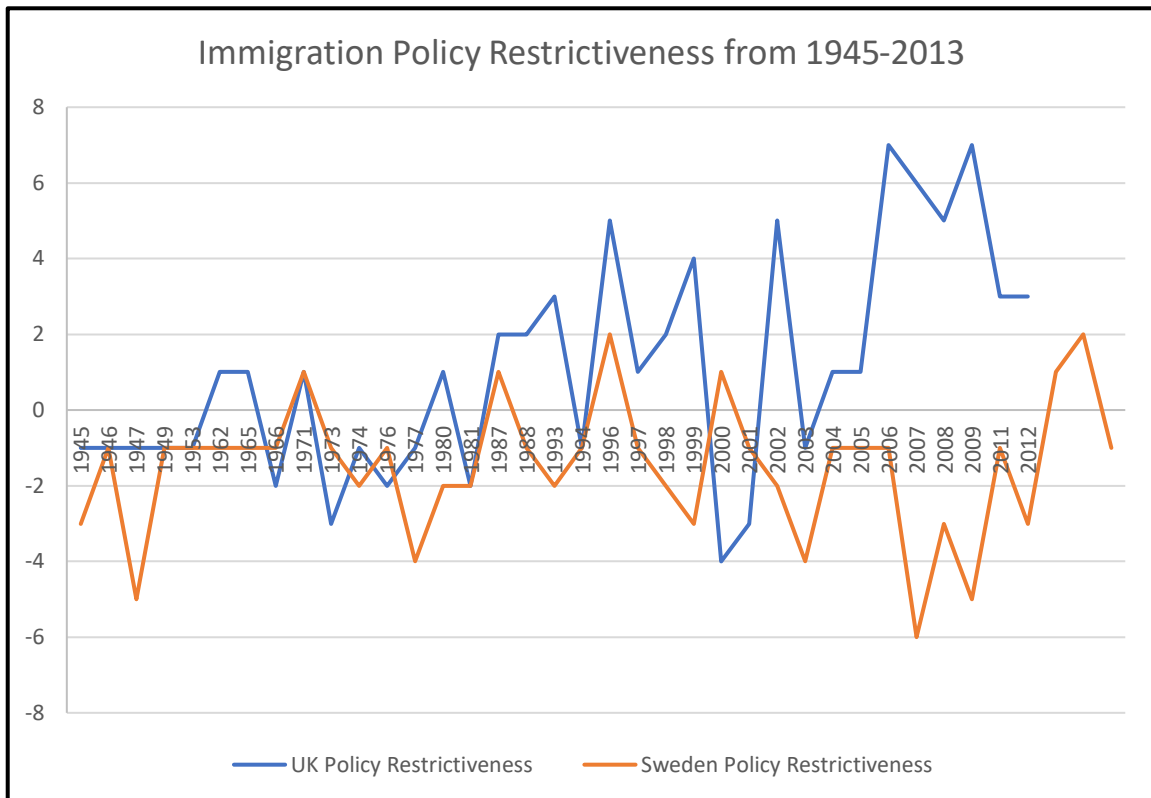
Year	UK policy restrictiveness	Year	Sweden policy restrictiveness
1945	-1	1947	-3
1946	-1	1950	-1
1947	-1	1954	-5
1949	-1	1955	-1
1953	-1	1956	-1
1962	1	1958	-1
1965	1	1966	-1
1966	-2	1967	-1
1971	1	1968	1
1973	-3	1972	-1
1974	-1	1973	-2
1976	-2	1974	-1
1977	-1	1975	-4
1980	1	1979	-2
1981	-2	1980	-2
1987	2	1981	1
1988	2	1983	-1
1993	3	1985	-2
1994	-1	1987	-1
1996	5	1989	2
1997	1	1990	-1
1998	2	1992	-2
1999	4	1994	-3
2000	-4	1997	1
2001	-3	1998	-1
2002	5	1999	-2
2003	-1	2001	-4
2004	1	2002	-1
2005	1	2003	-1
2006	7	2004	-1
2007	6	2006	-6
2008	5	2007	-3
2009	7	2008	-5
2011	3	2009	-1
2012	3	2010	-3
		2011	1
		2012	2
		2013	-1

This data that measures policy restrictiveness was retrieved by taking stock of each of the immigration policies enacted from 1945-2013 and coding them in a way that:

- The code 1 represented more restrictive
- The code 0 represented neutral or no policy change
- The code -1 represented less restrictive

This was then tallied and a number above 1 signifies the increase in restrictiveness and below 0 signifies the opposite

Immigration policy restrictiveness in UK and Sweden from 1945-2013



Appendix D- Welfare Discourse

% of Sweden welfare state discourse

Year	Broad ideational construct	Narrow ideational construct
1947	51%	16%
1950	49%	16,50%
1966	50%	21%
1967	52%	20%
1968	46%	23%
1972	46%	24%
1973	52%	19%
1974	52%	19%
1975	53%	19%
1998	57%	22%
1999	58%	21%
2001	61%	25%
2002	60%	26%
2003	59%	23%
2004	60%	28%
2006	59%	31%
2007	58%	23%
2008	60%	25%
2009	54%	28%
2010	48%	30%
2011	49%	36%
2012	46%	39%
2013	44%	40%

% of British welfare state discourse

Year	Broad ideational construct	Narrow ideational construct
1945	38%	43%
1946	39%	45%
1947	33%	46%
1949	35%	47%
1965	30%	48%
1966	27%	27%
1971	27%	52%
1973	30%	47%
1974	28%	43%
1976	28%	43%
1998	27%	49%
1999	24%	52%
2000	24%	53%
2001	20%	53%
2002	20%	55%

2003	29%	56%
2004	23%	56%
2005	21%	57%
2006	18%	64%
2007	20,50%	63%
2008	18%	63%
2009	19%	66%
2011	18%	63%
2012	17%	64%