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The reasoned Samaritan

A study on the Swedish government's reasons behind the restrictive shift in refugee policy in 2015

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with understanding the restrictive shift in refugee policy that occurred in Sweden during the fall of 2015. Several European states decided to deny entry to refugees, which led to a vast immigration in Sweden. The high quantity of asylum seekers resulted in Sweden adopting restrictive measures in order to limit the immigration rate and regain order and stability in the country. Seeing as the state has a history of a generous foreign politics and a government that seeks to strengthen the protection of refugees a restrictive shift in policy came as a surprise. The aim is thus to examine if the government's actions correspond with their political stance by answering the question *“did the Swedish government argue for that the shift in refugee policy was humanitarian, and if so, how?”* By looking at the government's arguments found in speeches, interviews, and reports the analysis shows that the government both explicitly and implicitly argues for adopting a humanitarian politics. Using statistics and the lack of EU cooperation as arguments the government is able to justify their actions as humanitarian and as being in line with their political views.

Key words: Sweden, refugees, government, humanitarianism and security

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1 Introduction

1.1 Sweden: the Good Samaritan

In Sweden there is a long history of cosmopolitan thought where the nation has aspired and kept fighting for a world built on human rights and democratic values. One can say that it is an inherent characteristic of the Swedish nation as it is a fact that has transcended the various political parties and been kept central throughout political power shifts in the government. Sweden's cosmopolitan strive has worked through different channels including aid, diplomacy, gender equality and refugee protection, to name a few (Brysk, 2009: 43-44). More specifically, Sweden has continually interlinked the national with the global and underlined that there is a strong connection between the two. Consequently, global despair and hardship are closely tied to Sweden as a nation, even if geographically separate. Solidarity has been the dominant perspective in Swedish foreign policy and is an identifying factor for the state. The notion that we are all connected to each other and are all part of this world makes it a necessity to care for each other (Brysk, 2009: 63-64). Sweden's actions have followed this notion and thus entitled Sweden as a global Good Samaritan (Brysk, 2009: 4). Accordingly, a humanitarian perspective has been adopted by the country (Chimni, 2000: 244). Moreover, neglecting to help each other will only lead to negative consequences for the nation state. Thus, it is of national interest to act on cosmopolitan grounds (Brysk, 2009: 65) and it is this notion that Sweden seeks to promote and uphold (Brysk, 2009: 64). Where this notion becomes most visible is through the state's work for refugee protection. According to Article 1(A) in the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) (the Refugee Convention) a refugee is a person who has fled his or her country due to a fear of persecution on the ground of ones nationality, religion, political opinion or race. Not being able to return to ones home requires a person to seek refuge in another country. Depending on the amount of refugees, offered protection can have a high cost for the host nation, as it will affect matters such as the distribution of resources. Nevertheless, Sweden's record is quite impressive and the country has been among the leading states in Europe regarding refugee protection. The nation has been working actively since the Second World War assisting those in need and has maintained a very generous refugee policy, offering protection on a wide basis (Brysk, 2009: 55-57). In addition to asylum and the granting of a safe refuge Sweden provides aid to the United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees (UNHCR), and thus works with various

methods to ensure protection (Brysk, 2009: 47). However, during the 21st century a change in attitude is visible and less people have been granted asylum (Brysk, 2009: 57). We have seen an uprising in nationalistic parties (Miljöpartiet de gröna, 2014: 15) as well as the development of civil unrest in the Middle East, which has led to a high number of refugees (Brysk, 2009: 57). Notwithstanding, Sweden continues to fight for humanity and protection in the name of solidarity and remains one of the top countries in Europe (Brysk, 2009: 55).

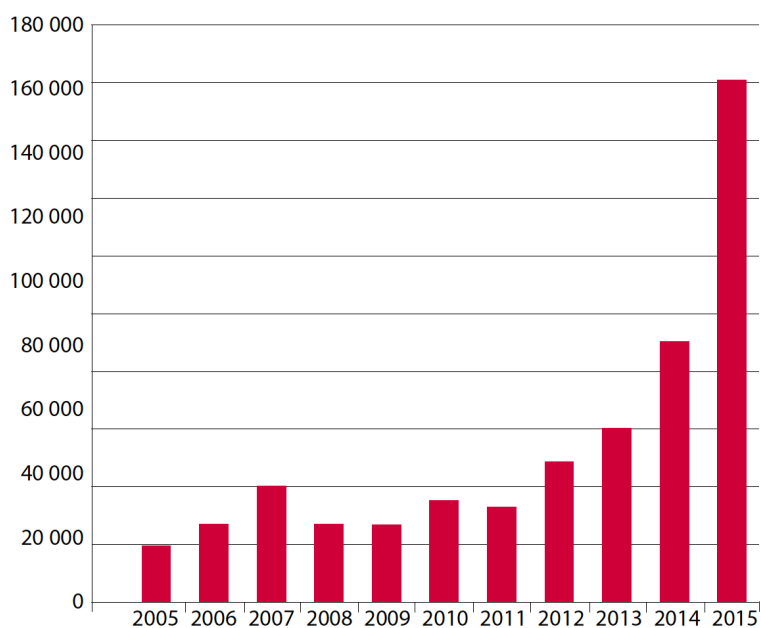
The present Swedish government includes the Social Democrats (Socialdemokraterna) and The Green Party (Miljöpartiet de gröna). In 2014 (Regeringskansliet, 2014) the Social Democrats won the election and together with the Green Party refugee protection became a high priority. Increasing protection for refugees was one of the Green Party's most distinctive marks in their manifesto. They underlined the importance of an open community and a Sweden that stands for humanity and thus condemned the present refugee policy in Europe. More people are falling victim from the current policy, or lack thereof, since a knock on the European door, more often than not, seemed to be met with a closed door and a wall in front of it. Hence reforms are in dire need if a humane politics is to be assured, which is what the Green Party stands for (Miljöpartiet de gröna, 2014: 14-15). In contrast, the Social Democrats' manifesto was more directed towards the domestic factors such as work and the welfare system. Nonetheless, they emphasize the importance of human rights, where they agree with the Green Party's position concerning a reform of refugee protection in the EU. They explicitly state that in the spirit of solidarity Sweden will do its part to ensure protection to those who are not able to find it in their home country. Furthermore, they advocate for continued work with development and security and finding solutions to the conflicts and distress existing around the world (Socialdemokraterna, 2014: 43-45). Both parties displayed a strong belief for a strengthening refugee policy in the EU, however the level of priority differed somewhat. In 2015 this came to be tested as a large quantity of refugees sought their way towards Europe and safety.

1.2 The refugee situation

2015 was a very challenging year for the European states, especially from the summer period, as large quantities of people from the Middle Eastern area fled their homes. Many people were taking the dangerous sea route to Greece and Italy, continuing the journey from there on

land. In Greece people managed to pass the border without being registered. This led to a loss of control regarding how many people had entered the EU. Several states were affected by the immigration where countries such as Hungary decided to close their borders (SOU 2017:12, 290-291). Numerous more states chose to also limit their responsibilities in helping the refugees (Migrationsverket, 2016: 15). This opened up the possibility for people to reach the northern countries much easier. Sweden and Germany hence became more accessible than ever before (SOU 2017:12, 292). For Sweden the challenge was not simply that the outer border control failed but also the fact that the Swedish Migration Board had wrongly estimated the amount of people that were likely to seek asylum in the country. The Migration Board valued the number to be below 80 000 (SOU 2017:12, 293), however by the end of 2015, 163 000 refugees had sought refuge in Sweden. As table 1 depicts, a quantity like this was surely a surprise. Sweden has no prior experiences of such high numbers. Only during the fall period 134 000 people arrived, which during a two month period resulted into 7000 – 10 000 people a week (Migrationsverket, 2016: 14-15). Such high proportions during such a short period of time came with several challenges. New employees were a necessity in order to process the many asylum requests. Over 3000 people were employed, though this still was not enough to deal with all of the applications (Migrationsverket, 2016: 4). Another big challenge was the issue of finding accommodation for everyone, which at one point was unsuccessful (Migrationsverket, 2016: 9).

Table 1: Number of asylum seekers in Sweden 2005-2015



(Migrationsverket, 2016: 16)

The Swedish system was not ready for the challenge that awaited them and thus much pressure was put on various parts of society (SOU 2017:12, 293-294). In order to better handle the large immigration that had occurred, and regain some stability, the government decided to limit the once generous refugee policy into a more restrictive form (SOU 2017:12, 296). Several measures were taken and among these were the implementation of border control at the Swedish borders. The act was twofold in its purpose. On one hand it served as a monitoring system so that the government could better control the immigration. On the other hand it was meant to reduce the immigration into Sweden (SOU 2017:12, 108). Another measure taken was the decision to only provide residence permits on a temporary basis, exempting some such as unaccompanied refugee children (SOU 2017:12, 100).

1.3 Purpose and research question

What has happened in Sweden is that during a short period of time the country has shifted in its historically generous refugee policy and limited it vastly. Such a shift is very interesting but becomes even more noteworthy considering the present government's stance on the matter. Being that they strongly promoted the right to asylum through safe pathways as well as upheld Sweden as a safe haven (Miljöpartiet de gröna, 2014: 14-15) (Socialdemokraterna, 2014; 44-45) restrictive reforms were not expected. Sweden has always sought to maintain the image of a humanitarian country, however the image has not always been mirrored in reality (Brysk, 2009: 44). Thus, the purpose of this thesis is to analyze the shift in policy and how it came to be when the government previously advocated an opposing, open approach. In other words, it will be of interest to understand how the government argued for the implementation of restrictive measures and if their arguments correspond with their political stance. Is it so that the refugee situation has led to a shift in ideology where cosmopolitan notions have been abandoned or are they still upheld but through different means? For this purpose the thesis aims to answer the following research question: *did the Swedish government argue for that the shift in refugee policy was humanitarian, and if so, how?*

1.3.1 Delimitations

Certain limitations have been made to the topic due to limited space and time. These limitations mainly regard the actor being analyzed as well as the time period that will be studied. The subject of this analysis will be the Swedish government as the purpose is to understand how the government reasoned when shifting into a restrictive policy. However, further limitations have been made and a specific actor has been chosen within the government. The chosen actor is the Prime Minister of Sweden, Stefan Löfven. The status of being the Prime Minister means that he is the head of government and the main political representation of Sweden. Thus, statements made by Stefan Löfven will provide the government's opinion on the matter. Furthermore, one actor was chosen in order to obtain a comprehensive picture of the topic and be able to conduct a systematic analysis of the research question. Without further limitations too much information would be available in relation to the thesis' length. Being as the government, together with four other parties agreed upon the restrictive measures, the entire government stood behind the decisions (SOU 2017:12, 100). This is not to deny the fact that huge internal debates were present within the Green Party and the Social Democrats, concerning what should or should not be done (Holmqvist, Svensson & Karlsson, 2015). However, with the limited space and the fact that the government stands behind the restrictive decisions, using material connected to the Prime Minister will be representative of the government's reasoning.

The second limitation concerns the time period, which has been limited to one year, between June 1st 2015 and June 1st 2016. The specific time period was chosen due to the thesis aiming to get a comprehensive representation of the government's perception and depiction of the refugee situation and how this changed and was used as a legitimizing tool for restrictive policy implementations. Since the refugee immigration reached its peak in the fall of 2015 (Migrationsverket, 2016: 16) it was reasoned that a few months beforehand would serve as a good time frame to get a clear picture of what the perception was before a peak was reached. Moreover, the time frame is seen as a suitable choice for the analysis since it also provides a good amount of time after the implementation of the restrictive policies that led to a vast decrease in refugee immigration (Migrationsverket, 2016: 16). The time frame will provide us with a clearer picture of the reasoning and rationality behind the restrictive measures. With this we can better establish if the government's actions agree with their argued stance for solidarity?

Lastly, as the aim is to understand the shift in policy no consideration will be taken to legal matters and if actions taken are in accordance with legal stipulations. Neither will the thesis take a moral or ethical position in its analysis. The aim is not to evaluate if it was right or wrong of Sweden to adopt restrictive measures towards refugees.

1.4 The disposition of the thesis

The thesis is comprised of five chapters. In the *introductory chapter* the reader has been familiarized with the historical account of Sweden's foreign politics, which has been characterized by solidarity and humanitarianism. However, due to the vast refugee migration in 2015 a restrictive shift in refugee policy was made. The reader is further introduced to the contrasting perspectives at play in the government as well as the thesis' purpose and research question. Moving forward, the *second chapter* reviews previous research concerning what is required of states to be considered humanitarian and what responsibilities and obligations states have towards refugees. Furthermore, the analytical framework is presented and the gaps within existing research, that the thesis aims to fill, are established, which situates the thesis more clearly in the academic field. The *third chapter* introduces the reader to the chosen method of content analysis as well as the selected material for analysis, including an explicit description of the analytical process. In the *fourth chapter* the material is analyzed in order to obtain insight into how the situation was perceived by the government and the effect this had on the decisions made later on. In the *fifth and final chapter* the analytical findings are summarized and the thesis' research question is answered.

2 Theory

The following chapter will provide an overview regarding the scholarly debates and research that has already been conducted around the themes of humanitarianism, refugees and the continuous debate of what obligations are de facto put on states when it comes to providing help to those in need. That is, what actions does a state have to take in order to uphold their humanitarian responsibility? The aim of the chapter is to help situate the reader and the thesis topic in existing research in order to understand what role the thesis will have and what gaps it aims to fill. The chapter will conclude with the analytical framework that will be adopted in the analysis.

2.1 The dilemma of liberal democracies

In today's world, one of the main political and humanitarian issues is forced migration and the consequences that follow it. In recent years the number of refugees and asylum seekers have increased vastly owing much to the conflicts and civil unrest in the Middle East (SOU 2017:12, 290). This has led to pressing matters for European states, especially these last few years. The main issue that has been debated is the responsibility that states have when it comes to helping people who have fled for their lives in order to seek refuge in a peaceful country. What has been evident is that there is a disagreement regarding what actions should be taken in situations like these, which Gibney (2004: 248) also calls attention to. Some countries such as Sweden and Germany have opened their borders for many whereas we have simultaneously witnessed a domino effect of closing borders in Europe (Küchler, 2015). So the question that follows is, what obligations do states have when it comes to helping those in need? The difficulties in answering this question lie within liberalism and its philosophy. Within the ideology we find two opposing principles. On one hand you have universalist principles that center around the notion of humanity and an obligation to help people that are in need of assistance. However, on the other hand one finds its opposite where a restrictive notion is upheld instead. Through the individualist perspective the community of the nation state is prioritized and should be safeguarded. In other words, the state's duty is first and foremost to its people. Due to this dichotomous composition it becomes difficult to establish which direction is 'the right one' for a liberal state to take (Every, 2008: 211). Nevertheless, one might think, and argue for the fact that universalist notions should trump particularistic

ones due to them holding the dominant stance within liberalism (Douzinas, 2007: 52-53). Philosophically we talk about the freedom of every human in the world and strive for this notion. However, in reality this becomes an issue due to the development of the rights discourse and its dependence on the nation state (Douzinas, 2007: 96-98).

2.1.1 The hierarchical nature of the rights discourse

Rights and the national system are closely tied to each other (Douzinas, 2007: 97-98) where the implementation of rights is dependent on the legal system in nation states. Hence, when discussing human rights and their global reach this becomes problematic since they also depend on the nation states enforcing them (Dauvergne, 2000: 57). Due to this rights are ranked and prioritized differently depending on the person trying to invoke them. In cases where refugee rights are considered in relation to citizen rights the latter are given more weight. According to Dauvergne this is due to “the strength of differing rights claims depend[ing] upon their proximity to the core values of the legal system that enforces them” (Dauvergne, 2000: 57). As Dauvergne has stated, rights claims belong in sense to the community of a state and it is its citizens who are the primary carriers of rights. Nevertheless, this is not to say that a human rights regime does not exist. The hierarchical system simply points out the weak aspects of the system that become more visible in certain contexts. The division between different rights claimers has also been discussed as being a marker for a person’s degree of humanness. In his book *Human rights and empire* Douzinas ties back to the relationship between citizenship and rights. During early modernity humanity was not looked at as something found within every person but something that was realized through the privilege of being a member of a community. This privilege provided you with humanity through the acquiring of rights. This in sense renders everyone outside of the community, e.g. refugees, as lesser human beings (Douzinas, 2007: 98-99). According to Katherine Betts the issue at hand lies in the fact that citizen rights, which encompass a universal range within their rights, have been extended rhetorically to everyone who is not a member within the community. In other words, citizens enjoy a wide range of rights, including social, political and economic rights. These are rights that their state provides them with by being citizens in the nation state. Yet, with the birth of the United Nations (UN) and its various conventions a universal language has been adopted and preached. However, this has only led into depicting an ideal order that in some cases, such as national security concerns, might be prevented and not realized. Hence it only serves as a disappointing dream that many have been fooled to

believe would prevail in every occasion. At the end of the day, even if there exists a genuine will to provide rights on a universal basis there are circumstances that will prevent this objective (Betts, 1995: 29-30). Though, this is not to say that there are no means of help for people seeking refuge. The Refugee Convention was stipulated in 1951 and there we find the principle of non-refoulement. This principle is stated in article 33(1) of the convention and specifies the unlawfulness of returning a refugee to a place where he or she might be in danger (Dauvergne, 2000: 58). Apart from this, the convention does not include any obligations on states to allow refugees to enter their soil. Hence, in this sense immigration control and exclusionary actions do not violate any legal stipulations (Dauvergne, 2000: 60) as long as they see to the fact that refugees encountered do not risk danger by states denying entry to their land (Gibney, 2004: 241).

2.1.2 Security for whom?

Concerning the issue of border control, there are several reasons to why states seek to uphold these and limit immigration to certain extents. Most of these reasons revolve around a concern for security, which has been the states' primary responsibility since the creation of the Westphalia system (Betts, 1995: 28). Some scholars argue for the fact that protected borders is a necessity in order to safeguard the rights discourse in its entirety. Rights are, as established, attributed first and foremost to citizens of a state. However, in order for rights such as e.g. social rights to exist citizens have some responsibilities to uphold. One of these is the importance to pay taxes in order for e.g. welfare provisions to exist. Without borders and the control over who enters the territory these might be endangered since a potential backlash from the citizens might occur. Welfare would be distributed to not only the citizens but also to incoming people who are in need of it. Hence, Betts argues that the potential backlash would occur due to the fact that it would entail that rights are given freely to refugees but are in fact funded by the citizens. The rights discourse is upheld by the mere fact that a community exists and upholds its responsibilities. If this would end, the rights discourse would cease to end as well (Betts, 1995: 30-31). The aspect of security could, with little doubt, be argued to be the dominant reason for why forced migration is one of the main political issues in society. According to scholar Matthew J. Gibney there are at least three main reasons that can be identified. The first reason concerns the amount of people that are on the move at the same time, i.e. the quantity. The concern and security risk lies in the fact that vast numbers of migrants might weaken the host nation and threaten it. A potential risk is conflicts and

uprising between ethnic groups. The other risk is connected to the discussion Betts held concerning the distribution of resources and the potential risk that “too much” will be given newly arrived immigrants which in the end leaves less for the citizens and hence becomes a problem in society. Nevertheless, Gibney argues that this reason is not something that states usually have to worry about. In order for this to become a problem it needs to fulfill two prerequisites: 1) the amount will need to be within tens or hundreds of thousand people and 2) the need for access occurs during a very short time period (Gibney, 2004: 255). The other two reasons identified are viewed as more worrisome for states. The second reason is tied to the image that the refugee represents (Gibney, 2004: 256). The issue of forced migration as a security threat is closely connected with terrorist activity (Gibney, 2004: 255) and it can be argued to have increased with today’s reoccurring terrorist attacks, around the world. This has led to negative perceptions of refugees where they are connected with threats similar to these as well as the conflicts that they are fleeing from. What is interesting with this perception is the present paradox that is found in it. The idea that the refugee represents a security threat is ironic since they themselves have become refugees due hostile reasons, which have led them to the necessity to flee their homes. Nevertheless, this irony is seldom an aspect one actively thinks about. Unfortunately this results into upholding a negative representation of refugees. The third reason lies in the ‘unknown’ element of the refugee. If there already exists a preconceived idea that refugees are something to fear, even if it is unfounded, not having any information about the people who seek to enter ones territory heightens the association of refugees as dangerous individuals. The reason is due to not having any previous information regarding the individual. Then the state is unable to work out if there are reasons to suspect any dangerous intent on a specific individual’s arrival or not (Gibney, 2004: 256-257). With this in mind and the connection and effect that terrorism has had on migration, the risk for increasing a negative perception of refugees will most likely heighten if one considers the numerous terrorist attacks that Europe has seen the last decade.

The long-lasting perception of refugees as threats is very problematic and dangerous in many ways. Research in psychology has shown that grave consequences follow the threat perception where there are connections between notions of threat/fear and dehumanization (Louis et.al. 2013, Haslam & Stratmeyer, 2016, Esses & Medianu, 2013 & Bleiker et.al. 2013). Dehumanization is the act of devaluing a human being into something less, where he or she are not considered worthy of the title. Such a perception can also lead to harmful actions (Haslam & Stratmeyer, 2016: 25). This is very problematic since a dehumanized

perception of a person figuratively eliminates him or her from the picture where rights and assistance are denied. In cases such as immigration, dehumanization removes a moral duty to assist those in need (Every, 2008: 223). Research has shown that there is a connection with diminishing people when one feels that one's own security is threatened. An example of such a security threat is when the host community is threatened in some way, e.g. by losing its resources to immigrants (Louis et.al. 2013: E157). Research shows that when a situation is composed as a so-called zero-sum-game, i.e. when one side is gaining while the other is losing (Louis et.al. 2013: E156), negative attitude will increase towards immigrants as will the perception of immigrants as lesser human beings (Louis et.al. 2013: E162). According to Esses and Medianu (2013) terrorism has also had an effect on dehumanizing processes where media has increased the perception of refugees as terrorists. What becomes even more problematic is that dehumanizing processes do not only affect certain individuals or a defined group. Its force can evolve and come to cover the overall perception of refugees (Esses & Medianu, 2013: 529), which in the end will have grave consequences regarding their human rights. Most of these aspects can be connected back to the dichotomy between individualism and universalism and the discussion of how one frames potential threats to be viewed as too damaging to the nation state.

What has become evident is that even though universal notions are presented as being the dominant ones in liberalism there are circumstances that might change this. Consequently, this points us towards the other, supposedly less dominant, direction within liberalism, i.e. individualism. What states should or should not do when it comes to forced migration can sometimes be found in a state of limbo, between the two principles. It is within this difficulty where one finds the dilemma of liberal democratic states. Whose interests should be prioritized and which direction decides if a state's actions are just and democratic? Does exclusion equal a non-liberal and unjust country when its survival is at stake? At the same time, can a country consider itself as just if they refrain from helping those in need? (Betts, 1995:31). One has to wonder if there is any duty, since it would be a ruthless act to do nothing and leave people to fight for themselves. Dauvergne suggests that a possible way would be to invoke help on humanitarian grounds (Dauvergne, 2000: 72).

2.2 The principle of humanitarianism

One of the main reasons to invoke the humanitarian principle might be due to it being connected with perceptions of good. Having a status of being a good and compassionate state is very attractive (Dauvergne, 2000: 72). This is especially true when considering the concept being a buzzword within international politics (Chimni, 2000: 244). Hence, it might be a strategic move calling upon help through the principle of humanitarianism. Moreover, within the principle we also find some direction to the question asked above, regarding the existence of any potential duties for states. The principle of humanitarianism provides a midway route that can be viewed somewhat as a negotiation between universalism and individualism. Humanitarianism is defined as follows:

When persons or associations can improve the conditions of the destitute at little cost to themselves, they bear a heavy moral obligation to do so. By the same token, as the burden increases, the obligation to assist the destitute diminishes. These are the dictates of good samaritanism, known more formally as the principle of 'mutual aid' (Shacknove, 1988: 134, as cited in Every, 2008: 211).

Matthew Gibney also concurs with humanitarianism being a good principle to uphold and that many advantages follow its definitional purposes. On one hand it seeks to preserve universal notions where humanity should be at the center. Simultaneously, it also seeks to maintain the sovereign right for states to not abandon every other responsibility in society in order to fulfill their obligation. Thus a limit is put on states' duty, regulating it to people that are in absolute need of it. (Gibney, 2004: 231). Furthermore, an indication concerning to what extent a state's moral obligations hold can be by looking at how much it affects the citizens in the nation. If too much is sacrificed this will indicate that the duty to assist refugees has reached its peak. If considerations are not taken to the citizen's wellbeing potential backlashes might occur (Gibney, 2004: 234). In summary, depending on the present condition within the state it will decide towards which direction a state's obligation leans more.

On a similar note, the principle of humanitarianism can be found in readings of Immanuel Kant, Emmanuel Levinas and Jacques Derrida, albeit through the concept of hospitality. Previous works from both Kant and Levinas have influenced Derrida's work concerning the concept of hospitality. It is Kant's work on the achievement of perpetual peace that provided

inspiration for Derrida's continued work with developing the concept. Kant's work was based in a cosmopolitan philosophy but it is also within that work that we find the divide in liberal philosophy. Kant promoted a notion where citizenship adopted a universal character but at the same time he found that the sovereignty of states was still an important factor to consider. Hence, a limitation on universality was established through the notion of universal hospitality. Accordingly, this meant that 'strangers', i.e. what we would today refer to as non-citizens in a nation state, should be met with kindness when arriving to a new territory (Leung & Stone, 2009: 194). Contrary to Kant's views on hospitality Derrida identified two versions of the concept: unconditional and conditional hospitality. The former has strong connections to Kant's version and embraces a comprehensive openness to everyone who wants and needs to enter. The latter is more restricted in its form and limits the openness that is included in unconditional hospitality. A welcome is given in the sense of visitor rights and are followed with an obligation to follow the rules set by the sovereign. The difficulty that presents itself between the two versions is that unconditional hospitality is rendered void when limits are imposed on it. Accordingly, it becomes impossible to achieve (Leung & Stone, 2009: 195), which can be understood if one considers the role politics has in the equation. Depending on the situation that the state is confronted with it can result into a change of actions that becomes necessary, especially when faced with conflicting interests. According to Levinas, hospitality is never set in stone, and depending on the context it will sometimes necessitate actions of the opposite. It is a difficult scale to work with and issues of justice and ethics will always need to be contemplated (Leung & Stone, 2009: 199). As Derrida himself so eloquently puts it, "[hospitality is] an art and a poetics, yet a whole politics depends on it and a whole ethics is determined through it" (Derrida, 1997a, as cited in Leung & Stone, 2009: 194). It is somewhere between the two versions that hospitality is located, and it can tilt more or less towards either side (Leung & Stone, 2009: 195). In order to exemplify: when a liberal and open state is confronted with a high quantity of refugees it could possibly affect the welfare system in a negative way (Gibney, 2004: 255). Hence, it could lead to a change in policy where one limits immigration in order to gain stability again. Policy changes like that is an example of how the level of hospitality can alter depending on the situation.

Gibney also discusses the situation of border control and if states should abolish these in the name of humanitarianism or not. Gibney agrees with Betts that this is not a necessity, and might instead result into negative consequences. Nevertheless, Gibney argues for different reasons than the rights focused perspective that Betts mentions. His reasons are based in

security concerns, both in regards to the nation state as well as for refugees themselves. Concerning national security risks he mentions the fact that open borders might lead to conflicts between ethnic groups where at the far end of the risk scale it could lead to ethnic cleansing. In terms of security for refugees, he explains how open border might put refugees' lives at risk since the likelihood of people choosing to risk their lives in order to enter a peaceful country with open borders is high (Gibney, 2004: 241). This is not to say that it will not happen if a state has taken measures to implement immigration control. Though, what Gibney means is that open borders might produce larger refugee groups than what would originally be the case. Hence, it is a valid choice for states to uphold their border control amongst other non-arrival measures. Gibney argues that instead of only looking at measures that can be taken at ones own border there are other methods one can employ. Two examples would be to focus on aid and actively work so that it targets the right areas as well as put effort into the prevention of arms sales (Gibney, 2004: 248).

We have already established that in the name of humanitarianism, as is defined through Shacknove's definition above, and which also finds support through other scholars' work, there are limits to this principle in the shape of national costs. However, the issue that remains is to establish the boundaries of what and how much is included within the definitional boundaries of 'national costs'. This, in sense, is difficult to do since humanitarianism is, at its core, an unrestricted concept. In other words, this means that states are able to manipulate it and use contextual reasoning to justify how a nation state choses to use and interpret the concept (Chimni, 2000: 244). Every's research confirms this problem and emphasizes that exaggerations of what is considered to be 'too much' for the nation are easily done due to the absence of an international system where this is determined from start (Every, 2008: 226). The absence of a cooperative system is one of the main problems that make forced migration a top political concern. In order to have some stability the Dublin Convention stipulates a 'first country rule' for asylum seekers. The rule obligates refugees to apply for asylum in the first country they come to. Some scholars advocate for a change since the Dublin Convention is not satisfactory enough. Instead a system should be constructed that aims on dividing refugees between countries by looking at various factors such as financial aspects and contextual background, to name a few. Such a change would result into building a cooperative system where 'burden sharing' is the key factor (Gibney, 2004: 251). A top priority for states should be to develop a system that divides refugees in a proportionate way. This it is also a method for how states can work in a humanitarian way (Gibney, 2004: 236-237).

Nonetheless, Chimni questions the possibility of burden sharing and argues that our perception of migration as a security threat makes it more likely that states choose exclusion as an option instead of taking upon themselves a part of the burden (Chimni, 2000: 252). That said one important task should be to deconstruct the threatening image of the refugee so as to be able to move forward and work to establish an improved and fair system for everyone. However, since we do not have any specific guidelines established that direct states it is possible for state politicians to argue for the fact that their actions are humanitarian while simultaneously adopting measures of exclusion. Remaining a humanitarian image is thus easily done due to the *carte blanche* enjoyed by states (Every, 2008: 226). Nevertheless, there are some arguments that provide better persuasive power than others. By placing the wellbeing of refugees at the center of an argument excluding measures are more likely to be accepted. One example would be by emphasizing the difficulty in unifying policy reforms with a proper treatment of refugees. By contrast, arguments that center on cultural protection are not viewed as valid (Gibney, 2004: 235). Every (2008) agrees with Gibney's argument regarding policy changes. Though, her stance differs when it comes to using culture as an argument. According to her this would constitute an equally possible argument for state politicians to use (Every, 2008: 214). The following subsection, 'analytical framework', will provide a more thorough introduction to how states can argue for their actions being humanitarian even though this might not be the case. Nevertheless it becomes a possibility due to the contradictory composition in liberal philosophy (Every, 2008).

2.3 Analytical framework

In her article "a reasonable, practical and moderate humanitarianism: the co-option of humanitarianism in Australian asylum seeker debates" Every (2008) uses an analytical framework that identifies four liberal binaries that are divided between universalist and individualist positions. In her analysis of two Australian parliament speeches she uses these to understand how the politicians perceive refugees and how they frame their actions as humanitarian. In other words, she analyzes how a humanitarian language is used in order to legitimize exclusionary actions (Every, 2008). These four liberal binaries will constitute the main analytical framework for this thesis. The framework has been chosen since it fits well to the topic at hand. As the thesis aims to understand the shift in refugee policy in Sweden by looking closer at the government and their actions the framework is relevant for the thesis. It

will help us understand towards what ideological direction the government is leaning and what arguments are put forward to justify actions that have been taken. Following a description will be provided of the four binaries.

Cost to self versus Duty to others

The nation state has always constituted one of the main actors in international politics. Since this has been the case humanitarianism has mainly worked through the nation state. In a context where specific borders outline the playing field, national interest have always been prioritized. Regarding matters of immigration a distinguishable “us” and “them” is found where an emphasis on our own community legitimizes exclusion and makes it look as something natural. This is usually done by highlighting the individualist side and stating that the situation has become too burdensome and constitutes as a too big of a cost for the (host) nation. Looking back at the definition of the humanitarian principle this becomes a valid reason for ending previous support given refugees (Every, 2008: 213-214). However, what remains a problem, as Chimni (2000), Gibney (2004) and Every (2008) have all noted, is that the individualist stance concerning ‘cost to self’ is easily manipulated. This due to the lack of a predetermined system that stipulates more clearly what is included within the four walls of the humanitarian box and what is not (Gibney, 2004: 242). Hence, for the time being a subjective view continues, which makes it difficult to eliminate exaggerative arguments.

Reason versus Emotion

Political decisions can be made either by reason and rationality or be grounded in emotional factors. Commonly, emotion based decisions have been refuted by Western countries due to the belief that they have a potential of leading to negative consequences. In other words, they are perceived as being unstable. Hence, states have historically preferred to eliminate emotional aspects and have instead raised reason and rationality to be the driving forces in politics. More recently a divide in opinion has arisen concerning this matter where emotions have started to be considered as a good foundation to work from (Every, 2008: 214-215). Dauvergne (2000) mentions that emotional claims might persevere when legal options do not. She states that claims grounded in humanitarianism may prevail due to their compassionate perspective. Acts of compassion generate a good image, which in itself is attractive for states to have (Dauvergne, 2000: 72). However, even if claims are built on emotions, from the state’s point of view the help will still be grounded in reason due to it being a strategic move

to gain or uphold a good image outwardly. Thus it is still evident that reason maintains its dominance over emotion. What is specifically interesting, as well as disconcerting, with said binaries is how forces of reason are able to convert the good into something bad. Helping an individual who is in need of it is considered to be a kind thing to do and to many also reasonable, when one is able to do so. However, if transferring this equation into a bigger setting where the individual is the state and the person in need are ten thousand, or more, refugees, reason can easily adopt a different appearance. Instead one finds reason in maintaining stability in ones own state, where in some cases the outcome can be closing ones borders to destitute people. The logic is similar as the one mentioned in the former binary where reason is connected to the individualistic notion of ‘cost to self’ (Every, 2008: 215).

Practicality versus Idealism

This binary concerns the rationality of what solutions are deemed as more practical in resolving a problem. One can look at them in terms of a scale. On one side of the scale we find practicality and a solution to the problem at hand. On the other side of the scale we find idealism and ideas that are perceived as too idealistic, unreasonable and somewhat naïve. It may be that an idealistic solution is desired but where the situation or contextual background makes it unfitting at present time and hence making it idealistic. Such an example was found in New Zealand where enough progress had not yet been made regarding racism and the indigenous Maori population, which led to devaluing anti-racist protests as an impractical method (Every, 2008: 215).

Moderation versus Excess

The last binary has close connections to the second and third one and concerns the process of obtaining a solution that takes into account all aspects and centers on a midway approach. This is found e.g. in the principle of humanitarianism where both universalist and individualist notions have been taken into account and resulted into a principle that seeks to satisfy both in some sense by finding a balance between the two. In terms of refugee immigration excessive quantities exceed the balance established in liberal philosophy and would hence allow exclusionary measures (Every, 2008: 215-216).

What has become apparent from all four binaries is that they are all, more or less, grounded in the first where the issue is that humanitarianism can be used freely since there is no lower

limit to what defines ‘cost to self’. In other words, it is easy to operate through a humanitarian discourse since exaggerations are possible regarding how much the nation might suffer due to refugee immigration.

To summarize, what is evident from existing research is that much has been explored in the area of migration and the role that nation states play concerning their duty to help those who are forced to flee their home. We can establish that there does exist some obligations through the principle of humanitarianism. However, these obligations are dependent on the status of the state’s condition. In other words, depending on if the government declares that the state and/or its citizens are suffering in some way, i.e. that considerations need to be taken to other important interests, it will affect their duty and limit it, if not end it temporarily. Considering the analytical framework presented we see that these considerations can sometimes be hyperbolized. This way, it is possible for liberal states to continually adopt exclusionary actions regarding refugees and still uphold the image of being a humanitarian country. Danielle Every’s (2008) research exemplified this in the Australian context when she analyzed two parliament speeches to see how a liberal, humanitarian language was used in order to justify the denial of entry and help towards refugees. Research preparations for this thesis have also showed that the majority of studies concerning immigration pertain to Australia, Canada, the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK). The Australian context is especially prominent in immigration research, which is exemplified in Every (2008), Dauvergne (2000), Bleiker et.al. (2013), Louis et.al. (2013) to name a few. Less research is found on smaller states and very little about Sweden in particular. As was stated in the introductory chapter, Sweden is a very interesting case to examine due to the fact that it has upheld a very kind and open immigration policy before the shift that occurred during the fall of 2015. Thus, it is of interest to look closer at the reasons put forward by the government that served as justifications for the restrictive actions taken. Consequently, the gap that this thesis aims to fill is to complement existing research by providing a case study of a smaller country. This will be of special interest due to the shift in policy that occurred just over a year and a half ago in Sweden. Furthermore, the case will contribute to an international discussion of what effects a vast migration movement has on states and the reactions that follow if faced with high refugee numbers. Following, an introduction will be provided of the method that will be employed in order to answer the research question.

3 Method

The previous chapter provided an insight into the relationship between immigration, rights and responsibilities of the state and the issue of humanitarian assistance. What we know is that the perception of a situation has much power over what actions are considered necessary. In order to get an understanding of the Swedish perspective and be able to answer the question: *'did the Swedish government argue for that the shift in refugee policy was humanitarian, and if so, how?'* a textual analysis will be employed as a method. Following, a presentation will be provided of the method as well as the specific procedure that will be applied in the analysis.

3.1 Textual analysis – the power of language

In today's globalized world, simply clicking a few words on a computer keyboard can provide much information. Not only that, our vast usage of various social media sites lays heaps of information right before our eyes, without you even having to search for it. Facebook, to name one such site, has spread all over the world to every part of the society. Teenagers, adults, celebrities as well as politicians use it and for various purposes, be it socialization, activism, or informatory purposes. Living in an era where we are flooded with information around the clock it certainly has an affect on us (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 17). There is a power aspect to language that can present itself in different forms. It can operate both visibly and invisibly. An example of the former is when governments stipulate laws; the law becomes a manifestation of a visible power. The latter form concerns a "power over the mind" where language can be used as an interceptive tool in people's lives. It concerns the way someone, be it politicians or the media, can alter people's opinions by e.g. only lifting one perspective of an event (Bergström & Boréus, 2012. 18-19). This is an example of how the language that we use and the information that is provided can affect our thoughts and actions (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 17). Taking information at face value, without applying any source criticism, can have negative consequences (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 19). Ontologically speaking, language is viewed as the toolkit that builds our perception of reality (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 28). Hence, it needs to be studied if the aim is to understand various occurrences (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 17). Being that this thesis objective is to understand how the government perceived the refugee situation, in order to answer if the government argues for

that the shift in refugee policy was humanitarian, governmental texts are necessary to analyze (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 18). Without them, one cannot obtain the necessary insight to the reasons that lay behind the government's actions. Thus, for this thesis purpose a textual analysis is considered as the best method to use. Consequently, a social constructivist methodological standpoint will be adopted (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 28). The analysis will include written legislative proposals, articles as well as interviews and speeches as the method adopts a wide definition of the word 'text' including written, oral and visual texts (Bergström & Boréus, 2012: 17-18). A more thorough presentation of the material can be found in subchapter '3.2 Material'.

3.1.1 Content analysis

Having decided to use textual analysis as a method the next step is to narrow it down to a certain type of analysis. The method includes different types of analyses, which vary depending on their scope, depth and/or purpose. Two of the most used ones are content analysis and discourse analysis. The main difference between the two is their scope and depth of analysis. Within content analysis the researcher can choose between conducting a qualitative and a quantitative analysis. The former seeks to investigate what is hidden behind the words, i.e. the meaning that is produced from the text but not necessarily considered at first glance. The latter approach studies the reoccurrence of e.g. words and how they are used in text. Nevertheless, both approaches center their analysis on the text itself (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 309-310). A discourse analysis, however, has the same starting point as a qualitative content analysis, i.e. identifying the working discourse. A discourse is an "ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is produced and reproduced in a particular historical setting" (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 309). However, the difference is found in the fact that a discourse analysis goes beyond the text and includes aspects such as intended audience, source and message amongst many more. In other words, the context that the text exists within is fundamental to the analysis. Without this aspect the produced meaning cannot be analyzed. Furthermore, the method is closely tied to issues of power and seeks to reveal these in the analysis (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 309-310). In relation to the posed research question, discourse analysis has been excluded due to the fact that the analysis will not look at aspects outside of the actual text. Hence, the context that the text is found in will not be included nor will potential power aspects. Furthermore, as the theoretical framework does not take power into consideration a discourse analysis is not relevant for the

topic. The aim is to establish the discourse that was shaped during the chosen time period and look at the specific reasons that formed it. For this purpose, a qualitative content analysis is a suitable method (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 209). Thus, the analytical method will be a qualitative content analysis.

Having chosen the specific approach there are still some factors to consider in order for the study to qualify as a good textual analysis. The first pertains to the matter of validity. High validity is gained when the method chosen corresponds to the question posed. Closely connected to validity is the potential interference the researcher has on the study. According to Bergström and Boréus contextual knowledge is of importance, as is language (2012: 40-42). A qualitative content analysis is, as previously argued, a fitting method, as the aim is to locate the discourse of refugees and the refugee situation that was adopted by the government. This requires us to look at government statements. Moreover, having lived in Sweden 25 out of my 27 years the risk of e.g. faulty interpretations of the material is greatly reduced. Hence, one can argue for that the study's validity is high. The second aspect pertains to the matter of reliability. High reliability is gained through transparency, i.e. providing the reader with detailed accounts of the step-to-step process in the analysis. This is very important, as without having an insight on what grounds the researcher bases his/hers conclusions there are no indications of knowing whether they are trustworthy. Plausibility from the reader's point of view is central if reliability is to be obtained (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 328). In order to achieve high reliability a detailed review has been provided concerning the material for analysis as well as the system that will be followed throughout the analysis. In terms of plausibility, quotes and descriptive accounts will be included as a means to provide evidence for conclusions that are made (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 327).

3.2 Material

The following subchapter will offer a detailed explanation for how the data collection process and the material that has been chosen for the analysis. The aim is to provide transparency as well as establish a clarity regarding the choices made.

3.2.1 Data collection

The selection of material has been conducted through various databases and homepages in order to get a comprehensive overview of the topic. The first source for selecting material was the government's homepage. This was chosen due to them having a specific page dedicated to their work with refugees and it is entitled: "the government's work with the refugee situation". In order to only get results that are of relevance for my thesis topic the search was limited to 'migration' and 'asylum'. Furthermore, in order to conduct a systematic analysis of the research question a specific time period of one year was chosen. The period was delimited to June 1st 2015 till June 1st 2016. When delimiting the search on the government's webpage a selection of 132 matches was found. The webpage is available in both an English and a Swedish version (in Swedish: "Regeringens arbete med flyktingsituationen"). However, the English page was excluded since the same demarcations resulted into 35 hits whereas the Swedish version resulted into 132 found searches. Within the 132 hits there are several different documents available. The documents vary from press release, articles, speeches, debate articles, and information material as well as legislative proposals. A further delimitation was excluded since it was preferred to go through every document to get a better picture of what was included in the various documents. More than half were press releases with invitations to various conferences or events. These were excluded since they are not relevant for the thesis topic. This left 51 matches. Out of these, five speeches were found that were held by the Swedish Prime Minister Stefan Löfven. In addition to the speeches a legislative proposal, Prop. 2015/16:67, was found. The proposal was written by the government and has Stefan Löfven's name on it. When a document has the Prime Minister's name attached to it it means that the whole government stands behind the decision (Lagrummet.se, 2014). The six documents mentioned have been selected from the webpage as material for the analysis.

The second source used was "Artikelsök" (eng. article search), which is a database found through Lund University. The database allows you to search for articles from various Swedish news magazines. As the aim is to understand the government's point of view of the refugee situation the material chosen is strictly limited to primary sources. This is a necessity in order to get first-hand knowledge of their reasoning that has not been previously interpreted by someone else (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 329). When searching for material in media not much has come up that is not either an informative article, a debate article or an opinion piece.

However, when using the database one can type in certain search words and names of individuals that you would want to be mentioned in the article, in some way. The database is limited to the Swedish language hence only Swedish search words have been used. All of the words revolve around migration, refugees, security, humanity and border control. Additionally, in connection to the search words, “Löfven” was added under “personnamn” (eng. personal name) since the aim is to obtain articles where one can find statements from the Prime Minister. Lastly, the year was limited between 2015-2016 since this is the chosen time period for the thesis. The search resulted into four articles that have either been written by Stefan Löfven and Åsa Romson or are interviews of the Prime Minister with his responses included in the articles. Being that Löfven is either the author of the text or has been cited in the articles, the material is to consider a primary source.

Apart from the above-mentioned sources, material has also been found on the homepage of the social democrats. They have a section on their webpage dedicated to speeches that are held every year. Here one can find all speeches held by Löfven. This resulted into finding two additional speeches.

3.2.2 Selected material for analysis

When conducting a textual analysis there are certain steps one needs to take before starting the analysis. First and foremost the researcher needs to collect the data that will be used in the analysis (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 320). The data collection amounted to twelve documents in total. These are primarily speeches held by Stefan Löfven, but are mixed with articles, interviews as well as a legislative document proposing the stipulation of a new law. The inclusion of different sources in the data collection process is very important in order to get a good representative sample (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 320). Much was found from the government's homepage, however looking outside of these in e.g. social media is important as another perspective or depth can be obtained through e.g. interviews. In order to reduce the potential of bias in the research, i.e. affecting the result by not presenting necessary material (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 320), every speech by Stefan Löfven that was found during the specified time period has been selected. Furthermore, all articles found through the article database that meet the criteria of being a primary source and are connected to the Prime Minister, have also been selected. However, in this regard it is important to note that one online speech is not available. This is the speech held by Stefan Löfven and Åsa Romson,

former vice prime minister, where they introduced the measures that would reduce the help Sweden was providing refugees and that were going to be implemented soon thereafter (Holm & Svensson, 2015). The speech seems to have been deleted from the online archive. That said, I believe that the loss of this will have little to no effect on the results since much of their reasoning will be found in the other material and especially in the legislative proposal. Following, a brief introduction will be presented of the chosen material.

Speeches

Seven speeches in total have been selected for the analysis. Some speeches are held at the UN or the European parliament and others in Sweden or Scandinavia at various events. The majority of the chosen speeches are dedicated to the refugee situation in particular. However some discuss the labor and welfare situation in Sweden but include a section of the refugee situation and the effects that the vast immigration has had on the state and/or the necessary future work concerning the wellbeing of refugees. Where there are only sections mentioning the refugee situation only these will be used in the analysis as they are of main interest to the thesis topic.

Legislative proposal

Prop. 2015/16:67 *Särskilda åtgärder vid allvarlig fara för den allmänna ordningen eller den inre säkerheten i landet*, (*Special measures in case of serious danger to public order or internal security in the country* [my translation]) is the name of the proposal handed in by the government on December 9th 2015. Inside the proposal we find background information accompanied with the government's arguments for why a new restrictive law is necessary to implement. The legislative proposal has been included since it provides the government's reasons for why it is necessary for Sweden to restrict its refugee policy by implementing border control (Prop. 2015/16:67). The implementation of border control was the main exclusionary measure taken by the government during this period as its aim is to control and limit immigration to the country (SOU 2017:12, 108). Thus it is of interest to look closer at the proposal.

Article

One article was found, written by Stefan Löfven and Åsa Romson, which was posted in the Swedish newspaper called Dagens Nyheter (eng. Daily News), January 24th 2016. In the article they present eight initiatives that the government will focus on in terms of helping

newly arrived people in their pursuit of making Sweden a place that they can call home (Löfven & Romson, 2016).

Interviews

Three interviews have been selected for the analysis. Two of these only provide a description of the questions or themes that the Prime Minister responds to whereas the third includes the specific questions asked. All three interviews include quotes of Stefan Löfven's answers, which are used in the thesis as material for analysis. This provides the thesis with first hand information and is considered as a valid source for the chosen topic.

In the theoretical chapter it was established that states have free rein concerning what should be considered as a limit for what the nation state can handle. Hence, states can decide when it is time for them to take a step back from their obligation to help refugees and instead see to their own community. Economic and social factors have a big influence in decisions like these (Gibney, 2004: 241-242). The power for states to decide when a limit is reached is a big problem since opinions will differ where some may place the limit far too early. As a means to prevent this states are required to argue for their case and how their decisions are in accordance with the principle of humanitarianism. Since the deciding power lies with the state itself one has to study the government's statements more closely to get a clear understanding of their reasoning (Gibney, 2004: 236). The aforementioned material has been chosen since it offers the reader firsthand information regarding the perception of refugees as well as the government's arguments that lie behind the modifications made in the refugee policy. Thus, the chosen material will be representative of the government's stance in the matter. Some of the material is fully dedicated to the refugee situation whilst other documents combine it with factors such as work and the welfare system. Nevertheless, they all have a strong connection to the thesis topic as they connect back to the effect, lessons learnt as well as what lies ahead concerning the refugee immigration. All parts that are in some way connected to the refugee situation will be included in the analysis.

3.3 Operationalization

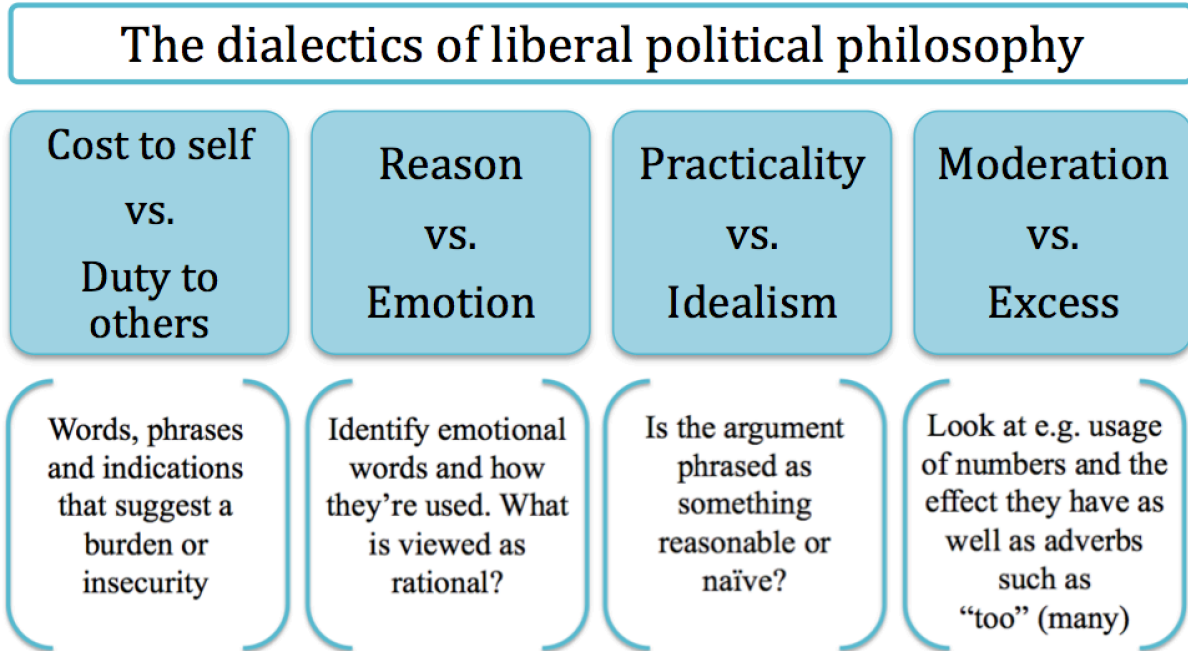
Now that the specific material for analysis has been chosen it is of importance to map out how the analysis will be conducted. This is a central aspect in the thesis, as it will give the reader a

better understanding of what the researcher is trying to identify in the analysis in order to be able to answer the research question. The first step in doing so is to identify what it is the researcher wants to look for in the material (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 320). The categories for this thesis are the two opposing perspectives in liberalism, - universalism and individualism. Through the material the aim is to identify what side the government's arguments lean more towards. In the second step we have to establish how we can examine the aforementioned categories. Sandra Halperin & Oliver Heath (2012) mention a couple of different 'recording units', i.e. indicators that can be used in finding said categories. The indicator that is relevant for this thesis is 'a theme'. The unit is fitting to analyses that look at attitudes and beliefs (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 321), thus it is a suitable indicator for this study. Eight themes in total will be adopted and combined in pairs of two. As the thesis analytical framework is very well fitted to the chosen method the themes are comprised of the four binaries found in Every's (2008) article. In the next, and final, step before starting the analyzing process a coding system needs to be developed. The researcher can choose between two coding systems. When conducting a qualitative study a grounded system is often chosen as it allows the researcher to interpret the meaning of the text and find the codes in the material instead of having a fixed system to work from. The latter is mostly connected to quantitative analyses (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 322-323). The thesis will adopt a grounded system since it is difficult to determine specific words or symbols that would lead to deciphering the themes. They will undoubtedly present themselves differently depending on the context and might also be hidden between the lines. Hence, it constitutes as the best option to apply. The process of the analysis can be described as a method where one starts locating separate parts in the equation, working ones way up, and that in the end result into a full picture, leading to answering the question posed in the beginning of the thesis.

To make the process a bit more comprehensible a visual model has been created and is represented in figure 1. Within the blue boxes one locates the eight themes, which have been divided into four boxes as they are paired up by being each other's opposite. The top themes are connected to the individualist category and the bottom ones are associated with the universalist category. In the brackets below a coding example is given for what the researcher will want to look for/at in order to locate the themes. The list is not complete and serves only as a template of reference. It is difficult to say how the four binaries might reveal themselves in the material, thus a grounded coding system will be applied (Halperin & Heath, 2012: 323).

The examples in the brackets are derived from Danielle Every's (2008) research and will serve as a starting point and provide some guidance through the analyzing process.

Figure 1: The dialectics of liberal political philosophy



4 Analysis

In the following chapter twelve selected documents will be analyzed in order to get an understanding of the Swedish government's perception of the refugee situation and thus provide an understanding of the reasons behind the shift in refugee policy. The arguments used will allow us to understand what effect the refugee situation has had on the long held humanitarian perspective in Sweden. The chapter has been divided into three parts. To begin with, an analysis will be conducted of the five documents found before the legislative proposal was submitted to the parliament. This will offer the reader an insight into what perception was maintained before the government wanted to further modify their policy by stipulating a law that authorizes the government to implement measures such as border control (Prop. 2015/16:67). The second part will be dedicated to the legislative proposal where the government has comprised their arguments for why the stipulation of a new law is necessary. In the third and last part of the analysis the remaining six documents will be analyzed. With this material the aim is to see what effect the restrictive measures have had on the government's perception and work with the refugee situation after the implementation. The purpose of the structure is to provide a better understanding for how the perception came to change between June 1st 2015 and June 1st 2016 and how this provided a foundation for the actions taken by the government.

4.1 A duty in the name of humanity

In the beginning of fall, on September 6th 2015, Prime Minister Stefan Löfven held his first speech concerning the refugee situation. The speech was held in Stockholm at a manifestation for refugees. The speech was very powerful as it brought forward the disastrous conditions that millions of refugees have to endure in order to find a safe and peaceful territory to seek refuge in. Additionally, it laid the foundation for what position Sweden was taking in the matter.

In the opening of the speech a feeling of compassion and humanity is represented as Löfven, while acknowledging the distress experienced by refugees every day, connects us all as one – as people, who are all affected in some way by these events. The sorrow that has come from the many deaths, caused by the dangerous voyages to Europe, is a sorrow felt with the entire

mankind (Löfven, 2015a). It is quite evident that the position taken by the Swedish government is one that is strongly emotional and where the matter of security is directed towards the refugees and the concern is for them and not the nation itself. The rhetoric used by Stefan Löfven goes hand in hand with the fact that refugee protection is a highly important issue for the government and encapsulates the notion of solidarity, which has been central in Sweden's foreign politics (Brysk, 2009: 63-64). It is with this notion of a shared responsibility and that we are all connected to each other that Löfven continues by stating:

My Europe welcomes people fleeing war, collectively and in harmony. My Europe does not build walls, we help during times of hardship [my translation] (Löfven, 2015a).

The statement clearly emphasizes the impossibility in envisioning a Europe where help does not constitute a foundational pillar, as this shapes the ideological position of Sweden. The emotional perspective that opened the speech and that is found in the quote is quite interesting. Emotions have usually been viewed as unstable and the opposite of what would entail reason and rationality (Every, 2008: 214-215). However, the way that the government uses the emotional perspective, as a foundation for the duty that they have towards refugees, converts it into a reasonable argument from a Swedish point of view. In other words, as Sweden has a long history where humanitarian assistance and solidarity have been central factors in their foreign politics, a continued effort in sustaining these is viewed as reasonable, as this is what Sweden stands for.

Stefan Löfven continues by underlining the need for all European countries to work together in order to limit the suffering, as it is only through cooperation that that we can help our fellow people. Löfven explicitly states that Sweden and Germany are actively working together in order to find a solution for how Europe can handle 'the refugee crisis' in the best way possible. One such example mentioned is the establishment of an improved resettlement system in Europe. This is necessary in order to strengthen the responsibility states have towards refugees and it is a means to fight for the right to asylum, which is something that Sweden has been doing and will continue to do (Löfven, 2015a). The arguments that Löfven raises show conceptions of practicality. However, they are not mirrored through an exclusionary perspective as the ones that we find through Every's (2008) research. The practical angle aims to find working solutions to a problem instead of envisioning unrealistic goals (Every, 2008: 215). The encouragement by the Swedish Prime Minister, and hence the

government, for all member states to assist each other and find methods, such as resettlement programs, that would distribute refugees on a more equal basis would lessen potential burdens on one or few state's systems. This can be perceived as a potential solution and thus not an unrealistic idea as such. More specifically, the unrealistic and unreasonable side of the equation would be the expectance that two nation states would be able to assist such a high quantity of people by themselves. Consequently, the initial statement made by the Swedish government is one that acknowledges that states do de facto have a duty to help those that are in need of it and it is a duty that they will uphold. This is further recognized in the quote where Löfven more or less refutes the possibility of keeping the door closed if anyone in need of help comes knocking. During a speech at the United Nations General Assembly this was further solidified by stating that helping people in need "[...] is not only our task. It is our duty – in the serving of our nations, and of the world" (Löfven, 2015b) where Sweden once again declares a union in humanity.

While visiting the General Assembly by the end of September, the situational context had in some ways been shifted from a European setting into a global one. "The current refugee situation is a global crisis, a global responsibility, and now also a global crisis of responsibility" (Löfven, 2015b). After only three weeks the Swedish government stressed the importance of the refugee situation even further by expanding the scope of responsibility. The Prime Minister demanded not only that Europe was required to take responsibility but also that the UN work actively to counter the suffering and provide places of refuge (Löfven, 2015b). The issue of security has been very present in the rhetoric used when discussing the refugee situation. Though, as previously stated, the insecure aspects of the vast migration are not connected to burdensome aspects for the own state. The Swedish government directs its concern towards the wellbeing of the refugees and a concern over the lack of help. Thus, the government's focus still embodies universalist notions and the caring of our fellow people.

Furthermore, we find evidence of the government fighting for humanity and upholding the principle of humanitarianism in more ways than one. Matthew Gibney mentions that there are many methods a state can employ in order to fulfill the responsibility embodied in the principle (Gibney, 2004: 248). Stefan Löfven expresses various such methods that all focus on the need to fight the root causes that lead to people fleeing their home countries. One of the main causes is the armed conflict in the Middle Eastern area, where Syria is explicitly mentioned. Atrocities, arms sales, sexual violence, war crimes and climate change are further

examples of causes that make people seek refuge in another country. Sweden demands that the EU, together with the UN actively work towards ending these causes, as they have a responsibility to do so (Löfven, 2015b). "If we sway from these goals, humanity will suffer for our faults" (Löfven, 2015b). That is to say that there is no one else besides peaceful states, like Sweden, that can end this and thus it is a duty for us to work towards that goal. This further embodies the universalist notion in liberal philosophy where our duty to others is essential.

During his speech there is an implicit pattern of who should be blamed and who should be acknowledged in the matter of refugee protection. The terminology used by the Prime Minister shows the ever-pressing matter of the situation by him emphasizing that there is a need for "dramatic" expansions (Löfven, 2015b) concerning resettlement places. This strongly indicates that the closed borders of several European states (Küchler, 2015) are becoming more noticeable and that it is an unsustainable situation where more needs to be done. However, the continued encouragements and demands on the EU had so far been unsuccessful. By contrast, Sweden is continually portrayed from a good perspective as a country that stands up for human rights and the safety of those in great need. Statement such as, "we stand ready [...]" (Löfven, 2015b) indicates that this is what Sweden does, and that the nation is to be counted on when humanitarian assistance is needed. Furthermore, Löfven demonstrates Sweden as a leading protector by stating that "we are the largest per capita receiver of asylum seekers in Europe, and we are increasing our funding to UNHCR, which is in dire need of more resources" (Löfven, 2015b). The statement represents Sweden as not only a country who offers people a new home but also a country who through other means tries to ensue that safety is provided. This combination of continually highlighting Sweden as a good and kind state with the lack of support from the majority of the other European member states puts Sweden up on a pedestal. The country thus comes to be an example of a humanitarian country that lives up to its cosmopolitan beliefs and embraces its universalist duties.

Up to this point the dominant perception held by the government had been to fight for the right of asylum and assist those that are in need by any means, be it through welcoming them into Sweden or through e.g. financial contributions. However, by the end of October a shift in attitude was starting to become more visible in the government. On October 23rd the government decided on several restrictive measures (SOU 2017:12, 100) as not only the

immigration had increased but also due to the new estimation concerning the number of arrivals, valuing it upwards 190 000 people by the end of the year (Holmberg & Holmin, 2015). The decision to restrict the generous refugee policy was an unpredicted response from the government, as previous declarations have advocated openness and a Europe where no divisions are to be made between people. With the implementation of measures such as border control a contradicting image was presented. The question at hand was if the actions were meant to operate exclusionary and reduce the number of arrivals into Sweden (Holmberg & Holmin, 2015). Stefan Löfven's response was somewhat unclear in the matter.

We stand up for the right of asylum. Everyone is entitled to apply but not everyone will be approved. But we cannot decide if fewer people will come. More EU countries need to take their responsibility [my translation] (Löfven, as cited in Holmberg & Holmin, 2015).

What is evident is that the government aims to maintain their cosmopolitan stance while at the same time adopting restrictive and exclusionary decisions. The previous emotional foundation found in the government's arguments started to change at this point. What previously could be argued to be acts of reason are now showing themselves to be unstable. A more obvious divide is thus presented between emotion and reason, similar to the second binary in liberal political philosophy. The fact that the European member states continue to keep their borders closed for refugees, rationality is instead showing itself through the implementation of restrictive actions. This change in attitude has thus cracked open the door for the individualist perspective. Nevertheless, the notion of Sweden as a compassionate country was still expressed by the government. "No one can doubt Sweden's humanitarian will, but even our ability has a limit" [my translation] (Löfven, 2015c). The fact that the government is intent on affirming Sweden in compassionate terms using words such as solidarity and humanitarianism can be due to the fact that they want to reduce the possibility of gaining a bad reputation (Dauvergne, 2000: 72). Furthermore, being that the country has such a long history of compassion and generosity, which has become an identifying factor (Brysk, 2009: 63-64) for the country and its citizens, actions might be difficult to justify if they were not reasoned through a humanitarian perspective.

There are many indicators that the government seeks to maintain a balance between universalist and individualist notions and thus keep their actions in line with the humanitarian principle. As the newly introduced measures will de facto affect refugees in negative ways it

was very important for Sweden to justify their actions since they disagree with the initial political stance held by the government as well as the historically generous position held in Sweden. The arguments raised concerned the challenging impact that the vast immigration has had on the state. Löfven mentions that the estimated number of arrivals will amount to 190 000 people during 2015 (Löfven, 2015c). The balance concerning how much the state can afford to keep its borders open before it becomes too much seems to be nearing. Looking at the fourth binary concerning moderation and excess the high estimation of arrivals would be considered as excessive and thus allow the restrictive measures whilst keeping the state within the limits of humanitarianism. According to Gibney such high numbers also have a potential of becoming a security risk, especially when they increase vastly during a short period of time (Gibney, 2004: 255). Sweden and several parts of the society have been affected heavily by the vast immigration where “many literally toil both day and night” [my translation] (Löfven 2015d) to find working and stable solutions for new arrivers. However, the government emphasizes that the state has reached a point where the demand for resources is exceeding the state’s supply. Löfven mentions the difficulty in securing accommodation (Löfven, 2015d), where the remaining option is living in tents (Löfven, 2015c). The government used a rhetoric that centered on the wellbeing of the refugee in order to justify the actions, indicating that the situation in Sweden at that point would not provide satisfactory care. Consequently, the concern for security was still directed towards the refugees and not the state. Thus, even if the exclusionary measures were less favorable in their form, not taking actions to limit immigration would be even more harmful. By framing the necessity of exclusionary actions as concerns for refugees’ wellbeing the government are more likely to justify their actions (Gibney, 2004: 235) as being in accordance with the principle of humanitarianism. Furthermore, as to not stray from a cosmopolitan position Stefan Löfven ensured that an increase by 50 percent would be guaranteed in the refugee division by 2016 (Löfven, 2015d).

Even though the argued stance is one of security concern for refugees there are signs of worry from the society’s perspective. A reoccurring problem was that asylum accommodations were being set on fire. This in itself alarmed many citizens and apprehension concerning the refugee immigration became more visible amongst citizens where some felt that the government was ignoring this issue (Holmberg & Holmin, 2015)

Of course we are listening but we cannot say that we won't admit anyone. They are fellow human beings who are fleeing for their lives [my translation] (Löfven, as cited in Holmberg & Holmin, 2015)

Considering the definitional constraints of the humanitarian principle a duty to assist has a limit that is reached when the situation becomes too burdensome for the state (Every, 2008: 211). A measure for this limit can be found by examining the effect that the immigration has on the nation's citizens. The limit is mentioned as modes of sacrifice (Gibney, 2004: 234). The fear that the fires have roused amongst the citizens would not be a sacrifice in a material sense, however this is not to say that it should be met with disregard. Treating the fear with indifference could have more negative consequences, which is what Gibney meant when highlighting the risk of potential backlashes (Gibney, 2004: 234). In ways the discontent is already showing itself through the fires. This is to say that the option to argue for restrictive measures as necessary actions for the nation, as they are leading to societal problems amongst others was there. Nevertheless, the government chose to maintain a humane position focused on the refugees by stating that they are our fellow people who need us, declaring that Sweden's duties are still present even with the implementation of restrictive measures. It is unmistakable that it is important for Sweden to maintain an image of solidarity.

The main way to protect both openness and the right of asylum is by having an orderly and regulated immigration [...]. The main way to preserve an orderly and regulated immigration is through a system of equal distribution of asylum seekers, in Europe – and in Scandinavia [...] [my translations] (Löfven, 2015c).

According to the government the current situation has been disorderly and in sense chaotic, mainly due to the lack of cooperation and support in the EU. The solution is for other member states to live up to their responsibility. According to Löfven the failure to do so has forced Sweden to temporarily close its door to those in need (Löfven, 2015c). In other words, the government blames the restrictive actions on those states who chose to disregard (Küchler, 2015) the fact that hundreds of thousands people risked their lives in coming to Europe to find safety, but where they were met with coldness. The need for a reformed and humane system has thus resulted into the measures that have been implemented in Sweden. Löfven expresses that Sweden's preference lies in having an open and welcoming system. However, in order to continue with that others have to share the responsibility that comes with high migration flows (Löfven, 2015c). The measures that have been implemented in Sweden are in sense

methods to make sure that more states start taking their duties seriously. The line of reasoning represents a practical solution from the government's perspective. The measures were necessary, albeit painful (Liebermann, 2015), as they represent the opposite to the government's political standpoint. Nevertheless, the situation advanced rapidly and became too much for Sweden. A continued inflow of migrants became unreasonable and a shift towards a more individualistic position was necessary. The contextual background thus necessitated change where a shift in refugee policy constituted the practical choice. Through this we are also able to understand the shift in hospitality that Derrida refers to. Seeing as the open policy that Sweden previously had become unsustainable for the country they needed to restrict their hospitality (Leung & Stone, 2009:199) into a conditional form (Leung & Stone, 2009: 195) where measures such as temporary residence permits and border control were approved (SOU 2017:12, 100). According to Derrida and Levinas, such a shift is difficult both in terms of justice and ethics (Leung & Stone, 2009: 199), which is also expressed by the government (Liebermann, 2015). However, the difficulty in finding a balance is what leads to the dilemma of liberal democratic states (Betts, 1995: 31). Surely, the restrictive shift in policy will affect Sweden's compassionate image to some extent but does it mean that the country acts immorally by limiting immigration? According to research that is not the case since the implementation of border control is not equivalent to the abandonment of duty. Surely, accepting people in need to ones country and helping them establish a new life, be it temporarily or permanently, is one of the main methods of compassion. Though, continuing to work for the development of a new refugee system that is more equal is also a method that falls in line with the humanitarian principle and the duty that states have (Gibney, 2004: 236-237). Sweden shows a continued determination in this regard, demanding both reform and support internationally. The effort for a new system coupled with increases in aid and a purpose to fight the causes behind flight thus strengthens the humanitarian position in Sweden.

4.2 A security risk for the country

Considering the condition, from the Swedish government's point of view, the circumstances called for actions that would stabilize the situation in the country. In addition to the restrictive actions that were introduced by the end of October the government submitted a legislative proposal to the parliament in the beginning of December concerning the stipulation of a new

law. As the situation became too much for Sweden matters of national security became a concern for the country. The purpose of the proposed law is to ensure that security is upheld by authorizing the government to adopt measures if they perceive that the security is threatened (Prop. 2015/16:67, 1). One such measure is the implementation of border control and identification control (Prop. 2015/16:67, 9). The proposed name of the law was “*the law concerning special measures in case of serious danger to public order or internal security in the country*” [my translation], which intends to cover a wide spectrum of situations (Prop. 2015/16:67, 12). The underlying reason for why the government saw that a law was needed was the high proportion of refugees entering the country (Prop. 2015/16:67, 7). What is interesting with the legislative proposal is how the perception of security has shifted where security is mentioned from a national perspective instead of the previous notion where security was closely tied to the wellbeing of refugees. The change is especially noticeable in the suggested title of the law where “serious danger” and “security” indicate a threatening environment. The legislative proposal was presented to the parliament just over a month after the implementation of border control (SOU 2017:12, 108). Seeing as the purpose of the border control was successful and resulted in a decrease in arrival rates (Prop. 2015/16:67, 8) the shift in security perception is especially fascinating. One has to wonder if it is less of a shift in perception and more a question of forum. In other words, the rhetoric used by the Prime Minister in speeches and interviews is bound to differ to a legislative document intended the parliament. Speeches are directed towards the citizens and an open audience where the aim is to inform as well as instill an encouraging feeling concerning the situation and the government’s work in the matter. On the other hand, legislative documents are written to a governmental body and the terminology used is more factual and straight to the point. The difference in rhetoric can be demonstrated through the reappearance of the words “humanitarian” and “solidarity”. In the aforementioned speeches and interview both concepts were constantly mentioned, explicitly and implicitly. However, in the legislative proposal they are fairly less used and then subtly implied a few times. Consequently, encouraging formulations are much less prominent in governmental documents. Furthermore, being that the proposed law was born in light of the refugee situation (Prop. 2015/16:67, 9) the new way of presenting the situation as a security risk for the state gives prominence to the ‘cost to self’ perspective found in the first binary. The individualistic position is further strengthened when the government uses statistical data as a means of persuasion to confirm that the high number of people has become too big of a challenge. “The amount of asylum seekers that are coming to Sweden right now is higher than ever before” [my translation] (Prop. 2015/16:67, 7). By

making comparisons between then and now and stating that the present situation has never been experienced before solidifies the perception that the volume indeed is “too much”. Positioning the situation as excessive the government is justified in their restrictive actions since they declare that the limit is reached for how much the state can manage.

In the legislative proposal the government specifies more clearly what reasons are considered as security risks and therefore make the law a necessity. Clear connections are made to the refugee situation and the effects it has had on the society. Attention is mainly directed on the negative consequences that the challenging year, and especially the fall, has had on the society. Key functions have been put under pressure where the government includes a non-exhaustive list mentioning areas such as health care, accommodation, education and the social services (Prop. 2015/16:67, 7-8). Furthermore, the need for a recovery period is also emphasized where a continued arrival of refugees would in sense be devastating for the country as the situation is already considered a “serious threat to public order and national security” [my translation] (Prop. 201/16:67, 8). Considering that several societal functions have been drained resulting in a lack of resources is what makes the situation “critical” according to the government (Prop. 2015/16:67, 13). Such conditions “threaten(s) society’s functionality and risk(s) creating new tensions in society” [my translation] (Prop. 2015/16:67, 13). The risk of ‘new’ tensions in society indicates that there exists some already. This could potentially be connected to the problem of a lack of resources as such a loss can affect the citizens, especially so when considering areas such as education and health care. Such a situation can cause negative reactions from the society as the state members may feel that they are wrongly affected by the situation. This goes hand in hand with Betts’ discussion where she mentions the risk of a backlash occurring in society when social resources are affected. According to her the tension lies in the fact that the citizens feel that they are being dealt a bad hand whilst acting compassionately and helping those who are in need. In other words, tax money is in sense given freely at the same time as the citizens are getting inadequate care (Betts, 1995: 30-31). Moreover, such a perception can be understood through a zero-sum perspective where the feeling that someone is winning at one own (the citizens) expense (Louis et.al. 2013: E156) has a high risk of causing hostility towards refugees (Louis et.al 2013: E162). Taking into consideration that several asylum accommodations have been set on fire during the fall period it may be evidence of tension in society, which might be situated through the zero-sum perspective. However, besides the risk of possible new tensions in society the lack of resources and the negative consequences that follow mainly address the

harmful effects it has on refugees (Prop. 2015/16:67, 13). The two sides of the same coin seem to be expressed in the proposal. On one hand a security threat in the country is presented whilst on the other hand a continued concern for the safety of refugees is maintained. This could indicate that regardless of the different rhetoric used in different contexts and forums the government strives to maintain a compassionate refugee policy that is in line with their political account of prioritizing refugee protection. Nevertheless, the arguments provided in the legislative proposal do present a slightly altered perception by the government, indicating that the vast migrations has been challenging and needed extensive actions as to uphold stability and security in the nation. Thus, the individualistic direction has made itself more apparent in the proposal than before, explicitly stating what it has been a costs to the country.

Apart from the title of the propositioned law there is an additional detail that indicates that Sweden is facing a high security risk. When sending a governmental bill to the parliament the parliament is assigned a specific amount of time to review the proposal. During the 15 days (Ne.se, n.d.) that the parliament is normally appointed, they are intended to review and give comments on the proposition. In some cases the parliament might oppose the proposal where certain changes are necessary (Sveriges Riksdag, 2017: 2). In the beginning of the legislative proposal the government declares that they want the parliamentary motion period to be reduced to one day (Prop. 2015/16:67, 3). The government reasons that such a reduction is necessary since the situation calls for urgent actions, underlining that “the urgent nature that usually characterizes a crisis” [my translation] (Prop. 2015/16:67, 6) supports a shortened review period. Numerical data is used in order to support these claims where one section specifies the number of arrivals during one day, pinpointing it to 2000 individuals on the 9th of November. Additional weekly numbers in November are presented where the number is between 11 000 and 7 000 asylum seekers, showing that the quantity of refugees continues to be extremely high (Prop. 2015/16:67, 19). Accordingly, the government’s arguments are situated in individualistic understandings. Seeing as the level of refugees entering the country is not decreasing the country is continually exposed to vulnerability. Previously the government has declared that a threat exists to the country because of the high immigration. Thus they reason that the practical solution to the problem is to implement a law that gives the government explicit authorization to act rapidly during times of crisis. Not being able to act quickly would only lead to more instability in society and due to this a shortened parliamentary motion period is argued to be reasonable. Within the arguments we are able to identify all four themes in liberal philosophy, each situated in the supposedly less dominant

perspective of individualism. The usage of statistical data serves as a means to situate the circumstances as being too much for the nation state, which furthermore reinforces the argued stance of a crisis being present, making the situation burdensome for the country. Likewise, reason is found in tackling the issue of vulnerability and potential additional challenges by giving the government authorization to act swiftly. This makes a shortened motion period a practical solution in the eyes of the government.

So far, much of the reasoning has concerned issues of security, though the item of concern has varied depending on various reasons such as the intended audience and forum. A strong emphasis has been on the safety and wellbeing of the refugee, though at certain points the national security and the safety of the community members have been highlighted. Nevertheless, at the center of the security argument has been the vast amount of people migrating to Sweden wanting to apply for asylum in the country. With the high immigration movement numerous matters have been affected resulting into challenging situations. Many societal functions have been affected to the extent where they are not able to provide a satisfactory service. In other words, the high quantity of asylum seekers has put too much pressure on the country that resources have become scarce in some areas. Consequently, this has led the government into taking restrictive measures implementing provisions like border control that have an exclusionary purpose to them. In accordance with previous research and law Sweden was well within their right to close their borders as no legal stipulations prevent them to do so (Dauvergne, 2000: 60). Furthermore, the volume of immigrants that came to Sweden was also in accordance with the amount that is acknowledged as having challenging effects on the country. Such estimations lie within tens to hundreds of thousand people in a small period of time (Gibney, 2004: 255). However, the issue is that the actions taken contradict the compassionate image that Sweden upholds, as well as the present governments advocacy for refugee protection. Hence, what is of interest is if the government has manipulated the burden placed on the state in order to be able to stop the immigration? Since there is a subjective aspect concerning the reasons that support a shift in responsibilities from a universal perspective to a national one (Every, 2008: 226), this is central question to ask. Considering that the quantity of immigrants finds support in research and the fact that societal functions have been jeopardized and have endangered the wellbeing of refugees as well as community members, a challenging and burdensome situation was present. Even with the implemented border control the quantity remained exceedingly high, which could have caused not only further tensions in society but also risked many lives as the procurement of sleeping

places (Prop. 2015/16:67, 13) was very difficult at that time. Thus, the Swedish government did not manipulate an argued “cost to self” when shifting in their refugee policy. What should be particularly noted is that the shift in refugee policy stressed the ‘duty to others’ perspective albeit by concentrating on providing care for those who had already arrived to Sweden. So the government’s actions are reasoned as being in line with the humanitarian principle.

4.3 A focus on establishing asylum seekers into society

2015 certainly was a tumultuous year where Sweden experienced many challenges. These resulted in an unexpected situation where the government shifted from a generous refugee policy to one that aimed to limit immigration. The actions taken had their desired effect where by the end of December a 50 percent decrease in arrival rates had occurred (Olsson, 2015). In an interview the Prime Minister declared that moving forward the focus would be on establishing new arrivals into society, i.e. helping them make a new home in the country (Olsson, 2015).

The idea is that we will move out of a crisis and into a phase of establishment. Those who are granted residence permits – and this does not include everyone – will have the best opportunity to start another life, for their own sake and for Sweden’s [my translation] (Löfven, as cited in Olsson, 2015).

The purpose is to adapt to the new situation in Sweden and make reforms that will be beneficial to both parties, i.e. new arrivals as well as Sweden and its citizens. In January the government had comprised eight initiatives that focused especially on the integrative process. Various methods were presented where a rapid entry into the labor market was a main priority as was the welfare system (Löfven & Romson, 2016). During 2015 several functions in society were put under pressure, which led to a lack of resources (Prop. 2015/16:67, 13). One of the initiatives is to invest an additional 10 billion SEK into the welfare system in order to help stabilize it (Löfven & Romson, 2016). “We are going to build a society that is good for everyone” [my translation] (Löfven & Romson, 2016). However, some concern persists and is voiced in a newspaper article by a researcher who mentions the vast amount of financial means that is being invested on matters of immigration. In an interview the Prime Minister responds to this statement by answering that one should think of it as financing into an area that in the end will provide positive results to Sweden (Olsson & Rosén, 2016). Voicing the

expensive aspects of immigration might indicate that there is dissatisfaction in society. As was mentioned above, dissatisfaction was expressed as potentially being connected to the distribution of resources. If such a sentiment does de facto exist among community members it is not surprising that reactions arise when more money is invested. The feeling that others are winning at one's own expense makes for a less positive attitude towards immigrants (Louis et.al 2013: E162). That this is the case is also illustrated by a change in rhetoric of the government.

One does their duty, one makes an effort – and then one receives their rights [my translation] (Löfven, as cited in Olsson, 2015)

So leads a statement made by Stefan Löfven, which is implied to be a key aspect in unifying people in the Swedish society (Olsson, 2015). The phrasing of the statement is quite interesting as it has a harsher undertone to it than previously found. A possible explanation for this could be that during the fall of 2015 tensions in society were identified where the citizens were displeased with how the situation was escalating, resulting into e.g. fires at asylum accommodations. Thus, the harshness behind the statement, indicating how things are done in the country, is a means to instill faith into the system where rights come with responsibilities. In other words, the government is stating that rights are not given for free but that one has to earn them, like everyone else. The government is in sense trying to establish a balance between universalist beliefs and individualistic ones in order to satisfy everyone, which is not an easy achievement. Nevertheless, the aim might be to promote a positive tone for the community members whilst at the same time looking to enforce the government's compassionate image that is built on notions of solidarity. Moreover, the fact that the government is actively pursuing methods that are aimed to help refugees establish themselves into society shows continued efforts in humanitarian work.

Regarding the issue of societal tensions the government acknowledges the challenging aspects that follow the refugee situation. In a speech Löfven connects these to issues of segregation, racism and unemployment, highlighting a need to actively work together to prevent these as to uphold values such as openness and equality (Löfven, 2016c). In previous statements the government has associated the refugee situation to a security threat. However, in an interview in April 2016, Löfven is once again asked about the relationship between high quantities of asylum seekers and rising tensions in society. There is reluctance in making the same

connection that has previously been made. “[...] this is not a number, this is not a threat, these are people who I am getting to know” [my translation] (Löfven as cited in Olsson & Rosén, 2016). The fact that the government is renouncing the threat aspect is quite interesting since it was more or less solidified in the legislative proposal and the suggested title of the law. The threat aspect has in previous statements been used as a means to justify restrictive measures. Though, in the aftermath when focus had shifted and was about establishing asylum seeker into society the chosen terminology is one of togetherness. By highlighting that “these are people who I am getting to know” (Löfven as cited in Olsson & Rosén, 2016) a friendship is advocated. Such a declaration might be a practical method in which the government seeks to reaffirm their generous politics. By emphasizing a more personal relationship between asylum seekers and community members the government wants to revive confidence in the government. Moreover, the sense of unity where we all contribute to society (Löfven & Romson, 2016) that Löfven explicitly maintains in his speeches is a core element in developing a country to be proud of. “Here we are equals. This is an obvious part for the future of the Swedish model” (Löfven, 2016b). Working towards a society that has a stable welfare system, where everyone works and where justice and equality compose the basis of society, then the Swedish model will be realized (Löfven, 2016b). This is also what the eight initiatives aim to accomplish and which will be a central aspect in combatting racism (Löfven & Romson, 2016) (Olsson & Rosén, 2016). “We now have the opportunity to grow together as a society with our new colleagues, friends, classmates and union members” [my translation] (Löfven & Romson, 2016). The overall message that the government is relaying is one that encompasses solidarity and an open and including society; a society that will face existing challenges together.

While the government’s main focus has been on introducing new arrivals into society another matter remains ubiquitous – the lack of responsibility and support from most EU member states. The government keeps firm in their statements of who is to blame for the actions taken in Sweden. According to the government the lack in cooperation is what “[...] forced us to take unilateral action” (Löfven, 2016a), indicating the displeasure behind the actions taken. Nevertheless, such actions were necessary and intended to force other countries to act on their duties towards those who are in great need of assistance (Löfven & Romson, 2016). However, in a speech held at the European parliament the Prime Minister uses an interesting argument to further demonstrate the unbalanced distribution that put Sweden in a state of crisis.

During a two-month period last autumn, Sweden took in 80 000 people at a rate that is equivalent to 25 million asylum seekers annually in the EU as a whole (Löfven, 2016a).

Such an illustration is quite powerful as it uses a comparing technique in order to depict the disproportionate scenario. When both country size, welcome rates and time period are taken into consideration and compared, the fact that the quantity that one state welcomed during 60 days is comparable to the amount of people that 28 states in the EU (Eu-upplysningen.se, 2016) welcome during one entire year exemplifies the significantly uneven situation. Using such an illustrating argument benefits Sweden when the government aims to justify their shift in policy even further since it portrays a reality that is unrealistic and far too excessive in its amount. Thus the disproportionate amount of refugees strengthens the government's choice of action according to the fourth binary (Every, 2008: 215-216).

Apart from the present blame game that is highlighted Löfven also stresses the necessity to move forward and continue on a better path. "It is time for the EU to go from chaos to control. Some damn order is needed in a cooperative union" [my translation] (Löfven, 2016b). The frustration that shines through does not go unnoticed. The apparent frustration is further established when Löfven explicitly states that there is too much empty talk present within the European Union where no progress will be made if actions do not follow the words that are being spoken (Löfven, 2016a). Löfven separates Sweden in this matter and instead seeks to portray the country as a role model for refugee protection. Löfven mentions three approaches that the government is employing, which will ensure that they are doing their part in improving the circumstance for refugees. All three approaches concentrate on eliminating the causes that make people flee their homes. The first is directed towards bettering the conditions in Syria and its neighboring countries so that people are able to live a good life. For this purpose 1.7 billion SEK in financial aid is being provided said countries. This is coupled with the second approach that strives to help the region in obtaining peace. The last approach focuses on the elimination of terrorist activity in the Middle East as well as in Europe (Löfven, 2016c). Once again the government presents an image of Sweden that outshines other countries when it comes to refugee protection. However, this time the focus is not simply on the failure of cooperation. By directing concern and frustration on the absence of action the Swedish government establishes a disappointing image of the EU. By contrast, Sweden is depicted as the epitome of compassion by showing several approaches that are taken to better the condition for people that are affected by conflict. Thus the government

shows that a 'duty to others' is a matter that is ever-present and a priority for Sweden - then, now and always.

During the one-year time period that the thesis has focused on, the government has strived to find a working balance between the duty they have towards people in need and their responsibility to their own nation. Such an endeavor has been challenging and community members have voiced discontent in the matter. During an interview in April 2016, Stefan Löfven was asked if he perceives the situation to be an issue, as it can affect the community when an extended responsibility is undertaken. According to Stefan Löfven, he does not perceive it to be an issue but an asset for the Swedish community to help others. Due to the demographic being uneven where the elderly exceed in numbers there will be a gap in the labor market that will put pressure on society if not filled. The government reasons that the immigration is necessary for the country's progression (Olsson & Rosén, 2016). Concerning the potential dilemma of liberal democratic states the government does not perceive there to be one. Surely, it is a tricky business to find a path that is able to take both parties, citizens and new arrivals, equally into consideration where they will not affect each other negatively. Nevertheless, it is a path worth finding, according to Löfven's response. The 'the right thing' to do seems to be to find a way to balance both universalist and individualist notions and see the potential in both. Such a position certainly indicates a continued compassionate and cosmopolitan perspective being maintained by the Swedish government.

5 Conclusion

Today's world is witnessing several conflicts where the consequences are having a strong international effect on many countries. The atrocities in the Middle East have led hundreds of thousand people to flee their homes hoping to find refuge elsewhere. During 2015 many sought their way towards Europe expecting a safe haven but were met with a cold shoulder accompanied with a closed door, being refused entry. Sweden was one of few states that kept their borders open helping thousands of people until the government decided to implement restrictive measures, including border control as a means to decrease immigration. Having both a long history of a generous refugee policy and a government where refugee protection was a central question such a shift in policy was unexpected. Thus the focus of the thesis has been to analyze the reasons behind the shift in policy. The overarching purpose has been to see if the government's arguments behind the restrictive measures correspond with their humanitarian politics, based on notions of solidarity. For that purpose the aim has been to see *if the Swedish government argued for that the shift in refugee policy was humanitarian, and if so, how?*

A leading problem for states has been that there is a disagreement concerning what obligation there is to help people who are not national citizens. The problem lies within liberal philosophy where both universalist and individualist notions exist, offering a conflicting explanation to the problem. Nevertheless, clearness is provided through the principle of humanitarianism, which acknowledges that states have a moral duty to assist those in need as long as the obligation does not become too burdensome and costly for the state. Whilst offering an answer a remaining issue persists. The decision for when a limit is reached is subjective, leaving the decisive power to the states themselves meaning that some states might place the limit too early. In other words, states have the possibility to abuse their power by manipulating the 'cost to self' aspect, arguing that a limit is reached whilst in reality that might not be the case. Due to the subjective quality of the principle the government's arguments have been scrutinized in order to see how they have perceived the refugee situation, and how this affected their decision to adopt restrictive actions.

At the beginning of fall 2015, Sweden's position held firm to the government's political beliefs showing feelings of compassion towards refugees while simultaneously working to

ensure their safety. Accordingly, the matter of security was connected to the wellbeing of refugees. Prior to the implementation of restrictive measures the notion of solidarity was ever-present in the government's reasoning and the adoption of exclusionary actions was unimaginable. The government worked through numerous means to improve the condition for refugees by increasing aid and focusing on the causes behind refugee movements in addition to welcoming those who made their way to Sweden. The government's efforts to encourage cooperation among EU states were unsuccessful, leading Sweden to adopt restrictive measures in order to handle the pressure put on the society. A reoccurring pattern from the government's perspective has been the persistence in raising the effort Sweden was doing for refugees meanwhile highlighting the absence of action from the majority of EU. Arguments like these supported a cosmopolitan politics where Sweden was depicted as a humanitarian role model both implicitly and explicitly when declaring their work as humanitarian. The lack of cooperation supported the restrictive measures where Sweden argued the unreasonable aspect of a few states taking responsibility for such high quantities. The measures were further justified with statistical data showing the excessive numbers of asylum seekers in Sweden. The government also used illustrations to demonstrate the disproportionate responsibility between states, where numbers showed the excessive duty put on Sweden. Furthermore, the challenging conditions in society were emphasized where resources had become scarce making it difficult to provide good care to asylum seekers. Using numbers and highlighting a pressured and burdened society the government was arguing that they had reached a peak in the amount of people they were able to help. The government was able to absolve themselves from continued duties towards refugees according to the humanitarian principle and still maintain an image of a compassionate and humanitarian country. The safety of refugees was continually upheld by Sweden however by late fall a shift in attitude became visible where matters of security were also directed towards the nation. Indications of societal tension being present in addition to the lack of resources further strengthened the burdensome aspects the vast immigration has had on the country. Nevertheless, the government was persistent in declaring that Sweden had a duty to help those in need and would continue on that path. During 2016 immigration had decreased allowing the government to focus on establishing newcomers into society. While discontent was voiced in society the government sought to find a balance between national and universal responsibility. The government used a harsher tone accentuating that rights follow responsibilities, instilling faith into the system whilst working for a society based on solidarity where no differentiation was made between citizens

and newcomers. A rhetoric of togetherness formed 2016, centered in the belief that every obstacle will be overcome if we work together.

The refugee situation has led the government to pursue actions that have in some sense risked the compassionate image of Sweden as well as the government's political views. However, it stands apparent that a humanitarian politics has continually been advocated albeit through different approaches. As the migration rate advanced the circumstances required a restrictive approach. The measures were therefore argued as necessary due to the challenging situation that Sweden faced with high quantities of asylum seekers and the absence of support by EU member states. The arguments put forward by the Swedish government find support in previous research regarding the challenging effects vast numbers of asylum seekers have on a community. Thus, in contrast to results acquired by Every (2008) Sweden cannot be viewed as having manipulated the effects that the refugee situation has had on the country. In other words, the actions have been in accordance with the principle of humanitarianism. Likewise have the government's continued efforts in ensuring protection to refugees through means such as financial contributions strengthened the government's humanitarian politics where the Good Samaritan might be better understood as a reasoned Samaritan.

5.1 Future research

The thesis has scrutinized the Swedish government's arguments for why a shift in refugee policy occurred during the fall of 2015. However, there are still many questions and matters that would be of interest to look closer at, which the thesis has not been able to do. One such example would be the domestic politics during this period. The refugee situation provoked numerous debates in Sweden, both amongst the various political parties as well as internally, within the governmental parties (Holmqvist, Svensson & Karlsson, 2015). Even though the government decided to implement restrictive measures the internal political disagreement could be of interest to analyze. This would provide another depth to the matter that has not been explored here.

Another interesting viewpoint on the refugee situation would be to include other perspectives apart from the government's. Since many parts of society affect each other looking at the

public opinion or the media could provide interesting insights into the matter and the actions taken.

Lastly, a similar analysis would be interesting to conduct on a different country in Europe. Germany, that were also celebrated for their generous welcoming, would be fascinating to look closer at and see how they have reasoned about the refugee situation and the responsibility they have towards refugees. Equally interesting, if not more so, would be to analyze e.g. Hungary who closed its borders to refugee immigration at an early stage (Küchler, 2015). This would further contribute to the international discussion of how states react during situations such as high migrations movements.

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