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BIDS

**“Of course we can do this! If the EU takes joint responsibility. If the municipalities in Sweden take responsibility and help each other. If we cooperate”**

A qualitative text analysis of rhetorical framing of refugee immigration in Sweden between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20

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## **Abstract**

In 2016, a new restrictive asylum law was passed in Sweden, which limits asylum seekers' possibilities of being granted residence permits and being reunited with their families. The passing of new restrictive asylum in law is interesting, since values such as solidarity and cosmopolitan ideals are deeply entrenched within the Swedish welfare state, which were evident in expansive immigration policies supported on humanitarian grounds prior to the new restrictive law. To understand the rhetorical reasoning that preceded the policy-change, this study aims to shed light on how key members of the Social Democratic Party have framed refugee immigration in public statements published in daily news between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. In doing so, the thesis aims to explore how key members of the Social Democratic Party have rhetorically reasoned about citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals. By analysing the public statements made by key members in the Social Democratic Party, recurring themes in rhetoric reasoning, as expressed during previous critical junctions in the immigration policy field, was discovered. Additionally, by categorising the statements chronologically and according to the theoretical concepts applied; framing, citizenship rights and cosmopolitanism, the study investigates how the representation and framing of refugee immigration by key members in the Social Democratic Party changed between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20.

**Key words:** refugee immigration, immigration policies, asylum law, framing, cosmopolitan ideals, citizenship rights

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## 1. Introduction

In 2015, the total number of migrants in the world was 244 million, making up for 3.3 per cent of the total world population. More specifically, in 2015, a total of 76 million were labelled as migrants in Europe and 12677 people migrated to Sweden to seek asylum (International Migration Report, 2016: 2). Immigration policies are at the top of politicians' agenda within the European Union and its member states (Damoc, 2016: 1). According to Lidén and Nyhlén (2013), Swedish immigration policy has been characterised by a 'consensus', where political parties have avoided politicising the issue. The subject has not been given much space in research or on the political arena prior to the 'refugee crisis' (Lidén and Nyhlén, 2013: 3). During the summer of 2015, Swedish politicians started to show interest in the contemporary refugee situation which generated heated debates between the parties. In September, there was a widespread commitment among the general public and key politicians. Several manifestations took place and the Prime Minister, Stefan Löfven, held a speech about solidarity and accountability (Alamaa, 2015: Regeringskansliet, 2015). However, during the fall, the public debate changed direction and statements regarding a "refugee crisis" and a potential "system collapse" became more frequent (Silberstein, 2015). In July 2016, Sweden went from having one of the most expansive immigration policies within the European Union to one of the most restricted immigration policies. This extreme shift makes for an interesting case to examine, as it is a major break from previous expansive immigration policies (The Swedish Migration Board, 2016).

The underpinnings of Sweden's model of welfare are recognised to be characterised by elements such as: universalism, solidarity and egalitarianism (Brochmann and Hagelund, 2011: 14). Further, this has been noticeable in the immigration policy field, as Sweden used to be the country accepting the highest number of refugees in the European Union in relation to population size (The Swedish Migration Board, 2016), which have been supported on humanitarian grounds (Socialdemokraterna, 2017). The universal underpinnings in support of the previous expansive immigration policy are expressed by the government stating that "Sweden should be a sanctuary for those that flee from persecution and oppression and takes a big responsibility for the international protection of refugees" (Proposition 2015/16:67). However, several scholars (Freeman, 1986: Joppke, 2008: Brochmann and Hagelund, 2010), highlight the implication of increasing immigration for the welfare state. Specifically, that the welfare state's requirement of full employment and high taxes is fragile to increasing immigration, as it can potentially lead to higher rates of competition among workers resulting in

lower wages and difficulties in providing social services (Freeman, 1989: 59, Joppke, 2008: 533). This paradox, between cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship, has been recognised by several scholars in the field of welfare studies (Freeman, 1989: 59; Joppke, 2008: 533) and have been a topic of concern among key politicians in the Social Democratic Party (SAP) (Socialdemokraterna, 2017). For this reason, this study aims to explore how key politicians in the SAP have rhetorically reasoned about citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals in the contemporary immigration debate, as well as during previous critical junctions in the immigration policy field. By collecting and thematically analysing public statements between 2014 and 2016, the aim is to map out how the political framing of refugee immigration have changed during the chosen time period.

### **1.1 Aim and purpose**

The aim of this study is to examine how key politicians in the SAP have framed refugee immigration in public statements made between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. In doing so, the study aims to shed light on how key politicians in the SAP have rhetorically reasoned about cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights in public statements regarding refugee immigration and show how the framing of refugee immigration have changed from 2014-01-01 to 2016-07-20. To be able to discover any recurring themes in how key members in the party rhetorically reason about citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals, a historical account of how key politicians within the party have expressed concerns regarding refugee immigration during previous critical junctions is presented. The historical background will provide a better understanding of the contemporary issue of refugee immigration within the party. Hence, the study is not concerned about the question of legitimacy of the new law, but rather looks into how refugee immigration is framed in public statements made by the social democratic leadership. Specifically, the study will focus on how refugee immigration has been framed by the social democratic leadership in the daily news before and during the passing of new restrictive asylum law. By applying concepts of framing, cosmopolitanism and citizenship, which together constitutes the theoretical approach, themes and recurring rhetorical framing strategies will be discovered.

The research question was developed with the aim to analyse how key members in the SAP have framed refugee immigration during 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. By thematically analysing public statements, the research questions aim to explore how key members of the party rhetorically reason about citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals in the contemporary debate on refugee immigration, before and during the policy-change. Therefore, the re-

search question will focus on how refugee immigration has been framed by SAP leaders in the public debate, prior to and during the passing of the new restrictive asylum law (from 2014-01-01 to 2016-07-20). The main reason for the chosen time period is that the SAP was elected as ruling party in 2014 and the restrictive asylum law came into force in 2016-07-20. Particularly, by analysing how refugee immigration have been framed in public statements during the aforementioned time period, how the framing and representation of refugee immigration changed during this period will be demonstrated.

## **1.2 Research question**

*How have government members of the Social Democratic Party framed refugee immigration in public statements made in the two largest daily newspapers in Sweden between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20?*

## **1.3 Disposition**

The thesis is divided into six parts. The first section of the thesis includes the Background. In this section, critical junctions in the immigration policy discourse will be examined. The critical junctions that this thesis will focus on are: the 1927 foreigner law (*utlänningslagen*), immigration policy before, during and after the Second World War and the St. Lucia-decision, the restrictions in asylum law established in the 1980s. The second section of this thesis includes previous research made in the field of immigration policy. It offers both a general overview and relevant research on Swedish immigration policy. The third section includes the theories, method and material utilized in this study. The study will rely on three concepts that combined will represent the theoretical framework, which are: Framing, citizenship and cosmopolitanism. The method, material and the study's limitations are presented at the end of the section. The fourth part of the study involves the analysis, in which the public statements will be thematically analysed and categorised into the classifications described in the theoretical section of the thesis. The results from the thematic analysis will be presented in the fifth section of the thesis, which includes the summary and concluding discussion. Finally, a bibliography constitutes the last part of the thesis.

## 2. Background

### 2.1 The passing of the first foreigner law

Spång (2008) notes that the 1930s were pervaded by an international political concern for mass immigration due to the Second World War. Hence, the debate was dominated by the concern of the Jewish refugees fleeing from Germany (Spång, 2008: 44). Under the first decades of the 20th century, refugee- and asylum policy was discussed within the labour movement, especially its effect on the Swedish labour market. The first foreigner law (*Lag om utlänningars rätt att bär i riket vistas*) was passed in 1927, which was the first uniform law to control refugees' right to migrate and stay in Sweden. The law was mainly concerned with which migrants could be expelled but did not confirm which migrants could be granted the right to stay in Sweden. Under the law, there was no international and accepted definition of the term political refugee. Several scholars argue that the idea of an international definition was not discussed until the outbreak of the Second World War (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 48). However, the law clearly stated that immigrants who stayed longer than 3 months in Sweden needed permission. When the law proposal was discussed, some argued that the provision of expulsion enabled for rejecting refugees who migrated due to political persecution (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 50). There was a division of opinion within the SAP regarding the foreigner law, as some members advocated for free movement of people (*fritt folkutbyte*), which had been effective before the 1927 foreigner law. However, the majority of the members of the party emphasised that the current economic regression, both in Sweden and in the world, indicated that restrictions were needed (Spång, 2008: 44). Johansson (2008) notes that the labour movements' expressed resistance against labour immigration in the beginning of the 20th century must be contextualized, as there were rising inequalities on the labour market including; low wages and bad working conditions (Johansson, 2008: 112). Hammar (1964) claims that the argument given to the reason behind the passing of the foreigner law was to protect the domestic market against foreign competition (Hammar, 1964: 365). Additionally, an argument put forward by the social services was to protect the Nordic race (Hammar, 1964: 382). For this reason, Hammar (1964) states that the foreigner law was passed with the aim to both control the number of foreigners in Sweden, as well as their composition (Hammar, 1964: 365-375). Due to the introduction of modern social policies and expansive macro-policies in

Sweden during the creation of “The people’s home”<sup>1</sup> (*Folkhemmet*), migration studies frequently associate the national welfare state with the contemporary refugee problems and wide spread xenophobia. Following this approach, the creation of “The people’s home” is perceived as a national project that intentionally hindered refugees from immigrating to Sweden (Byström, 2014: 12). The idea of “The people’s home”, first gained support in 1928, after the current Prime Minister and party leader of the SAP, Per Albin Hansson, held his famous speech about the promise of the “The peoples’ home”. The promise of uniformity and welfare in “The peoples’ home” stood in contrast to Sweden’s current state of poverty and inequality (Wiklund, 2006: 124). The notion is best described as an idealised picture of a Swedish society, based on equality, where people cooperate and where all residents have a secure and healthy home. In his speech, Per Albin additionally spoke about the mentality of the Swedish people. Specifically, Per Albin highlighted the natural legality and moral sense that the Swedish residents acquire (Lindeborg, 2012: 238). Wiklund argues that attached to the idea of the “The people’s home”, was a strong belief that Sweden has a longstanding tradition of democracy and welfare (Wiklund, 2006). Therefore, it is argued that the concept is founded on both nationalistic and romantic connotations, since it goes beyond economic resources and describes a society based on cooperation and community (Wiklund, 2006: 118). Recurring catchwords by the SAP with references to the ‘Swedish model’ include; collaboration, consensus and cooperation. Wiklund (2006) argues that Swedish identity, at this time, becomes strongly related to; democracy, peace, welfare and neutrality, which were linked to the Swedish concept of modernity (Wiklund, 2006: 121). For this reason, Lindeborg (2012) and Wiklund (2006) underline that the history of modernity in Sweden becomes frequently correlated with the success of the social democrats (Lindeborg 2012: 351, Wiklund 2006: 124).

Lindberg (1973) notes that the discussion regarding refugees in the 1930s was not concerned with the refugees right to a sanctuary or asylum rights, but rather is was centred around the nation’s right to grant residence permits to refugees if it was in accordance with national interests (Lindberg, 1973: 32). As references by SAP regarding the Swedish model sometimes include notions of multiculturalism (Hinnfors et al., 2012: 589), the recurring concept is the one of the “The People’s home”, which was associated with ideas of ‘Swedishness’ (Trädgårdh, 2002: 77). By appealing to notions of folk (the people), folklighet (being one people with similar traits) and folkhemmet (The people’s home), these concepts became

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<sup>1</sup> Note: there are alternative translations of “folkhemmet”, however, “The people’s home” was chosen as it is a common translation of the concept.

steadily interlinked with Swedish national identity and narrative (Trädgårdh, 2002: 77). In 1937, a new foreigner law was established, however, it was principally an extension of the previous law except the fact that the argument to protect the Swedish race had been removed. The stated aim of the foreigner law was to protect the domestic market, as indicated in the 1927 foreigner law as well (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 51-52). However, the net immigration to Sweden was insignificant during 1930-1943. In fact, around 6000 people migrated to Sweden yearly (Dahlström, 2004: 49). Horgby, (1996) claims that the national approach was prioritised before the international principles, and that the reason for this was the First World War (Horgby, 1996). However, Johansson (2008) argues that there were elements of international solidarity within Swedish politics during this time. For example, these elements included economic aid to vulnerable and conflict affected areas as well as aid to political refugees (Johansson, 2008: 114).

## **2.2 Refugee immigration policy during the Second World War**

The foreigner law of 1937 was in place throughout the Second World War. Similar to the 1927 foreigner law, the law established in 1937 did not state which migrants were allowed to immigrate to Sweden, but was principally concerned with which immigrants could and should be expelled. As stated in the law in 1927, immigrants still had the right to enter Sweden and stay for 3 months, however, after 3 months, a residence visa was required (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 53). The three-month rule only applied to those immigrants that came from countries without visa requirements, which encompassed the Western European countries. Immigrants from the Eastern European countries, on the other hand, did not acquire the right to stay in Sweden for 3 months without any residence permit (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 54). With the onset of the Second World War, on September 1<sup>st</sup> 1939, visa requirements were established including all countries except the Nordic countries. In 1940, the Nordic countries were additionally included, which resulted in the granting of temporary residence permit ending as all immigrants had to apply for residence visa (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 54). Johansson (2008) argues that several reasons were given behind the restrictive approach, such as: protecting the domestic market, racism and considerations of foreign policy matters. The restrictive measures limited refugees' possibilities on the Swedish labour market, which was an element that characterized immigration policy both before and after the Second World War (Johansson, 2008: 108).

In 1943, the principles of refugees' assistance in Sweden were discussed in the Parliament. The Minister of Social Affairs and member of the SAP, Gustav Möller, argued that Sweden was not affected by the large waves of immigrants in Europe and therefore, refu-

gees who do migrate to Sweden should be granted residence permits. Key politicians at the time, such as Holmbäck, member of the liberal people's party, and Wagnsson, member of the SAP, agreed with Möller and stated that Sweden had a moral obligation to practice generous asylum policies (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 123). In 1943, when labour demand increased, the requirements for working visa in the low wage sector ceased at the same time as the government and authorities pursued an active labour immigration policy. Refugees were channelled in to sectors where the labour demand was high and where they could support themselves (Johansson, 2008: 108). Therefore, Johansson (2008) argues that, towards the end of the Second World War, refugee policy and labour market policy were linked, making it possible for Swedish employers to extract cheap labour (Johansson, 2008: 116).

In 1944, there was a significant increase in immigration. The majority of the refugees immigrating to Sweden in 1944 were from the Baltics (Byström, 2014: 59). Since the authorities were perceived to be under pressure due to other refugees fleeing from the war, it was of high importance that the refugees from the Baltics were employed as quickly as possible. Byström (2014) claims that, in the political debate, there was a general understanding that Sweden should prioritise initiatives in the Nordic countries, if aid was needed. However, it is argued that this perception also pervaded the political debate regarding refugees, as accepting refugees from the Nordic countries was perceived as expected and non-problematic, whereas other groups were perceived as more problematic. For example, especially two groups were problematized and overrepresented; the Jews and the Baits. It was argued that they deprived native workers of employment opportunities (Byström, 2014: 66). This argument is further supported by Horgby, who claims that the resistance against increasing immigration was due to the belief that increasing immigration would increase the competition on the labour market (Horgby, 1996: 165-166).

At the end of the war, Spång claims that Swedish immigration policy became more generous and that the general approach towards immigration changed (Spång, 2008: 44). In 1945, the number of immigrants in Sweden was 200.000, a significant increase in comparison to before the War, when the number of immigrants was around 25.000. This argument is further supported by Johansson (2008), who claims that almost all refugees who migrated to Sweden between 1942-1945 were granted residence permits (Johansson, 2008: 199). Therefore, Johansson (2008) argues that, at the end of the war, international idealism was interlinked with the strategy to protect the domestic labour market (Johansson, 2008: 199).

### 2.3 Refugee immigration policy after the Second World War

After the Second World War, the idea of the free movement of people became central to the immigration policy debate. In that light, a new foreigner law was developed, which was adopted by the government in 1954. The new foreigner law was similar to the previous one in many ways. However, it was clearly stated that the free movement of people should be the cornerstone of immigration policy, but that consideration should be taken to social, political and economic interests (Spång, 2008: 45). Spång (2008) argues that the 1954 foreigner law included formulations that implied an increased legal protection for refugees. For example, under the new foreigner law, political refugees could not be rejected residence permit unless there were exceptional reasons for the rejection (Spång, 2008: 45). During the first decade of the post-war era, there was a rapid increase in labour immigration to Sweden. The liberalisations of Swedish labour immigration policy in 1954 resulted in that the number of foreign-born people working in Sweden increased from 60 000 to 170 000 between 1947-1967. Due to the existing labour shortage, the majority of the immigrants found employment in the industrial sector (Jansson, 2014: 11-12).

In 1951, Sweden signed the UN Convention regarding the status of refugees and the 1967 protocol. As a result, migrants who escaped the Soviet Union or Warsaw pact countries in the 1950 and 60s were granted permanent residence permit (Scocco and Andersson, 2015: 18). In the mid 1960s, annual immigration increased considerably compared to previous decades. In the post-war period, labour immigrants had come from neighbouring countries, such as Finland. However, in the beginning of the 1960s, the majority of immigrants came from Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia. The immigrants arriving in Sweden in the 1960s and 1970s were not quota refugees<sup>2</sup>, but voluntary refugees. Hence, they were not refugees according to the criteria in the Geneva Convention, but people that had migrated due to other reasons (Scocco and Andersson, 2015: 18). Consequently, this led to a need to further advance the convention in accordance to the current conditions. Specifically, the Alien Law (1975) was implemented, which added two categories of refugees: de facto refugees (migrants that migrate due to similar consequences as refugees but are not covered by the Convention) and conscientious objectors (a person who has claimed the right to refuse military service) (Scocco and Andersson, 2015: 17). However, the implementation of the 1954 foreigner law meant that Sweden had taken on a greater obligation for refugees than what was stated in Geneva

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<sup>2</sup> Quota refugees (Resettlement refugees). Not enlisted as refugees according to the UNHCR, but cannot be offered a permanent solution in the country that they are currently in and, as a consequence, are offered a resettlement in a third country.

Convention, as the right to seek asylum and the right to a sanctuary was highlighted, unless there were exceptional reasons to reject the refugee a residence permit (Spång, 2008: 50). Jansson (2014) argues that the increasing immigration and the accompanied communication issues at the workplaces contributed to a debate within the trade union movement regarding labour immigration and its socio-economic consequences (Jansson, 2014: 329). Brännström (2015) and Johansson (2008) argue that compared to immigrants in the 50s, the immigrants in the 60s and 70s were moving to Sweden permanently, rather than being perceived as temporary labour that would migrate if the demand decreased. As a consequence, Brännström notes that, in the 1960s, the debate on how to incorporate the “new members” from Southern Europe entered the scene of politics, under the rubric “adjustment problems of the immigrants” (*invandrarnas anpassningssvårigheter*). The adjustment problems included concerns such as: linguistic difficulties, socioeconomic marginalisation and negative attitudes of indigenous populations (Brännström, 2015: 42). Finally, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO) and the SAP advocated for a regulation of the non-Nordic immigration, and adaption programmes to facilitate the integration of immigrants into the Swedish society (Jansson, 2014: 329). In 1967, restrictive labour immigration policies were implemented. Under the new law, foreign workers were only permitted to enter Sweden if in possession of an employment offer, a work permit and proof of arranged housing (Hinnfors et al., 2012: 588). Johansson (2008) argues that the negative approach towards the labour immigrants that came from outside the Nordic countries was partly due to the immigrants not receiving language education (Johansson, 2008: 153). Additionally, during the 1950s and 1960s, immigration was approached from a labour market perspective, not concerned with the immigrants’ rights or socio-economic situation (Johansson, 2008: 153).

From the 1970s and onward, immigration to Sweden has been dominated by refugee immigration and family reunification (Jansson, 2014: 328). During the 1970s, Johansson (2008) argues that the role of foreign policy and international solidarity was stressed by the SAP. At the same time, however, there was a growing dissatisfaction within the Swedish society, due to the internationalisation of the economy, labour market reforms and the expansion of the public sector. In 1976, the SAP lost the election and was replaced by a centre-right government (Johansson, 2008: 202).

## **2.4 The St. Lucia Decision**

During the election in 1988, refugee immigration was discussed to a greater extent than during previous elections. Boréus (2006) claims that at the end of the 1980s, xenophobic argu-

ments were not as frowned upon as during precious decades (Boréus, 2006: 47). Two historical occasions in particular are emphasised; the municipal vote in Sjöbo 1988, when 65 per cent of the voters voted no to reception of refugees, and the emergence of the new party, New Democracy (*Ny Demokrati*), which entered the political stage in the election in 1991. For this reason, it was imperative for other parties to emphasise the importance of generous refugee policies (Boréus, 2006: 47). According to Boréus (2006), the word “generous” was frequently used during the election and in its material (Boréus, 2006: 47). In the social democratic material “20 questions regarding Sweden’s immigration and refugee policy and 20 answers” (20 frågor om Sveriges invandrings- och flyktingpolitik och 20 svar), the party answered to questions and replied to statements regarding their politics. One of the statements was “Sweden is practicing ungenerous and restrictive immigration policies”<sup>3</sup>, whereby the SAP answered with: “Sweden accepts the highest number of refugees in the European Union, in relation to population size... The residence permits granted to both asylum seekers and refugees are increasing all the time”<sup>4</sup> (Socialdemokraterna, 1988: 8). Additionally, it was argued that “Swedish refugee policy is an expression of solidarity and compassion for those that suffer from persecution and due to political reasons cannot stay or do not dare to stay in their own country... We are obligated to practice generous refugee policies”<sup>5</sup> (Socialdemokraterna, 1988: 13). Boréus (2006) notes that, in the principal material, parties agreed on the fact that Sweden should practice a generous refugee policy. Moreover, it is noticeable that the SAP underlined that Sweden was, in fact, practising generous refugee policies (Boréus, 2006: 47).

In 1989, there was a significant increase in net immigration to Sweden. Specifically, 30.335 immigrants applied for asylum permit in Sweden, an increase of 55 per cent to the year before (The Swedish Migration Board, 2016d). The increase in immigration coincided with the emergence of an even more restrictive SAP refugee policy, referred to as the ‘St. Lucia’ decision. The refugee policy included that only strict applications of the Geneva convention would be applied, resulting in that it would no longer be possible to receive residence permit as a de facto refugee or conscientious objectors unless there were particular convincing protection needs (Johansson, 2005: 162). As such, the policy supported temporary residence permits, ruling that political asylum application filed after December 1989 would be handled

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<sup>3</sup> Author’s translation. For original source: Socialdemokraterna, ”20 frågor om Sveriges invandrings- och flyktingpolitik och 20 svar”, 1988.

<sup>4</sup> Author’s translation. Original source: Socialdemokraterna, ”20 frågor om Sveriges invandrings- och flyktingpolitik och 20 svar”, 1988.

<sup>5</sup> Author’s translation. Original source: Socialdemokraterna, ”20 frågor om Sveriges invandrings- och flyktingpolitik och 20 svar”, 1988.

strictly according to the 1951 Geneva Convention (Prot. 1989: 78). In support of the policy, the SAP Minister for Justice and Migration, Maj-Lis Lööw, stated that restrictions were required in order to protect dignified reception.

We have reached the limits of how much we can cope with. If, in the future, we are to keep our ability to offer a haven for those most in need, then we have to restrict the possibilities for others to gain residence permits in Sweden<sup>6</sup> (Prot. 1989/90:46).

Instead, it was claimed that repatriation was a more humanitarian approach than granting refugees citizenship and placing the reception systems under more pressure, which could potentially generate undignified reception of refugees (Johansson, 2005: 165; Government bill 1990/91: 195). Several scholars (Hinnfors et al., 2012: 595; Johansson 2005: 165) claim that the ‘St. Lucia’ decision reflected the increasingly prevalent view that immigration was problematic. During this time, the discourse was principally dominated by the use of words such as “us” and “them” (Johansson 2005: 165; Hinnfors et al., 2012: 595). The debate indicated that refugees in this sense are perceived as a burden, that challenges the maintenance of welfare provision. However, the opposition had divided opinions regarding the new policy. Critics argued that the impulsive legislation gave the impression that Sweden was flooded with asylum applicants, and painting a picture of chaos, which was not the case (Abiri, 2000: 15). Abiri (2000) notes that the term ‘migration pressure’ was frequently used to describe the situation in the 1990s (Abiri, 2000: 16). Politicians highlighted the deterioration of the Soviet Union and the expected mass migration to Sweden. Abiri notes that experts claimed that floods of 20-50 million people were expected to flee from starvation, unemployment and civil war (Abiri 2000: 16). For this reason, it is claimed that the state of emergence as presented by politicians was damaging for refugee policy-making, as it presented the potential migration as a security threat to the Swedish society (Abiri, 2000: 16).

The ‘St. Lucia decision’ was discussed in the election 1991 and there was a clear division of opinion between the different parties. The people’s party and the Christian Democratic People’s party argued that the law should be abolished, while the SAP and the moderate party supported the new rules. However, the new restrictive law was not given a significant amount of attention as the New Democracy party (*Ny Demokrati*) entered the political stage. For this reason, Spång (2008) claims that it was of importance for the all other parties to un-

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<sup>6</sup> Author’s translation of the quotation. Original source: Protokoll 1989/90:46

derline that Swedish immigration policy should be generous and based on humanitarian grounds (Spång, 2008: 67). However, in support of the 'St. Lucia Decision', the SAP claimed that the underpinnings of Swedish immigration policy were, in fact, generous and that the new policy aimed to shorten the waiting periods and to decrease the possibility of defense procurement of children. For these reasons, the restrictions were implemented on humanitarian grounds. Additionally, the high number of paperless refugees were considered an issue that needed to be acted upon (Spång, 2008: 61). The SAP stated that the number of claims of asylum was beyond the capacity of the Swedish nation, making the new restrictions necessary (Abiri, 2000: 15). Moreover, the SAP government members argued that if contemporary immigration policy failed to integrate the migrants that had been granted a residence permit, this could result in polarisation and troubled relations, which damages the basis of future generous refugee and asylum policies. It was therefore argued that the restrictions were desirable in order to strengthen the public support for refugee policy (Abiri, 2000: 17).

When the SAP returned to office in 1994 after losing the 1976 election, the party reinstated the restrictive policies that the moderate party had abolished. A parliamentary investigation in 1995 claimed that encouraging voluntary returns is equal to protecting the immigrants' human rights. Consequently, by appealing to humanitarian undertones, the investigation held that encouraging voluntary returns should play an important role in refugee policy (Hinnfors et al., 2012: 584). As a result, in 1996, a government bill emphasized the importance of supporting voluntary returns, involving migrants that have been granted permanent residence permits (Government bill 1996/97: 25).

## 2.5 The refugee crisis

In 2015, a total of 76 million were labelled as migrants in Europe and 12.677 people migrated to Sweden to seek asylum (International Migration Report, 2016: 2). Consequently, several European member states have put immigration policy at the top of their agenda and the issue has been heatedly debated over the last year (Damoc, 2016: 1). During the ‘refugee crisis’, Sweden has been the country in Europe granting residence permits to the highest number of refugees in relation to population size (The Swedish Migration Board, 2016). At the end of 2015, the government announced that “the current situation generally means a serious threat towards public order and internal security” (Proposition 2015/16:67: 7)<sup>7</sup>, and that “the floods of migration are accompanied with acute challenges for authorities and the overall function of society” (Proposition 2015/16:67: 8)<sup>8</sup>. In July 2016, the Swedish parliament adopted a new restrictive asylum law. Under the law, asylum seekers’ possibilities of being granted residence permits are limited. Specifically, asylum seekers who are entitled to protection will only be granted temporary residence permits. A person who is granted refugee status will be given a residence permit valid for three years and a person who is granted subsidiary protection status will get a residence permit for 13 months. Consequently, this affects asylum seekers’ possibilities to be reunited with their families, as only people granted refugee status have the possibility to be reunited with their family (The Swedish Migration Board, 2016).

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<sup>7</sup> Author’s translation. Original source: Proposition 2015/16:67: 7.

<sup>8</sup> Author’s translation. Original source: Proposition 2015/16:67: 7.

### 3. Previous research

Van Dijk (2000) conducted a study of how leading politicians in European countries talk and write about immigration and ethnical issues. By applying a critical discourse analysis framework, the study aims to analyse the ideological properties of political discourse on immigration and minorities in Europe. Specifically, Van Dijk (2000) focuses on the British House of Commons and their debate on asylum seekers and argues that many of the characteristics within the debate are found in asylum debates in other countries in Western Europe (Van Dijk, 2000). Similarly, Huysmans (2000) analyses the perception of migration within the EU. However, Huysmans argues that since the EU is an economic project with a domestic market with open borders, migration is generally perceived as a safety issue (Huysmans, 2000). In line with the securitisation theme, Lavenex (2001) highlight the tensional relationship between human rights and internal security (Lavenex, 2001). Specifically, two discourses on migration are presented, the human rights discourse and the discourse on the sovereignty of the national states. Lavenex notes the tensional relationship between the two discourses and argues that idealism and realism explain the two dominant perspectives of refugees within the EU (Lavenex, 2001). The relationship between citizenship and human rights is further emphasised by Tambakaki (2010). Tamabakaki argues that citizenship focuses on inclusion and exclusion, while human rights focus solely on inclusion. Moreover, it is argued that in contemporary debate, human rights are perceived to be a more relevant and forceful political means than citizenship (Tambakaki, 2010). Similarly, Joppke's (2008) study of immigration and the identity of citizenship emphasises the paradox of universalism. However, Joppke analyses how and in which way immigration transforms citizenship. This is done through distinguishing between three aspects of citizenship: rights, status and identity. The main finding of the study is that modern citizenship's externally exclusive dimension has weakened. Specifically, Joppke argues that citizenship does still exclude, but in line with a universalism and a non-discrimination discourse (Joppke, 2008).

Abiri (2000) has conducted research on the continuity and change in Swedish refugee policy. In the study, Abiri claims that the official discourse on refugee policy has remained constant while refugee policy has been the subject to substantial changes. Additionally, it is argued that refugee policy has become increasingly restrictive while simultaneously, the official documents describe policy orientation with the same terms. For this reason, Abiri notes that the goals, basic views and elements of refugee policy remain the same despite the fact that Sweden has been governed by both left and right wing governments during this time

(Abiri, 2000). Similarly, Spång (2008) investigates parliamentary debates and policy-making processes in Sweden to analyse on which ground changes in asylum legislation have been supported during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Spång analyses the processes with a democratic lense, aiming to shed light on to which degree asylum policy in Sweden lives up to democratic procedural criteria and protection of rights (Spång, 2008). Since Spång analyses the parliamentary debates in Sweden during previous critical junctions, the study provided this thesis with factual background.

Byström (2014) conducted a study which analyses the asylum policy in Sweden in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Byström adds the notion of “The Nordic thought” (*Den Nordiska tanken*), which includes the idea that the Swedish refugee responsibility included the Nordic residents. According to this theory, Nordic residents were considered “brothers” and portrayed different from refugees coming from outside the Nordic countries in public debates (Byström, 2014). Johansson (2005) has conducted a study on Swedish migration discourses during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In line with Byström’s argument, Johansson (2005) argues that Swedish asylum policies have a long-standing tradition of restrictions and pursuing immigration policies that are in line with national interests (Johansson, 2005). Johansson (2005) analyses previous critical junctions in the immigration policy field, where the aim is to show examples of when concerns regarding citizenship and state sovereignty have been expressed in support of restrictive asylum policies. Johansson (2005) notes that the welfare state is exclusive in its nature, and that state sovereignty always has been an area of concern with regards to immigration (Johansson, 2005). Likewise, Hinnfors et al., (2012) conducted a study of how social democracy can lead to restrictive immigration policy. However, in contrast to Johansson’s study, Hinnfors et al., emphasise the role of the SAP, instead of the welfare state. In the study, it is argued that the SAP has a long-standing history of formulating restrictive immigration policy. The study investigates the Swedish entry policies that have been supported and endorsed by the SAP since the 1960s and onward, which are all argued to be restrictive in nature (Hinnfors et al., 2012). As the study analyses the social democratic positioning in the immigration policy discourse, it provided this thesis with factual background. Conclusively, previous studies presented above focus on the restrictive nature of Swedish immigration policy, the influence of the SAP, and the political reasoning behind the passing of the new restrictive immigration policies. However, several studies disregard the elements that guide rhetorical framing of refugee immigration within the party, which is essential to provide a fair view of the rhetorical framing of refugee immigration within the party and in order to understand the debates that precede policy-changes.

## **4. Theoretical framework**

In this section, the concept that will represent the theoretical framework utilized in this study will be presented. The three concepts that will be utilized as theoretical approach are: framing, citizenship and cosmopolitanism. This strategy is used because the empirical data needs to be divided into separate units, to enable an understanding of the public statements and the discovering of themes and categories. This will further make the analyses easier to understand as well as make the overall thesis clearer.

### **4.1 Framing**

Due to its capability to explain political development and policy changes in different spheres, the concept of frames has been recognized by several scholars. Bleich (2002) offers a definition of a frame as “a set of cognitive and moral maps that orients an actor within a policy sphere” (Bleich, 2002: 1063). Consequently, frames facilitate identification of problems by affected actors and help them specify and prioritize their goals. Hence, frames guide actors’ judgement on what appropriate policies are in particular situations. Therefore, they additionally tend to direct policy on a specific path and reinforce it while on it. As a result, frames guide policy-making and additionally accounts for its outcomes. Frames work as cognitive maps, including metaphors, analogies, definitions and symbols. Cognitive maps help actors comprehend a social or political situation and, thus, identify problems and suitable solutions. For example, in the immigration policy field, metaphors of waves or floods of migrants or ‘migration pressure’ are frequently used to justify policy restrictions. Additionally, frames include moral maps, determining the value of different words and concepts, where some concepts or words may be recognised as valuable in different spheres while others are not. In other words, attaching value and meaning to the word race might be of meaning for those fighting discrimination and racism, however, others may reject it as a meaningless term. Frames exist prior to the particular policy-making episode and will consequently draw policy attention to what is expected within the frame and, thus, identify suitable solutions alongside those lines (Bleich, 2002: 1063-1065). This study will apply the definition of frames offered by Bleich, in order to understand how actors rhetorically frame refugee immigration in public statements regarding immigration policy in Sweden.

A central concept when analysing the immigration policy debate in Sweden, is the notion of citizenship. T.H. Marshall (1950) offers three dimensions of citizenship rights, namely: political, social and legal citizenship. Hence, legal citizenship encompasses rights

such as property, whereas political citizenship includes rights such as voting and social rights include social entitlements such as unemployment benefits or provision for education. In turn, citizenship shapes the flow of resources to persons and social groups. Moreover, since practices change historically as a consequence of political struggle, citizenship additionally transforms over time (T.H. Marshall, 1950: 92). T.H. Marshall describes citizenship as something that transforms through various stages, being bound up with issues of inequality and power relations. Additionally, Turner (2000), adds the notion of Keynesian influences. In that sense, citizenship is essentially a Western notion, where citizenship rights are bound up with the establishment of a welfare state, based on the idea of full employment. Consequently, citizenship rights are exclusive in the sense that they can only be granted to those that are residents within the welfare state. Furthermore, Turner claims that this has implications for human rights relation to citizenship, as they stand in contrast to each other. In other words, rights acquired by citizenship are exclusive towards those who are not citizens, while human rights go beyond boundaries, endorsing universal rights for all (Turner, 2000:1-16). For this reason, Turner argues that the development of modern societies and globalisation challenge traditional perceptions of citizenship. This study will use the definitions offered by T.H. Marshall and the theory proposed by Turner, arguing that cosmopolitan ideals challenge traditional perceptions of citizenship rights.

## **4.2 Cosmopolitanism**

Initially, cosmopolitanism is derived from an ancient Greek term meaning a ‘citizen of the world’, which describes an open attitude towards the other. Following this approach, it is an ethnical stance, where the individual not only should privilege those closest to him or her, such as family, but also prioritize the other. Hence, “the cosmopolitan looks outwards to see differences as an opportunity for connection rather than as a pretext for separation” (Kendall et al., 2009: 1). Specifically, cosmopolitan ideals go beyond the boundaries of the state by endorsing universal ideals and rights. However, Kendall et al., (2009), argue that cosmopolitanism cannot be perceived as merely an individualistic state of mind. Hence, it is argued that cosmopolitanism have a “social- processual and contextual- dimension” (Kendall et al., 2009: 1); and that a cosmopolitan norm can only appear under certain material conditions, and thus is only achievable in particular settings. Hence, cosmopolitanism is a product of social and political history, and requires a particular material culture to become a progressive humanistic ideal is, as it is embedded in the structural conditions of modernity (Kendall et al., 2009: 1-2).

This study will draw on Kendall's notion of cosmopolitanism, and understand the concept of cosmopolitanism as immersed in the context of the Swedish society.

### **4.3 Methodology and Material**

The study is conducted as a qualitative text analysis, where both secondary and empirical data is gathered and analysed. The aim is to analyse how refugee immigration has been framed during the 'refugee crisis', leading up to the policy-change in Sweden in 2016, involving the passing of the new restrictive asylum law. The study's purpose is to map how the political presentation of refugees changed during the chosen time period. Public statements made by government members in the SAP between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20 have been collected. The time period was chosen due to the fact that the debate regarding immigration was especially intense before and during the establishment of the new restrictive asylum law, and several government members in SAP expressed their opinion on the matter. Additionally, the passing of the new restrictive asylum law in Sweden was chosen since it constitutes an extreme shift from expansive to restrictive immigration policies. For this reason, the shift provides examples of how concerns regarding citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals have been expressed in the immigration policy field by SAP members.

The theoretical approach is constituted by concept definitions, which will categorise the empirical data and, thus, be used as guidelines for the analysis. Specifically, two concepts were chosen to help divide the empirical data into separate categories and to make it easier to interpret and analyse; cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights. However, to be able to understand how citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals have been rhetorically reasoned about within the party, framing was added to the theoretical approach. Therefore, the theoretical framework is constituted by three concepts; cosmopolitan ideals, citizenship rights and the notion of framing. The empirical data was gathered via Retriever, where articles were collected. Specifically, articles from Dagens Nyheter (DN) and Svenska Dagbladet (SvD) published between 2014-2016 in which a government member of the SAP has made a statement regarding refugee immigration were thematically analysed. The SAP was chosen as ruling party in 2014 and the law came into force in July 2016. Consequently, it was a natural choice to limit the time scope to this specific period (2014-01-01 to 2016-07-20). The articles were collected by the premise of the aforementioned time period and the keyword *flyktinginvandring (refugee immigration)*. Hence, all articles in which a government member of the SAP has made a statement about refugee immigration during this time period were collected. The word refugee immigration was chosen as this study aims to analyse refugee immi-

gration, and not labour immigration or integration. Hence, the word was chosen on the premise that it is most fitting to answer the research question. However, this means that articles that might be relevant for this study, that could have been collected if another word was chosen, are not covered in the empirical material.

The SAP was chosen since it is not possible to analyse all organisations or parties in the field of immigration. The SAP was a logical choice as they are key actors in the field of immigration policy, and have shaped immigration policies during their time as ruling party. The empirical data will be analysed against an historical account of when leaders in the SAP have expressed concerns regarding immigration policy during previous critical junctions, in order to make the contemporary statements easier to interpret and analyse. Additionally, this facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of the empirical data, and enables discovering of any recurring themes in the public debate on refugee immigration within the party. DN and SvD were chosen due to the fact that they are the only nationwide daily newspapers in Sweden. Hence, they are considered influential sources of information. However, this means that articles that might be of value for this thesis, that are published in other newspapers, are not included.

In total, 153 statements in which a government member of SAP has expressed an opinion on refugee immigration in the two daily newspapers were collected and analysed. The members who have expressed some opinion on the matter are: Stefan Löfven (party leader and Prime Minister), Ylva Johansson (Minister for Employment and Integration), Anders Ygeman (Home Secretary), Magdalena Andersson (Finance Minister), Morgan Johansson (Minister for Justice and Migration), Margot Wallström (Minister for Foreign Affairs) and Anna Johansson (Minister for Infrastructure). Firstly, the empirical data was chronologically categorised. The data was thereafter categorised under citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals- the theoretical concepts of this study. Categorising the statements according to this logic made it possible to analyse which statements fall into each category and to demonstrate the change of framing of refugee immigration during the specific time period. Additionally, by applying the notion of framing, other framing strategies were discovered in the analysis.

The secondary data has been gathered based on time periods that are significant in the light of the research question. Specifically, the secondary data was selected on basis of being critical junctions in the immigration policy field, where the SAP has expressed concerns regarding immigration policy. The secondary data collection was limited to three critical junctions when the party has been the ruling party and expressed concerns regarding immigration policy. The data have been gathered from various sources such as; historical documents, polit-

ical material published by the SAP, statutory law, and relevant contemporary and historical research analysing immigration policies, public debates and public statements. During the collection of secondary data, it was memoed (Punch, 2014: 172), which make it easier to understand the collected material. After that, descriptive coding (Punch, 2014: 192) was utilized to summarise segments of the data, which makes it easier to interpret and combine with other units of data, making it possible to discover recurring themes in the historical background.

Conclusively, the method applied is appropriate when answering the research question, as it will shed light on how refugee immigration is rhetorically framed by key SAP members in contemporary public statements and discover recurring themes during previous critical junctions, which facilitates a more comprehensive analysis of the current debate.

#### **4.4 Limitations**

This study does not aim to map the entire discourse on how refugees have been framed in Media during 2014-2016. Rather, its focus is to shed light on the tension between citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals, as expressed by key members in the SAP during the aforementioned time period. The empirical data is limited in the sense that solitary articles where key members of SAP had made a statement regarding “refugee immigration” were collected. As such, material that could be valuable for this study has not been analysed due to the limitations of the keyword used. However, due to the time limit, it was not feasible to gather more empirical material. Moreover, the study only covers statements made by government members of the SAP and disregards other politicians within the party whose opinion could be of value. Finally, only two daily newspapers were covered, which disregards other influential media sources and newspapers where government members of the SAP could have expressed an opinion on refugee immigration. The study does not aim to cover the entire media discourse on refugees or all members of the SAP. Hence, the main focus is government members of the SAP and their expressed opinion regarding the issue in two influential daily newspapers. With regards to the secondary data collection, by choosing three critical junctions, the background could give the impression that immigration policy changes abruptly between the chosen time periods. However, as it is not feasible to analyse all changes made in immigration legislation in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, these three critical junctions were chosen. They should be perceived as three separate units of analysis, representing examples of when government members of SAP members have expressed concerns regarding immigration policy.

## 5. Empirical analysis

The analysis will be based on three different concepts that will categorise the empirical findings under four different topics. Moreover, the statements are chronologically presented, to facilitate a representation of the policy-change that occurred in July 2016 and to make visible possible changes in how refugee immigration was framed by key members in the SAP during the specific time period. Several themes were discovered during the analysis of the statements gathered between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. The themes that were discovered when analysing the empirical data will be presented in the following section.

### 5.1 Cosmopolitanism

During 2014, few<sup>9</sup> statements were made by leaders in the SAP regarding refugee immigration in DN and SvD. However, solidarity and cosmopolitan ideals are themes that can be discovered in the statements collected. Specifically, some members of the SAP describe Sweden as a diplomatic country, that represents solidarity. For example, Morgan Johansson, Minister for Justice and Migration, argued that Sweden stands a perfect example of a working resettlement system for refugees. For this reason, he additionally stated, “It contributes to that other countries are willing to receive a higher number of refugees” (Dagens Nyheter, 2014-12-11). Similarly, Morgan Johansson announced that it was important that Sweden has generous refugee policies, “If we take the lead, other countries might follow” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2014-12-11). Additionally, Morgan Johansson highlighted, “It is important that more countries accept refugees from Syria” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2014-12-10). During 2014, there was an optimistic approach towards refugee immigration, including the perception that Sweden would be able to handle the situation. For example, Magdalena Andersson, Finance Minister, stated that the refugee immigration could be financed with money from the foreign aid budget, and that immigration would have no negative economic consequences for Sweden (Svenska Dagbladet, 2014-08-25). In line with a positive approach, Morgan Johansson stated that the majority of refugees that come to Sweden are educated. In fact, Morgan Johansson claimed that “They are doctors, teachers, nurses and engineers. It is just about teaching them Swedish and giving them access to the labour market” (Dagens Nyheter, 2014-11-15). Additionally, the Minister argued that “It is important that all the municipalities in Sweden show

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<sup>9</sup> In total, 16 statements were collected from 2014. See bibliography.

solidarity and take joint responsibility (Dagens Nyheter, 2014-10-18). Another important article, is the one published by the think tank “us all” (*tankesmedjan oss alla*) in 2014, which Margot Wallström, Minister for Foreign Affairs, is a member of. The article is named “We reveal the most common myths regarding immigration” (Dagens Nyheter, 2014-03-21) and aims to reveal what the think tank claims are myths regarding immigration. For example, in the article, it is argued that immigration has no negative consequences on the state’s finances and that it is possible to combine a high level of immigration with expansive welfare policies (Dagens Nyheter, 2014-03-21).

In 2014, members of the SAP did not make a significant number of statements regarding refugee immigration in SvD or DN. Among the collected statements from 2014, Magdalena Andersson, Morgan Johansson and Margot Wallström were Ministers that made statements regarding refugee immigration. However, as key members of the SAP, they represent the party’s positioning in these issues, which make generalisations to some extent possible. The statements above imply a positive approach towards immigration. Additionally, the announcements indicate that, in 2014, refugee immigration was not perceived as an immense issue within the party and the general perception was that Sweden could handle the increasing amount of asylum seekers. However, the responsibility of other member states within the EU, regarding increasing their reception level of refugees, was emphasised.

In 2015, the amount of statements made by government members in the SAP regarding refugee immigration increased significantly<sup>10</sup>. Solidarity is a concept that occurs in several statements. Specifically, government members of SAP describe Sweden as being based on solidarity and universalism. Following this perspective, Sweden is a country that has a long-standing tradition of standing up for cosmopolitan ideals and practicing expansive immigration policies. This is expressed in an article published by Margot Wallström in SvD where the Minister praises the tradition of solidarity and human rights (Svenska Dagbladet, 2015-12-02). Additionally, this is highlighted by Stefan Löfven, the Prime Minister, who stated, “Sweden has a tradition of acquiring a different attitude than other countries. Basically, we have a longstanding tradition of accommodating people from other countries” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-04). The statements indicate that key politicians in the SAP perceive solidarity and cosmopolitan ideals as an integrated part of being Swedish, and that solidarity and cosmopolitanism are what comprises Swedishness. Additionally, it is highlighted that Sweden has a moral obligation to have a high reception level of refugees. For example, Morgan Jo-

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<sup>10</sup> in total, 85 statements were gathered from 2015. See bibliography.

hansson, stated in September 2015, “Of course we can afford to take responsibility when the world is experiencing the worst humanitarian crisis of our time” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2015-09-03). Additionally, in an interview published in DN in October the same year, the Minister said that “Sweden must do everything in its power to save these people” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-10). Similarly, Stefan Löfven stated in September 2015 that “The Sweden we are proud of is the one that stands up for solidarity... and the equal value of all people” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-09-06). Additionally, Stefan Löfven added “We should never build walls to separate people from each other. My Europe takes care of people who flee from war. My Europe does not build walls. If we do this together, we can make a difference for people” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-09-06). These statements imply a strong connection between key politicians within the SAP and cosmopolitan ideals. Moreover, the SAP members frequently present Sweden as a country based on generosity and solidarity. For example, Margot Wallström, praised the Swedish democratic values in DN 2015, “We have shown proof that single individuals can come forward and be totally amazing in difficult situations. We understand what the world looks like. We believe that a good society is one that is generous” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-30). Similarly, Morgan Johansson highlighted that “There is no other country that has done more or taken a bigger responsibility for the ongoing refugee crisis than Sweden” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2015-11-10). More specifically, in 13 of the statements<sup>11</sup> that were analysed, the high number of refugees that Sweden had taken in during 2015 was emphasised. Presenting Swedish immigration policy as generous was a concern in the 1943 discussion in the Parliament (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 123), as well as in the election in 1988 (Boréus, 2006: 47).

In October 2015, Stefan Löfven expressed an optimistic approach towards the reception of refugees. This was underpinned by the claim that Sweden could handle the situation. Specifically, the Prime Minister answered a question regarding the refugee crisis in an interview. Could Sweden handle the high number of asylum seekers? The answer Stefan

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<sup>11</sup> Carlsson, Mattias., Sköld, Josefin., Wierup, Lasse. Dagens Nyheter: ”Nu synas regeringen krisåtgärder”, 2015-12-09. Carlsson, Mattias., Sköld, Josefin. Dagens Nyheter: ”Sverige inte redo för större flyktingvåg”, 2015-12-19. Larsson, Mats. Dagens Nyheter: ”Gränskontroller blir kvar”, 2016-03-03. Lagerwall Katarina. Svenska Dagbladet: ”Migrationsministern; skärpta regler ska få fler att lämna Sverige”, 2016-01-28. Ohlsson, Erik. Dagens Nyheter: ”Flyktingfrågan ett krocktest för Europa”, 2015-11-30. Olsson, Hans. Dagens Nyheter: ”Danmark måste också ta ansvar för Nordens säkerhet”, 2015-11-20. Olsson, Hans. Dagens Nyheter: ”Tillfälliga uppehållstillstånd riskerar att försvåra etableringen”, 2016-07-06. Svensson, Frida. Svenska Dagbladet: Ygeman om flyktingkrisen; ”Lätt att vara efterklok”, 2016-06-07. Rosén, Hans., Olsson, Hans. Dagens Nyheter: ”Staten letar bostäder åt nyanlända”. 2015-09-26. Stenberg, Ewa. Dagens Nyheter: ”Margot Wallström om bränderna: SD har ett ansvar”, 2015-10-30.

Löfven gave was: “Of course we can do this! If the EU take joint responsibility. If the municipalities in Sweden take responsibility and help each other. If we cooperate. Amazing efforts are made all over Sweden, today. When we help each other, we can do a lot” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-04). Stefan Löfven additionally stated, in the same interview, “We have put together a budget that does not make any cut downs on taxes or welfare” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-04). These statements paint a positive picture. Firstly, the Prime Minister gives the impression that Sweden can handle the increasing number of asylum seekers. Secondly, by arguing that no changes are required in the current budget, it gives the impression that increasing refugee immigration does not stand in conflict with economic growth and welfare provision.

According to Bleich (2002), frames exist prior to the particular policy-making decisions and will draw policy attention to what is expected within the frame and identify suitable solutions alongside those lines (Bleich, 2002: 1063-1065). By combining this approach with the definition of cosmopolitanism offered by Kendall et al., (2009), it could be argued that the cosmopolitan norm within the Swedish society constituted the frames in which the SAP identified suitable solutions. Following this approach, the cognitive and moral maps (Bleich, 2002: 1063-1065) that underpin the Swedish refugee immigration debate, including words such as democracy, solidarity and generosity, requires that leaders in the party express optimistic approaches and solutions with regards to the reception of refugees.

In December 2015, Stefan Löfven announced that Sweden needs help from other EU countries and that Sweden cannot continue to take this responsibility all alone (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-12-20). Similarly, Morgan Johansson stated in SvD , “Sweden cannot continue to take on this massive responsibility by itself, Sweden needs the help of other countries” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2015-11-10). Stefan Löfven additionally expressed disappointment and irritation with other EU member states, which, according to him, have not taken the responsibility necessary in this situation. Specifically, the Prime Minister maintained, “Not enough countries have taken responsibility. Sweden has taken a disproportionate responsibility, a development which is not sustainable. For this reason, I am disappointed. The EU has not been able to take the responsibility they should in this situation”. Likewise, Anna Johansson, Minister for Infrastructure, (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-12-05) and Anders Ygeman, Home Secretary, (Svenska Dagbladet, 2016-06-07) made statements arguing that all European countries must take responsibility for the reception of refugees. The statements are interesting for two reasons. At first, the statement gives an appearance of being cosmopolitan in nature, as the expressed need for a redistribution mechanism shows elements of cosmopolitan ideals and a

human rights discourse by implying that the European Union has a greater responsibility towards refugees. However, at a second glance, an indirect message appears which frames refugee immigration as a problem. The expressed need for a redistribution mechanism additionally implies that there is no genuine will to receive more refugees than what is required. Moreover, the statements indicate that the Swedish society cannot handle continued increasing reception of refugees. Concerns regarding the responsibility of other countries with regards to reception of refugees were expressed in 22 statements<sup>12</sup>. According to Kendall et al., (2009), a cosmopolitan norm can only appear under certain material conditions. Specifically, cosmopolitanism as a progressive humanistic ideal is embedded in the structural conditions of modernity (Kendall et al., 2009: 2). Following this theory, it could be argued that key members in the party disregards the “social- processual and contextual- dimension” (Kendall et al., 2009: 2) of cosmopolitanism as an ideal within policy-making, when expressing disappointment regarding the lack of commitment among other EU countries.

Conclusively, the framing of refugee immigration in public statements changed in November 2015, as key politicians in the SAP started to express concerns regarding the size of refugee immigration.

## 5.2 Citizenship rights

Towards the end of 2015, the debate regarding refugee immigration changed direction and concerns regarding welfare provision were expressed in several public statements made by key members in the SAP. For example, in December 2015, Morgan Johansson stated that “All our systems, such as social services, school and housing systems are stretched to their limits” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-12-15). Moreover, prior to the passing of new asylum law, Morgan Johansson announced that “Even if we have the best reception system, we don’t have a magic wand that can conjure up hundreds of thousands of houses, ten thousands of teachers and so-

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<sup>12</sup> Carlsson, Annika. Dagens Nyheter: ”Fler asylsökande än vad migrationsverket väntat”, 2015-12-16. Dagens Nyheter: ”Sverige håller fast vid Dublin-regler”, 2015-07-27. Eriksson, Karin. Dagens Nyheter: ”När vi hjälps åt klarar vi mycket”, 2015-10-04. Küchler, Teresa. Svenska Dagbladet: ”Flyktingkrisen i Europa kan leda till krig”, 2015-11-10. Kärrman, Jens. Dagens Nyheter: ”Id-kontroller på bussar och tåg införs mitt i julruschen”, 2015-12-05. Leden, Johannes. Dagens Nyheter: ”svensk diplomatisk seger”, 2014-12-11. Nummelin, Wiktor. Svenska Dagbladet. ”Lång väg kvar till flyktingavtal”, 2016-03-11. Olsson, Hans. Dagens Nyheter ”Tillfälliga uppehållstillstånd riskerar att försvåra etableringen”, 2016-07-06. Svensson, Frida. Svenska Dagbladet: ”Stopp i Finland”, 2015-12-06. Rosén, Hans. Dagens Nyheter: ”EU:s asylsystem döms ut av FN-chef”, 2015-02-04. Ström Melin, Annika. Dagens Nyheter: ”Fruktansvärda lögner om EU har fått stå oemotsagda”, 2016-05-08. Ström Melin, Annika. Dagens Nyheter: ”man får leta efter ljusglimtar”, 2016-02-24. Ström Melin, Annika. Dagens Nyheter: ”Flyktingkaoset får unionens grundvalar att skaka”, 2015-09-15. Svenska Dagbladet: ”EU kom nära mål för flyktingmottagande”, 2015-07-20. Svenska Dagbladet: ”Gränskontrollerna kan på sikt försvåra utbytet”, 2016-01-21. Von Hall, Gunilla. Svenska Dagbladet: ”Sverige välkomnar fler syriska flyktingar”, 2014-12-10.

cial secretaries and hundreds of thousands of schools” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2016-06-22). Similarly, Magdalena Andersson announced that “Sweden’s reception system is extremely burdened and can’t guarantee roof over peoples’ heads... this is not a sustainable development” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-11-13). Hence, by appealing to humanitarian grounds, concerns for dignified reception are emphasised. Additionally, concerns regarding welfare provision encompassing various social services are stressed. For example, Stefan Löfven, made a statement in DN in September 2015, “We have to stick to reality. When authorities say that this no longer is a sustainable approach, we have to act, and that’s what we’re doing right now” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-11-25). The Prime Minister additionally added in support of the proposal of the new asylum law in 2016: “We have to act to make sure that people trust that the society and the welfare system works” (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-11-25).

The statements imply that there is a conflict between increasing refugee immigration and welfare provision. Firstly, cosmopolitan ideals are expressed by appealing to the rights of the refugee, and that increasing refugee immigration will worsen the reception standards. Secondly, by stating that there are not enough schools, houses and social secretaries, Morgan Johansson expresses concern regarding citizenship rights, implying that increasing refugee immigration stands in conflict with welfare provision. In the statements, the exclusive nature of citizenship rights (Turner, 2000: 1-16) is emphasised, while cosmopolitan ideals are expressed by appealing to the right of the refugee. This indicates that the way the party rhetorically reasoned about cosmopolitan ideals changed at the end of 2015, as cosmopolitan arguments shifted from being utilized in support of expansive refugee immigration policies, to being focused on the rights of the refugee – specifically, the right of high reception standards. Hence, at the end of 2015, key politicians within SAP appeal to both cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights in support of restrictive measures. The change in reasoning regarding cosmopolitan ideals, clearly demonstrates the conflict that exists between the two ideal types, cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights (Turner, 2000: 1-16).

Conclusively, in December 2015, refugee immigration is framed differently in the public debate by key members in the SAP. Statements claim that refugee immigration is bound up with issues of worsened reception standards and deteriorating welfare systems.

In the beginning of 2016, Ylva Johansson, Minister for Employment and Integration, stated “Of course it is a challenge, but I do think the debate is too doomsday-oriented, people seem to believe that we won’t be able to make it. I mean, Of course we will”. Additionally, she added “I think people are exaggerating. Yes, it is good to warn people. Yes, there is reason to worry, but there is absolutely no reason to give up” (Dagens Nyheter, 2016-02-

12). In March 2016, Morgan Johansson made an announcement to SvD regarding the implementation of temporary residence permits and the new restrictive asylum law. Morgan Johansson stated that “According to the planning of the government, the decision regarding a temporary restrictive asylum law will be taken on the 21<sup>st</sup> of June. The law cannot be effective until after that date. In other words, the law will come into force during the summer” (Dagens Nyheter, 2016-03-14). After the announcement, Morgan Johansson added, “If we are the only country that grants permanent residence permits, it could lead to that the majority of refugees migrating to Europe will try to come to Sweden” (Dagens Nyheter, 2016-03-14). In support of the new law that was going to be passed, Anders Ygeman argued that it would put refugees in more dreadful situations if the new law was not put into force, due to that authorities and social services were under severe pressure which would generate worsened reception standards (Svenska Dagbladet, 2016-06-10). Furthermore, Anders Ygeman stated that “The measures taken were correct and suitable. We did what was necessary and took responsibility for our country” (Svenska Dagbladet, 2016-06-07). Similarly, Magdalena Andersson stated in an interview published in DN, “The government has left Reinfeldt’s way of practicing immigration politics and done what needed to be done to decrease the number of asylum seekers in Sweden” (Dagens Nyheter, 2016-01-21). Paradoxically, it is noticeable that the establishment of the new restrictive asylum law was supported by appealing to citizenship rights, cosmopolitan ideals and national security. The statements imply that the restrictions were required in order to protect the country and the systems within the welfare state, appealing to concerns regarding citizenship rights. However, by expressing concerns regarding the reception standard and the rights of the refugee, cosmopolitan ideals are expressed in support of the restrictions as well. Additionally, the statement by Morgan Johansson indicates that the party perceives the new asylum law as a signal policy to decrease refugee immigration to Sweden and that refugees might choose to migrate to another country when the news regarding the restrictive law is recognised. Furthermore, by arguing that the party has left “Reinfeldt’s way of pursuing migration politics”, Magdalena Andersson’s statement gives the impression that the new restrictive measures are not temporary, but in line with the social democratic ideology. According to Bleich, when the cognitive maps of the frames changes, it allows politicians to identify new possible solutions alongside those lines (Bleich, 2002: 1063-1065). At the end of 2015 and in 2016, metaphors such as ‘crisis’, ‘unsustainable development’ and ‘the systems are stretched to their limits’ were used to describe the current situation, replacing words such as ‘democracy’, ‘solidarity’ and ‘generosity’. Following Bleich’s theory, this shift addi-

tionally allowed leaders in social democratic party to identify new solution to the claimed problems.

Some government members of SAP expressed concerns regarding the new restrictive asylum law. For example, Ylva Johansson expressed a more negative opinion. The Minister stated that “The temporary residence permits leads to nothing good...There is a very high risk that the temporary residence permits will obstruct the integration process. This is partly because people will worry about whether or not they will be able to stay in Sweden, and partly because they will worry about whether or not they will be able to reunify with their families... I cannot see any other solution than that this is merely a temporary legislation” (Dagens Nyheter, 2016-07-06). Similarly, Margot Wallström stated that Sweden could practice a generous immigration policy again if “We have joint responsibility for refugee reception in the EU” (2016-05-08).

The statements indicate that key members in SAP have a divided opinion regarding the new restrictive asylum law. Specifically, Magdalena Andersson gives the impression that the restrictive law is not a temporary solution, but a law that stands in line with the social democratic ideology. In comparison, Ylva Johansson claims that the restriction is merely a temporary solution, as the law contributes to other societal issues related to integration. The division within of opinion within the party demonstrates the tension that exists between cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights (Turner, 2000:1-16), as some members aspire to endorse cosmopolitanism as an ideal for policy-making, while others claim that citizenship rights should be the cornerstone in policy-making.

### **5.3 Recurring themes in rhetorical reasoning**

During and after the Second World War, the need to present Swedish immigration policy as generous was a concern for members of the SAP. Specifically, that Sweden had a moral obligation to practice generous refugee immigration policies was stressed (Kvist Geverts, 2008: 123), which is still an issue of concern in the contemporary debate. At the same time, however, concerns regarding the implications of increasing immigration for the labour market were emphasised (Horgby, 1996: 165-166; Byström, 2014: 66), demonstrating the tension between citizenship rights and cosmopolitan ideals (Turner, 2000: 1-16). The tension between the two ideal types is expressed in the public statements made in contemporary daily newspapers as well. Hence, similarities in how key members in the SAP rhetorically reason about cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights are discovered when analysing both time periods.

The public statements made between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20 additionally resemble the public debate on refugee immigration made before and during the St. Lucia decision. In the election 1988, the importance of practicing a generous refugee policy was highlighted by the SAP (Boréus, 2006: 47). However, not long thereafter, in 1989, a new restrictive asylum law was passed (Johansson, 2005: 162). The 1989 restrictive law was supported on the basis that the reception system could not provide refugees with a dignified reception (Prot. 1989/90:46), indicating that the law was supported on cosmopolitan grounds, appealing to the individual rights of the refugee. In other words, during the election, cosmopolitanism underpinned arguments linked to generous immigration policies (Boréus, 2006: 47). However, before and during the passing of the new restrictive law in 1989, cosmopolitanism was expressed in support of restrictive measures (Prot. 1989/90:46). Secondly, a state of 'crisis' was presented by key members of SAP in 1989, which required the passing of the new restrictive law (Abiri, 2000: 16). These themes were found in the empirical material gathered as well, indicating that the political framing of refugee immigration changed in similar ways during the aforementioned time periods. In the empirical material, several statements expressed concern regarding the reception of refugees. Additionally, statements indicated that Sweden was in a state of 'chaos', indicating that the new restrictive asylum law was required to avoid a system collapse. Additionally, during 2014 and the beginning of 2015, cosmopolitan ideals were utilized in support of generous immigration policies, expressing a positive approach towards refugee immigration. However, in the end of 2015 leading up the passing of the new restrictive law in 2016, cosmopolitan ideals are utilised as a rhetoric to support restrictive immigration policies, appealing concerns regarding the reception system and the rights of the refugee. Hence, the way key members in the SAP reasoned about cosmopolitan ideals and what constitutes the basis of a humanitarian immigration policy approach changed during both time periods, as focus was shifted from a generous immigration policy to the individual refugee and that person's right to a dignified reception.

#### **5.4 Group identity**

Stefan Löfven repeatedly use the notion of one people with common traits as a framing strategy in public debates. For example, Stefan Löfven stated that "We are not just people in the same geographical area... our strength is to do things together" (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-04). The Prime Minister referred to a project known as "The future project Sweden" (*Framtidsprojektet Sverige*), which entails a vision of integrating the majority of migrants into the Swedish society, frequently used concepts in the project planning are values such as safety

and generosity (Dagens Nyheter, 2015-10-04). However, the statement points at a Swedish cooperative moral norm, implying that the Swedish population has accomplished common goals together in the past. The notion of a Swedish cooperative moral norm can be traced back to public statements made and published by social democratic leaders in the 1930s, such as Per Albin Hansson. By appealing to a common Swedish history, similarities between the statement made by the Stefan Löfven, referring to something inheritably Swedish, and Per Albin's political speeches and the fulfilment of "The peoples' home" (*folkhemmet*), where recurrent catchwords were "cooperation and community" (Wiklund, 2006: 118), were discovered. Specifically, in Per Albin's speech regarding "The people's home" (*folkhemstalet*), he highlighted the natural legality and moral sense that the Swedish residents acquire (Lindeborg, 2012: 238). Consequently, several scholars (Andersson, 2006: 437-38, Hinnfors et al., 2012: 589) argue that the historical achievement of the Swedish model has become a blueprint in Swedish political discourse that frequently reaffirms the norms and values of Swedishness. Andersson (2006) states that debates regarding reforms and policy guidelines, in the last decade, repeatedly begin with praising the Swedish historical achievements (Andersson, 2006: 441). Moreover, Trädgårdh (2002) claim that such affirmations indicate nationalism, as concepts of folk (the People), folklighet (one people with common traits) and the people's home (*folkhemmet*) are frequently used. Such concepts portray Swedish people as inheritably democratic and freedom-loving (Trädgårdh, 2002: 77), appealing to a common Swedish mentality.

By indicating that there is a "we", Stefan Löfven utilizes identity building as a rhetorical strategy. A "we" is naturally dependent on the existence of a "them", as the identity building process occurs in the comparison of the other (Jørgensen, 2000: 52-53). Jørgensen (2000) argues that group identity does not exist until it is represented. This representation requires words, which makes existence of a group identity dependent on that somebody recognises the identity of the group by speaking to it as a group. When a group is recognised by other people, Jørgensen argues that the group identity becomes a part of the creating of the myth which gives content to that specific society (Jørgensen, 2000: 52-53). Therefore, it could be argued that Stefan Löfven is rhetorically reproducing the notion of a "us and them", where the "us", is frequently associated with accomplishments and cooperation (Andersson, 2006: 441).

## 6. Summary and concluding discussion

This study has examined how key politicians in SAP have framed refugee immigration in public statements made in daily newspapers between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. By answering the research question: “How have government members of the Social Democratic Party framed refugee immigration in public statements made in the two largest daily newspapers in Sweden between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20?”, the study sought to demonstrate how the framing and representation of refugee immigration have changed during the specific time period. By applying the concepts of framing, cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights, the study’s aim was to shed light on how key politicians in the SAP have rhetorically reasoned about cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights in public statements regarding refugee immigration. Specifically, the study shows that, in 2014 and the beginning of 2015, the statements were pervaded by cosmopolitan ideals. Refugee immigration was framed as a positive contribution to the Swedish society, which did not stand in conflict with welfare provision or state finances. However, at the end of 2015, the framing of refugee immigration by key members the party changed, as statements appealed to concerns regarding citizenship rights, indicating that refugee immigration leads to declining welfare provision and security issues.

By examining how key politicians in the SAP have expressed concerns regarding refugee policy during previous critical junctions, the study discovered recurring themes in the rhetorical framing of refugee immigration. For example, the importance of representing Sweden as country of solidarity that practices generous immigration policies has been stressed during previous critical junctions in the immigration policy field, together with concerns regarding increasing refugee immigration and negative effects on the labour market, welfare provision and the reception standards. Hence, how key politicians in the SAP have rhetorically reasoned about cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights during previous critical junctions resembles the rhetorical reasoning expressed in contemporary statements made in the specific daily newspapers. Additionally, the study demonstrates that the SAP frequently use identity building as a rhetorical framing strategy, reproducing notions of “us and them”. By using the word “we” and appealing to a Swedish cooperative moral norm and a common history, similarities between the statements made by Stefan Löfven and Per Albin Hansson’s political speeches in the 1930s, were discovered. Consequently, this demonstrates how the social democratic legacy and support for the ‘Swedish model’, influences contemporary rhetorical framing of refugee immigration. By applying the notion of citizenship rights and cosmopolitanism, both deeply entrenched within the structure of modern welfare states, the study examined the

tension that exists between the two ideal types, as expressed by party members in SAP. Paradoxically, the study found that key members in the SAP appeal to both cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights in support of the passing of the new restrictive asylum law. Specifically, how key members rhetorically reason about cosmopolitan ideals changed between 2014-01-01 and 2016-07-20. In 2014 and the beginning of 2015, cosmopolitan ideals underpinned arguments in support of expansive immigration policies. However, at the end of 2015, cosmopolitan arguments were put forward in support of restrictive measures, emphasising the right of the refugee. As shown in the analysis, the rhetoric shift in the use of cosmopolitan ideals changed in similar ways during the St. Lucia decision in 1989. The notion of cosmopolitanism applied in this study additionally shows how key politicians in the SAP disregards the “social-processual and contextual- dimension” of cosmopolitanism, when aiming to make cosmopolitanism a universal ideal in policy-making in the EU. Moreover, by investigating the frames that shape the immigration policy debate in the SAP, the study explored how the cognitive and moral maps within the frames changed during the specific time period. Specifically, concepts such as ‘solidarity’, generosity and democracy were replaced by terms such as ‘crisis’, ‘unsustainable development’ and ‘the systems are stretched to their limits’. Findings additionally demonstrate that the frames and their maps guide identification of possible solutions among key SAP members, which allowed for new solutions to be identified when the cognitive maps changed. Conclusively, the concepts applied explain how frames, such as cosmopolitan ideals and citizenship rights, and their cognitive and moral maps guide the rhetorical framing of refugee immigration within the SAP.

In immigration studies, the frames that guide rhetorical political framing of refugee immigration are often disregarded. Therefore, with regards to the current ‘refugee crisis’, this study is of value as it aims to explore the frames that shape the rhetorical representation of refugee immigration and the identification of potential solutions among politicians. As such, if aiming to understand how politicians rhetorically reason about the contemporary refugee crisis, the frames that guide these strategies and identification of solutions must be analysed. In doing so, differences in rhetorical framing strategies of refugee immigration among EU countries can be discovered, which have the potential to generate a deeper understanding of the elements that guide policy solutions in different contexts. Therefore, recommendations for future research include to further analyse the frames that shape the political representation of refugee immigration, in order to understand the cognitive and moral maps that guide how politicians rhetorically reason about refugee immigration in different political contexts, which can have the potential to generate a more well-rounded understanding of the components that

shape differences in immigration policy outcomes.

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