

Determinants of Immigration and Immigration Policy in Scandinavia

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Abstract

The current study examined critical factors shaping immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavia. Scandinavian countries were selected for this study because they continue to experience high immigration rates more than any other region in the world. The study was guided by the following key research questions: What are the immigration policy requirements across the Scandinavia countries? And what are the critical factors influencing immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia? A comparative design was used to compare different aspects of immigration across the three countries. The qualitative method was also adopted to facilitate the collection and analysis of detailed data from secondary sources. The results indicate that politics, press media, interest groups, socio-economic factors, and public preferences and opinions are the main factors shaping immigration and immigration policies. Notable among these countries is Denmark with an exclusively restrictive immigration policy against asylum and family immigration since the early 1980s. On the contrary, Norway and Sweden have experienced a shift to both restrictive and liberal immigration policies. The study recommends a shift towards a moderate immigration policy in Scandinavia.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Immigration connotes the act of re-locating to gain permanent residence in a country other than that in which an individual originally dwelt. The issue of immigration and its related policies has gained increasing concern levels in Scandinavia. In the opinion of Bohman and Hjerm (2016), these concerns emanate from the fact that Scandinavian countries are currently experiencing immigration at rates that have never been witnessed over the last four decades. It is also important to note that in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which constitute the Scandinavian countries, migration patterns have exhibited strong cultural and historical resemblances. On the other hand, Meyers (2012) recorded that the migration patterns as well reveal disparities that are worth noting, and especially in terms of scope and nature. These findings make the case of Scandinavian immigration worth studying.

Further, Bohman (2018) noted that the existence of socio-political resemblances between Scandinavian nations forms a sufficient basis for social science researchers to treat it as an experimental situation. Close investigations into the living conditions in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway can help determine the causes of the currently unprecedented migration levels. Also, carrying out a study from such a perspective is essential when it comes to identification and evaluation of the diverse influences of immigration policies in these three countries. According to Wind (2009), these countries share numerous features but are characteristically marked by intertwined histories and linguistic similarities. These similarities could explain why migration in these countries encompasses a long and extensive history.

After World War II, individual nations took on policies to control immigration. However, agreements made by Nordic countries made it possible for migration between Scandinavian

nations to proceed as usual without interruptions. Facchini and Mayda (2015) commented on these sentiments arguing that immigration supersedes political influences and forms the most formidable point of view when it comes to revealing the distinct identities of each of the three countries. It is, however, important to note that in spite of similarities the differences between Sweden, Denmark, and Norway as relates to immigration are remarkable. For instance, Sweden exhibits entrance policies that are more liberal when compared to Denmark, and especially on asylum and family-related immigration whereas Norway is somewhere in between these two neighbors.

1.2 Immigration Typologies

The three main immigration typologies as indicated by Aalberg, Iyengar & Messing (2012) are asylum immigration, family immigration, and labor immigration. This study covers the three typologies because of their prevalence in Scandinavian countries. Considering that family immigration is more prominent of the two, it is striking that scholars seem to have neglected focus on studies that could help explain family-immigration policies in these three countries. Aalberg, Iyengar, and Messing (2012) divided family immigration into the family establishment and family reunification. Notably, family re-unification connotes relocation with the aim of reuniting with other family members whereas family establishment can be signified by a situation where an individual that has married someone from a foreign country relocates to establish their newly found family. On the other hand, asylum immigration covers individuals and/or families that are given political asylum as well as those that have their residence permits approved after asylum applications. Labor-related immigrations, on the other hand, connote permanent re-location to foreign countries in pursuit of employment opportunities, which are not available in one's original country.

1.3 Previous Research

Studies on immigration policymaking have been extensively explored in literature. Key among them is a study by Massey (2013) on America's immigration fiasco discussed how government's efforts to stop immigration of Latin Americans into the U.S failed and was counterproductive. As a result, the population of Latino Americans grew much faster than projected by demographers including the population of undocumented immigrants. The successful integration of illegal immigrants has become a policy challenge. In order to avoid past failures, the author recommends a shift from the policy of immigration suppression to the management of immigration within an increasingly integrated American market.

Another study by Boucher and Cerna (2014) examined trends in skilled immigration policy framework. The key contribution of the article is that skilled immigration will always remain either as source of global competition for the best talents and policy preference. The study found that governance plays a significant role in selection of skilled migration. It further acknowledges the increasing role of non-state actors such as trade unions and employer associations as well as supra-national actors like the E.U in shaping skilled immigration policy formulation. This was reiterated by Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén (2014) explaining that in some cases, the ruling government may utilize intergovernmental cooperation and ratification of international agreements to determine the immigration policy. In relation to labor search theory of migration, Clark, Hatton, and Williamson (2007) found that skills-based system of immigration is likely to affect immigrants' characteristics while the quota-based system of migration restricts the magnitude of some immigrants. Borjas (2016) highlights that economic factors, especially the labor standards in a country also impact on the immigration policy adopted by the country. As noted by Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikian, and Lahav (2015), the government can

adopt restrictive immigration policies to protect the skill-sets that are evident in the population. On the other hand, liberal policies can be adopted to attract skilled talents needed for economic productivity.

There have been studies on restrictive and liberal policymaking across countries. A study by Bohman (2018) observed that adopting either a restrictive or liberal immigration policy is influenced by diverse forces such as economic forces, geopolitical interests and the social factors rather than just the political party orientation per se. Wright (2015) used a case of Australia to explore the reasons that motivate states to adopt liberal as opposed to restrictive immigration policies despite political risks. One of the main reasons is labor market demands which have influenced policy reforms by the predominantly liberal regime to allow skilled immigrants into Australia. In relation to these arguments, Liebig (2007) observed that despite stricter and tightening of immigration policies in Denmark, there has been a successful increase in labor immigrants.

A study by Freeman (1995) on the liberal policy puzzle emphasized that a discrepancy exists between policy and public opinion in industrialized economies. However, Statham and Geddes (2006) contradict the liberal puzzle in the context of the U. K's restrictive immigration policies which are in line with public opinion. Similar criticisms on liberal policy puzzles were advanced by Triadafilopoulos and Zaslove (2006) showing a sharply diverging picture from the real immigration policymaking process, especially about the refugee and asylum policy.

With regard to policymaking, Schmidt (1996) indicated that the main factors determining the immigration policy-making processes are inherent in public preferences, office making, votes, and pursuit of policy. In addition, Powell (2004) added that active and independent mass media play a key role in immigration policymaking the process. Further to that, Spehar, Bucken-

Knapp, and Hinnfors (2011) explain that socio-political factors are influential in determining the levels of immigration experienced by countries such as those in Scandinavia. Such policies or factors cover a wide range of areas such as religious, cultural, racial, and religious issues that make individuals willing to leave their countries.

Overall, empirical studies suggest that policies have significant impact on the flow of immigrants. Scandinavian countries have experienced unprecedented growth in immigrants in recent years. However, despite considerable studies on factors influencing migration in countries such as the U.S and Canada, there is still scarce evidence on factors shaping immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavia, showing the need for empirical studies on this area.

1.4 Study Context

The study is focused on three neighboring Scandinavian countries; Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. These countries have many factors in common, including the multiparty democratic system of governance, intertwined history, and similar linguistics. These countries have differed most on immigration and immigration policies since 1995. These differences can be visible to some extent by their political dynamic and diverse approaches to national identity. There has been increased politicization of immigration in the recent past in these countries with remarkable occurrences in Denmark. Understanding the main determinants of immigration policy is fundamental in the formation of an integral immigration policy for these countries. Besides, the scale of immigration experienced in Scandinavian countries over the past five decades has never been witnessed before. Some significant similarities in immigration patterns have been observed in these countries, and also have strong cultural and historical similarities. Nonetheless, there are also fundamental disparities in the scope and nature of immigration that are worth studying. The migration between Scandinavian countries is wide with a long history. Following the state

regulation of immigration after World War 2, agreements were reached among Nordic countries to ensure continuity of uninterrupted immigration. Nonetheless, despite these similarities, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are three distinct nations with strikingly different immigration policies. Essentially, Sweden has a more liberal immigration policy on asylum and family-related immigration than Denmark, while Norway falls in between these two countries. Among the three types of immigration, the largest group of immigrants to the Scandinavian countries is comprised of the family immigration followed by asylum seekers. However, the lack of scholarly attention to explain the immigration policy of these countries is striking.

1.5 Problem statement

The Scandinavian countries have been unable to come up with practical and successful immigration and integration strategies owing to their inability to understand immigration determinants, which should serve as the platform for the development of appropriate immigration policies. As a consequence, Denmark looks to have a stricter policy on immigration compared to Norway and Sweden. This has the prospect of negatively affecting labor and employment and hence economic performance of these countries. The aim of this comparative analysis of Sweden, Norway and Denmark is to determine differences and similarities in the immigration policies. This is essential in assessing the effects of different immigration policies across these countries. Therefore, the primary research question is: What determines immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia?

1.4 Research Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this study is to identify the main factors determining immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavian countries. The study looked deeper into the role of politics, press media, interest groups, socio-economic factors, and public preferences and opinions into

shaping immigration and immigration policies. Therefore, the research sought to explore the concept of immigration and immigration policy as opposed to immigrant's policy, by analyzing the policy output or legislative changes and policy outcome or number of immigrants accepted into the countries. The immigration can also be examined through a different lens; these include political perspective, the press media, and public opinion lenses. Specifically, the study addressed the following research questions.

- What are the immigration policy requirements across the Scandinavia countries?
- What are the critical factors influencing immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia?

1.5 Significance of the Research

Immigration, as suggested by Statham & Geddes (2006), has been and will continue to exert immense influences as one of the lead forces governing demographic changes across the globe. However, the impact of immigration in Scandinavian countries is likely to be more adverse when compared to other regions. This is because Sweden, Denmark, and Norway continue to experience high immigration rates more than any other region in the world.

Therefore, the future of each of these individual countries depends on their ability to successfully integrate immigrant populations. According to Statham & Geddes (2006), immigrant integration often exerts enormous burdens on societies and as well as impacts social cohesion. This would explain the observations of Bohman (2018) that the Scandinavian countries have lagged in matters related to economic prosperity because continuous immigrant inflows have contributed towards their inability to reinforce economic vitality amidst the dynamic cultures. This means that although the three countries have a lot in common, their cultural compositions being dissimilar have made it difficult for governments to assimilate immigrants from their neighbors

in both socio-cultural and economic dimensions. These issues make it vital for this study to unearth factors determining immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia, which play a vital role in shaping the immigrant integration tactics deployed within this region.

1.6: Scope of the Study

The current study was confined to the immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavian countries. It is a comparative analysis of immigration trends and immigration policies on the selected case countries. Therefore, immigration and immigration policies outside the selected countries are only used as complementary material. Besides, the research relied on secondary data from different sources on immigration and immigration policies.

1.7 Layout of the Study

This research is organized into six main chapters with sub-sections. These include an introduction, literature review, research methodology, analysis and findings, discussion of findings, and conclusion and recommendations. The first chapter provides the background of research to set the ground for subsequent sections. It also covers the study's purpose and objectives, the problem of study, the significance, and scope of the study. The literature review section examined previous studies on the study phenomenon. The review of existing theories and empirical studies offers the basis for carrying the research and identified the research gap. Chapter three presents the methods used to conduct the study with justifications for the selected methods and approaches. The analysis and finding section presents the key findings of the research based on data gathered from case countries on immigration and immigration policies. Chapter five discusses the results of the study based on related theories and literature. The conclusion is then presented in chapter six together with recommendations for practitioners and academicians.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews relevant literature on immigration and immigration policies covering both theoretical and empirical literature. The key areas of review include the process of types of immigration, policy process, immigration in Scandinavian countries, and the central immigration questions based on existing concepts and theories of immigration.

2.2 Types of Immigration

The three main immigration typologies as indicated by Aalberg, Iyengar & Messing (2012) are asylum immigration, family immigration, and labor immigration. Messina (2007) referred to the asylum and family-related immigration as the second and third immigration wave in the western European countries. Aalberg, Iyengar & Messing (2012) divided family immigration into the family establishment and family reunification. Notably, family re-unification connotes relocation with the aim of reuniting with other family members whereas family establishment can be signified by a situation where an individual that has married someone from a foreign country relocates to establish their newly found family. While exclusively it is the spouses who migrate, the children of foreign nationals would occasionally also immigrate. “The post-war migration histories of Denmark, Norway and Sweden are in many respects very similar, and also similar to those of the other north-western European countries” (Borjas, 2016, p. 221). While policies on family immigration have been similar across three countries for years, things changed tune starting the 2000s with Denmark deviating increasingly from Sweden and Norway by adopting restrictive immigration policies.

On the other hand, asylum immigration covers individuals and/or families that are given political asylum as well as those that have their residence permits approved after asylum

applications. Labor-related immigrations, on the other hand, connote permanent re-location to foreign countries in pursuit of employment opportunities, which are not available in one's original country. The next section reviews literature on different factors driving immigration policies in Scandinavia. First it will present some key puzzles and theories regarding immigration, then the immigration policy process and at last statistics of immigration to Scandinavia. Afterwards it will present theories and factors that determine immigration. The categorization here includes factors related to capital, nationhood, representative democracy, constitutionalism, and socio-political factors.

2.3 Key Puzzles in Immigration

There are two key puzzles in immigration research that require substantial attention. The first puzzle is the 'gap hypothesis' on why western Europe immigration policies have failed. The second one is the 'liberal policy puzzle' on why there are liberal immigration policies in industrial nations despite the negative public attitudes towards immigration. The same puzzles were highlighted but were considered as part of the gap analysis in a study by Cornelius and Tsuda (2004). These authors argued that a gap in policy is either a result of a discrepancy between policy and public opinion, or a discrepancy between the policy outcome and the political goal. Similar questions were also posed by Messina (2007), that is, why western European states receiving immigrants are permitting high levels of immigration? And to what degree can these western European countries regulate the flow of immigration? These questions are significant to the current study in helping to determine fundamental factors influencing immigration policy in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

Most industrialized countries have very restrictive electorates on immigration, but the policies are liberal (Boswell, 2007). This is another key puzzle in immigration policy literature

warranting the researchers' attention from the field of political science and immigration in particular. Put it simply, the negative public attitudes towards immigration has not helped to push the governments to adopt restrictive immigration policies. Several reasons have been advanced by scholars to try to solve this puzzle; whose answers can be traced to the political economy tradition (Freeman & Hill, 2006; Freeman, 1995). It is not clear as to whether the policies are liberal, because the answer depends on many factors, including the type of immigration, the countries of interest, and the period under consideration. Further to that, most literature addressing this puzzle is largely focused on labor immigration to the traditional immigrant recipient states such as Canada, the U. S, and Australia.

Labor immigration into Scandinavian countries was welcomed up to the early years of the 1970s when it was limited until just recently. The liberalization of labor immigration policies in the three countries started after the turn of the millennium. The labor immigration into Scandinavian states increased further following the expansion of the European Union (Bech, Borevi & Mouritsen, 2017). In particular, the liberalization puzzle is evident in labor immigration, but some scholars have found the relevance of this puzzle wanting especially for the types of family and asylum immigration (Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén, 2014). For instance, a study by Statham and Geddes (2006) contradicts the liberal puzzle in the context of the U. K's restrictive immigration policies. Similar criticisms on the perspective of liberal states were advanced by Triadafilopoulos and Zaslove (2006) showing a sharply diverging picture from the real immigration policymaking process, especially about the refugee and asylum policy. Studies have shown that policy liberalness varies over time and between countries. Notable among these countries is Denmark with an exclusively restrictive immigration policy against asylum and family immigration since the early 1980s (Bech, Borevi & Mouritsen, 2017). On the contrary,

Norway and Sweden have experienced a shift of both restrictive and liberal immigration policies. Regardless of whether the policies are restrictive or liberal, a discrepancy between policy and public opinion is the fundamental question raised by Freeman (1995). Concerning the connection between asylum policies and public opinion, most literature suggests that governments seem to respond and follow the preferences of the public when making asylum policy framework. This is also evident in Scandinavian countries where mass public opinion is a key factor determining asylum policy (Bech, Borevi & Mouritsen, 2017). This is a direct contrast with the argument of Freeman which are derived and based on the political economy tradition where business interest influence policy formation. The above debates touching on the policy gap and the liberal policy puzzle relates to the national effects on policymaking rather than the international or exogenous impact on the formation of immigration policy (Bohman, 2018).

2.4 Immigration Policy Process

The study is focused on different parts of the immigration policymaking process. The democratic policy process model illustrates the link between central elements in the study influencing policy-making in the Scandinavian countries. The model demonstrates how the political process can generate immigration policy in the form of policy output and outcomes. The model is compatible with the hypothesis of 'parties-do-matter' the formulation of immigration policies. In his argument, Schmidt (1996) indicated that the main factors determining the immigration policy-making processes are inherent in public the preferences, office-making, votes, and pursuit of policy. In particular, the national leverage in immigration policymaking has supposedly been limited to increasing globalization. The model also describes how the citizen's preferences are reflected in the political outcomes. It shows the connection between the preferences of voters, voting behavior, election outcomes, and policy outcomes. For instance,

should political parties present options reflecting the voters' preferences, then institutional are developed to ensure that voters' choices in the election are aggregated, such that elected leaders are willing and able to implement immigration policies wanted by the citizens, hence the responsiveness of the democratic process. Powell (2004) further mentioned that the democratic responsiveness chain is facilitated and supported by an active and independent mass media. This theoretical view applies to the asylum policymaking process.

Clearly, the boxes for political parties, voter preferences, and the mass media explain the role of these elements in shaping the immigration and immigration policies in the selected countries. On the other hand, policy output and policy outcomes are the dependent variables in the study while the government as the intervening variable is placed at the center in the policy process model. This demonstrates the primary role of political parties, voters, and the mass media in determining the immigration policy output and outcomes through government mechanisms¹. Therefore, this model indicates that first and foremost, the political parties, mass media, and voters have an indirect influence on immigration and immigration policymaking. The immigration policymaking process is equally influenced by exogenous factors such as the situation in the country of origin and international organizations. “As for the reforms to integration policy, it could again be conjectured that the benefit reductions may have increased employment among immigrants in Denmark” (Aelst, 2016, p. 34). These exogenous factors could have considerable influence on domestic immigration and immigration policy.

¹ In cases of minority governments, which has been common in Scandinavia, legislatures may, however, change policies without going through the government.

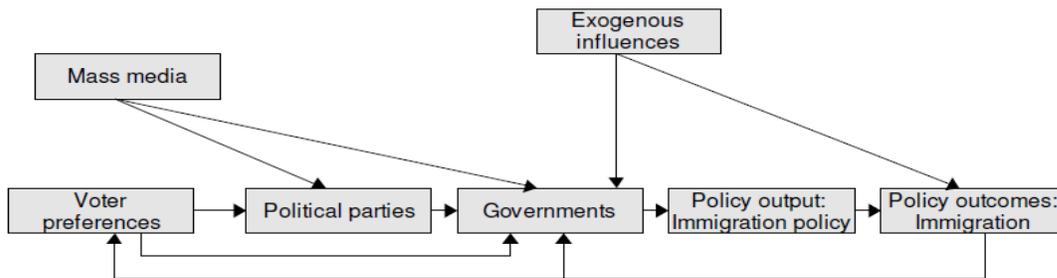


Figure 4.1: Democratic process for Immigration policymaking

Thus, the study encompasses key determinants of policy outcomes and output namely the political parties, exogenous factors (international organization), governments, and the mass media as a political actor. The asylum policymaking process is determined by governments, voter preferences, and exogenous factors. Specifically, the model of the democratic process for immigration policy captures the important steps of the political process for generating political outcomes and output. However, it is not a complete model for immigration policymaking in entirety, because it leaves some of the central aspects of policy implementation such as the role of public administration and bureaucracy which are not within the scope of this study.

Besides ignoring the process of policy implementation, the model does not provide the important role played by the legislature in the immigration policymaking process. The Scandinavian countries are characterized by minority governments, the legislatures can change policies without even involving the governments. But this is not a common feature for immigration policy and Norway in particular, the foreign policy allows the government to change laws without consulting the legislature. This underscores the significant role played by the government over the legislatures in the policymaking process of immigrations.

2.5 Immigration to Scandinavia

According to Bohman (2018), immigration to Sweden has remained larger when compared to its two neighbors; Denmark and Norway because it started earlier. Although immigrant's relocation to Norway and Denmark in the post-World War II era was negligible, people actively relocate to Sweden in pursuit of employment opportunities. Notably, Immigrants entering Sweden originated from Nordic nations, which are Yugoslavia, Italy, Hungary, and Greece. Consequently, because Sweden was attractive enough during these times the size of its immigrant population is much larger when compared to immigrant populaces in the other two Scandinavian neighbors. By 2012, the immigrant population in Denmark stood at approximately 567,000 whereas Norway had around 600,000 immigrants (Bohman, 2018). These figures are less compared to Sweden, which had already reached an immigrant populace of about 500,000 by the end of 1970 and has since then increased reaching around 1.75 million by the end of 2012 (Bolin, Lidén & Nyhlén, 2014). Although it is possible to argue that the Swedish population is in general almost twice that of Norway and Denmark, such a difference is very noticeable. The year 2010 saw around 98,800 people relocate to Sweden, around 50,250 to Norway, and approximately 59,000 to Denmark (Bolin, Lidén & Nyhlén, 2014). However, these countries depict a similarity when it comes to labor immigration.

According to Bohman (2018), Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have experienced increments in labor immigration since 2015. Although they differ when it comes to immigrant composition, asylum immigration has taken up the largest share in as far as annual immigrant numbers are concerned on a yearly basis. Clear similarities emerge when it comes to immigration trends in Scandinavian countries. For instance, non-western immigration levels in all three countries have escalated in comparison to immigration from the west. This particular

trend could stem from increments in countries supplying immigrants. As recorded by Bohman (2018) increments in nations of origin have been steady, which explains why Sweden, Norway, and Denmark have experienced inflows of immigrants from other parts of the world. Also, despite Sweden exhibiting increments in active labor-recruitment policy that exceeds policies in Norway and Denmark, all of these Scandinavian nations have experienced unprecedented echelons of labor immigration up to 1970. Conversely, since labor immigration preceded other immigration typologies in matters related to restriction and was eventually restricted strongly immigration permits in the three countries had to be issued primarily based on asylum or family basis.

2.6 Factors driving immigration and immigration policy

2.6.1 Capital Related Factors

These factors are connected to economic theories and aspects driving immigration policies. The economic theories of migration and job search are relevant in analyzing immigration and labor market policies. The economic migration theory described immigration of terms of differences in earnings and skills between countries. Accordingly, migration is caused by the earnings opportunities between countries of origin and the country of destination. The characteristics and the magnitude of migration is a function of relative levels and distribution of skills between these countries (Bodvarsson and Van Den Berg, 2013). However, immigration policies in the recipient country influence the size and characteristics of immigrants. For instance, according to Clark, Hatton, and Williamson (2007), the skills-based system of immigration is likely to affect immigrants' characteristics while the quota-based system of migration restricts the magnitude of some immigrants. The integration policies affect both the magnitude and selection of immigrants as it increases the number of immigrants and those likely to offer employment skills. According

to Bohman (2018), “a simple theoretical model of the labor market, the influx of immigrants initially drives down wages, but native incomes still rise in the aggregate due to the immigration surplus” (p. 1730).

The labor search theory has similar assumptions to economic migration theory but is more focused on the process of gathering and evaluating information about different alternatives. The decision to accept job offer depends on the frequency of job availability and whether it exceeds minimum wage requirements and working conditions. As a consequence, job seekers become more selective in job selection, thus reducing the chances of finding acceptable jobs while raising the expected wages (Rogerson, Shimer, & Wright, 2005).

These theories underscore the important role that economic factors play in influencing immigration and immigration policies. For instance, the stricter and tightening of immigration policies in Denmark has generated a successful increase in labor immigrants while reducing the size of asylum and family immigrants (Liebig, 2007). However, even though these theories suggest that stricter immigration regulations impact immigration, they provide little theoretical guidance on the effects of immigration reforms in terms of employment and earning prospects for immigrants. What is clear is that changes towards more work-related immigration are likely to increase the arrival rate of labor immigrants, and this has to be accompanied by an appropriate reform to better the employment rate for the immigrants. Otherwise, the experience indicates that changing immigration policies have the potential to affect the wages and leads to inequality in earnings. The integration policy reforms have potentially increased employment for immigrants, as the composition of immigration is likely to shift towards people who have high chances of finding employment. While the standard search model predicts increased employment, the reduced benefits would lower the minimum or reservation wages in the wake of high arrival rates

thus raising the rate of transition into employment. Furthermore, the job search model further predicts an increase in the exit rate from the labor market due to the reduced benefits (Okkerse, 2008). Overall, the heightened policy changes in labor immigration as witnessed in Denmark relative to Norway and Sweden has the potential to increase the employment rate for immigrants in Denmark relative to Norway and Sweden. The outcome is an increased rate of labor immigrants, better employment opportunities, and lower minimum or reservation wages.

Accordingly, liberal economies tend to push for openness in immigration. Borjas (2016) highlights that economic factors, especially the labor standards in a country also impact on the immigration policy adopted by the country. For instance, countries like Sweden have adopted a more employer-based liberalized immigration policy. Such a policy is based on the economic realities faced by the employers of high wage rates due to factors such as an increasingly aging population and increased demand for social welfare. Due to the vital role that employers play in enhancing the economic stability of the nation, governments such as in Sweden focus on ensuring a balance in the supply of labor and, therefore, adopt liberalized immigration policy to ensure there is a continuous flow of the required labor force from other countries to supplement the locally available workforce. However, in countries such as Denmark, the government advocates for the adoption of stringent immigration policy due to the costs that the government associates with socializing the immigrant population to the local culture and ensuring that immigrants are well integrated into the society and make a positive economic contribution to the country.

Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikian, and Lahav (2015) further explain that the authorities can adopt restrictive immigration policies to protect the skill-sets that are evident in the population. For instance, the government can restrict the inflow of lowly skilled immigrants as they would be

considered a burden and unlikely to make any significant contribution that would improve the economic prospects of the country. Also, there are cases where the authorities may adopt a case-by-case approach in determining the nature of immigrants that are permitted into the country.

The views are supported by Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén (2014) who explain that the union density and the strength of the trade unions also impact the immigration policy that a country adopts. Most of the trade unions that agitate for the welfare of the workers are affiliated to governments and they can advocate for the adoption of strict policies to regulate the nature of immigrants into the country. The trade unions are considered a vital political asset by politicians as their support is usually sought due to the high number of workers that they control. Due to their interest in advocating for the welfare of the workers, the trade unions can influence the immigration policy to ensure the local workforce is protected from increased competition from immigrants. For instance, the influx of a high number of immigrants is usually considered as a threat to the local workforce as most of the immigrants are willing to work at lower rates to enhance their chances of survival in their destination countries. Further, immigrants can distort the labor sector, especially if most of them are unskilled and willing to accept lower wages. For governments to adopt liberalized immigration policies, they consider the trade unions as a vital stakeholder that must be engaged in areas such as determining the nature of work permits that should be given to the immigrants to ensure they do not distort the labor market. The only areas that are not restricted are cases where the immigrants are highly skilled as such job positions usually experience high demand and are unlikely to distort the labor sector.

The views are similar to those of Mayda (2013) who emphasizes that the prospect of better wages is a major driver of most immigrants to other countries. However, due to the commitment of the government to protect the local labor markets, there are regulatory controls

that are put in place and shape the immigration policy of a country. The government can differentiate the different types of immigrants to exclude some like workers that are seeking better employment terms and wages in foreign countries. Such regulatory controls are evident through the use of visas and other policies like work permits to ensure the immigrants are controlled even after they arrive at their preferred destinations. It means the government is likely to carry out surveys to determine the labor demand in the various sectors and identify the nature of skills and competencies that the would-be migrants should possess to validate their entry into their countries of destination.

Bohman (2018) also observes that the need for the government to adopt either a restrictive or liberal immigration policy is the result of the diverse forces such as economic forces, geopolitical interests and the social factors rather than just the political party orientation per se. However, the rise to power of more far-right parties is associated with anti-immigration sentiments that often lead to the adoption of restrictive immigration policies. There are also cases where more left-wing political parties have been associated with trade union movements that are opposed to immigration policies that favor the immigration of workers as such trends are believed to compromise the interests of the native workers due to increased supply of labor. There are also incidents where the left-wing parties have been vocal in protecting the interests of the migrant workers that lowers the wage rates of the workers. Such efforts are aligned with the interests of the governments to protect the interests of the employers and are also considered necessary in attracting potential investors as the lower wage rates translate to reduced levels of operational costs. "Immigration raises the return to capital, making capital more productive and increasing income to owners of capital" (Borjas, 2016, p. 223).

The views of Bohman (2018) would be interpreted to mean that the immigration policy that is adopted by the ruling political party cuts across the left-right spectrum as their adherents of the party-oriented to its economic tradition while others are aligned with the party's social-cultural orientation. Most of the liberal parties usually tend to address the conflicts that arise from the behavior of trade unions to advocate for restrictive immigration policies while other stakeholders like employers' advocate for liberal policies and others like cultural conservatives seek to push for restrictive policies on immigration.

2.6.2 Nationhood and National Identity.

This is connected to national identity and tends to push for restrictive immigration policies. On national identity, Aalberg, Iyengar & Messing (2012) explain that even though the Scandinavian countries experience similarities in some of their basic values and the norms that are adopted across the communities in the countries, there are differences in how such values and norms are understood. For instance, in the case of Sweden, the national identity is shaped through processes of collective negotiation. It means that at a personal level, individuals can determine the form of national identity they want to embrace. Such a liberal approach suits most immigrants as they do not feel restrained or confined into a predetermined form of national identity that they should fit into to ensure they are accepted into the Swedish culture. However, in the case of Denmark, the national identity that is embraced by the nationals is historically determined to indicate that immigrants must focus on the long-term process of socialization to ensure they fit into the Danish culture. Such trends explain the adoption of immigration policies in Denmark such as the mandatory childcare for the children of immigrants to ensure they fit into the culture of the country. Such early initiatives that focus on socializing children from an early age demonstrate that the immigration policies of Denmark are not liberal when compared to

those of Sweden. Further, in the case of Norway, its national identity is known to oscillate between assimilation as in the case of Denmark and multicultural acceptance as is the case in Sweden.

For the Scandinavian countries, the immigration policy has since shifted from a type of foreign policy to a domestic policy issue to subject it to the public debate and an open political contestation. This is contrary to foreign policy issues in which public debate is highly constrained. Therefore, political immigration is quite evident in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway as they play a major role in the formation of immigration policy. The emergence and electoral success of the radical right-wing parties in the three Scandinavian countries have directly led to enhanced immigration politics in Scandinavia. These include the Sweden democrats in 2010, the Danish People's Party (2001-2011), and Denmark's progress party (1998), and the Progress Party in Norway all with representation at the National level. However, it is further argued that the mere presence of the radical parties is sufficiently enough to impact the immigration policy, as they compel mainstream parties to alter their stance to stem leakages of votes (Downs, 2002). A recent study by Spanje (2010) found the contagion impact of the radical anti-immigration parties on the ruling party system of the country, although the most affected are the opposition parties rather than the governing party, that often change their stances on immigration.

2.6.3 Representative Democracy

The representative democracy covers the role of mass media, political parties, interest groups, and public preferences or voters as they influence the immigration policies. The mass media has proved a key tool of influence on the public and governments alike. Walgrave & Van Aelst (2016) highlight that mass media plays an integral role in influencing the direction of the public policy as they can selectively choose to give coverage to an issue like immigration and

shape the public perceptions and the nature of the policy that is adopted by the government on an issue such as immigration. The media can choose to give increased coverage on one aspect of immigrants and ignore others due to the subjective interpretations that could whip the emotions of those in power towards the policy that is adopted. It means the media is a crucial vehicle in shaping the public policy towards immigration such as the coverage of the recent immigrant crisis in Europe. For instance, the terminologies used by the media in describing immigrants like illegal and undocumented and depicting asylum seekers as ‘failed’ are highly likely to shape the public attitudes and sentiments that then impact on the nature of the immigration policy adopted by the government. The use of derogatory terms to describe the immigrants and associating such immigrants with delinquent behaviors like crime conceals the vulnerable nature of most of the immigrants and could persuade the authorities to adopt restrictive policies towards most of the immigrants.

Van Aelst and Walgrave (2011) explain that the role of the media in shaping the immigration policy is evident in countries like Denmark where there are announcements made in international newspapers warning migrants from entering into the country. Also, there are active sites in mass media platforms where individuals of Danish call on the police to seize cash and other valuables from the immigrants and use such valuables to offset the costs of maintaining such immigrants. Such sentiments can influence the nature of the immigration policy adopted by the government as the government tends to demonstrate responsiveness to the interests and perceptions of the public. Also, some of the media outlets such as television, newspapers and also social media platforms can influence the nature of attitudes as a large number of the population to rely on such platforms as their primary sources of information. In media platforms like television and newspapers, renowned politicians and other influential individuals can

provide their perceptions and views on aspects like immigration. Such views can elicit either positive or negative attitudes towards the issue and have a significant impact on the policy developments in areas like immigration. The views indicate that the media has been active in shaping immigration policies by airing the diverse forms of sentiments. It means media outlets in countries like Denmark where multicultural pluralism is not prioritized are likely to present negative sentiments towards the likelihood of adopting liberal immigration policies.

As explained by Meyers (2012), the impact of the media on influencing the nature of public policy in an area like immigration is made possible due to the ability of the media personnel to conduct surveys, especially using platforms like social media. Such surveys reveal the nature of the public attitudes and perceptions towards the government policies in major areas like immigration and are highly likely to shape the nature of the immigration policy that is adopted in the country. In countries such as the Scandinavian countries, there are high levels of technology penetration and the majority of the population has access to different media channels and platforms indicating any sentiments towards sensitive issues like immigration are widely shared. The ease of accessibility to diverse media channels and platforms means the information shared is likely to reach politicians that are instrumental in policy-making processes and the shared information is highly likely to shape the policies adopted in areas like immigration.

Several studies have acknowledged the influence of government changes on the immigration policy of countries. The political parties' influence was explored by Triadafilopoulos and Zaslove (2006), arguing that the role of political parties in the policymaking process has been overlooked. The study results were based on the analysis of policy formation in Germany, Austria, and Italy. Statham and Geddes (2006) also found evidence of political party cleavage and government's party affiliation in influencing the policy

formulation. An extensive study in Europe by Schain (2008) on the connection between the political party and immigration policymaking found similar results. However, the study found that political parties' relevance has never been constant across time. The increased scholarly attention on the influence of political parties has been partly attributed to the increasing significance of the political parties.

Billiet, Meuleman & De Witte (2014) highlights that political parties play an influential role in influencing the immigration policy of a country or group of countries. The government in any country leans towards the manifesto and policies that are affiliated to the party or parties that are in power. In countries such as Denmark, the coming into power of the Danish People's Party led to the adoption of restricted immigration policy. The political party dynamics such as the prevalence of extreme right-wing political entities in countries such as Denmark and Norway determine whether issues of immigration policy are politicized, or they are implemented as a strict policy issue through official processes that are devoid of political party dynamics.

As explained by the partisan theory, the composition of the parties that form the government has a significant influence on the immigration and other policies that are adopted by such a government (Mayda, 2013). The author emphasizes that most of the parties demonstrate strict conformance to their ideological foundations to ensure they retain the support of their key constituencies and to enhance their legitimacy to the electorate. It means the policy preferences and the ideologies that are adopted by political parties act as a basis through which the electorate evaluates the performance of the governing party and its ability to adhere to the identified ideological formations. The preferences of the governing party or parties' influences immigration policy as it determines the stance adopted by the government towards issues such as the number, type, and nature of immigrants that should be allowed into the country. Such stances are clearly

articulated in the manifestos of the parties and are influential in determining how the country relates to the diverse types of immigrants such as those seeking asylum or others that are seeking employment.

Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén (2014) explain that there are cases where the government that is in power utilizes intergovernmental cooperation and ratification of international agreements to determine the immigration policy. For instance, countries in a region such as Scandinavia can ratify agreements to determine their common stance towards the number and nature of the immigrants that are permitted within their borders. Also, the levels of political party competition are a major determinant of the direction the immigration policy of a country adopts. The political party competition also influences the number of immigration policy changes and amendments. In countries such as Denmark, the immigration policy and preferences of the major political parties is a vital consideration and is a major issue during the political campaigns amongst the different competitors. The immigration policy that is adopted by a political party could be interpreted as an indication of the ability of the politicians to protect the national interests when they assume power. The author elaborates that in countries such as Denmark where cultural integration of the immigrants is considered vital, the political parties usually align with restrictive immigration policy as a show of appreciation and recognition of the norms and values of the country. However, in countries like Sweden where multiculturalism is regarded highly, the political parties are likely to demonstrate openness and preference for more inclusive and less restrictive immigration policy. In such a country, the immigration policy is considered a vital indicator of the country's geopolitical stand and willingness to play a central role in addressing global issues such as the immigrant challenges facing different global regions.

Clearly, even though these studies have primarily focused on the immigration stance of political parties, only a handsome of studies has examined the substantial policy effects of the radical right-wing parties. As pointed out by Boreus (2010), the Danish People's Party used its strategic position as the supporting party to the right-wing government to bring about a drastic political change towards anti-immigration policies. On the contrary, Minkenberg (2001) found that parliamentary representation is inadequate to bring about required policy change. The analysis of literature found no evidence to support the fact that the electoral success of radical right-wing parties has a substantial effect on asylum policy changes. As shown in the overview of asylum policy changes, the tightening of Denmark's policy is not a result of the success of the anti-immigration parties. The Aliens Act of Danish has been repeatedly changed into a restrictive policy without a market shift in policy and several restrictions were adopted before the success of the Danish People's Party. This is a clear demonstration that Denmark's restrictive policy path is not shaped by the presence and success of anti-immigration parties.

Given the insignificance of anti-immigration radical parties on policy formation, the scholars have increasingly focused on the mainstream parties. As noted in Bale's (2008) work, the prospective influence of political parties on the formation of public policy in the immigration and other areas can be well understood by looking at the political parties which have been in government for the most time, either as a single party or a coalition. Schain (2008) contended that political parties project the immigration issues in two broad ways; as a means of identifying and mobilizing anti-immigration electorates, and secondly, as a tool to mobilize the prospective immigrant voters. The choice projected by the party is what shapes the development of immigration policy. The author further notes that the issue of immigration has the potential to split the party at the center, depending on whether the stance is based on the national identity or

the labor market. For instance, Hinnfors et al (2011) posit that social democratic ideology has, both the practical and prospect of creating restrictive policies depending on the concerns of the labor market. Even though the social democratic parties in Scandinavian states have demonstrated the will towards restrictive immigration policies, they have shown a split in some points in time following considerably internal disagreements on asylum policy.

Ford (2011) explains that there are various lobby groups together with non-governmental organizations that are actively involved in immigration policy issues. Some of these groups are affiliated to trade unions where they advocate for the adoption of restrictive immigration policies for the protection of the welfare and interests of the native workers. Such groups lobby the government at various levels to ensure there are drastic measures that are put in place to limit the inflow of migrant workers. Also, the interest groups have liaised with the political class to ensure there are other measures such as the introduction of various visa categories to limit the nature of skill-sets that are finding their way into the labor market. The efforts have resulted in measures such as the introduction of literacy tests to determine the levels of competency of the immigrants and whether they meet the set criteria to warrant their entry into their targeted destinations.

Avery, Fine & Márquez (2017) explain that the role of the interest groups in shaping the immigration policy of a country is driven by the ability of such groups to gather and evaluate a wide range of data that they use to make their policy recommendations to the government. The availability of such substantive information facilitates the ability of the policymakers to make informed decisions on the most suitable immigration policy. The decisions are made based on diverse criteria such as protecting the interests of the citizens of the country and protecting the geopolitical interests of the country amongst other criteria. The author further explains that it is also widely recognized the ability of the interest groups to offer financial incentives to the

political class to influence policy. The interest groups have been known to directly participate in political campaigns where they sponsor candidates to elective posts in government and then use such individuals to advocate for their preferred policy stances in areas like immigration. Due to such efforts, pressure and lobby groups are crucial stakeholders in shaping the immigration policy adopted by a country.

As highlighted by Bohman & Hjerm (2016), the owners of capital most likely identify with lobby groups that advocate for the adoption of liberal immigration policies to facilitate easier and increased entry of workers. The owners of capital believe such a policy is beneficial to the economy as it lowers the costs of production due to reduced costs of labor that positively impact on the economy. However, there are also anti-immigration lobby groups that are mainly made up of trade unions that agitate for the interests of workers. There are also lobby groups that align with humanitarian concerns and are actively involved in advocating for the adoption of inclusive and less restrictive immigration policies. The lobby groups sensitize the government on the need for recognizing the urgent needs of some of the immigrants such as the asylum seekers that could be facing religious, political or racial persecution in their countries. Further, there are lobby groups that are global and persuade governments to adopt international or regional agreements that recognize the need for liberal immigration policies where an immigrant can move from one country to another without restrictions. However, such policies have faced criticism due to the likelihood of such policies being exploited by criminals or immigrants with criminal intent.

Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén (2014) further explain that there are also lobby groups that are religious in nature and are known advocates of the need for governments to adopt liberal immigration policies. Such bodies perceive the policies as necessary in promoting peace and

tranquility around the world. They also regard the adoption of liberal immigration policies as an indication of the levels of commitment by the government towards maintaining peace. Such efforts are regarded by the government as necessary in guaranteeing its geopolitical interests and increased role in global affairs. Further, some of these lobby groups offer differentiated services to immigrants such as health and litigation services to ensure the rights of the immigrants are not infringed. They also conduct research and analysis that directs their decision-making in areas like lobbying politicians towards the adoption of responsive immigration policies that serve the interests of the various stakeholders.

The role of public opinion equally shapes policy formulation to a greater extent. The role of public preference on immigration policymaking has also been explored in literature. Building on the theory of responsive government, the impact of public attitudes on policy changes on asylum and refugees in Scandinavian countries has been explored. The responsive government theory argues that governments apart from an election, governments also respond to public demands by adjusting their positions and stances in between elections to match the changing public opinions (Achen, & Bartels, 2017). This linkage has been examined in some literature despite some arguments that immigration policymaking is detached from public opinion.

Regarding asylum policy changes, it is vital to determine whether the shifts in asylum policy in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway are impacted by public opinion or preferences.

2.6.4 Socio-political Factors

Spehar, Bucken-Knapp, and Hinnfors (2011) explain that socio-political factors are influential in determining the levels of immigration experienced by countries such as those in Scandinavia. Such policies or factors cover a wide range of areas such as religious, cultural, racial, and religious issues that make individuals willing to leave their countries. The policies

adopted by the Scandinavian countries towards individuals that are being persecuted in their home countries have greatly influenced the levels of immigration experienced in these countries. For instance, countries such as Sweden are perceived to have adopted more liberal policies in comparison to others in Scandinavia. Such liberal policies have made the country be preferred by individuals fleeing from persecution in countries like Afghanistan and Iraq. Various countries have experienced conflicts that often culminate in the displacement of people and the Scandinavian countries have become a preferred destination due to their adoption of liberal policies of embracing individuals that are fleeing political persecution. Further, due to the adoption of suitable policies and the positive human rights record of the Scandinavian countries, they have experienced an increased number of immigrants that prefer residing there as they rank the countries higher in terms of fair and equitable enforcement of the law without prejudice or victimization.

Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikian and Lahav (2015) highlights that the Scandinavian countries experience less likelihood in the politicization of ethnic and religious identities thereby enhancing the preference for these countries by individuals that face religious and ethnic persecution in their countries. Such persecution has been experienced in countries in regions such as Africa and the victims of such conflicts prefer relocating to Scandinavian countries in search of peace. Further, research indicates that nations that are experiencing a transition from authoritarian to democratic regimes are at greater risk of experiencing conflict and instability. The prevalence of democratic principles in the Scandinavian countries indicates that the countries are less likely to experience instability and are, therefore, preferred by immigrants, especially those seeking political asylum and those fleeing from religious and ethnic persecution from their countries.

Sciortino and Colombo (2014) emphasizes that there are countries such as Burma that are trying to adopt democratic principles but are unable to simultaneously develop a shared national identity that would bring the different racial groups within their boundaries together. In such countries, there are a high number of immigrants that flee in search of asylum or better environments where they can live with their families. It demonstrates that the lower levels of social conflict and instability and the ability of the Scandinavian countries to cultivate national identities while at the same time entrenching democratic principles have made them receptive to immigrants from other regions. It means the Scandinavian countries have adopted more liberal policies in their immigration policies as a demonstration of their advanced integration of democratic ideals. Also, these countries experience more inclusive and homogenous societies that minimize the prevalence of social conflicts and tensions amongst the diverse nationalities and racial origins of the citizens.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods of data collection and analysis for the study and was primarily based on qualitative approaches. The qualitative method was preferred to quantitative to offer deeper insights into the key factors influencing immigration policies in Scandinavia (Quinlan, Babin, Carr, & Griffin, 2019). However, quantitative data from secondary sources was only utilized to complement and support the qualitative method.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The philosophical orientation is essential in any research because it dictates how data for the study or phenomenon under study is collected and analyzed in the quest for finding a solution to the research problem. The role of science is to transform things from Doxa to episteme; i.e. what is believed (doxology) into what is known or epistemology. There are two main research philosophies; positivism/scientific and interpretivism research philosophies.

The current study is subscribed to the interpretation philosophy. Positivism philosophers believe in a single and stable reality observable from an objective perspective. The observable outcomes are visible in replicated tests. Interpretivism is contrary and believes in the subjective interpretation of the phenomenon and as such, there are many interpretations of reality (Mkansi, & Acheampong, 2012). The current research is subscribed to interpretivism philosophy and involved interpretation of mainly qualitative data gathered from secondary sources for analysis. This entailed analyzing secondary data on immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavia following by the interpretation of data in line with the primary and specific research questions.

3.3 Research Design and Strategy

There are different types of designs adopted in research for a collection of research data. These include case study, survey design, grounded and archival design. The case study design can be a single case study where only one case is examined or multiple/collective case study involving several cases selected for developing a more in-depth data to understand the phenomenon of study than what a single case study can provide (Creswell, 2017). The case study design covers an analysis of events, persons, policies, institutions, decisions, or any other systems of interest using one or more methods. This type of research design facilitates insightful inquiry into a studied phenomenon within its real contexts. It is also relevant in studies that are based on either qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods depending on the research question under investigation. However, it is commonly used in qualitative studies rather than quantitative research.

The current study sought to determine the immigration and immigration policies of Scandinavian countries; Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. In this regard, multiple case study comparison design was used as opposed to a single case in conducting the research because the study involves comparing different aspects of immigrants across the three countries. This method was relevant in exploring and comparing immigration trends and immigration policies in Scandinavian countries (Seawright, & Gerring, 2008). Researching national comparisons provides a better understanding of the policies and structures on immigration. The comparative case study approach was essential in analyzing and synthesizing the differences and similarities as well as patterns in immigration and immigration policies across three countries.

However, comparative case study analysis also has its drawbacks. First is the scourge of data harmonization which is cumbersome because each country's statistics are designed to

protect the national interests. Since the priorities differ across the three countries, harmonizing data across these countries has been problematic. These have the prospect of having negative effects on the quality of the study findings. Nonetheless, the process of comparative case study design starts with developing a study project together with definition of its various components (theoretical proposition, research questions, analysis, and criteria for interpretation of findings), design the case study protocol, collection of research data, individual case report, analysis of data, and making the final report. This process is summarized in figure 3.1 below.

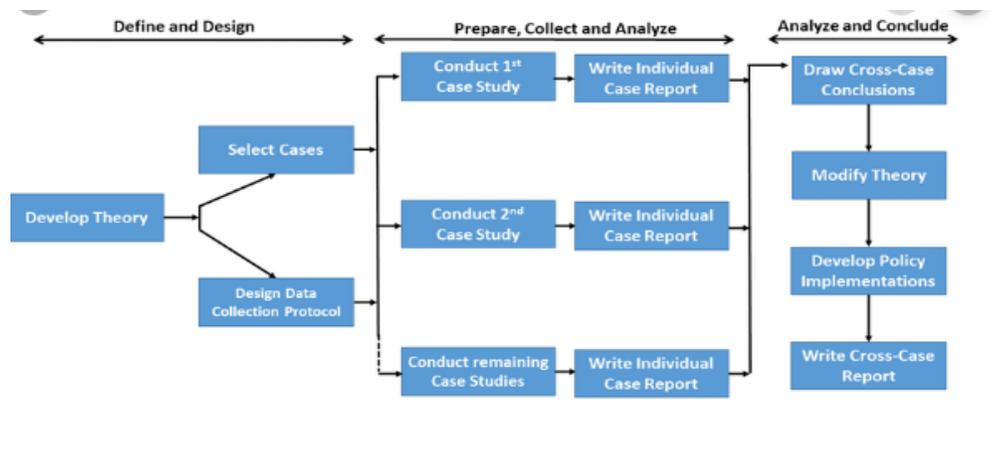


Fig 3.1: Case study design process

3.4 Data Sources and Collection

The study utilized secondary sources; mainly journals and academic papers, government publications, party manifestos, and parliamentary debates scripts, and articles on the Scandinavia immigration and immigration policy. The others include internet sources, such as the ministries of labor and immigration for the three countries, government agency websites. The websites of the EU, Nordic, international organizations on refugees as well as Scandinavia treaties among other internet sources. The study utilized both qualitative and quantitative data was gathered from secondary sources. The qualitative method of data collection was used to gather information from relevant literature, journals, books, and articles to offer to underpin theoretical

framework and insightful data on immigration and immigration policies in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. The quantitative data primarily used to complement qualitative data and consisted of secondary data gathered by others as well as official statistics of interest to the study topic. Empirical literature was vital in understanding the various policy framework of immigration and how they are applied in Scandinavian countries. Official reports and statistics on immigrants have been utilized in the study.

The use of secondary data has the advantage of being economical in terms of saving time, expenses, and efforts relative to the collection of primary data (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2016). However, the existing data were not collected for the study, hence they must be synthesized to gain the relevant data befitting the current study (Johnston, 2017). Therefore, knowledge of secondary research was paramount in sieving through the available data to gain the most relevant for the study. The collected data was mainly on the changes in the immigration policies in Scandinavia, and fundamental factors influencing the formation of immigration policy.

3.5 The Search Strategy

The search for secondary materials was based on specific keywords relevant to the study topic. These include immigration policy, integration policy, labor search theory, economic migration theory, immigration typology, asylum policy, family immigration, labor immigration, policy gap hypothesis, liberal policy puzzle, immigration in Scandinavia, the immigration policymaking process, and democratic policy process as well as restrictive and liberal immigration policy. The search terms revealed over 3,500 results hence the inclusion and exclusion criteria were included to set the boundary for the relevant literature for the study (Cheng, & Phillips, 2014). This was essential in reducing the number of results to the

manageable level for the researcher. Included in the research were literature published in the English language and on immigration policies. The literature comprised mainly systematic review studies based on both quantitative and qualitative methods. The researcher read through the title of the literature and abstracts to identify the right ones for the current study.

3.6 Data Analysis

The data was majorly qualitative and was subjected to qualitative analysis. This entailed categorizing data into common themes based on the determinants of immigration policy derived from the review of secondary literature (Robson, 2011). These determinants include politics, public preferences, the mass media, interest groups, economic and social factors, nationality or country of origin, and types of immigration. The analysis is systematically organized according to research questions. However, secondary data such as the size of immigrants was applied to complement qualitative data and facilitate comparison across the three countries. The analyzed data was interpreted and presented in the form of texts and charts to answer the research questions and achieve the purpose of the study.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

When developing research instruments, it is important to consider their validity and reliability. This is critical in ensuring quality of the study results is achieved. Validity refers to the extent of instrument's accuracy in measuring what it was supposed to measure. The three types of validity include content validity, construct validity, and criterion validity. Contents validity refers to the degree to which study items measure the contents of research (Heale, & Twycross, 2015). For the current study, this was ensured by incorporating the opinion of experts to determine whether the contents actually relate to topic of study. The validity of a construct is

directly measured and is determined using correlation, factor analysis tests, and item response theory.

Reliability is the ability of tools to generate consistent results in a repeated test. Internal consistency is the most common measure of reliability, as well as test re-test, and inter-rater reliabilities. For internal consistency, Chronbach's alpha is common method and applies to quantitative research. Test re-tests are applied in measuring correlation between scores from one research instrument to the other at an interval of time (Zohrabi, 2013). Overall, the current study was based on secondary data, and hence no instruments were used to collect data, As such, the reliability and validity test was not relevant for the current study.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This section presents the key determinants of immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavian states. The results are systematically presented following the questions of research.

4.2 Immigration policy requirements across the three Scandinavia countries

The immigration policy across the three countries has experienced both similarities and differences over time. Immigration to Sweden has remained larger than Denmark and Norway because it started earlier. Sweden was attractive enough from early times hence the size of its immigrant population is much larger when compared to immigrant populaces in the other two Scandinavian neighbors. By 2012, the immigrant population in Sweden stood at 1.75 million against approximately 567,000 and 600,000 immigrants in Denmark and Norway respectively (Bolin, Lidén & Nyhlén, 2014).

Denmark has the most restrictive immigration policy against asylum and family immigration since the early 1980s. On the contrary, Norway and Sweden have experienced a shift of both restrictive and liberal immigration policies. The changes towards more work-related immigration have increased the arrival rate of labor immigrants. According to Tranes (2014), the stricter and tightening of immigration policies in Denmark has generated a successful increase in labor immigrants while reducing the size of asylum and family immigrants.

Denmark has the most aligned number of immigrants to political goals as shown by a decline in the number of asylum and family immigrants. However, the number of labor immigrants increased considerably following the initiatives by the government to enhance the immigration of qualified immigrants while minimizing the entry of asylum immigrants. Similar trends, although slightly different are replicated in Sweden and Norway. In line with its political policy

preferences, Norway's Centre-Right governments allowed fewer refugees and asylum seekers compared to Denmark and Swedish governments (Brekke & Brochmann, 2015).

4.3 Labor Immigration

Labor immigration into Scandinavian countries was welcome up to the early years of the 1970s when it was limited until just recently. The liberalization of labor immigration in these countries started at the turn of the millennium. The labor immigration into Scandinavian states increased further following the expansion of the European Union. Bohman (2018) reveals that Denmark, Sweden, and Norway have experienced increments in labor immigration since 2015. Although they differ when it comes to immigrant composition, asylum immigration has taken up the largest share in as far as annual immigrant numbers are concerned on a yearly basis. Consistent with the job search model, heightened policy changes in labor immigration as witnessed in Denmark relative to Norway and Sweden has the potential to increase the employment rate for immigrants in Denmark relative to Norway and Sweden. The ultimate outcome is an increased rate of labor immigrants, better employment opportunities, and lower minimum or reservation wages.

4.4 Family Migration Policy

Of the three Scandinavian countries, Denmark has the strictest regime compared to Sweden and Norway (Bech, Borevi, & Mouritsen, 2017). Denmark has adopted successive changes in immigration policies since the late 1990s, leading to increasingly strict rules during the regimes of center-right and center-left governments. The rules for family reunification in Denmark range from education and language skills, the age of the spouse, country attachment, self-support, and employment records, as well as the integration standing of their Denmark resident spouse. Denmark has the toughest package of family migration rules in western

democracies. The tightened immigration rules brought some controversy, with some stating that it is affecting real Danes because they are unable to unify and bring their wives and husbands to Denmark (Jørgensen, 2013). The entry requirement for family reunification is summarized in table 4.1 below.

4.1: Family Reunification Requirements in Denmark

Type of requirement	Foreign citizen resident	Entering Spouse	Entering Child
Language Competence	Pass language exam B1/B2 or equivalent	Pass language exam in 6 months of entry Take part in the obligatory integration program	
Economic requirements: Stability, Self-support	Bank guarantee of 100,000 DKK for entering spouse; Adequate housing; Record employment; Self-support record	A fee of 6000 DKK or 805 Euros (not applicable to family applying to join refugees	
Age limit	Over 24 years for entering spouse	Over 24 years	Under 15 years
Record of domestic violence	None	None	
Length of stay	11 years if entry is		

	not through asylum; 1 year if refugee; 3 years for temporary protected status		
Attachment to country	Country attachment should be greater than any country (for spousal entry)		Kids aged 8 or more year with one parent in the country of origin is assessed for the prospect for successful integration

Source: Olwig, Larsen, and Rytter, (2013)

On the contrary, family reunification of children, spouses, and parents in Norway and Sweden has remained relatively easier compared to Denmark (Borevi, 2015). Norway has a less demanding and complex immigration policy than Denmark but has more requirements than the Swedish policy. In Norway, family reunification language and educational requirements are not mandatory for entering family members and residents, but the resident should be self-supporting and have a certain level of income. Nonetheless, the awaiting periods and conditions were considerably tightened following the refugee crisis of 2015. Therefore, the requirement for economic self-sufficiency and efforts to prevent asylum seekers plays a fundamental role. The obligatory requirement for social orientation and language only applies after the family members have been granted admission to the country. Besides, there are no conditions attached to the

entry and reunification of children below the age of 18 years. Refugees applying for reunification rather than family formation are exempted from income requirements in the year of entry to guarantee unity. However, some stricter measures were proposed by the Progress Party government in late 2015 due to the influx of refugees (Glomnes, 2015). This include 2016 proposal to increase in age limit for entering spouse. In general, despite the fact Norway's family immigration policy was largely inspired by Denmark except the requirement for high income, they are still relatively easier and gentler. Despite a few tightening, the policy changes in Norway have retained a different normative aspect from Denmark. Whereas debate on the agenda of civic integration and family reunification in Denmark is focused on reducing the number of new family immigrants, this is less a debate in Norway. Therefore, a strong humanitarian element is reflected in the Norwegian immigration policy which puts it closer to Sweden than Denmark (Olwig, Larsen, and Rytter, 2013). The entry requirements are summarized in table 4.2 below.

4.2: Family Reunification Requirements in Norway

Type of requirement	Foreign citizen resident	Entering Spouse	Entering Child
Language Competence	None	Participate in the orientation program after entry (no test)	
Required Economic resources: Stability,	Adequate housing; Min income 29500 Euros per year	A fee of 6000 DKK or 805 Euros (not	

Self-support	No social assistance in past one year; Full term employment for the past four years- applies to family formation persons with protected status or asylum; As per the 2016 proposal: 3year study of full-term employment_ for all reunification- individuals with protected status or asylum	applicable to family applying to join refugees	
Age limit	2016 proposal: 24 years for entering spouse, family formation	2016 proposal: Over 24 years (applies to family formation individuals)	
Record of domestic violence	None	None	
Length of stay	Permanent residence or possession of res permit that can lead to permanent		
Attachment to country	Country attachment should be greater than any country (for spousal entry)		

Source: Borevi, (2015)

Sweden is positioned among the most liberal immigration policy in Europe and the most liberal in Nordic countries at the end of the liberal spectrum. In sharp contrast to the numerous policy changes in Denmark, the immigration reforms in Swedish have been few. There were only two restrictive changes until 2016; limited entry of family members outside the nuclear family (1997), and financial support requirements introduced in 2010 (Borevi, 2015). These are minor restrictions in content and scope when compared to significant changes in immigration policy across Europe. The right to family life in Sweden has remained prevalent over the years, until recently when they were adjusted to the minimal level of the European Union through temporary laws. However, changes were launched in 2015 and adopted in 2016 cutting the rights to reunification in Sweden, at least temporarily. As a result, asylum seekers who do not qualify under the Geneva conventions for refugees have no rights to family unification in Sweden.

In Sweden, there are no requirements to prove civic deservingness by the family members after entry through any language tests or courses. The sponsor is also not subjected to any corresponding demands or conditions before and after family reunification. The Swedish context has no age requirements for transnational spouse migrants as these contravene the Swedish welfare and immigrant integration ideology for equal treatment for both natives and immigrants (Borevi, 2014). The liberal position has also been taken regarding economic requirements with only self-support of the sponsor and no economic ability to support the incoming family member. However, the checks at Sweden borders were introduced in 2016 to contain the flow of refugees and to align itself with minimum EU asylum policies (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015). The requirement for family reunification in Sweden is shown in table 4.3 below.

4.3: Family Reunification Requirements to Sweden

Type of requirement	Foreign citizen resident	Entering	Entering
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		Spouse	Child
Language Competence	None		
Required Economic resources: Stability, Self-support	Adequate housing; Self-support through employment, entrepreneurship or work-related benefits. Several exemptions apply: Temporary law 2016-2018-some exemptions were removed to include the ability to cater for an incoming spouse		
Age limit	Temporary law 2016-2018: Over 21 years for reunification if the ref person is a refuge under temp. res. Under temp law		
Record of domestic violence	Checked by migration board in partnership and previous marriages or any criminal records		
Length of residence or res status	Permanent residence status mandatory Temp. law: 2016-2018: all asylum seekers qualify for only temporary residence status Only Geneva refuges have to family reunification provided is applied within 3		

	months		
Attachment to country	None		

Jensen (2016)

In conclusion, there are more differences than similarities in immigration policy across the Scandinavian countries after 1995. The main areas of requirements for immigrants cover the language proficiency, citizenship test, and social benefits, as well as allowing dual citizenship and years of residence in the country for one to receive citizenship (Jensen, 2016). Even though Denmark has adopted significant policy changes since 1995, Norway is becoming also increasingly restrictive in recent years, but Sweden has sustained a liberal immigration regime over the years. The citizenship requirements for Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are summarized in table 4.1 below.

	<u>Language Requirements</u>			<u>Citizenship test</u>			<u>Social benefits</u>			<u>Dual citizenship allowed</u>			<u>Years of residence</u>		
	DK	NO	SE	DK	NO	SE	DK	NO	SE	DK	NO	SE	DK	NO	SE
1995	Informal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7/6	7	5/4
2005	B1	-	-	Yes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	9/8	7	5/4
2019	B2	800h/A	-	Yes	Yes	-	Yes	-	-	Yes	Coming	Yes	9/8	7	5/4

Figure 4.1: Requirements for citizenship in Scandinavia. Source: Olwig, Larsen, and Rytter, (2013).

For the Scandinavian states, the reunification of the family is increasingly fitted into a way of ideological concern for welfare state civic universalism (Goodman, 2012; Joppke, 2007). These are meant to integrate newcomers in a way that fosters social welfare, individual autonomy, and gender equality.

4.5 Restrictive versus Liberal Immigration Policies

A country can either adopt liberal or stringent immigration policies. The adoption of either a restrictive or liberal immigration policy depends on diverse factors such as economic forces, geopolitical interests and social factors rather than just the political party dynamics. Even though the far-right governments are associated with anti-immigration sentiments, there are also cases where more left-wing political parties have been associated with trade union movements that are opposed to immigration policies (Wright, 2014). There are also incidents where the left-wing parties have been vocal in protecting the interests of the migrant workers that lowers the wage rates of the workers. Such efforts are aligned with the interests of the governments to protect the interests of the employers and are also considered necessary in attracting potential investors.

Of the three Scandinavian countries, Denmark has adopted a stringent immigration policy while Sweden has been distinguished for adopting a more liberal immigration policy as Norway falls in between them. Denmark has adopted successive changes in immigration policies since the late 1990s, leading to increasingly strict rules during the regimes of center-right and center-left governments (Boréus, 2010). Sweden is positioned among the most liberal immigration policy in Europe and the most liberal in Nordic countries at the end of the liberal spectrum. Sweden is positioned among the most liberal immigration policy in Europe and the most liberal in Nordic countries at the end of the liberal spectrum. As a result of liberal immigration policies especially towards refugees and asylum seekers, Sweden has the largest proportion of immigrants in Scandinavia. For example, the country has the largest absolute number and proportion of refugees from the former Yugoslavia and Iraq than Norway and Denmark.

Refugees from Iraq make up 1.3 percent of the population compared to 0.4 percent for Denmark and Norway (Golebiowska, Valenta, & Carter, 2016).

There is another disparity across these countries regarding the composition of immigrants from Poland, which has a considerable proportion of refugees in Scandinavia. Whereas new Polish workers are a dominant group of Polish immigrants in Norway, political refugees account for most proportion of Polish refugees in Sweden and Denmark (Pettersen, & Østby, 2013). These groups of Polish are a well-established community of immigrants in having lived in Denmark and Sweden for many years. As the economy of Norway has become favorable in recent years, the immigrants are expected to have better jobs than in Denmark and Sweden. Therefore, a thriving economy and need for workforce, many immigrants are coming to seek better employment opportunities. This justifies the higher arrival rates of Polish workers in these countries than for Denmark and Sweden. The length of stay in Scandinavian countries is essential in analyzing the integration of immigrants in society (Bevelander et al 2013; Brochmann and Hagelund 2012). It is clear from these findings that a significant difference by country of origin and between groups of immigrants from the same country is evident.

4.6 The critical factor driving immigration and immigration policy

The approach of Scandinavian countries towards immigration and immigration policies including their entry and integration in the society can be explained in terms of its economy and welfare state regime, dominant values, and immigration history. However, these factors are relatively similar and cannot explain the differences in immigration and immigration policies between Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Therefore, other factors have been suggested as an alternative to explain the divergence in immigration and immigration policies and integration in these countries. These factors are grounded in the conception of national identity and

competition dynamics in party politics among other factors. As noted, these factors are not mutually exclusive, but rather supplement and complement each other to accord a more nuanced explanation on the causes of divergent immigration policies across these countries.

4.6.1 Border Policies and Regional Integration

Immigration into Scandinavian countries can be analyzed in light of gradual opening up the borders starting with Nordic countries and then EU member countries (Medeiros, 2014). The other determinants of immigration include national policies on labor migration, and family and refugee reunification from countries outside the EU block. Nordic states have had a common labor market since the early 1950s and part of the open European labor market. This means citizens of Nordic states, including Sweden, Denmark and Norway have freely lived and worked in any of the Nordic countries. This was extended to the EFTA and EU countries in 1994 as members of the open European labor market (Pettersen, & Østby, 2013). The European integration has enhanced the movement of people within the EU member states following the introduction of common Visa and border control policy. The eastward expansion of the EU in 2004 has since enhanced immigration into Scandinavian countries especially for the immigrants from Baltic states and Poland. Besides, these countries have also been recruiting workers from other countries outside Europe such as Turkey and Pakistan as laborers. Therefore, opening up country borders has been a key factor determining immigration into Scandinavian countries.

In comparing immigrants across the three countries over the years, Sweden has the most proportion of the foreign-born population in Scandinavia, comprising 15% of the country's current population (Pettersen, & Østby, 2013). These figures are far more than the 10% average percentage of immigrants for the EU. In absolute numbers, Sweden has three times the immigrant number as Denmark and Norway at 1.43 million against 0.44 and 0.55 million for

Denmark and Norway. The country also leads in the proportion of immigrant descendants with 5% followed by Norway with a 2% proportion of immigrant descendants and 11% for total immigrants (Golebiowska, Valenta, & Carter, 2016). Figure 4.2 summarizes the composition of the population across the three countries.

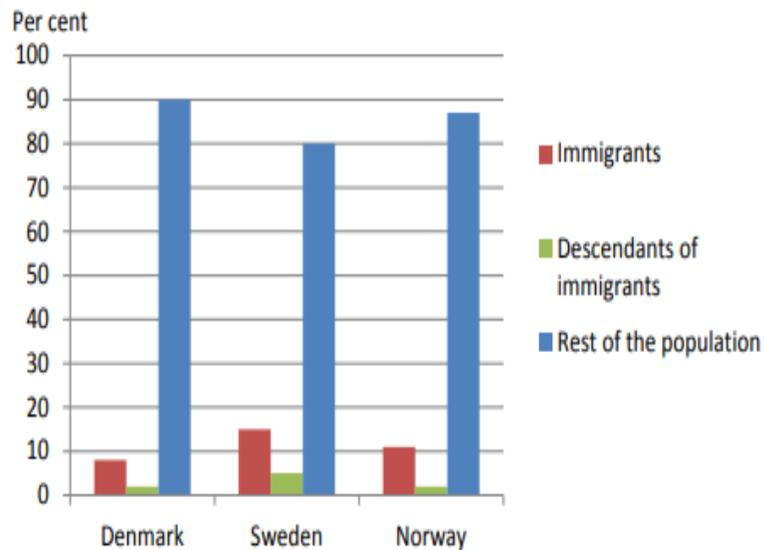


Figure 4.2: Population composition of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway

Source: Pettersen, and Østby (2013).

4.6.2 Country of Birth and Origin

Like other developed economies such as the western world, the country of origin is another key factor influencing immigration into Scandinavian. Accordingly, half of the Scandinavian immigrants come from Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Pettersen, & Østby, 2013). However, Norway has a slightly higher percentage of these groups of immigrants than Denmark and Sweden. These are people moving away from poverty in search of better living conditions for themselves and their families. These immigrants are majorly the early migrant workers seeking a better lifestyle, followed by refugees running from civil strife in their home country, and finally the family of these immigrants. Immigrants from non-Nordic region EU countries form the

second group of immigrants in the Scandinavian states. This group is dominated by labor immigrants from the Eastern European countries motivated by better economic life in the Scandinavia and unrest in their countries.

The third-largest group of immigrants in Sweden and Norway consists of people from the Nordic region (Pettersen, & Østby, 2013). However, there is also a large number of Swedes immigrants working in Norway, just like the Finish immigrants make up the largest group of immigrants in Sweden due to historical reasons. For the rest of Europe, most immigrants moved to Scandinavia due to the Balkans unrest in the 1990s while those from Australia, North America, and New Zealand comprise the least group of immigrants in Scandinavian countries. Therefore, country and region of birth or origin have considerably influenced the movement of immigrants into Scandinavia. The summary of these groups of immigrants is presented in table 4.3 below.

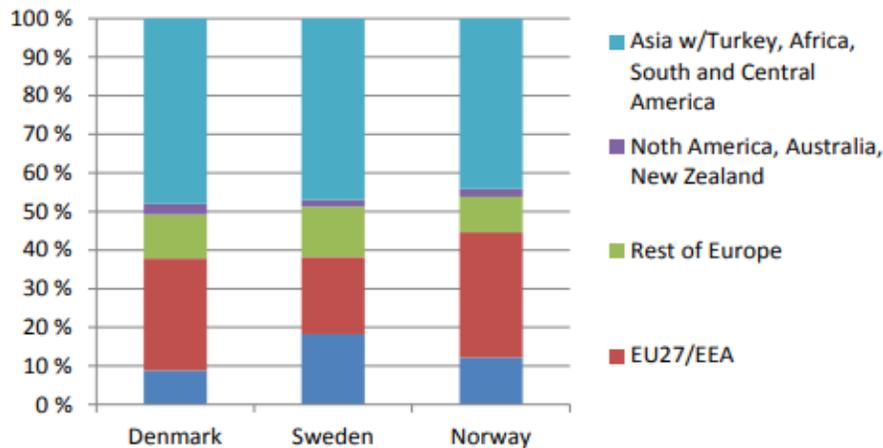


Figure 4.3: Immigrant by country/region of birth

Source: Pettersen and Østby, (2013).

4.6.2 Nationhood and National Identity

Even though the Scandinavian countries share several basic norms and values, the manner in which these aspects are understood and prioritized differ considerably. Essentially, the social cohesions in these countries and conceptions of integration do vary in considerable ways, and these are consequently reflected in policy formulation and developments. In an in-depth examination of publications by the government, parliamentary debates, and political party manifestos found that in Sweden, Norway and Denmark, politics on integration have been crafted by varying concepts about the relative voluntarism in the building of the national identity (Kristian, 2016).

According to the politics of Sweden, the identity of the nation is given as one condition that can be molded to assume different shapes through reciprocated discussions. In Sweden, on a personal level, national identity is perceived as something one can choose. Put differently, immigrants can become part of the ever-changing nation of Sweden by simply choosing to be part of its society. However, in Denmark, the national identity is exhibited as having a historical ascertainment where for an immigrant to become a Danish, he/she must engage in a long process of socialization.

In Norway, there has been no clear understanding of the national identity as it has always swayed back and forth between Denmark's two poles of assimilation on one side and Sweden's multicultural acceptance on the other side. Norway as a country has been very much indecisive in as far as national identity is concerned and at times it has shown a mix of the two versions.

4.6.3 Representative Democracy

Political Parties. As expected, the government of the day in any of these countries has often leaned towards the manifesto and policies affiliated to the ruling party or parties in the

ruling coalition. In Denmark, the Danish People's Party led to the adoption of restricted immigration policy. This was in line with the party's prevalence of extreme right-wing political entities. In Denmark and Norway, the issues of immigration policy are highly politicized and cannot be implemented as a strict policy through official processes that are devoid of political party dynamics. As pointed out by Hibbs (1992), membership of the political party that forms the government has a direct impact on the results of the various immigration policies. Overall, Denmark has the most aligned number of immigrants to political goals as shown by a decline in the number of asylum and family immigrants. However, the number of labor immigrants increased considerably following the initiatives by the government to enhance the immigration of qualified immigrants while minimizing the entry of asylum immigrants. Similar trends, although slightly different are replicated in Sweden and Norway. For example, in line with its political policy preferences, Norway's Centre-Right governments have also reduced the number of refugees and asylum seekers.

In Norway, political parties view policies relating to immigration differently and a slight alteration in the government composition has the likelihood of causing a change in the policies relating to immigration. The variations in the integration and immigration policies in Denmark, Sweden and Norway can be attributed to political party dynamics (Bonjour, 2010). Denmark and Norway, for instance, have had a long-standing experience with successful extreme right-wing parties. However, in Sweden, the electoral success of the Sweden Democrats party has signaled a ray of change. The existence of such parties may not adequately bring about change in government policy, but may help in counter-checking the strategies advanced by mainstream political parties in response to the success of anti-immigrant parties. In line with Triadafilopoulos

and Zaslove (2006), party political dynamics determine whether immigration and integration issues become politicized or not.

The levels of political party competition are also a major determinant of the direction the immigration policy of a country adopts. In countries such as Denmark, the immigration policy and preferences of the major political parties is a vital consideration and is a major issue during the political campaigns. In view of Freeman (1995), the immigration policy that is adopted by a political party could be interpreted as an indication of the ability of the politicians to protect the national interests when they assume power. Not only the ruling party but also the parties offering parliamentary support to the government also play a critical role in policy development. For example, the Danish People's Party used its strategic position as the supporting party to the right-wing government to bring about a drastic political change towards anti-immigration policies (Walgrave, & Van Aelst, 2016). For over two decades, the Centre-right parties in Norway have worked towards striking a balance with the center-left parties to build common ground around this policy area. For some years, the Liberal-Conservative ruling party chose a moderate approach in line with its center-right coalition partners who have all supported a pro-immigration agenda. Mainstream parties in Sweden have endeavored to block the impact of the Sweden Democrats, the right-wing and the anti-immigration party. The mainstream parties have succeeded in blocking the Sweden Democrats from having any influence on matters integration and immigration even though the latter political party enjoys massive public support (Golebiowska, Valenta, & Carter 2016).

In conclusion, the role of political parties plays an extreme role in immigration policy change in Denmark, but the influence is moderate in Norway and very minimal in Sweden. Political influence on immigration is quite evident in Sweden, Denmark, and Norway as they

play a major role in the formation of immigration policy. Overall, Schain (2008) notes that immigration into the Scandinavia states is to a large extent in line with the political goals of the countries. Nevertheless, this does not imply that all politically oriented policies have been successful, and neither does it imply that political agreement on immigration policies exists in these countries.

The Mass Media. The mass media influence immigration based on the nature of their coverage. The adoption of selective coverage to an immigration issue shapes the public perceptions and hence the nature of the policy that is adopted by the government. The media can as well choose to provide increased coverage to immigration. It may also opt to ignore others to avoid subjective interpretations that could whip the emotions of those in power towards adopting a certain policy. As observed by Van Aelst and Walgrave (2011), the terminologies used by the media in describing immigrants like illegal and undocumented shapes the public attitudes and sentiments that then impact on the nature of the immigration policy adopted by the government. The use of deeming terms to describe the immigrants and associate them with delinquent behaviors could persuade the authorities to adopt restrictive policies towards most of the immigrants.

In Norway and Sweden, the media has played a significant influence on the enactment of policies relating to family immigration even though the media in these two countries are totally different in the manner in which they cover matters relating to immigration. However, through the media coverage, small alterations to the immigration policies have been done especially where there are identifiable shortcomings in the current immigration policies (Walgrave, & Van Aelst, 2016). In Denmark, the media, both mass, and social media have been used to promote anti-immigration policies. These include some announcements in international newspapers

warning migrants from entering the country. Also, the calls by the renowned politician's on national media outlets like newspapers and television channels in Denmark where multicultural pluralism is not prioritized have occasionally presented negative sentiments towards adopting liberal immigration policies. Such sentiments can influence public perceptions of immigration. Consequently, this influences the nature of the immigration policy adopted by the government as it tends to demonstrate responsiveness to the interests and perceptions of the public.

Voters and public preference. In close connection to the media is the public preference because they are largely shaped and influenced by the media. The media has become an important tool for shaping public attitudes and perceptions of immigration. The perception and opinions held by the members of the public on immigrants seem to have an impact on the various policies relating to immigration that are formulated in the Scandinavian countries of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. Bohman (2018) argued that opinions and perceptions of the members of the public seem to some extent influence the decisions made by governments concerning formulating immigration policies.

Interest groups and Trade Unions. These comprise of lobby groups together with non-governmental organizations that are actively involved in immigration policy issues. Some of these groups are affiliated to trade unions where they advocate for the adoption of restrictive immigration policies for the protection of the welfare and interests of the native workers. Most of the trade unions are affiliated to governments and they can advocate for the adoption of strict policies on immigration. The trade unions are considered a vital political asset by politicians as their support is usually sought due to the high number of workers that they control. Due to their interest in advocating for the welfare of the workers, the trade unions can influence the immigration policy to ensure the local workforce is protected from increased competition from

immigrants. Some interest groups have the ability of the interest groups to offer financial incentives to the political class to influence policy.

Denmark's adoption of liberalized immigration policies was to some extent influenced by the trade unions (Bech, Borevi & Mouritsen, 2017). They are engaged in areas such as determining the nature of work permits that should be given to the immigrants to ensure they do not distort the labor market. The only areas that are not restricted in cases where the immigrants are highly skilled as such job positions usually experience high demand and are unlikely to distort the labor sector. The interest groups in Denmark have directly participated in political campaigns by sponsoring candidates to elective posts in government and then use such individuals to advocate for their preferred policy stances in areas like immigration (Walgrave, & Van Aelst, 2016). Due to such efforts, pressure and lobby groups are a crucial player in shaping the immigration policy adopted by Scandinavian countries.

For Sweden, most lobby groups aligned to humanitarian concerns have been actively involved in advocating for the adoption of inclusive and less restrictive immigration policies. These lobby groups sensitize the government on the need for recognizing the urgent needs of some of the immigrants such as the asylum seekers and refugees that could be facing religious, political or racial persecution in their home countries (Government Offices of Sweden, 2015). Some international and regional organizations have advocated for the liberal immigration policies where an immigrant can move from one country to another without restrictions (Mayda, 2013). Religious lobby groups are have also advocated for the need for governments to adopt liberal immigration policies (Glomnes, 2015). Such bodies perceive the policies as necessary in promoting peace and tranquility around the world. They also regard the adoption of liberal

immigration policies as an indication of the levels of commitment by the government towards maintaining peace.

4.6.4 Capital Related Factors

Employment was the main reason motivating people to move into Scandinavian countries especially for labor migrants until the early 1970s (Freeman, & Hill, 2006). This was necessitated by the search for better-paying jobs and the need for the workforce in the country of destination. After World War 2, Sweden industry remained intact and was in great need of the labor force to produce for the rebuilding of the rest of Europe. The immigrants were thus recruited from southern Europe and Finns later in the 1960s (Walgrave, & Van Aelst, 2016). The oil crisis of 1973 led to restrictive labor migration into Scandinavia from countries outside the Nordic region. This was later proceeded by a long period of family immigration for the reunification for migrant workers and new immigrants fleeing from persecution in countries like Vietnam, Somalia, Iraq, Iran, and former Yugoslavia (Borjas, 2016).

As a consequence of the increased need for workforce, countries like Sweden adopted a more employer-based liberalized immigration policy. Such policies are in line with the economic realities facing the employers in the destination states due to factors such as an increasingly aging population and increased demand for social welfare (Bech, Borevi & Mouritsen, 2017). Due to the vital role that employers play in enhancing the economic stability of the nation, governments are left with no option than focusing on making policies that promote the supply of labor needed in the market (Glomnes, 2015). These are achieved by adopting a more liberalized immigration policy for labor immigrants to ensure a continuous flow of the required labor force from other countries to supplement the locally available workforce (Bodvarsson, & Van den Berg, 2013). However, some precautions are taken in Denmark, which advocates for stringent

immigration policies. This is because Denmark takes into account the costs associated with socializing the immigrant population to the local culture and ensuring that immigrants are well integrated into society and make a positive economic contribution to the country. Unlike Sweden, Denmark further restricts the inflow of lowly skilled immigrants because they are considered a burden and are unlikely to make any significant contribution that would improve the economic prospects of the country (Borjas, 2016). In Norway, the authorities seem to adopt a case-by-case approach to determine the nature of immigrants that are permitted into the country (Glomnes, 2015).

While the prospect of better wages has been a major driver of most immigrants into these countries, the commitment of the government to protect the local labor markets has led to regulatory controls aimed at shaping the immigration policy of a country. The government can differentiate the different types of immigrants to exclude some who are seeking better employment terms and higher wages (Cornelius, & Tsuda, 2004). In Norway and Sweden, these regulatory controls are evident through visas and work permits to ensure the immigrants are controlled even after they arrive in the country. This is usually done after carrying out surveys to determine the labor demand in the various sectors of the economy and identifying the nature of skills and competencies the would-be migrants should possess to validate their entry immigration.

4.7 Conclusion and Transition

The current study has unfolded several factors determining immigration and immigration policies into Scandinavian countries. These include the political party dynamics and national identify, border control and regional integration, the mass media and public preferences, interest groups, and economic factors. Accordingly, of the three Scandinavian countries, Denmark has

adopted a stringent immigration policy while Sweden has been distinguished for adopting more liberal immigration policies as Norway falls in between them. The next chapter discusses these determinants concerning existing theories and empirical evidence.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

The current study has identified some factors influencing immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavia. It has been noted that despite considerable similarities between Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, immigration policies differ significantly across these countries. Despite significant differences, there are also some similarities in the immigration and immigration policy requirements in Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.

5.1 Immigration policy requirements across the three Scandinavia countries

Immigrants into Scandinavian countries are subjected to some degree of entry requirements even for the most liberal country; Sweden. Jensen (2016) identified key areas of requirements for immigrants as the language proficiency, citizenship test, and social benefits, as well as dual citizenship and minimum years of residence in the country for one to receive citizenship. But why are all these requirements for the immigrants? The need to control the influx of immigrants is what necessitates restrictive requirements.

Even though Denmark has adopted significant policy changes since 1995, Norway has become increasingly restrictive in recent years, but Sweden has sustained a liberal immigration regime over the years (Bohman, 2018). Even though policies have been friendly in Sweden over the years, the country opted for a restrictive asylum and reunification policies in 2016 following the refugee crisis in 2015 after receiving a record-breaking number of refugees (Bohman, 2018). This marked a significant shift in policy after growing public concerns over the high number of refugees. As a consequence, the pro-immigration center-left social democratic party suffered the worst electoral results since 1908 with a center-right anti-immigration party garnering 17.6 percent of the votes (Mayda, 2013). None of the party had majority to form the government leading to a coalition government. The election results were a reflection of public

opinion towards immigration, and the ruling party had to adopt some of the Swedish democrats policies. Overall, even though the immigration and integration policy remain among the most liberal in Europe, it has recently shifted towards restrictive policies. Therefore, in line with Pettersen and Østby (2013), the immigration requirements on entry and integration into society have shaped the patterns of immigration, which have consequently generated tremendous influence on the economy, culture, demography, and politics of the countries.

5.2 Critical factors influencing immigration policy in Scandinavia

The major factor among determinants of immigration policy is political parties. It is clear from this analysis that political party dynamics in Denmark and Norway determine whether issues of immigration policy are politicized or implemented as a strict policy issue through official processes that are devoid of political party dynamics. For the case of Denmark, the coming into power of the Danish People's Party has substantially led to the adoption of restricted immigration policy. These findings are consistent with Billiet, Meuleman and De Witte (2014) indicating that the government of the day tends to often lean towards policies and manifesto affiliated to the parties or coalition of parties in power. The study findings mirror the partisan theory, which argues that the composition of the governing parties has a significant influence on the immigration policies adopted in the country (Mayda, 2013). This is because most parties demonstrate strict conformance to their ideological foundations as a way of retaining support from their key constituencies and to enhance their legitimacy to the electorate. In other words, parties' ideologies are often reflected in the policies they adopt while in power. This is what forms the basis through which the electorate evaluates the performance of the governing party.

The level of political party competition is a major determinant of the immigration policy of a country adopts (Bolin, Lidén and Nyhlén, 2014). The parties are usually classified either as

the radical right- or left-wing parties based on their stance on immigration. Normally, left-wing parties emphasize equality, liberty, progress, reforms and internationalism policies. On the other hand, right-wing parties are characterized by hierarchy, tradition, nationalism, order and reaction. In Scandinavian countries, party competition has affected the stances of these parties on immigration-related, with some shifting towards a moderate stance to meet the interest of varied electorates. In countries such as Denmark where the cultural integration of the immigrants is considered vital, the main political parties are aligned with restrictive immigration policy as a show of appreciation and recognition of the norms and values of the country. It is also evident from this analysis that countries such as Sweden where multiculturalism is highly regarded, the political parties are likely to demonstrate openness and preference for more inclusive and liberal immigration policy in line with the public interest. The political party's stand on immigration policy is usually leaned towards friendly policies to demonstrate the willingness to address global issues such as the immigrant challenges facing different global regions. However, international and regional treaties to which the government has ratified may sway the political stance about immigration and immigration policies. This assertion is consistent with Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén's (2014) explanation that, in some cases where the government that is in power utilizes intergovernmental cooperation and ratification of international agreements to determine the immigration policy.

The study results on national identity do marry early study by Iyengar & Messing (2012). Accordingly, the national identity in Sweden shaped through processes of collective negotiation but individually in Denmark. The liberal approach in Sweden suits most immigrants because they do not feel confined into a predetermined form of national identity that they should fit into to be accepted into the Swedish culture. The case is different for Denmark, the national identity

is historically determined to indicate that immigrants must focus on the long-term process of socialization to ensure they fit into the Danish culture. Therefore, early initiatives on socialization from an early age demonstrate that the immigration policies of Denmark are not liberal when compared to those of Sweden. However, for Norway, the national identity oscillates between assimilation as in the case of Denmark and multicultural acceptance as is the case in Sweden.

Regarding public preference, the immigration policy in Scandinavia has since shifted from foreign policy to a domestic policy issue to allow for the public debate and an open political contestation. This is contrary to foreign policy issues in which public debate is highly constrained and illustrates the important role of public preference in shaping immigration policies in Scandinavia. According to Freeman (1995), the connection between asylum policies and public opinion, most literature suggest that governments seem to respond and follow to the preferences of the public when making asylum policy framework. This is evident in Scandinavian countries where public opinion is a key factor determining asylum policy.

Several scholars have acknowledged that economic factors, especially employment are a key force driving immigration into industrialized economies. This has been underscored in a study by Borjas (2016) highlighting that standards of labor shape the immigration policy in the destination country. The need for labor is one of the reasons for a high number of migrants in Sweden. Given the important role of employers in economic growth and stability, governments such as Sweden are focused on ensuring a sufficient yet balanced supply of labor to meet the required labor force in the market. On the contrary, the high cost of socializing the immigrants to the local culture hinders the enactment of immigrant-friendly policies in countries such as Denmark. The case of Denmark, and to some extent Norway supports the views of Ben-Nun

Bloom, Arikian, and Lahav (2015) that restrictive immigration policies are adopted to protect the skill-sets evident in the native population. This may include restricting the inflow of lowly skilled immigrants because they are considered a burden as they are unlikely to make a significant contribution to the economy of the recipient country. The only exceptions include highly skilled immigrants for job positions that experience high demand as they are not likely to distort the labor market. Either way, the economic benefit of immigrants is considered in the policymaking process in Scandinavian countries.

The influence of mass media on the immigration policy has been acknowledged in different studies. For instance, in line with Walgrave & Van Aelst (2016) and Van Aelst and Walgrave's (2011) findings, this analysis has shown that mass media shapes the direction of the public policy in multiple ways. These include selective coverage to an immigration issue and the terminologies used such as derogatory terms in describing immigrants and to associate them with delinquent habits thus shaping the public perceptions. Both the mass and social media have anti-immigration tendencies while in Sweden, media is pro-immigration to reflect the multicultural pluralism in the country. As noted by Meyers (2012), the media tends to reflect the views of the general public. This is because media has the ability to carry out investigations and surveys to reveal the nature of the public attitudes and perceptions towards immigration. Technological development has made social media an important tool in as far as shaping public opinion and government policies on immigration. Therefore, current findings of the current mirror some earlier research on the role of media in policy development. Accordingly, the media, including the press and social media are instrumental vehicles in immigration policy formulation in Scandinavia countries.

The role of pressure and interest groups in policy formulation depends on the type of groups with a great impact on the government of the day. For instance, a religious and humanitarian organization in Sweden has been critical in shaping immigration policy as a way of promoting peace and tranquility around the world. This is consistent with Bolin, Lidén, and Nyhlén's (2014) study stating that religious groups advocate for the adoption of liberal immigration policies. On the contrary, groups affiliated to trade unions are vocal in have been vital in pushing for the adoption of restrictive immigration policies to protect the welfare and interests of the native workers. As stated by Avery, Fine & Márquez (2017), the impact of interest groups in shaping the immigration policy of a country is driven by the ability to gather and evaluate a wide range of data that they use to make their policy recommendations to the government. The other aspect is the financial strength of the interest groups and following to influence policymakers. As stated by Bohman & Hjerm (2016), capital owners in Scandinavia tend to identify with lobby groups that advocate for liberal immigration policies to facilitate easier entry of workers. Conclusion

Conclusively, the study has identified critical factors influencing immigration and immigration policies which are consistent with some previous studies and theories such as partisan theory. The determinants, it is vital to point what should be done to merge policy aspects across these countries. The next chapter presents the study conclusion and recommendations for policymakers and future research on immigration policies in Scandinavian countries.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Summary of Findings

The current study examined critical factors shaping immigration and immigration policies in Scandinavia. This examines deeper into the role of party politics, press media, interest groups, socio-economic factors, and public preferences and opinions into shaping immigration and immigration policies. Scandinavian countries were selected for this study because they continue to experience high immigration rates more than any other region in the world. Therefore, the future of each of these individual countries depends on their ability to successfully integrate immigrant populations. The study was guided by the following key research questions: What are the immigration policy requirements across the Scandinavia countries? And what are the critical factors influencing immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia?

To answer these research questions, the study adopted a multiple and comparative case study design. The multiple case study comparative design was appropriate in comparing different aspects of immigrants across the three countries. The comparative case study approach was essential in analyzing and synthesizing the differences and similarities as well as patterns in immigration and immigration policies across these countries. The qualitative method was also adopted to facilitate the collection and analysis of detailed data from secondary sources. The study findings indicate that party politics, media, interest groups, socio-economic factors, and public preferences and opinions play a significant role in shaping immigration and immigration policies in Denmark, Norway, and Scandinavia. Therefore, different immigration policies across these countries are majorly a consequence of these factors.

6.2 Conclusion

The most noticeable outcome of the study revolves around the political directions taken by these three countries regarding immigration and integration policy. Notably, it is much harder to obtain citizenship in Denmark than Sweden or Norway. Requirements for Norwegian and Swedish citizenship are relatively flexible and attainable unlike in Denmark where there is a need for language proficiency, hence excluding potential immigrants. Thus, each of the Scandinavian countries has taken different political directions as far as the immigration and integration policy is concerned with varying effects and outcomes. Studies carried out recently have shown that it's easier for immigrants and their descendants to feel a sense of belonging in countries where the political climate is accommodative. In Denmark for example, the tone by the political class on immigration is more negative which has in turn eroded immigrants' belief in democracy. Put it differently, the Danes consider issues relating to immigration as ideologically polarizing given the fact that politicians have politicized this area more than their counterparts in Sweden and Norway.

Notable among these countries is Denmark with an exclusively restrictive immigration policy against asylum and family immigration since the early 1980s. On the contrary, Norway and Sweden have experienced a shift of both restrictive and liberal immigration policies. Therefore, Denmark, and to some extent, Norway supports the views of Ben-Nun Bloom, Arikian, and Lahav (2015) that restrictive immigration policies are adopted to protect the skill-sets evident in the native population.

Regarding other determinants of immigration policy, the contribution of pressure and interest groups in policy formulation depends on the type of groups with a great impact on the government of the day. The mass media shapes the direction of the public policy in two main

ways: selective coverage of an immigration issue and the terminologies used to describe immigrants such as the use of derogatory terms that associate immigrants with delinquent habits thus shaping the public perceptions and hence political stance on the issue. The socio-economic factors such as the need for labor force shape the immigration policy in the destination country. This fact is supported in the literature, but there are certain restrictions aimed at preventing low skilled immigrants from entering Scandinavia, especially for Denmark and Norway.

Concerning national identity requirements, the liberal approach in Sweden suits most immigrants because they are not expected to fit into Swedish culture as a requirement as is the case for Denmark where immigrants must be socialized to fit into the Danish culture.

It is evident from the analysis that these factors are not exclusive to each other, but rather intertwined with each other. For instance, political direction, though mirrors the party manifesto, is largely influenced by the public preferences and attitudes. In turn, the press and social media also have considerable influence on public opinion and preferences. The governing party is commonly influenced by the trade unions and pressure groups on immigration policies. Finally, economic factors, especially, the need for the workforce by employers in the destination country as a fundamental factor in the economy also influence policy formulation. This means that no one factor can determine the immigration policy but rather a combination of these factors.

6.3 Recommendations for Policy Making

It is clear that currently, each of these countries has taken different policy frameworks regarding immigration yet their future depends on their ability to successfully integrate immigrant populations. Going by the current trends in these countries and Europe in general, any integration should take a moderate or restrictive immigration policy. This is because, in the post-2015 refugee crisis, Sweden has also opted for border control following the influx of refugees

and Norway is gradually shifting towards restrictive immigration policies. In order to deal with the immigration challenges and harmonize the immigration policies in Scandinavia, these countries should focus on skilled economic immigrants that can be integrated more easily and cost-effectively in the labor market as a alternative to family and humanitarian migrants. This policy direction will contribute significantly towards an immigrant native gap in employment

6.4 Recommendation for Future Study

The current research was solely based on secondary sources, but these kinds of data have some limitations because they were not initially gathered for this study. However, even though the knowledge of the researcher was necessary for gaining the most relevant and applicable data to the study, future study should gain data from professionals practicing in the field of immigration. Therefore, primary data collection is recommended for a similar study in the future to gain their professionals' views on immigration policies in these countries.

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