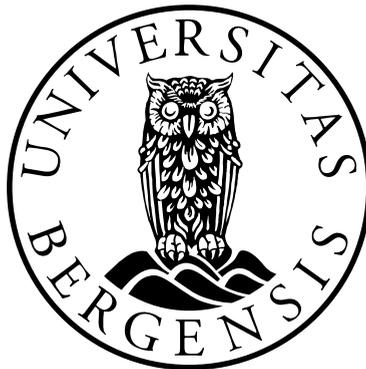


Explaining Scandinavian Immigration Policy 1985-2010.

Parties, Press, and Public Opinion

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Dissertation for the degree philosophiae doctor (PhD)
at the University of Bergen

2012

Dissertation date: June 2012

Acknowledgements

This has been a lengthy project: Six years, two kids, and one husband after I started working on it, it certainly feels good to submit. A long list of people have helped me along the way, and without them the project probably would have shipwrecked long ago. First and foremost I want to thank my supervisor Jan Oskar Engene. He has been an excellent supervisor, and has been available for brief questions or longer meetings whenever I have needed it. Also, he has kept order in the PhD educational formalities, which is not always a small matter. Warm thanks also to my co-supervisor Astrid Grasdahl, Department of Economics, UIB, for confidently guiding a political scientist into the econometric world.

The Department of Comparative Politics has been a great place to be a PhD candidate, where professors generously treat us as peers. Every single one of you deserves special thanks. But more than anything, it is my fellow PhD candidates who have made this test of patience bearable - even fun. You are just being great people to be around! Some of you deserve special attention, though: Sveinung Arnesen, Bjarte Folkestad, and Vibeke Wang.

Thanks also to all the wonderful statistics people in Scandinavia for providing various data used in the thesis. Thanks to Kåre Vassenden, Svein Blom and their colleagues at Statistics Norway, for giving invaluable advice and sharing detailed knowledge regarding immigration statistics. Thanks to the Scandinavian data archives DDA, SDA and NSD for excellent service. More often than not, data have been delivered faster than light.

A large number of people outside the Department of Comparative Politics have helped and inspired me throughout this journey, and here are some of them, in random order: Members of the European Politics research group at the Department of Comparative Politics, members of the Nordic Migration States workshop at NOPSA 2011, discussants at MPSA 2012, Helga Eggebø, Ingvild Mochmann, scholars at the MZES in Mannheim, Martin Eide, reviewers in SPS and NNT, members of the IMER

network in Bergen, Bo Bøgeskov, participants at the workshop “Political Parties and Migration Policy Puzzles” in Gothenburg June 2012. And many more.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family. My mother Elisabeth, my father Arve and my brother Håkon for supporting me in various ways throughout. Special thanks to my deceased grandmother for her belief in my ability to do whatever task I take on. From my desktop picture of her (standing on the roof of her house, shovelling snow, at the age of 87), she makes sure I keep up my work ethic. Thanks to my boys Åsmund and Aslak for the general happiness you give me every day. And more than anything I am grateful for the moral support from my husband Tor. Thanks for being my husband and for inspiring me every day with your uncurbed enthusiasm for our discipline.

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with explaining Scandinavian immigration policy from 1985-2010. The overarching research question – what determines immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia – is approached from three different angles. The articles all study immigration to Scandinavia, but emphasise different potential determinants: political parties, the press and public opinion. The thesis articles thus apply different theoretical approaches, such as ‘partisan theory’ and ‘government responsiveness theory’. Together, the articles cover a 25 year time period, and they encompass all three Scandinavian countries. One article also look into the impact of sending country determinants, and include data on 143 sending countries. The thesis studies asylum and family immigration, two out of the three major immigration types to Scandinavia.

Despite increased international co-operation on immigration, the findings of the articles also suggest that the national democracies are still central in immigration policy-making. Political parties are found to influence asylum inflows, and asylum policy changes in Scandinavia also appear to be in accordance with public policy changes. However, the press is not found to be a central actor in the making of family immigration policy neither in Norway nor Sweden. The thesis has a state centred approach, but acknowledging the influence of international actors and processes in national immigration policy-making, the limits to national democratic control is discussed in the synopsis chapter. One of the articles also explicitly tests the relative importance of national and international determinants of immigration.

The thesis primarily uses quantitative methods: panel regression analysis, multinomial logistic regression and ordered logistic regression. However, all articles also include elements of qualitative analyses. This goes in particular for the content analyses of party manifestoes and newspaper articles in two of the articles. Thus the data material

analysed includes, amongst other, immigration flow data, legislative and regulative policy changes, and press coverage.

The first article, “Partisan influence on immigration: The case of Norway,” tests the relevance of ‘the parties matter hypothesis’ for the field of immigration, by looking into the importance of parties in government for asylum grants in Norway. The article first develops hypotheses regarding what effect the different government types could be expected to have on immigration, based on statements in party manifestoes and newspaper articles. These are tested in a panel regression analysis of the number of asylum admissions from each sending country from 1985-2005. Controlled for a number of sending country variables and unemployment in Norway, conservative governments are found to significantly reduce refugee residence permits granted.

The second article, “Is the Press a Political Actor in Family Immigration Policy?”, studies the coverage of family immigration policy in Norwegian and Swedish newspapers, to understand the role of the press in the family immigration policy-making. The analysis of the press coverage reveals clear differences in the coverage in the two countries. Most distinctively, the Norwegian press has to a larger extent put family immigration policy on the media agenda independently on the political agenda, whereas the Swedish press primarily has reported on government policy *after* decisions are made. However, in neither country the press coverage appears to be followed by policy changes.

The third article, “Do Asylum Policies Respond to Public Opinion?”, builds on government responsiveness theory, which suggests citizen preferences may impact on government policies not only through elections, but also in-between elections as governments pay attention to public opinion. The article looks into the relationship between public preferences on refugee immigration and legislative and regulative

changes to asylum policy. Time series data on refugee immigration attitudes from Denmark, Norway and Sweden are analysed, and the ordered logistic regression results shows that restrictive public opinion significantly increases probability for asylum restrictions. Other determinants previously found to influence asylum policy, such as government colour and radical right party support, are controlled.

List of thesis articles

- Gudbrandsen, F. (2010): "Partisan Influence on Immigration. The case of Norway", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 33(3), 248-270.
- Gudbrandsen, F(2011): "Er pressen en politisk aktør i familieinnvandringspolitikken?", *Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift* 4/2011, 379-383
- Gudbrandsen, F (2012): «Do Asylum Policies Respond to Public Preferences?» Forthcoming in "The Discourses and Politics of Migration in Europe", eds. Korkut, Umut; Bucken-Knapp, Gregg, McGarry, Aidan, Hinnfors, Jonas, and Drake, Helen. New York: Palgrave/NYU Studies in Europe in Transition. Prospective date: 2013

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1. Introduction

What are the factors that determine immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia? This is the overarching question of this thesis, which consists of three articles. The articles span the time period of 1985 to 2010, and examine both asylum and family immigration. The main question is addressed by studying both immigration flow data as well as policy changes. The level of analysis, methodological approaches, and theoretical framework varies, as does the emphasis on the different explanations. All three articles seek to explain immigration. Two of the articles analyse legislative changes (policy output), and the other article looks at the number of accepted immigrants (policy outcome).

There are numerous lenses through which to examine immigration and immigration policy, and this thesis highlights three of them: parties and governments, media attention, and public opinion. By looking deeper into these specific perspectives, the thesis contributes to filling gaps in the immigration literature. What unites the three articles is their ambition to explain immigration to Scandinavia, and they do so by applying different theoretical approaches. Whereas the analyses suggest that both the party composition of governments and public opinion on immigration are relevant for asylum immigration, press coverage is not found to be important for the development of family immigration policy. The findings suggest that there is some degree of national democratic control of immigration in the Scandinavian countries. In contrast to the literature which emphasizes international co-operation on immigration, this thesis primarily studies national politics and policies. Without underestimating the substantial international co-operation on immigration, a central finding of this thesis is that the national political system is a central factor in immigration. Immigration flows vary depending on which parties are in power, and the policies that are decided correspond to the preferences of their electorates.

The thesis is predominantly quantitatively oriented, and a mix of statistical techniques is applied: panel regression analysis, multinomial logistic regression, and ordered logistic regression. Additionally, all three studies contain qualitative elements, most notably analysing party manifestoes and newspaper articles. The study titles are: “The Partisan Influence on Immigration – the Case of Norway”, “Is the Press a Political Actor in Family Immigration Policy?”, and “Do Asylum Policies Respond to Public Preferences?”.

The three Scandinavian countries are covered by the thesis: Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. These small neighbouring countries share many characteristics, such as the multiparty democratic system with proportional representation elections. The histories of these countries are intertwined, and linguistically they are very similar. Migration between the Scandinavian countries is extensive and has a long history. When nation states began to regulate immigration after World War II, agreements between the Nordic countries ensured that migration between these countries could continue uninterrupted. That being said, it is perhaps the immigration issue – more than any other political issue – which reveals that Denmark, Norway, and Sweden are three distinct nations. In that sense, this thesis can therefore be considered a ‘most similar systems study’. Despite all their similarities, their differences surrounding the issue of immigration are striking. Sweden has had distinctively more liberal entrance policies than Denmark on both family and asylum related immigration, and Norway falls in between the two.

1.1 Three types of immigration

The three major types of immigration to Western Europe are labour immigration, family immigration, and asylum related immigration. This thesis covers the two latter types. Family and asylum related immigration have been the main types of

immigration to Scandinavia in the period under study¹. In particular, considering that family immigration has been the largest group of immigrants to Scandinavia the lack of scholarly attention to explaining family immigration policy is striking².

Family and asylum related immigration is commonly called the second and third wave of immigration to Western Europe (see Messina 2007, 33-46). Family immigration can be divided into two main types: family reunification and family establishment. Family reunification is when immigrants reunite with members of their family from their country of origin. This group of migrants is also commonly referred to as “secondary migration”, as they follow after labour migrants and asylum seekers have been granted residence permits. Those immigrating through family reunification are primarily spouses and minor children of the primary migrant. The second type of family immigration takes place when a resident in a country marries a foreign national, and the process of immigration enables the establishment of a new family. Occasionally children of the foreign national also immigrate, but it is almost exclusively spouses who immigrate.

The other type of immigration studied in this thesis is asylum related immigration. The term “asylum related” is chosen because it is broader than related terms, such as “refugees”. Asylum related immigration encompasses those granted political asylum after the Refugee Convention, but also those granted residence permits after an asylum application despite not being recognized as refugees after the Refugee Convention. A large proportion of asylum applications are granted on other protection grounds,³ and some are granted for health reasons, because of strong ties to receiving state and other

¹ Labour immigration is on the increase in all three countries and receives increasing attention by scholars. For an in-depth study of the determinants of labour immigration policy, see Boräng (2012).

² See, however, Eggebø (2012) for an extensive study of marriage immigration regulations in Norway.

³ The distribution of the different types of residence statuses vary both between the Scandinavian countries and over time as policies have changed.

humanitarian reasons. As also discussed in “Do Asylum Policies Respond”, the criteria for granting a residence permit after an asylum application vary between the Scandinavian countries. The term ‘asylum related immigration’ also includes UNHCR refugees. For a thorough discussion of “the refugee” and other related concepts, please see Haddad (2008).

1.2 Immigration to Scandinavia

Post WWII immigration to Sweden differs from that to Norway and Denmark in that it began earlier, and that it has been larger. Whereas immigration to Denmark and Norway⁴ in the decades after the WWII was negligible, labour immigrants were actively recruited to Sweden. The immigrants primarily came from the Nordic countries, Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary and Italy (Nilsson, 2004). Partly because of the head start of Sweden, the sizes of the immigrant populations differ today. The Danish population with an immigrant background – those who immigrated and the children of two foreign born parents – made up around 560.000 in 2011 (Danmarks Statistik, 2011). In Norway, the figure is about 600.000 (Statistics Norway, 2012). By contrast, Sweden had a foreign-born population of around 500.000 already in 1970 (Nilsson, 2004), and today immigrants and their descendants make up 1.750.000 people (Statistics Sweden, 2012). Even bearing in mind that the Swedish total population is about twice the size of Denmark and Norway, this is a noticeable difference. However, the immigration ratio is no longer higher in Sweden. In 2010, 98 801 persons immigrated to Sweden, 59.019 to Denmark and in Norway 50.251⁵. Although the countries have in common that labour immigration has increased in recent years, the composition of the immigrant flows do differ. For instance, asylum

⁴ See Brochmann and Tjeldstadli (2008, 188-200) for an account of post WW2 labour immigration to Norway.

⁵ These figures may not be entirely comparable, due to different reporting. This goes in particular for immigrants from the EU.

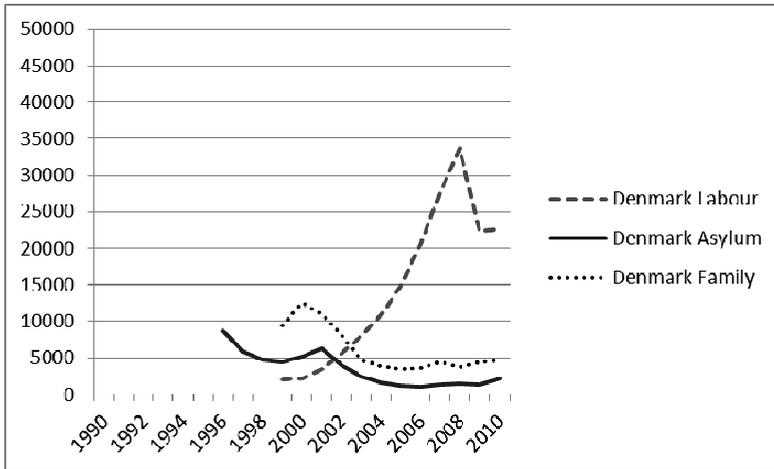
related immigration makes up a much larger share of the total number of annual immigrants Sweden than in Denmark and Norway⁶.

There are some clear similarities in the immigration trends to the three countries. First, Non-western immigration has increased relative to western immigration (Danmarks Statistik 2011, Statistics Sweden 2004). The number of countries of origin has increased, and immigrants now arrive from most countries of the world every single year. Second, although Sweden had a much more active labour recruitment policy than the two other, all three countries predominantly experienced labour immigration until the 1970s. As labour immigration was first increasingly regulated and eventually strongly restricted, immigration permits were granted primarily on family or asylum related grounds.

Figures 1 to 3 show immigration by country and type of immigration to Scandinavia from 1990/1996 to 2010. Residence permits on family and asylum related grounds were the most common in all three countries. After the 2004 and 2007 enlargements of the EU, however, labour immigration has exceeded the family and asylum related immigration in Denmark and Norway.

⁶ There are variations in statistical reporting on labour immigration, which means data should be compared with caution.

Figure 1. Immigration to Denmark 1996-2010.



Note: Data not available for the period before 1996 not available.

Figure 2. Immigration to Sweden 1990-2010.

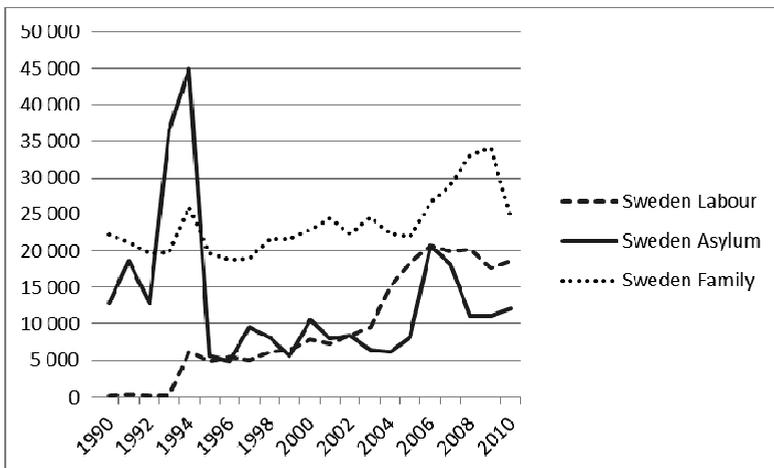
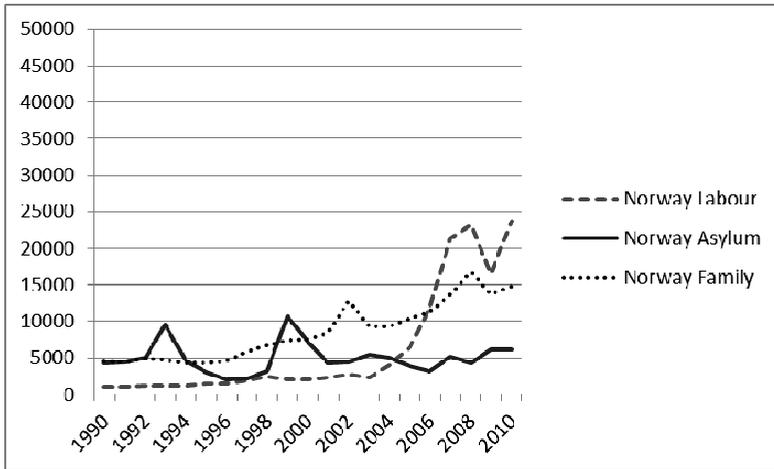


Figure 3. Immigration to Norway 1990-2010.



Although Scandinavian immigration history is intriguing, this thesis does not give a comprehensive historical account of the development of immigration and immigration policy in the three countries.⁷ Still, the three articles do provide insights into policy developments. The study of the potential impact of the press on policy changes, “Is the Press a Political Actor” includes a mapping of all major policy changes relevant to family immigration (see appendix of article). To investigate the relationship between public opinion and immigration policy changes in “Do Asylum Policies Respond”, asylum policy changes in all three countries were also mapped (see appendix of article).

1.3 The policy process

The three articles in the thesis emphasize different parts of the policy process. A model of the democratic policy process is presented in Figure 4. The model includes the central elements in the three articles, and the arrows indicate the possible causal

⁷ Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008) and Tjelmeland (2003) are excellent works on the Norwegian history of immigration.

links that are explored in the thesis⁸. Linking it to the concepts *politics*, *polity* and *policy* (see for instance Pennings, Keman, & Kleinnijenhuis, 2006), the figure shows how politics (the political process) may produce policy (output and outcomes).

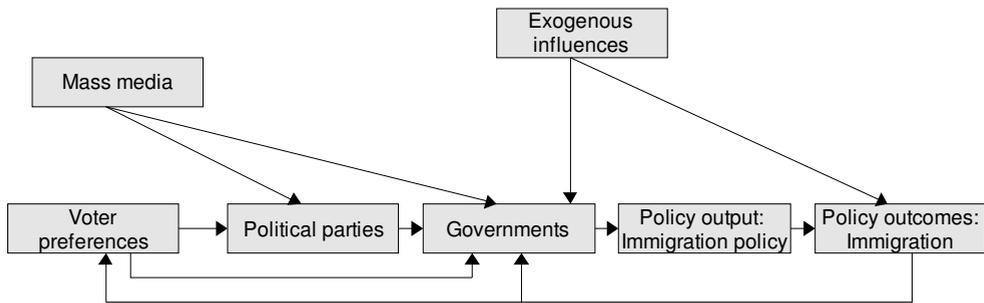
The figure is compatible with ‘parties-do-matter’-hypothesis, which is applied to immigration policy in “the Partisan Influence”. As stated in Schmidt (1996), “(a)ccording to this view, the major determinants of policy making are to be found in preferences, votes, office-seeking and policy pursuit.” Among the main criticism against this view is that it ignores exogenous influences: governments have a much more limited scope of action than suggested by the theory. In particular, increasing globalization has supposedly limited national leverage. Figure 4 also relates to Powell’s “democratic chain of responsiveness” (2004), which describes how the preferences of citizens may be reflected in political outcomes. His model shows how voters’ preferences, voting behaviour, election outcomes and policy outcomes are linked in chain. If parties present alternatives which are related to the citizens’ preferences, the institutional arrangements ensure that the choices made by citizens in elections are aggregated, and those elected are both able and willing to implement the policies citizens want, the democratic process may be responsive. Powell (2004, 100) mentions “an active and independent mass media” as a facilitating condition for the democratic chain. This theoretical perspective is applied in “Do Asylum Policies Respond.”

The boxes ‘Mass media’, ‘Voter preferences’ and ‘Political parties’ illustrate the explanations of immigration and immigration policy highlighted in the thesis. The boxes ‘Policy output’ and ‘Policy outcomes’ show the dependent variables in the articles. In the model, the government box is placed in the centre. This highlights that voters, parties and mass media primarily impact on policy output and outcomes

⁸ Regarding several of these links, the causal chain does go in both directions. For instance, there is a growing literature on how political parties may lead, rather than always follow, public opinion (see Slothuus 2010).

through the governments⁹. That is, the influence of voters, parties and mass media on immigration and immigration policy is first and foremost indirect. Exogenous influences on immigration policy are, amongst other, international organizations and the situation in the immigrants' country of origin. These may have a substantial impact on national immigration and immigration policy, and some of these are discussed at length in the synopsis chapter.

Figure 4. A model of the democratic process of immigration policy-making: Relationships and directions studied in the three thesis articles.



Together, the three articles encompass the whole model. “The Partisan Influence” covers political parties, governments, exogenous influences and policy outcomes. “Is the Press a Political Actor” looks into the linkage between mass media and policy outcomes. “Do Asylum Policies Respond” covers voter preferences, governments, exogenous influences and policy output. Thus, the model visualises how the three articles make up an entity.

⁹ In cases of minority governments, which has been common in Scandinavia, legislatures may, however, change policies without going through the government.

The model in Figure 4 is, of course, not a complete model of the entire policy making process, but includes the central steps in the democratic, political process of producing political output and outcomes. Certain aspects that are central in the public policy literature are outside the scope of this thesis, primarily those related to the role of the bureaucracy and public administration. For instance, the thesis does not look into the implementation of immigration policy¹⁰. This does not, of course, mean that they are not relevant for explaining immigration policy. See for instance, Christensen et al. (2006) for a study of public administration of Norwegian immigration, from an organisation theory perspective. The role of legislatures is not specified in the model. In cases of minority governments, which have been common in Scandinavia, legislatures may, however, change policies without going through the government. In practice, however, this is not a common feature of immigration policy making. Additionally, the Norwegian Law of Foreigners grants governments authority to adjust regulations without conferring the legislature. This adds to the central role of governments, as opposed to legislatures, in the policy-making process.

In the next section of this synopsis chapter follows article summaries. The following section will give an overview of the immigration literature. The articles cut into different parts of this literature. The literature overview is separated into a section covering the state-centred perspective on immigration and immigration policy, and a second section highlighting international interdependence with regard to immigration. Lastly, in the methodological section, the various approaches applied and methodological issues relevant for each are discussed.

¹⁰ Howlett et al.(2009, 12-13), sees the public policy cycle as consisting of five stages: agenda setting, policy formulation, decision making, policy implementation and policy evaluation. Whereas the three former are to a large extent covered in the thesis, implementation and evaluation is outside its scope.

1.4 Article summaries

“The Partisan Influence on Immigration – the Case of Norway”¹¹

The first article focuses on the impact of government changes on actual immigration to Norway. The article builds on the partisan theory, which suggests that the party composition of government influences outcomes (see Hibbs, 1992). Because it is a precondition for partisan influence that stances on immigration actually differ between governments, the first part of the article establishes the party positions on asylum by studying party manifestoes and newspaper articles. Norwegian parties do have diverging policy preferences on asylum related immigration, suggesting that government changes could potentially cause immigration policy shifts. The relationship between parties in government and residence permits granted after asylum applications is tested empirically through a panel regression analysis covering the period of 1985 to 2005 and 143 countries of origin. The panel design allows for taking into account the situation both in the countries that send immigrants and the countries that receive immigrants. Level of repression, regime type, whether there is a war or not, and economic development in countries of origin are among the variables examined. In addition, the statistical model controls for previous immigration to Norway from each country of origin and unemployment in Norway. The regression analysis finds support for the partisan theory, as it shows that the number of accepted refugees has been lower when parties with more restrictive asylum immigration preferences have been in government.

¹¹ Published in *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 33(3), September 2010.

“Is the Press a Political Actor in Family Immigration Policy?”,¹²

As suggested by its title, the second article investigates whether press coverage has made an impact on the formulation of family immigration policies in Sweden and Norway. The article first looks into the extent to which the press has taken the initiative of putting family immigration on the agenda, and finds that the Swedish and Norwegian press vary substantially on this point. Whereas the Swedish press primarily reports on government decisions, the Norwegian press to a much larger extent covers family immigration policy independently of the political agenda. In other words, the Norwegian press can be described as actively engaging in the political debate, while the Swedish press to a larger extent passively reports on the government's decisions. Second, the article looks into whether the press coverage has predominantly presented a restrictive view on family immigration, as previous studies of immigration and the press would suggest. The analysis finds, on the contrary, that the press has more often given copy space to criticism from a liberal perspective. This phenomenon occurs in both countries. However, there has been a trend that the press increasingly presents restrictive perspectives on family immigration policy. If the press was a political actor in family immigration policymaking, they would therefore have a liberalizing, not restricting influence on policy. The third part of the article compares press coverage with policy changes. Whereas press coverage has predominantly enhanced policy liberalization, most policy changes in the field of family immigration have been restrictive. Although minor policy changes have been made following substantial media attention on specific weaknesses of existing policy, the press is not found to have had a significant influence on family immigration policy.

¹² Published in “Nytt Norsk Tidsskrift” 3/2011, September 2011. English translation available on demand.

“Do Asylum Policies Respond to Public Preferences?”¹³

The third article looks into whether there has been correspondence between changing public attitudes to refugee immigration and asylum policy changes in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. The article builds on theories of responsive government, which says that governments do not only respond to public preferences through elections; they also adjust their stances in between elections as public opinion changes. Although it has been argued that immigration policymaking is detached from public opinion, few have examined this relationship over time. Whereas in “The Partisan Influence” I study the number of admitted refugees, I here look at asylum policy changes: amendments to laws and regulations that control access to the country and criteria for residence permits for asylum seekers. Most studies of government responsiveness focus on the link between the median voter opinion and government actions. This article also addresses whether governments could be more responsive to their own voters than the median voter. Through ordered logistic regression, I test whether restrictive asylum policy changes are more likely to occur when public opinion is more restrictive. The results indicate that asylum policies do vary with public opinion, and that policy shifts are somewhat more closely related to public opinion of the governments’ voters than the median voter. A number of potential alternative determinants of asylum policy changes are controlled for, such as the number of asylum seekers, the level of unemployment, and the vote shares of radical right wing parties, but there are few statistically significant coefficients.

¹³ Forthcoming in “The Discourses and Politics of Migration in Europe”, eds. Korkut, Umut; Bucken-Knapp, Gregg, McGarry, Aidan, Hinnfors, Jonas, and Drake, Helen. New York: Palgrave/NYU Studies in Europe in Transition . Prospective date: 2013.

2. Immigration policy research

This thesis falls within the field of migration research, which is concerned with immigration flows, in contrast to studies of immigrant populations. Using Hammar's (1985) concepts the thesis follows in the path of studies of immigration regulation policy, as opposed to immigrant policy.¹⁴ Immigration regulation policy studies are concerned with the admission and residence status granted to foreigners, whereas immigrant policy studies typically focus on the inclusion of immigrants in various parts of society. This thesis also differs from literature explaining citizenship regulations (such as Howard, 2009; Koopmans, Michalowski, & Waibel, 2012; Midtbøen, 2009; Sicakkan, 2006). Although citizenship regulations may certainly influence the attractiveness of a destination country, they differ from immigration regulation policy, which are regulations that apply *until* the naturalization takes place. Immigration regulation policy generally precedes immigrant regulation policy and citizenship policy, as the former is about access and permission to reside in the territory, in contrast to the latter two which are relevant after the immigration has taken place¹⁵.

In the pages that follow, I will first relate the thesis to two central debates in the immigration policy literature. Second, I will discuss different perspectives on immigration policymaking at the national political level. Throughout these sections, I will give an account of how immigration policy has been explained in previous research, and relate the explanations to the three Scandinavian cases as well as to the three thesis articles. Third, I will discuss external determinants of national immigration policy, such as the EU, international conventions, and events in other countries. Immigration is by definition an international phenomenon, and indisputably, co-

¹⁴ See Givens (2007) for a review of immigrant integration research. See also Dahlström (2004a, 2004b, 2007), who has extensively researched immigrant policy in Scandinavia.

¹⁵ This description does not necessarily fit within irregular migration. Also, certain immigrant policies also apply to those waiting for a decision or an appeal of their immigration application.

operation on regulation and control has become increasingly tighter. Although this thesis argues that national politics is crucial for understanding immigration, immigration does happen in a highly internationalized context. The research field can be described as fragmented and diverse, and the following review is by all means not complete. It is rather an outline of the immigration research which is most closely related with this thesis.

2.1 Two central immigration research questions

Research on immigration policy has, as pointed out by Boswell (2007), granted substantial attention to explaining two puzzles in particular: First, why immigration policies in Western Europe have failed ('the gap hypothesis'), and why industrial countries have liberal immigration policies despite negative public attitudes towards immigration ('the liberal policy puzzle').¹⁶ Cornelius and Tsuda (2004) highlight the same two questions, but consider them both as part of the gap hypothesis: The policy gap may either be a discrepancy between a political goal and the policy outcome, or a discrepancy between public preferences and policy. Messina (2007) also poses the same questions: Why have immigrant-receiving states in Western Europe permitted high levels of immigration? And to what extent can these states efficiently regulate immigration flows? This thesis relates to both questions, and the subsequent sections will clarify how.

'The gap hypothesis'

The continued and even increasing immigration despite the implementation of an "immigration stop" in the 1970s, and later the soaring numbers of asylum applications, have led researchers to investigate what appeared to be failed policies and lost national sovereignty (Cornelius, Tsuda, Martin, & Hollifield, 2004; Guiraudon & Lahav, 2000; Joppke, 1998; Sassen, 1996). Titles such as Saskia Sassen's "Losing Control?" (1996) and Weiner's "The Global Migration Crisis: Challenge to States and Human Rights"

¹⁶ As she also points out, the two questions are intertwined in the literature.

(1995) spurred a debate about whether states had lost sovereignty over their borders.¹⁷ It was argued that economic interdependence between states in a globalized economy made it difficult, if not impossible, for nation states to restrict immigration. Moving from a past debate about whether states had any impact on immigration at all, recent literature is more concerned with the relative importance of national, international and different institutional levels. Among those who reject the idea that immigration was ever out of control is Messina (2007, 137), arguing in line with Freeman (1995) that the loss of sovereignty has never been documented. This debate is relevant to this thesis in several ways. First, the literature on the immigration policy gap looks into the determinants of immigration policy, which all three articles build on. Many of the explanations of why immigration continued despite political efforts to reduce it help to determine how immigration policy is developed (see “Is the Press a Political Actor” and “Do Asylum Policies Respond”) and the determinants of immigration flows (see “The Partisan Influence”). Second, this thesis utilizes a state-centred perspective (see for instance Favell, 2006) and thereby implicitly accepts the arguments of those who see the national level as decisive for immigration policy and policy outcomes (such as Favell, 2006; Perlmutter, 1996). Third, “The Partisan Influence” engages in the debate by testing the effect of national governments’ immigration flows, as relative to the effect of external determinants. As it concludes that Norwegian governments have had an impact on residence permits, it implicitly argues that the sovereignty of nation states is not fading.

The immigration trends in the Scandinavian countries cast doubt on the claim that immigration policies have largely failed. While immigration figures at certain points in time appeared to be continually increasing, a more accurate description now would be that the figures fluctuate. When separating the inflows into types of immigration, it also becomes clear that the number of residence permits granted in these countries is to a large extent in accordance with political goals. This is most apparent in Denmark,

¹⁷ Sassen (2006,59,63) claims that she has been misinterpreted and that she does consider nation states as the main actors in immigration.

where the number of asylum and family immigration applications (and grants) have dropped, while labour immigration has increased substantially, following government initiatives precisely to minimize asylum immigration but enhance qualified labour immigration (see Figure 1, page 16). The same trend, although less distinct, can be seen in Norway and Sweden. Compared to the 1980s, the states have a much better equipped toolbox for dealing with peaks in immigration.¹⁸ When policies appear to be increasingly in accordance with stated political goals the ‘gap hypothesis’ is less relevant. “The Partisan Influence” concludes that Centre-Right governments in Norway, for example, admitted fewer refugees than other governments, which is in accordance with their stated policy preferences. This, of course, does not mean that all policies are successful, and there is a separate field of research looking at the efficiency of specific measures (see for instance Bratsberg & Raaum, 2010).¹⁹ Neither does it mean that there is political agreement on immigration.

‘The liberal policy puzzle’

Why are immigration policies liberal, despite a restrictive electorate? This is, according to Boswell (2007), the other key puzzle in the immigration policy literature. Research on this question originates in the political economy tradition, primarily driven by Gary Freeman (1995; see also G. Freeman & Hill, 2006). But are policies really liberal? The answer to this question depends on which type of immigration, countries, and time period we discuss. Then again, much of the literature addressing this question is primarily concerned with labour immigration to the traditional immigrant-receiving countries, such as the US, Canada, and Australia. In Scandinavia, labour immigration was welcomed until the early 1970s, and has until recently been limited. Since the turn of the millennium, however, there has been liberalization of labour immigration policies in all three countries. The EU enlargement in particular

¹⁸ See for instance Lahav (2000) on the complexities of implementing immigration policy.

¹⁹ “The Partisan Influence” is related to this field of research by sharing the same dependent variable, namely, actual immigration rate. However, this article is more closely related to the string of research looking at the determinants of flows and immigration.

has contributed to labour immigration becoming the most common type of immigration to two of the three Scandinavian countries. Several scholars have argued against the relevance of the whole question regarding family and asylum related immigration. Statham and Geddes (2006), for instance, argue against Freeman because they consider UK immigration policies restrictionist. Likewise, Triadafilopoulos and Zaslove (2006) criticize ‘the liberal states’ perspective for presenting a picture that diverges sharply from actual policymaking, in particular regarding the sharpening of asylum and refugee policy. In this thesis, “Is the Press a Political Actor” and “Do Asylum Policies Respond” show that the liberalness of policy varies both between countries as well as over time. Denmark has almost exclusively restricted policy relevant for family and asylum related immigration since the 1980s. Sweden and Norway have experienced both liberal and restrictive policy shifts in the period covered by the thesis.

Irrespective of whether policy is liberal or not, the central issue in the question raised by Freeman (1995) concerned the large discrepancy between policy and public opinion. “Do Asylum Policies Respond” directly addresses the question of whether immigration policies are in accordance with public opinion. With its quantitative methodological approach, the question is addressed from a different angle than most of the immigration literature on the discrepancy between policy and public opinion. The article suggests that governments do act in accordance with public opinion. Governments tend to change asylum policies in the direction preferred by the public. Consequently, asylum policy in Scandinavia is not detached from mass public opinion. Theoretically, “Do Asylum Policies Respond” is based on the political science literature focused on explaining government behaviour. This is in contrast to, for instance, Freeman (1995), who comes from a political economy tradition and focuses on the role of business interest in policy formation.

Both immigration research debates presented in this section relate to the relative impact on the national as opposed to international determinants of immigration and immigration policy. In the next section, different perspectives on immigration policy-making on the national level will be presented.

3. National politics

All three articles of this thesis are concerned with national immigration politics and policy: “The Partisan Influence” looks at the importance of the composition of Norwegian governments. “Is the Press a Political Actor” focuses on the potential impact of the press on the national democratic system. “Do Asylum Policies Respond” also investigates the relationship between public opinion and government policy. This section looks into different views and perspectives on internal determinants of immigration and immigration policy. Compared to the two other explanations highlighted in the thesis – political parties and the press - public opinion is granted less space in this section. This reflects the lack of attention it is granted in the immigration literature. Other issues covered here, such as NGOS/ interest groups, and historical legacies are extensively covered in the immigration literature, but are not the main concern of this thesis.

3.1 Political parties

“The Partisan Influence” explores the impact that changes in government have on immigration policy in Norway. It is not, however, the first study to argue that political parties influence immigration policy. Several recent studies have acknowledged the role that parties play in the development of immigration policy. Still, Triadafilopoulos and Zaslove (2006) argue that not enough attention has been paid to political parties in the immigration policy literature and that the role of parties in the policymaking process has been overlooked (2006, 172). They examine the development of immigration policy in Austria, Italy, and Germany, and argue that party politics “has an important role in determining the course of policy-making” (2006, 189). Statham and Geddes find evidence for political party cleavages, and consider that the government’s party affiliation is “important in shaping what restrictionism is likely to mean substantively for policies (2006, 254). Martin Schain is among those who has most extensively studied the issue of immigration policy and political parties.²⁰ He

²⁰ See, for instance, Schain (2008).

sees political parties as “a driving force in the development of immigration policy in Europe” (2008). However, the relevance of political parties has clearly not been constant across time. The increased scholarly attention may be partly due to the increased importance of parties. Immigration policy in Scandinavia has changed from being a type of foreign policy issue, where public debate is sometimes more constrained, to a domestic policy issue that is subjected to more open political contestation (Hammar, 1985) . In his 1985 study, Hammar considered the role of political parties generally to be of minor importance.²¹ Today, this would not be a fitting description even in Sweden, and he later argues that the politics of immigration in Sweden began moving away from the apolitical tradition in the late 1980s (Hammar & Brochmann, 1999)²².

Some have focused specifically on how the emergence and electoral success of radical right wing parties has influenced immigration policy. In all three Scandinavian countries, such parties have gained parliamentary representation. In Norway, the Progress Party (Fremskrittspartiet) has been represented at the national level since 1973 and gained 22.9% of the vote share in the 2009 election. The Danish People’s Party (Dansk Folkeparti), the successor of Denmark’s the Progress Party (Fremskridtspartiet),²³ has received around 12% of the vote share since the 1998 election. With their 5.7% of the votes in the 2010 national election in Sweden, the Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) is also represented at the national level. None of the three parties have been in government, although the Danish governments from 2001 to 2011 were dependent on the support of Dansk People’s Party. Some have argued that the sheer presence of radical right wing parties has an impact on immigration policy, because mainstream parties change their stances to stem vote

²¹ He did, however, show that the central actors in immigration policymaking varied between countries, as demonstrated by the example of the immigration stoppage in the 1970s. While individual ministers were decisive in some countries, the bureaucracy, pressure groups, and parliament were more important in other places (1985, 284-286).

²² He mentions the 1987 municipal referendum in Sjöbo on resettlement of refugees as one of the first manifestations of this change.

²³ First represented in the parliament in 1973.

leakages.²⁴ Downs (2002) argues that mainstream parties in Denmark reacted to the strengthening of Danish People's Party by adopting increasingly restrictive stances on immigration, while in Norway the mainstream parties have reacted by keeping their distance from the Progress Party. Likewise, studying French parties, Schain (1988) finds that the mainstream parties adopted Front National immigration policies. In his 11-nation study van Spanje (2010) also finds that anti-immigration parties have a contagion effect on the entire party system, although it is the opposition parties which tend to adjust their stances – not government parties.²⁵ However, Bale et al. (2010) show that there is substantial variation to how social democratic parties react to the growth of radical right wing parties, and therefore the effect they have on immigration policy also varies. The contagion effect is not identical across countries.

While the above mentioned studies primarily have focused on parties' stances on immigration, few have looked at *substantial* policy effects of radical right wing parties. Boréus (2010) points to the strategically important position of the Danish People's Party as a support party for the government and concludes that "it can hardly be doubted that the Danish People's Party's position as support party for the right-wing governments is an important part of the explanation for political change". Minkenberg (2001), on the other hand, finds that parliamentary representation is *not* sufficient for policy influence. The article "Do Asylum Policies Respond" in this thesis also tests the effect of radical right wing electoral success, but finds no support for a substantial effect on asylum policy changes (see article, p 14). However, as the overview of asylum policy changes shows (see article appendix), the tightening of asylum policy in Denmark does not follow the electoral success of radical right wing parties. The Danish Aliens Act has repeatedly been altered in a restrictive direction. Although there undoubtedly was a marked policy shift following the 2001 election,

²⁴ Dahlström and Sundell (2012) argue in the opposite direction, that when mainstream parties adjust their policies in a restrictive direction, this legitimizes the radical right wing parties and increases their electoral support.

²⁵ He thus argues against Pippa Norris's (2005) hypothesis that it is primarily the mainstream right that is subject to the "contagion from the right".

there were numerous restrictions *before* the Danish People's Party gained this strategic position. This suggests that the more restrictive policy path taken in Denmark cannot only be explained by the presence of radical right wing parties.

Although the focus on radical right wing parties and immigration policy is only to be expected considering how important immigration is for these parties, scholars have increasingly concentrated on the mainstream parties. As Bale (2008) argues, “[t]he logical corollary of acknowledging the potential influence of parties on public policy in this and other areas is to look first at those parties which have spent most time in government, either singly or in coalition”. The perspectives on parties and immigration politics differ. Boswell (2007, 89) sees immigration policy in light of four conditions of legitimacy for the state: providing security for its citizens, accommodating the accumulation of wealth, redistribution, and ensuring the rule of law. These are conflicting obligations, and parties and governments play a role in resolving conflicts between these four, as well as mobilizing support for one requirement over the others (2007, 94). Schain (2008) argues that there are two ways in which political parties can project the issue of immigration: “as a challenge to identity for voters they anticipate to be anti-immigrant, or as a means of mobilizing a potential immigrant electorate” (2008). The parties’ choice of projection has an impact on the direction in which policy develops. He argues further that immigration has the potential of splitting both the left and the centre-right side of the political spectrum, as their stances may depend on whether it is the labour market or national identity issues that are in focus. Hinnfors et al. (2011) argue that the social democratic ideology – both potentially and in practice – leads to restrictive immigration policies precisely because of labour market concerns. Although all three Scandinavian social democratic parties have proven their willingness to restrict immigration, there also have been at different points in time signs of the split that Schain (2008) refers to. As mentioned in “The Partisan Influence” (page 256), there was substantial internal disagreement on asylum policy in the Norwegian social democratic party during the mid-1990s. Recently, a debate on whether a long residence time in Norway should qualify children of asylum seekers for

a residence permit has split the party.²⁶ In the mid-1990s, the liberal fringe had the upper hand, resulting in the replacement of the immigration minister Grete Faremo by two successive ministers from the liberal fringe. In 2011, Faremo once again became the minister responsible for immigration, and this time the restrictive fringe appears to be dominant. In Denmark, as described in Bale et al. (2010, 414-15), the social democrats did move from a more liberal position to a more restrictive one during the 1990s. The replacement of ministers in Denmark is parallel to what happened in Norway, although in the opposite direction. In the Danish ‘mayors’ revolt’, social democratic mayors demanded tightening of immigration policy. The more immigration friendly minister Birte Weiss was replaced by the Århus mayor Thorkild Simonsen in 1997, who was among the most outspoken proponents for a tougher immigration regime.

Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup (2008) argue that party competition is an important explanation for the level of politicization of immigration in Denmark and Sweden. In turn, the different levels of politicization influence the direction and frequency of policy changes. Swedish political parties have only occasionally granted immigration attention in political documents (Dahlström & Esaiasson, 2009), and they have only to a limited extent used the immigration issue to compete for votes. In Denmark, immigration has been a major issue in several electoral campaigns. Boréus (2010) finds distinct differences in the election discourse in Denmark and Sweden. Although immigration today receives more attention by political parties than in the 1980s, Dahlström and Esaiasson (2009)²⁷ point out that there is disagreement on how salient the question of immigration is in Sweden. They argue that the established political parties “have deliberately chosen not to articulate the immigration issue in their vote-seeking activities”, despite the fact that in surveys, the electorate has ranked it as one of the three most important issue since 1987 (2009, 24). The comparison between the

²⁶ NTBtekst 15.03.2012 «Asylbarna blir tema på AP-årsmøter».

²⁷ In an earlier study, Dahlström (2004) looks into immigrant policy (not immigration policy), and he argues that political parties have not had different positions on this issue.

Swedish and Norwegian press in “Is the Press a Political Actor” supports this perception of the Swedish immigration discourse. The press coverage of family immigration policy is much more extensive in Norway than in Sweden. Still, parties may have played a decisive role in immigration policymaking in Sweden. Abiri (2000) argues that the co-operation between the Swedish Moderate Party and the social democrats has been a driver of policy change in Sweden. However, when in government, the Moderate Party has rather co-operated with its coalition partners. In 2010, they also made an agreement with the Green Party to strip the Sweden Democrats of any bargaining power in immigration issues. As pointed out by Spehar et al. (2011), this is exactly what is striking with the Swedish case: On several occasions, the mainstream right has been willing to implement liberal asylum related and family immigration policies.

“The Partisan Influence” investigates the importance of parties for *inflows*. A couple of other studies include party variables in their statistical analyses of flows. Neumayer (2004), for instance, finds that a higher vote share for right wing populists is associated with a lower share of asylum seekers. Holzer et al. (2000) also argue that political factors do influence asylum flows. While the literature described above primarily aims at explaining how and why immigration policies differ *between countries*, few studies explicitly seek to explain *the timing* of policy changes. The study by Medina (2010) stands out in this respect. She rightly argues that most studies of policy are static – they elaborate on differences but not changes. Her study asks whether liberal welfare states with left-of-centre governments that face fiscal crises are more likely to implement a points system. She finds that the combination of these factors does predict such a policy change.

3.2 The mass media

The role of the mass media is certainly not first and foremost to influence public policy. As argued by Callaghan and Schnell (2001), the mass media may have

multiple functions in the political debate: “By selectively choosing to cover one side or both sides of an issue, putting forth their own interpretation, simplifying events or stories, or by simply allocating greater coverage to one issue over another, the media act as gatekeepers, advocates, and interpreters of political themes and information,” (2001, 187). Surveys of MPs and journalists show that both politicians themselves and journalists consider the influence of the mass media on political processes to be large (Strömbäck, 2010; Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2011). Although the study of mass media coverage of immigration is far from new, the potential impact of the mass media specifically on immigration policy has not been granted much scholarly attention. Research on immigration and the media has to a larger extent been concerned with the impact of media coverage on public opinion than on policy. In the Scandinavian context, such a study by Lise Togeby (2004) can be highlighted. Amongst other, she looks into how changes in attitudes towards refugee immigration coincided in time with media coverage: “If the stories take a positive angle, the attitudes also become more positive, and if the stories take a negative angle, the attitudes also become more negative (Togeby, 2004). Others have studied the media discourse on immigration policies, such as Bauder’s (2007) study of the German immigration law. He gives an outline of arguments and dynamics in the debate in German newspapers, without granting attention to whether the media debate impacted on the political outcome.

However, there is a substantial body of literature on the role of the media in the policymaking process *in general*. Broadly speaking, the mass media may potentially have an impact on political output by influencing politicians directly, or indirectly by influencing the population. The mass media may impact on which issues citizens and politicians consider important - the agenda setting effect (see M. E. McCombs, 2004; Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006), and potentially also change their opinion on these issues – the framing effect (see Chong & Druckman, 2007). The article “Is the Press a Political Actor” in this thesis, as is also discussed later in the methodology section, draws on both these theoretical approaches. It looks into both the amount of attention granted family immigration policy, as well as what the newspapers have written about

the issue. The article thereby argues that for the press to influence on immigration policy, necessary conditions are that the issue is granted substantial attention, and that the subsequent policy changes are in line with the press coverage. However, the article does conclude in line with Kingdon (1995): “The media report what is going on in government, by and large, rather than having an independent effect on government agendas.” The Swedish and Norwegian press have played a marginal role in shaping family immigration policies in these countries.

Still, as pointed out by for instance Kepplinger (2007), the relationship between the mass media, the public and politicians is not at all straight forward. He describes it as a reciprocal relationship, where, for instance, the reactions of both the public and policy-makers also impact on the media coverage. Soroka (2002b; see also Walgrave et al., 2008) argues that the importance of the press is not equal across issues. The mass media exerts greater influence on what he describes as ‘sensational issues’, such as environmental and law and order issues, and lesser influence on ‘prominent issues’, such as economic policy, and ‘governmental issues’, such as foreign policy. Immigration as a political issue has changed over time, and is to a lesser degree a ‘governmental issue’ today. I therefore argue that immigration fits best in the category ‘sensational issue’: Immigration has little unobservable impact on the majority of the citizens, as opposed to ‘prominent issues’ such as welfare, which “affect a significant number of people directly,” (Soroka, 2002a). Immigration, like the other issues Soroka describes as sensational, certainly have many effects, but not large, direct effects on a large share of the population. Based on Sorokas arguments, then, the mass media has the potential of influencing where on the political agenda the issue immigration is situated.

The mass media in *sending countries* may have a direct impact on inflows. For instance, there are several examples that sharp increases in immigration applications from certain countries can be traced back to positive news stories about Norway in the

country of origin. The Norwegian Immigration Authorities have on some occasions responded actively to such positive portrayals of life as an immigrant in Norway. For instance, they have financed television documentaries about what life as an asylum seeker in Norway is really like, made by and broadcast on television in Russia, Ukrainian and the Balkans²⁸. Many of the so called unfounded asylum applications originated in these countries.

3.3 NGO's and interest groups

This thesis is not concerned with the role of NGO's and interest groups in immigration policymaking, but a substantial part of the immigration policy literature is. Statham and Geddes (2006) look specifically at the role of the organized public in policymaking in the UK. They respond to Freeman's (2002) claims that governments primarily respond to the organized public by concluding that civil society engagement in immigration issues is weak. Rather than being dominated by strong interest groups, Statham and Geddes (2006) claim that immigration policy is largely determined by political elites. They do, however, support Freeman (2002) in his claim that the pro-migrant lobbies are more visible than the anti-migrant lobbies, but argue strongly against the idea that they are dominant. Somerville and Goodman (2010) look into the role of networks between pressure groups and governments in the development of migration policy in the UK, building on the studies by Freeman (1995) and Statham and Geddes (2006) on interest groups' influence on immigration policy. Despite a large number of organizations working for what they call the "refugee charity sector", they still consider the policy network facing the "overweening power of the Home Office" to be weak primarily because the network lacks a common ideology. In the field of labour migration, on the other hand, Somerville and Goodman observe a significant network, consisting of employer associations, legal associations, major companies, recruitment agencies, think tanks, as well as the government (2010, 960).

²⁸ Aftenposten 28.12.2002.

Unlike the asylum policy network, this network actually exerts influence on UK labour immigration policy. Lastly, in the integration policy field they see a far more diffuse but “larger network spanning local and national government”. The study thereby exposes the complexities of influences in immigration policymaking.

Georg Menz (2009) focuses on the role of non-state actors such as labour organizations and humanitarian NGOs in migration policymaking. Amongst other, he studies the political processes leading up to the Family Reunification Directive and the Asylum Qualification Directive. He sees immigration as a sensitive political issue: “National governments are keen to minimize ‘interference’ by nongovernmental actors, including courts, non-governmental organizations and interest groups, and citizen initiatives”, (2009, 5). Regarding the Family Reunification Directive, he concludes that “[r]esistance from member states has led to a significantly less ambitious and progressive output than the original proposal would have constituted” (2009, 206). He shows how national governments used the EU as an excuse to restrict policy, to escape criticism from NGOs. Regarding the Asylum Directive, Menz argues that German unions and employers lobbied against giving refugees labour market access rights, and the German representatives successfully voiced their opinion on the matter. Thus, he finds that NGOs and interest groups do play a role in immigration policy-making.

Cornelius (2004) is among those who have highlighted the importance of business interest groups for immigration policy. He argues, through the Spanish case, that the close ties between government and business can partly explain the weak implementation of restrictive policies. Certain sectors of the economy, such as agriculture, are dependent on the informal sector (2004, 401). Piguet (2006) finds that economic interests are a driving force behind Swiss immigration policies. He looks at the Swiss case, and sees that governments are torn between economic interests and popular xenophobia. Because of the large coalition governments, there have been no sudden policy changes due to new majorities in the Swiss parliament (2006, 69), and

Piguet concludes that it is the economic situation which has been the most decisive determinant for admission policies. Geddes, on the other hand, claims that the business elite have been of minor importance for European immigration policies. He points out that it is “difficult to identify a pro-immigration business lobby” in Europe, and NGOs that are lobbying for liberal policies are not powerful (Geddes, 2003). Cornelius’s (2004) argument of deliberately poor implementation because of close ties between business elites and politicians has little relevance for the Scandinavian cases. This is not because there are no close ties, but because the employment of irregular migrants is *comparatively* trivial in these small, transparent, and highly regulated societies²⁹.

3.4 Other explanations of immigration policy

In the preceding sections, I described a selection of the central explanations of immigration policy. Public opinion, which is the concern of “Do Asylum Policies Respond”, is *not* one of the central explanations in the literature. Most studies on immigration and attitudes focus on the determinants of immigration attitudes (such as Brader, Valentino, & Suhay, 2008; Citrin, Green, Muste, & Wong, 1997; O'Rourke & Sinnott, 2006), rather than studying whether changes in aggregated attitudes may influence immigration policy. As is mentioned in the article, there are a small number of studies who have touched upon the issue. Facchini and Mayda (2008) look at the link between pro-immigrant attitudes and net migration. They find that “the variation in migration outcomes across countries can be explained by the variation in the opinion of the median voter, and in general, in public opinion across countries,” (Facchini & Mayda, 2008). Jennings (2009) also find that public opinion has influenced asylum outcomes in the UK. The most extensive work on public opinion and immigration policy, is probably Gallya Lahav’s study (2004b) on immigration policy at the EU level. She looks into whether public opinion explains not only the restrictiveness or liberalness of EU policies, but also the degree of integration on the immigration issue. She argues that public opinion has *not* been a decisive factor in the

²⁹ In 2008, Statistics Norway estimated that the number of irregular migrants resident in Norway was between 10.460 and 31.917 (Zhang 2008). In Sweden, estimates suggest somewhere between 30.000 and 50.000 irregular migrants, although this figure may be higher (Econ Pöyry 2009, 93).

development of EU immigration policy. However, she considers European policymakers to be “mindful” of public opinion and that they are well aware of the immigration scepticism among their electorates. Public opinion is therefore part of the explanation for why EU immigration policies regarding immigration into the EU are as restrictive as they are. She considers it unlikely that EU policymakers “will impose unpopular measures if they will not harvest the results,” (Lahav, 2004a). In accordance with these studies, I conclude that there is an association between asylum policy changes and public opinion in the Scandinavian countries. However, the mechanisms of the relationship between public opinion and immigration policy is not fully explored, and needs further scholarly attention.

Other explanations of immigration policy that immigration scholars have granted attention are historical legacies, national judiciaries, size of the welfare state, economy and the role of the bureaucracy in policymaking. These are not the main concern of this thesis, although this does not mean they are not important influences on immigration and immigration policy in Scandinavia.

Thomas Hammar’s (1985) edited volume “European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study” is a classic in the field of immigration policy, and its story ends where this thesis begins. Hammar highlights history, language, degree of homogeneity, and the role of the state as the most important factors influencing immigration (1985, 239-304). For instance, he suggests that a colonial past makes a guest worker programme less likely, because these countries have recruited labour immigrants through permanent immigration from their former colonies (258-259). He also suggests that countries with a guest worker tradition are less favourable to granting family reunification compared to former colonies, which have a longer history of permanent immigration (Hammar 1985, 294).

Joppke emphasizes the influence of the *national judiciary* on immigration policy (1998), although he acknowledges that its importance varies.³⁰ Continued immigration, he argues, can be explained by democratic institutions. States accept immigration, according to Joppke, because it is “inherent in the liberalness of liberal states” (1998, 292). He argues that the problem of “unwanted immigration” – that states accept a higher number of immigrants than what the public ideally would want – is one that only exists in liberal states (1998, 268) : Authoritarian regimes efficiently expel unwanted migrants³¹. National courts safeguard the rights of individual migrants, against the nation states’ interest in controlling immigration. Geddes (2003, 21) supports the claim that the courts have safeguarded the rights of immigrants. However, judicial review of legislation in Scandinavia is very limited (Wind, 2009). Consequently, Scandinavian courts play a very different role in policymaking than, for instance, German courts. Still, as will be discussed in a later section of this synopsis chapter, European judicial review has had some impact on Scandinavian immigration policies.

The type and size of the *welfare state* have also been put forward as possible reasons why some states have more liberal immigration policies than others. Commonly, the comparatively liberal immigration policies of the United States and Canada are linked to their limited welfare services. Zincone (2011) mentions the universalistic welfare regime in Denmark as an explanation for their restrictive policies. However, this does contribute to explaining differences within Scandinavia, because the countries do not differ much in terms of their welfare regimes. The Swedish and Norwegian systems can hardly be described as less universalistic than the Danish. Furthermore, the impact of the *national economies* on immigration and immigration policy is well covered in the labour immigration literature (Borjas, 1999). However, as is argued in “The

³⁰ Whereas Joppke finds that the British courts do not intervene in immigration policy, Statham and Geddes (2006) find that the judiciary “is visible and expansionist within limits, but clearly not to an extent that could potentially curb the strongly prominent and restrictionist government” (2006, 254-255).

³¹ This is not correct, though, as weak authoritarian states do not have the capacity to implement expulsions.

Partisan Influence”, the national economic situation may also be important for asylum related immigration. The same goes for family immigration. The statistical analysis in “The Partisan Influence” therefore controls for the effects of the national economy on asylum related residence permits. The finding that residence permits vary with Norway’s unemployment rate is in line with previous studies, which have found that the economies of immigrant-receiving countries are relevant not only for labour immigration (see “The Partisan Influence,” 259). Zincone (2011) argues that *direct democracy*, most pronounced in Switzerland, prohibits changes to immigration policy. In Scandinavia, there have not been national referendums on immigration policy, although the Swedish municipal referendum in 1988 on settlement of refugees in Sjöbo does support Zincone’s argument that direct democracy is a hindrance against change.

So far, the primary focus of the synopsis chapter has been on national influences on immigration and immigration policy. To get a broader picture of how immigration policy is shaped, international influences must be considered. This will be done in the next section.

4. Limits to national political control

In their report on migration and welfare, a Norwegian government committee stated that:

“the EEA agreement constrains Norwegian immigration policy regarding control of both the number and composition of immigration flows from the EU/EEA. After 1994, the immigration political room to manoeuvre was thereby limited to immigrants from countries outside of the EEA area, who have primarily arrived through the humanitarian gate – to a large extent, but to different degrees, governed by international commitments” (NOU, 2011)³².

The statement clarifies that Scandinavian governments have in practice limited sovereignty in the field of immigration. In particular, labour immigration policies are largely constrained by EU agreements. The 2004 and 2007 EU enlargements have resulted in dramatic changes in immigration flows to Scandinavia, both their composition and size.³³ Immigration from Poland and the Baltic states in particular has increased, and the annual number of labour migrants now outnumbers the family and asylum related migrants in Norway and Denmark. The above statement also suggests that nation states do have some scope for action regarding the types of immigration to which this thesis is concerned – namely family and asylum related migration. However, international conventions constrain government actions. The thesis argues that national politics is a crucial factor in understanding both immigration policy and immigration inflows, but its impact is clearly restricted. Both of the two key puzzles in the immigration literature mentioned in the previous section, ‘the gap hypothesis’ and ‘the liberal policy puzzle’, relate to the question of state sovereignty. The following section will discuss alternative determinants of immigration policy and immigration flows – factors that are *outside* of national politics: international conventions, the EU, and international interdependence.

³² “Brockmann-utvalget.”

³³ Whereas Sweden decided not to have any transitional arrangements for citizens in the new EU member states, Denmark and Norway in 2008 and 2009 removed the temporary restrictions.

4.1 International conventions

The politics of immigration can be seen as a struggle to find the balance between a sense of moral obligation and a need to control the inflows of people. Brochmann and Hammar (1999, 6) highlight the dilemma which governments face when regulating immigration: Policies must correspond to normative obligations, “while at the same time taking care of the ‘interest of the state’”. These normative obligations may be institutionalized in international agreements and national legislation, or they may be informal norms. As Lahav (2000) points out, the debate “on how liberal states are responding to their market and democratic-rights-based tenets, on one hand, and political pressures and needs to limit migration, on the other, is unresolved”. States are balancing between demands to limit immigration while at the same time adhering to the liberal, democratic tradition. Guiraudon and Lahav (2000, 164) emphasize that the impact of international normative constraints should not be overstated. However, as Mole’s (2007) overview shows, there are a number of legal regimes on human rights that are relevant for asylum in Europe: the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, the law of the European Union, the 1984 UN Convention against Torture (UNCAT), and the 1950 Convention for the Protection of Human Rights (ECHR)³⁴. In addition, the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is relevant for the granting of residence permits to children and their parents. Some of these international agreements are also relevant for family immigration, as they state the right to a family life. The distinction between conventions, norms, and moral obligations is blurred. This is exemplified by a European Court ruling which referred to “common heritage of political traditions, ideals, freedom and rule of law” (see Mole 2007, 19), not only to the ECHR.³⁵

³⁴ There is a large body of literature about different aspects of international law related to immigration that does not deal with the importance of international law versus national politics. For instance, the issue of extraterritorial immigration control is getting increasing scholarly attention (see Ryan and Mitsilegas 2010).

³⁵ In the case of *Söring v. the United Kingdom* in 1989, the European Court ruled that Jens Söring should not be extradited to the US, where he faced a murder trial, risking the death penalty and years awaiting execution on death row. He was eventually extradited despite the ruling, but avoided the death penalty.

Guiraudon and Lahav (2000, 168) argue that it is only the international organizations with monitoring and enforcement power that constrain national politics (2000, 168). The European Court of Human Rights is one such organization, and they consider it a “most likely case”. The ECHR is incorporated into national legislation, and states have to follow European Court rulings. Guiraudon and Lahav (2000, 175) studied the incorporation of the ECHR in the Netherlands, France, and Germany, and argue that international norms *can* have an impact on national migration policies. However, they stress that the “improvements in foreigners’ rights had been achieved through other mechanisms” (2000, 1975). In addition to influence through the process of incorporating the convention into national legislation, the ECHR may alter national policy through court rulings.³⁶ Since the first court ruling concerning a refused asylum seeker in 1991 (see Mole 2007, 20), the number of rulings regarding asylum has increased. On a number of occasions, returns of declined asylum seekers have been stopped after European Court rulings, but the rulings against the Scandinavian countries in immigration cases are few.³⁷ One of the exceptions, however, is the case of *Nunez v. Norway* in 2011. Following this decision, the Norwegian immigration authorities proposed minor changes of practice regarding expulsions in cases where parents of minor children had broken the law of foreigners (UDI, 2011). Occasionally, the European Court has had some impact on the treatment of asylum seekers in Scandinavia as a result of rulings against *other states*. For instance, in January 2011, the Court ruled against both Belgium and Greece after an Afghan asylum seeker was returned from Belgium to Greece, where he first filed his application. The court found that asylum seekers in Greece had been subject to inhumane and degrading treatment. The ruling led to the suspension of all Dublin regulation returns of asylum seekers to Greece.

³⁶ Article 8 of the ECHR is related to family immigration as it ensures the right to a normal family life, and article 3 is related to asylum cases as it grants protection against inhumane treatment.

³⁷ Other Scandinavian examples are the rulings against Sweden in a case regarding an Afghan woman in 2010 and regarding a Syrian man in 2005.

4.2 The European Union

With Saskia Sassens's statement that "the state remains the main actor when it comes to immigration" (2006, 59, 63), it must be considered a scholarly consensus that nation states are still highly relevant for immigration policymaking. At the same time, the body of literature on European Union immigration policy has grown in pace with the increasing co-operation on immigration regulations in various EU institutions. Brochmann (1999) argued more than a decade ago that "[a] study of immigration control in today's Europe must necessarily have European Union policy as a central dimension". Since then, EU-level engagement in immigration policy has not decreased, to put it mildly. Although immigration policy harmonization among the member states is far from completed, immigration co-operation within EU institutions must be described as substantial. There are EU directives on asylum procedures,³⁸ minimum standards for protection,³⁹ responsibility for examining asylum applications,⁴⁰ conditions in reception centres,⁴¹ and the identification of asylum seekers.⁴² The Family Immigration Directive⁴³ sets the minimum standard for family based immigration to EU member states. Despite the extensive collaboration, research has established that asylum and family immigration policy is far from harmonized. By studying recognition rates for several countries of origin at several points in time, Bovens et al. (2012) look into whether EU member countries have common standards for asylum applications. They conclude that the member states do not have common standards, as figures deviate too much from what they would look like if asylum standards were fully harmonized. There is also no evidence of recognition rates converging over time. Jens Vested-Hansen (2011) gives a thorough account of what lies behind the outcome data, by considering to what extent asylum criteria in the EU

³⁸ Asylum Procedures Directive 2005/85/EG.

³⁹ Qualifications Directive 2004/83/EG.

⁴⁰ Examination of Applications Directive / "Dublin Regulations" - 2003/343/EG.

⁴¹ Reception Conditions Directive 2003/9/EG.

⁴² EURODAC - 2000/2725/EG.

⁴³ Family Reunification Directive 2003/86/EC.

member states has been harmonised following these directives. He states that the current EU asylum directives, including the Asylum Procedures Directive and the Qualifications Directive, allow for a large degree of flexibility for the member states (2011). However, he stresses that for comparable asylum applications to have the same outcome across states, not only legislation, but also the professional standards of those processing the applications must be the same. There are “practical, organizational and cultural factors influencing asylum practice at the domestic level” that also need to be addressed before harmonization is realistic (Vedsted-Hansen, 2011).

The EU directives have, to varying degrees, had an impact on immigration policies in the Scandinavian countries. Sweden has ratified all directives, and politicians seem to take pride in keeping policies with higher standards and liberal access than the European average. The non-EU member Norway can theoretically pick and choose, but in practice both asylum and family immigration policies adhere to the EU minimum standard in all these directives.⁴⁴ Brekke (2011) concludes that Norway has a great amount of room to manoeuvre in asylum and family immigration policy, although in fear of attracting a higher number of asylum seekers Norwegian authorities hesitate to deviate from what is the mainstream in the EU. Denmark, due to its opting out of the Judicial Charter of the Maastricht Treaty, is not bound by directives in this policy area. They have not implemented the Family Reunification Directive, and Danish legislation is clearly in breach with it.⁴⁵ However, to the great annoyance of certain Danish politicians, EU case law has had an impact on Danish family immigration legislation (see Wind 2009, 274). As a consequence of the Metock ruling in 2008, Danish citizens who marry a non-EU citizen can avoid the strict Danish immigration policies by “exercising their right to free movement” in another EU member state. Prior lawful residence in an EU member state was not a prerequisite for

⁴⁴ See Government Report (Stortingsmelding) 9, 2009/2010 for overview of Norwegian commitments to the EU on immigration.

⁴⁵ For instance, according to the Family immigration directive, minimum age for spouses to be granted family reunification can only be raised to 21 years, while in Denmark it is 24.

the granting of a residence permit for the non-EU spouse, following the Metock ruling (see for instance Lansbergen, 2009). Although the Danish government denied the ruling had a sizeable impact on family immigration to Denmark (Ministeriet for Flygtninge, 2011), the case certainly demonstrates that national governments and parliaments are not always almighty.

Increased asylum harmonization is an explicit aim of the EU, and progress in this area has been facilitated as the requirement of unanimity has been abandoned (see Vedsted-Hansen, 2011). However, although the EU is influential, it should not be credited for all harmonization that takes place. As pointed out by Cornelius and Tsuda (2004), governments learn from each other's successes and failures, and they tend to adopt policies that other states have found to be efficient. Although the criteria for granting residence permits on protection grounds are not harmonised, EU asylum policies have still had an impact on the number of residence permits. Co-operation on border control may have an impact on the number of asylum seekers that arrive in Scandinavia, and agreements such as the Dublin regulations influence the number of asylum applications that are processed.

Like much of the recent literature on immigration policy, Gallya Lahav's study (2004b) looks at the "Europeanization" of immigration policy, emphasizing the role of public and elite attitudes in policy output. She makes a distinction between, on the one hand, political economy literature on immigration policy, which generally describes immigration policy as liberal, and nation-state focused literature, which describes it as restrictive. Lahav (2004, 9) rejects the perception that there are international constraints which produce liberal policies and national constraints which restricts immigration. She argues instead that there is no such dichotomy, and that increased national influence and European harmonization may take place simultaneously.

4.3 Cross national interdependence

As Hammar points out, the European immigrant-receiving states “are not independent cases, for the simple reason that they establish and implement their immigration policy under the same economic and political conditions under the influence of the same prevailing ideologies” (1985, 239). National immigration policies in Scandinavia are other countries’ policies. States fear that if their policies deviate too much from that of nearby immigrant-receiving countries, they will have a magnetic effect on immigrants. The fear is, at least to some extent, justified. The story about the first arrival of Pakistani immigrants to Oslo in the early 1970s illustrates this. The Danish implementation of a labour immigration stoppage in 1970 led Pakistanis to migrate to Oslo. While there were 110 Pakistani labour immigrants in Norway in 1970, the figure rose to 990 during the spring of 1971 (Tjelmeland, 2003). After a somewhat slow reaction, regulations were changed in Norway in 1972. When comparing more recent legislative and regulative changes to immigration policies between countries, it is also easy to find similarities that are not coincidental. The introduction of DNA tests in family immigration cases is one such measure that spread from Denmark to Norway and years later to Sweden. At the same time, it is striking how Scandinavian governments make decisions that they are well aware oppose policies in their neighbouring countries. The liberalization of family immigration policy in Sweden, as described in “Is the Press a Political Actor”, came shortly after the tightening of family immigration policy in Denmark.

As discussed in “The Partisan Influence”, the situation in sending countries influences immigration flows, both in terms of the number of applicants and the number of accepted applications. Political instability may lead to an increase in asylum applications, and a greater number of people may also qualify for asylum related residence permits. When immigration policy remains unchanged, shifts in the political and economic situation in the countries of origin largely explain variations in residence permits. For instance, the ‘Eurocrisis’ has led to a steep increase in immigration to

Norway from Southern Europe. However, the situation in sending countries may also lead to a change in policy: for instance, the Balkan Wars, which led to legislative changes in all three Scandinavian countries (Appelqvist, 2000; Brekke, 2001). There are frequent, minor changes to regulations, following changes in inflows from specific countries. Examples are the decisions that asylum seekers from both Iraq and Southern Somalia could be granted residence permits in Norway⁴⁶ without individual processing of their asylum cases, due to the turbulent circumstances in these countries. Changes in flows clearly sometimes trigger policy changes, although not always. In Denmark, subsistence requirements were heightened in 1992 and 1994, following three years of very high asylum inflows. However, more extensive policy changes were implemented in 1997, even though inflow figures had then dropped. The subsequent changes in family immigration policies have commonly been credited to the 2001 government shift, but the fact that the number of asylum claims doubled in the three years before the changes were made may have contributed to the decision to restrict policy to such an extent. After 2002, asylum figures dropped significantly and have remained very low. The numerous retrenchments since then are therefore difficult to explain with asylum figures. In Norway, the restrictions in 2003 as well as in 2008 should be seen in light of increased asylum flows: The number of asylum claims reached a record high of 17,000 in 2002, and after some years with much lower figures, 14,000 asylum seekers arrived in 2008.

The preceding sections have provided an overview over immigration literature related to the articles in this thesis. A number of explanations of immigration and immigration policy has been touched upon. Whereas the thesis primarily analyses immigration and policy from a state centred perspective, the preceding section dedicated to discussing the limits of national control highlights that national policies are made in an international context. The next section will place the thesis articles in the immigration

⁴⁶ It had to be established, however, where the applicant had been resident.

policy literature from a methodological perspective, and bring forward methodological issues from each article that needs further attention.

5. Methodological issues

The methods used in this thesis are predominantly quantitative, using panel analysis, multinomial logistic regression and ordered logistic regression. However, all three articles also have qualitative elements, such as qualitative content analysis in “the Partisan Influence” and “Is the Press a Political Actor”. The thesis as a whole also adapts a comparative perspective. This section will first give an overview of the most popular methodological approaches used in the study of immigration and immigration policy. Second, some methodological issues relevant for each article will be discussed separately. The methodological issues covered varies between articles, depending on which issues were considered important for each study. In the articles, unequal amount of space was granted methodological issues. The somewhat more extensive discussion of methodological issues regarding “Is the Press a Political Actor” in the following section is a reflection of this.

5.1 Methodology and immigration research

In the previous chapter, a distinction was made between research on immigration with a state centred approach, and research with an international politics approach. Regarding methodology, a distinction can be made between studies of the *development* of immigration policies, and the *effects* of policy on immigration. Whereas studies on the determinants of policy (laws, regulations, agreements) usually adopt a qualitative approach, research on the effects of these policies tend to apply quantitative methods.

The dominant methodological approach for explaining the development of immigration policy in Western Europe is the historical approach, with varying degrees of comparative elements. A number of studies look far back in time to identify explanations of current immigration policy. Because of path dependency, events that occurred decades ago still matter and help us understand cross-national similarities and

differences. Hammar (1985) study, for example, explains differences between countries both regarding immigration control policy and immigrant policy, building on a comparative, historical perspective. Like many later studies on the same topic (Cornelius et al. 2004, Brochmann & Hammar 1999, Zincone et al. 2011) it gives descriptive accounts of immigration and development of policy in each of the six countries under scrutiny. Brochmann and Hammar (1999, 20) state that they are taking a “mechanisms” approach, following Elster (1989) and thus focusing “on a delimited number of phenomena that are believed to be significant for understanding the external/internal control dynamics.” The edited volume primarily provides an historical account of how immigration policy has developed in each country. Unsurprisingly given their approach, general historical legacies, the history of immigration and the control culture are highlighted explanations of immigration policy. Cornelius et al. (2004) also take an historical approach, when they argue that advanced industrial countries have similar immigration due to parallel path developments, including similar demographic and economic challenges, shared colonial legacies, and similar political institutions.

One of the few extensive, comparative studies on immigration policies in Europe, is the edited volume “Migration Policymaking in Europe. The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present” by Zincone, Penninx and Borkert (2011). They cover all major types of migration during the entire WWII period. Their study, which includes studying immigration policies and immigration trends back in time in ten European countries, emphasizes the importance of historical and institutional legacies. Their explanations seem to be valid also for the Scandinavian cases: The immigration legacy of the liberal Sweden is very different from the newer and more restrictive immigration receivers Norway and Denmark. Messina (2007) discusses both flows to and policies in Western Europe. He also emphasises historical explanations giving an account of immigration since WWII. Menz (2009, 23) argues that migration policies in Europe are strongly path dependent, but that EU member states are now going through a period of punctured equilibrium. While these historical explanations certainly

contribute to understanding cross national differences, they have been less concerned with explaining *policy change*. Those studying policy change also commonly take a different approach. Medina (2010), for instance, uses quantitative methods in her study of the introduction of a point system. Another example of a quantitative study of immigration policy, is Hatton (2009). Likewise, Jennings (2009) has a statistical design on his study of the relationship between public opinion and asylum policies in Britain. He also holds his focus on explaining asylum policy *change*.

Whereas the research explaining immigration policy is dominated by qualitative studies, this not so much the case with the research on immigration flows. A number of quantitative studies look into the determinants of immigration *flows*. Clark et al. (2007) conducts a panel data analysis, similar to the approach applied in “The Partisan Influence” to explain variations in US immigration. The lack of comparable, high quality immigration data have until recently constrained reliable cross-national analyses of immigration. This is, however, changing. Mayda (2010), for instance, uses regression analysis to investigate determinants of immigration into 14 OECD countries. As she uses bilateral flow data, allowing her to include both receiving country and country of origin variables. Neumayers studies of asylum seekers choice of destination countries (2004), sending country determinants of asylum migration (2005b) and asylum recognition rates (2005a) all make use of statistical methods to explain immigration to Western Europe. Moore and Shellman (2006, 2007) are also among those who have done quantitative research on the causes of migration, and their work is characterised with their strong focus on sending country variables. Some of the above mentioned quantitative studies do look into immigration policy, but the focus is on their *effects*, not on how and why they were developed.

5.2 Methodological issues in “The Partisan Influence”

This article asks whether it has made difference to immigrant inflows to Norway are influenced by government composition. The study first develops hypotheses on which

impact various governments are likely to have on asylum grants. To identify the policy preferences of Norwegian political parties, all statements about immigration policy in the party manifestoes were analysed. The analysis of party manifestoes and immigration has been facilitated by a CD-ROM produced by the Norwegian Social Science Data Services. It includes all party manifestoes, and it has a search function. 34 party manifestoes from 1981 to 2001 included statements about refugee/asylum immigration. Six of these consisted of only one sentence, but most were longer paragraphs. The parties have generally granted the issue increasing attention over time. All the statements are included in a table in an appendix. The parties commonly also stated their preferences on labour and family immigration in their manifestoes, but for the purpose of this article, only statements relevant for asylum related immigration was analysed. The coding rules I developed for analysing the party manifestoes are detailed in the article (pages 254-255). Because parties frequently do not mention immigration in their manifestoes, I also looked at statements in newspaper articles from the parties' leadership on refugee/asylum immigration. There were 1236 hits altogether, but party stances were only stated by central representatives of the parties in a few of them⁴⁷: 60 newspaper articles were coded.

Based on the analysis of party manifestoes and newspaper articles, hypotheses regarding government's impact on immigration were developed. These were tested in a panel regression analysis, encompassing a period of 20 years and 143 sending countries. This demanded an awareness to the statistical challenges related to both time and the cross-sectional dimension. Country specific factors were controlled for. Commonly either a within regression (fixed effects) or a random effects model is used for this purpose. However, the random effects model assumes that the individual time invariant errors are random, which can be assumed when the sample has been randomly drawn from a larger population. This is not the case here, and within regression is therefore considered the more appropriate of the two. The Hausmann

⁴⁷ The data material could certainly be used for a more in depth content analysis of how parties talk about immigration in the media.

specification test (Baltagi 2005:67) supports the use of within regression, as the null hypothesis of no systematic difference between the within regression model and the random effects model must be rejected.

The within regression model cannot incorporate time-invariant variables. Distance and historical ties to Norway are two relevant variables that must be excluded in a within regression model. Fortunately, none of the variables of interest here, that is, the variables measuring political influence, are time-invariant. The strength of the within regression model, is that all constant factors are *controlled*. In other words, although the separate effects of the constant variables cannot be estimated, their effects are controlled. The problem of omitted variable bias is therefore reduced⁴⁸.

As is mentioned in the article, the main reason for attrition in the panel is that countries either ceased to exist or that they were not yet established in 1985. Attrition could lead to selection bias. To get an indication of the selection bias, a Hausmann test of a balanced sub panel, consisting of countries that had values for all years, and the unbalanced panel, was performed⁴⁹. All effects have the same sign in both samples, and the significance levels are roughly of the same magnitude. The difference in the results of the two panels is insignificant. This suggests that the selection bias is minor.

The fact that this is a single country study, does limit the generalizability of the findings across countries. Norway may well be a special case. The choice of a single country study was based in large part on the very high quality of Norwegian immigration data. As described in the article, Statistics Norway have collected reliable

⁴⁸ The omission of relevant time variant variables, on the other hand, leaves the model underspecified and gives biased results.

⁴⁹ This test differs from the ordinary Hausmann test as neither of the two estimates are consistent under both the null hypothesis and the alternative (Baltagi 2000, 221)

registries over immigration since the mid-1980s that include information about the country of origin and type of residence permit granted to all individual immigrants. This level of precision and detail in time series immigration data is comparatively unique. If other countries were to be included, the data quality would have been deteriorated. However, a larger number of countries have collected such data for more recent years, and a panel analysis including several receiving countries – as well as all sending countries – would certainly be a worthwhile follow-up project. Inflows to Sweden are included as a control variable in the statistical analysis, but it is evident that this variable is not sufficient to study the interrelations between immigration flows to different receiving countries.

An alternative approach for studying the partisan hypothesis on immigration flows to Norway could be a comparative design. The findings of “Do Asylum Policies Respond” suggests that the impact of parties in government could differ between the Scandinavian countries. It would also be fruitful to simply expand the time period in the study to include the period after the 2005 election, where the “red-green” coalition came into office. They have sought to limit asylum immigration (see appendix of “Do Asylum Policies Respond”). At the time of writing, data for this period was not available, but it would be a stronger test of the hypothesis to include one more government change.

5.3 Methodological issues in «Is the Press a Political Actor»

“Is the Press a Political Actor” studies the role of the press in family immigration policy-making in Norway and Sweden. All newspaper articles covering the issue in four Norwegian and five Swedish newspapers from 1995 to 2010 were categorised. In both countries, the selection includes the largest newspapers with a national range and one regional daily. The newspapers vary regarding political profile, with liberal newspapers making up the largest share. *Aftenposten* is a non-partisan conservative traditional broadsheet newspaper (although no longer in a broadsheet format).

Although it is a regional newspaper for the Oslo area, it has a national range and the largest circulation of all Norwegian newspapers. Its coverage of national politics is the most comprehensive of all daily newspapers. The tabloid daily VG (Verdens Gang) has the second largest circulation in Norway. It is politically independent. Dagbladet is the other national tabloid newspaper in Norway, with a stronger emphasis on culture than VG. Politically, it has roots in the Liberal party, and is still considered politically liberal. Bergens Tidende is the largest Norwegian daily newspaper outside of Oslo, mainly confined to the Bergen region. Until the 1970s it also had partisan ties to the Liberal Party, but has since then been independent.

Dagens Nyheter is the largest Swedish daily newspaper, and explicitly politically liberal and non-partisan. Although the vast majority of its readership is situated in Stockholm, it has a national range. The tabloid Expressen is also liberal, and for decades it was the largest daily in Scandinavia. It is currently Aftonbladet, the other Stockholm based tabloid, which has the largest circulation. In the past it has shifted political colour on several occasions, but it is now considered social democratic. Svenska Dagbladet resembles Aftenposten, in that it is an independent conservative, broadsheet type daily. Göteborgs-Posten is a liberal, regional newspaper, with one of Swedens largest circulations⁵⁰.

Press coverage of family immigration policy was traced through keyword searches in the media archives Atekst and Mediearkivet. They are available in the same search engine run by Retriever (<http://www.retriever-info.com/en/>). As described in the article, there were a total number of hits of 1882 Norwegian and 437 Swedish newspaper articles, after searches of the words “family immigration” and “family

⁵⁰ Aftenposten, VG, BT, Aftonbladet and Svenska Dagbladet are all owned by the Norwegian media house Schibsted. Dagens Nyheter and Expressen are part of the Bonnier concern. Göteborgs-posten is owned by Stampen, which owns several local/regional media. Dagbladet is owned by Berner Gruppen, of which Dagbladet is the largest asset.

reunification”⁵¹, for the time period 01.01.1995-01.12.2010. The number of relevant newspaper articles that were read systematically and categorised was 774. Articles were excluded from the selection if they were related to family immigration policy. A number of articles were entirely off topic, even though the term family immigration was used. As is mentioned in the article, one such irrelevant article was about the dog Baltus who was reunited with his family. Another was a feature article about a Swedish footballer who talked about his reunion with his wife and children.

Other articles were closer related to the topic, but were excluded because the main story was not about family immigration. For instance, a court story about forced marriage mentioned briefly that the spouse immigrated through family reunification. However, stories about forced marriage were excluded, *unless* the article related forced marriage directly to family immigration policy.

The newspaper articles from each newspaper, year and category were classified so as to be analysed in a multinomial logistic regression model. The analysis of the newspaper articles aimed at identifying the role of the press in Norway and Sweden in the development of family immigration policy. The newspaper articles were divided into six categories according to the content of the article. The unit of analysis, therefore, is the newspaper article, rather than, for instance a paragraph or quasi-sentence. All articles included in the analysis have family immigration policy as its main theme, and they are categorised according to what the main story in the article is. “Is the Press a Political Actor” is related to both framing and agenda setting studies (see for instance Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007). As pointed out by McCombs (2005), the two approaches are converging. Whereas agenda setting effects say something about the *amount of attention* that a certain issue has been granted in the mass media, the framing effect describes *how* the issue is presented (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). However, the agenda setting literature has increasingly looked also

⁵¹ In Swedish, the terms searched for were: anhörigåterförening, anhöriginvandring, familjeåterförening. In Norwegian, the search terms were: familiejænförening and familieinnvandring.

at attributes of news stories (second order agenda setting), bringing it closer to the framing literature (see McCombs 2005, 547). The content analysis in my paper also relates to the framing approach in that it does not simply look at how much attention the issue has been given, but also at the contents of the articles.

The article does not explicitly use a framing approach, but is clearly related. In the article I distinguish between news stores that take side with either the individual (the victim category) or the immigration authorities (system abuse category). The article seeks to identify the frame the journalist have chosen for writing about family immigration policy. The analysis goes less into the details of each article – a choice determined largely by the large number of newspaper articles (774). In that sense the study is closer to the agenda setting literature, which is often on a less detailed level.

I aimed at identifying newspaper articles that had the potential of putting family immigration policy on the political agenda. Therefore, it was necessary to single out reports on political decisions on family immigration, as in these cases the issue was by definition already on the political agenda. Within this category of newspaper articles there were also clear differences between the coverage in Swedish and Norwegian newspapers. Secondly, I wanted to identify newspaper articles which were likely to trigger restrictive policy measures and those which could trigger liberalizations. One group of newspaper articles contained explicit critique of existing policy. These were divided into separate categories, depending upon whether policies were criticized for being too lenient or too tight. Another group of articles did not include explicit critique, but could still have the potential of triggering policy changes because they told the story of individuals who had some sort of encounter with family immigration policy.

The “political decision” category captures explicitly whether the press has played an agenda setting role in the making of family immigration policy. Many of the articles that fall into this category did contain critique of immigration policy, often *in both* a liberal and restrictive direction. It could have been fruitful to go deeper into these articles and study how the press covers parliamentary debates on immigration. It is certainly also conceivable that mass media can impact on political decisions while it is processed. It appears that the news pieces in the political decisions-category tend differ from other stories in that several perspectives and the views several politicians are included in the same text. In contrast to other news stories on family immigration policy, reports on parliamentary debates and government proposals often include comments from politicians on both sides of the debate. It would therefore require a more in-depth analysis of each article to determine if a liberal or restrictive view dominates this type of reporting. Still, in this study this category serves to identify news stories where the press puts family immigration on the agenda explicitly. The last category includes the purely factual news pieces.

Although the vast majority of the news pieces fit uniquely into one category, some stories were more difficult to categorise than others. Here are some examples of how borderline cases were considered. For instance a story (NTB 29/01/1996) which primarily presented factual information about the number of asylum seekers the previous year also included a brief statement from the asylum seekers’ interest organisation (NOAS) that asylum policy was too strict. This story was coded as a factual story. A story about a Norwegian woman and a Pakistani asylum seeker (Dagbladet 15/03/2004) who were suspected of pro forma marriage was coded a “victim” story. The Immigration Authorities commented on the case and upheld that the marriage was pro forma, but it was the version of the married couple that was given prominence in the next. In 2006 (Dagbladet 10.08.2006), a Norwegian citizen threatened the minister responsible for immigration policy, Bjarne Haakon Hanssen because his wife was not granted a family immigration residence permit. This article was not included. Although the threat certainly can be interpreted as a critique of

family immigration policy, the text does not relate the action to family immigration policy in general and is thus written as a crime news story. Some stories about forced marriage were also excluded, although restricting family immigration policy was mentioned as a way to reduce the problem. The suggestion of changing family immigration policy could possibly be interpreted as critique of current policy, but in the excluded articles this was not a main message. In a Swedish polygamy case (Svenska Dagbladet 13/08/2007), the tax office had allowed the registration of a man's two wives, even though the Immigration Authorities do not allow polygamy. There was explicit critique of Swedish legislation in this article, but because it was not directed at immigration legislation, the article was still left out.

A multinomial logistic regression was used to analyse the data. There are certainly alternative methodological approaches that could add to the findings of the article. One option would be to dig deeper into the relationship between journalists and politicians, based on a survey (Aalberg & Strömbäck, 2011; Walgrave et al., 2008). Van Aelst and Walgrave (2011) look at the different findings in objective and subjective measurements of agenda setting effects. They find that studies making use of *subjective* measures, such as surveys where journalists and politicians themselves judge which influence mass media have on politics, commonly conclude that the impact is substantial. Both politicians and journalists tend to consider that the media is highly important for the political agenda. By contrast, studies relying on *objective* measures generally find only modest effects of media influences on the political agenda. In this type of agenda setting study, "(t)he mass media's impact is inferred indirectly based on the observable behavior of individual actors and measurements of media,"(Van Aelst & Walgrave, 2011). "Is the Press a Political Actor" fall within this type of study.

The diverging results of the media-politics studies clearly suggests the relationship needs further study. Process tracing some of the central policy changes could be a

valuable complementary approach, which could provide answers to the more precise role of the press (see George & Bennett, 2005; Mahoney, 2012). Such an approach could also add to the knowledge generated by surveys described above, as it could reveal more precisely at what stages of the policy-making process the mass media did or did not play a role. It may also be that the findings would be different if another type of immigration was studied. Keyword searches in the electronic media archives used in the study indicates that the press coverage of asylum related immigration has been much more extensive than that of family immigration policy. Lastly, the selection of mass media could certainly also impact on the findings, and to get a more complete picture of the mass media and immigration policy a follow-up study should include broadcast and internet media. That said, previous studies have found that print media exerts stronger influence on the political agenda than television (Walgrave et al., 2008), indicating that the findings of this study would not have been that different if television coverage was also included.

5.4 Methodological issues in «Do Asylum Policies Respond»

Whereas most studies of policy development in the field of migration adopts a qualitative approach (such as Lahav 2004), “Do Asylum Policies Respond” uses statistical analysis. It follows in the tradition of dynamic government and government responsiveness studies, which is a quantitative methodological tradition (see for instance Burstein, 2003). Despite the small number of observations, the data collection of immigration attitude data was time consuming and somewhat complicated. The attitude data are aggregates of variables from 34 different data files. Codebooks for each survey round were read carefully to ensure that the variables were compatible: Variable names in the data files often changed from one survey round to the next. In addition to the variables that were aggregated from survey data files, a number of macro level data were collected from various sources, such as unemployment and asylum applications (see “Do Asylum Policies Respond”, 11-12)

The largest workload in the data collection for this article was the mapping and coding of policy changes. For the Norwegian case, the policy changes were traced in official circulars on each regulative and legislative change. The Norwegian Immigration Authorities have published an overview of amendments to regulations and legislation related to immigration, including their purpose and intended impact (liberalization or restriction)⁵². However, the overview is not complete, and an independent mapping of policy changes in circulars, reports and government reports was therefore necessary (see separate overview over circulars, “rundskriv”, in the appendix). The data available on refugee attitudes in Norway was limited. For the mapping of policy changes in Denmark and Sweden, primarily secondary sources were used. The accounts of policy developments by Mikael Spång (2008) and Jens Vested-Hansen (2011) were invaluable for tracing all relevant policy changes. For the Swedish case, official government reports (SOU’s and “skrivelser”) were also useful.

For the coding, I used a scheme of six categories. First, I considered whether the policy change would have an impact on asylum applications, directly through altering the criteria for grants, or indirectly by altering the possibility for access for asylum seekers. For instance, the 2005 Swedish bill which established refugee status for people who are threatened with persecution due to gender or sexual preference *did not* have any impact on either inflows or residence permits, because these groups were previously granted residence permit on other protection grounds. Such policy changes were excluded. The policy changes considered to impact on asylum immigration were put into the following categories: Minor restriction, Major restriction, Minor liberalisation, or Major liberalisation.

⁵² “Historisk oversikt over regelendringer”, UDI 2010.

Although significance tests suggest that there is a relationship between public opinion and policy changes, this should be tested over a longer time period, with fewer gaps in data. The data set does cover a long time period, but the many gaps prevents modelling the dynamic relationship accurately. The inclusion of lagged variables makes less sense when there are long gaps and uneven time intervals. For this reason, what could be a reciprocal relationship between public opinion and policy changes could not be explored further. This could be a task for future analyses. Marini and Singer (1988) also stress that the time of measurement and the time of influence may be different. The interval for measurement may be decisive. The number of insignificant control variables may be explained not only by few observations, but also by the gaps in the data set as well as wide time intervals⁵³.

“Do Asylum Policies Respond” come to a different conclusion than the “Partisan influence” regarding the impact of party composition of governments on asylum related immigration. Why? The two studies have a different scope. “The Partisan Influence” looks at Norway only over a period of 20 years. “Do Asylum Policies Respond” includes only 5 time observations from Norway, and the findings of the statistical analysis are therefore primarily based on what has happened in Sweden and Denmark. The diverging findings therefore suggest that the partisan influence on immigration differs between countries. It should also be mentioned that the dependent variables are different in the two articles. Whereas “The Partisan Influence” investigated governments’ impact on the number of accepted refugees, “Do Asylum Policies Respond” look at policy changes. This should not, however, matter for the result of the findings.

⁵³ Attrition is a more serious problem when it is systematic. The missing observations in this data set is not systematic.

6. Conclusion

The thesis articles all seek to explain Scandinavian immigration. The articles are closely connected by sharing the same dependent variable – immigration to Scandinavia. The same time, they are clearly distinct: With their different theoretical, methodological and empirical approaches they enlighten issue from many perspectives. As Figure 4 on page 19 shows, they do form an entity in which the whole democratic process of policy-making is covered. This synopsis chapter has provided an overview over relevant immigration research, and shown how the thesis cuts into different parts of the literature. While the thesis articles have a state centred perspective, the synopsis chapter also discusses how the influence of national democracies on immigration is limited.

Methodologically, the three articles in the thesis complement each in that, first, they have different scope. “The Partisan Influence” is a single country study, “Is the press a Political Actor” studies both Norway and Sweden, whereas “Do Asylum Policies Respond” encompasses all three Scandinavian countries. While the advantage of the single country study is that it is more detailed, the findings of “Do Asylum Policies Respond” point to a major advantage of including more than one country in a study: Variables appear to have different impacts in different countries. Second, the articles apply different statistical methods. The choices of statistical techniques were based partly on what was needed to address the research question, as well as what was needed to analyse the data correctly.

What the articles do have in common, however, is the time dimension. All three articles cover a rather long time period. Temporal priority of the cause over the effect is commonly considered a necessary condition for causation, and both “The Partisan Influence” and “Is the Press a Political Actor” explicitly make use of the time dimension. In “Do Asylum Policies Respond”, the gaps in the data series does not

allow us to fully explore the time aspect, but it is the many observations at different points in time which makes it possible to say whether asylum policies have been in accordance with public preferences. Just as important as the possibility for causal explanations, is perhaps that the thesis gives a portrayal of immigration policy and politics over time. The first covers a period of 20 year, the second a period of 15 years. The third articles covers different time periods for all each country, but more than 20 years all together. As a whole, the articles therefore provide more than a snapshot of immigration policy and politics at one moment in time, they give a picture of the development of immigration policy in Scandinavia for more than two decades.

An overall finding is that national democracies are relevant for understanding both how immigration policies are develop and why inflows to Scandinavia change. The thesis investigates three possible explanations of immigration policy that have previously not been granted sufficient attention. Not all are found to be of equal importance. Both political parties and public opinion seem to be closely related to asylum policy-making, but press coverage is not found to be central for understanding how family immigration policy is developed. However, neither of the research questions addressed in the articles are exhausted, and in the methodology section I have suggested some possible approaches for future research. The dynamics between the mass media, political parties and public opinion in immigration policy-making is intriguing and deserves substantial scholarly attention in the future.

7. Bibliography

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8. Appendix

Statements about refugee/asylum policy in Norwegian party manifestoes.

Parti	Utsagn om asyl/flyktningepolitikk i partiprogrammer	
1977-81		
Høyre	"Mange regimer driver en omfattende undertrykkelses- og terrorvirksomhet overfor sine innbyggere. (...), og Norge må være parat til å hjelpe flyktninger som er ofre for slike regimer."	N
KrF	"Kristelig Folkeparti mener likevel at vi i vårt land må ta vår del av ansvaret for dem som må forlate hjemlandet av politiske eller andre grunner, eller som har vært i flyktningeleir."	N
SV	"Norge må støtte de demokratiske kreftene i Latin-Amerika mer aktivt og - motta flere flyktninger fra Latin-Amerika, særlig Chile"	L
1981-85		
FrP	"Flyktninger må gis hjelp til etablere seg. Dersom de ønsker å bli boende, også etter at de kunne ha returnert til sitt hjemland, må de behandles på lik linje med innvandrere."	N
Høyre	"Høyre mener at norske myndigheter må intensivere arbeidet for å hjelpe flyktningene, både ved at man fører en liberal politikk når det gjelder å ta imot flyktninger til Norge (...). "Norge må fortsatt mottak særlig vanskeligstilte flyktninger, f. eks. funksjonshemmede. Flyktninger tatt opp av norske skip i internasjonalt farvann må om nå garanteres oppholdstillatelse i Norge". "Flyktningene må som regel innrette seg på å bli varig i Norge."	L
1985-89		
FrP	"Flyktninger har ikke noe hjemland å vende tilbake til, og disse må Norge, i pakt med gammel tradisjon i demokratiske land, ta sin andel av. De bør gis adgang til landet under forutsetning av at de vender tilbake til hjemlandet når dette er politisk mulig."	R
Høyre	"Høyre mener det fortsatt bør føres en liberal politikk når det gjelder å ta imot flyktninger her i landet. Flyktningene må som regel innrette seg på å bli varig i Norge."	L
SV	"SV mener at det er for vanskelig å få politisk asyl i Norge. Norge bør være et fristed for mennesker som blir forfulgt for sin overbevisnings skyld."	L
1989-93		
FrP	"Fremskrittspartiet vil: - Gi politiske flyktninger adgang til landet underforutsetning av at de returnerer til sitt hjemland når dette er politisk mulig. - Ta imot kvoteflyktninger via FN's høykommisær. - Kun akseptere asylsøkere fra "førstelend".	R

Høyre	"Norge skal fortsatt (...) ta imot et visst antall kvoteflyktninger pr år (...). Den årlige kvote Norge tar imot må sees i sammenheng med innvilgede asylsøknader." "Asylsøkere som kommer til Norge fra trygt oppholdssted i tredjeland, må kunne sendes tilbake i påvente av at søknad om opphold behandles."	R
Arbdierp.	"Norge bør øke antallet flyktninger vi tar imot gjennom FNs høykommissær, men vi må fortsatt gi asyl eller opphold til asylsøkere som har et reelt behov for beskyttelse." "Arbeiderpartiet vil: Prioritere flyktninger og familiegjenforening i innvandringspolitikken."	L
Venstre	"Det skal være lett å søke om asyl, og det skal være en reell mulighet til å få den innvilget." " Venstre vil: - doble antallet kvoteflyktninger fra FN's Høykommissær for flyktninger. - Gjennomføre en liberal tolkning av flyktingedefinisjonen. Mennesker som er utsatt for forfølgelse må uansett ha retten til å søke og få asyl(...) - at flyktninger/asylsøkere som har fært her 6 måneder gis asyl."	L
KrF	"Vi må bære en større del av ansvaret for verdens flyktninger enn vi gjør i dag." "Ved klage på asylsøknad må avslaget være skikkelig begrunnet, og det må gis en klagefrist på tre uker" Asylsøkerne får bli i landet til klagen er avgjort. Asylsøkere som har vært i landet i 8 måneder uten å få behandlet sin søknad, må gis oppholdstillatelse på humanitært grunnlag. Det aksepteres ikke automatisk avvisning av flyktninger/asylsøkere som kommer til Norge som 2. land.	L
SV	"SV vil arbeide for: - At Norge øker sitt flyktingeinntak og støtten til det internasjonale flyktingearbeidet" "SV vil arbeide for en ny asylsøkerpolitikk, der alle asylsøkere skal ha rett til individuell behandling og rettsikkerhet. Er det rimelig tvil om en søker oppfyller kravet til asyl, skal tvilen komme søkeren til gode. Norge må dessuten ta imot langt flere FN-flyktninger enn landet gjør i dag." Oppholdstillatelse dersom søknad ikke behandlet innen 6 måneder.	L

1993-97

FrP	"Asylsøkere skal undergis individuell vurdering dersom Norge er det første land asylsøkeren kommer til etter avreise fra hjemlandet." "Personer som reiser fra sosial nød, fattigdom, samfunnsuro eller en sosial vanskelig situasjon, er ikke flyktninger etter flyktingekonvensjonen og eventuell hjelp til slike bør derfor være et frivillig og individuelt ansvar." "Fremskrittspartiet vil - i tillegg til å følge FN's konvensjon - også at Norge skal ta imot kvoteflyktninger fra FN's høykommissær for flyktninger begrenset til maksimum 1.200 pr år." "Etter fremskrittspartiets flyktingepolitikk vil ordningen med dinnvilgelse av opphold på humanitært grunnlag for asylsøkere, som ikke	R
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	tilfredsstillende kravene til asyl og derved status som flyktning, bli håndhevet strengt." Asyl gis under forutsetning av retur.	
Høyre	"Norge kan ikke løse verdens flyktningeproblemer ved en flyktning- og asylpolitikk som skiller seg vesentlig fra våre naboland." "Norge må arbeide for internasjonalt fred og frihet fra nød, primært ved å hjelpe mennesker der de hører hjemme. Imidlertid mener Høyre at Norge må ta sin del av ansvaret for å hjelpe flyktninger, også de som søker asyl her i landet, og som tilfredsstillende kravene som stilles til slikt opphold(...) Målet må være at flyktningene kan vende tilbake når forholdene i hjemlandet er normalisert."	N
Arbdierp.	("Det er spesielt viktig å sikre innvandrere og flyktninger norskopplæring.")	
Venstre	"Den norske utlendingsloven må revideres med sikte på å styrke håndhevelsen av retten til å søke asyl og til å oppnå individuell behandling av søknaden (...)"	L
KrF	"Målet for FNs flyktningepolitikk er å hjelpe flest mulig i eller i nærheten av deres eget land. Vi må bidra til dette, men det må ikke skape grunnlag for å avvise og å unnlate å hjelpe asylsøkere som er alvorlig truet når de søker hjelp i Norge." KrF går inn for: "at Norge ikke krever visum fra asylsøkere ved ankomst til landet, og at man motsetter seg at transportselskapene pålegges å føre kontroll med at asylsøkerne har 'gyldig reisedokumenter'. - at Norge øker mottaket av FNs kvoteflyktninger"	L
Senterp.	"Senterpartiet vil fortsatt arbeide for at folk i størst mulig grad gis mulighet for et menneskeverdig liv der de bor. Samtidig må vi ta vare på mennesker på flukt. Norges andel av FN's kvoteflyktninger må økes."	L
RV	"Alle må ha rett til å komme til Norge for å legge fram søknad om asyl eller opphold på humanitært grunnlag. Nei til visum som innvandringspolitisk virkemiddel og kontrolltiltak for å stoppe utlendinger før de når Norges grenser."	L
1997-2001		
FrP	"Fremskrittspartiet er sterkt engasjert i å hjelpe flyktninger, men dmener at de best kan hjelpes i sine geografiske og kulturelle nærrområder." "Fremskrittspartiet vil begrense antall fjernkulturelle som gis opphold til Norge, til 1000 personer pr år. Denne summen omfatter de som får opphold på humanitært grunnlag, familiegjenforening og flyktninger. Prioritet bør gis til overføringsflyktninger (kvoteflyktninger)". "Fremskrittspartiet vil at Norge skal fortsette å føre en restriktiv politikk når det gjelder å innrømme asyl med flyktningestatus."	R

Høyre	"Sammen med andre land må vi hjelpe flyktninger, i første rekke i deres nærrområder, hvor innsatsen i mange tilfeller monner mest. Men Norge må samtidig ta ansvar for å hjelpe flyktninger, også dem som søker asyl her i landet og tilfredsstillere kravene som stilles til slikt opphold."	N
Arbeiderp.	" I tråd med (FNs flyktningekonvensjon) skal alle asylsøkere som kommer til Norge og trenger beskyttelse fra forfølgelse, få det." "Norge skal være rede til å ta sitt ansvar for mottak av et økt antall overføringsflyktninger ut fra anbefalinger om en internasjonal byrdefordeling fra FNs høykommissær." Vil gjennomgå praksis og erfaring i flyktningepolitikken for "å se om det kan være grunnlag for en liberalisert praksis". "Folk utsettes for overgrep som ville ha kvalifisert til flyktningestatus dersom myndighetene sto bak, men som ikke gir slik status etter en stram tolkning av FNs flyktningekonvensjon.(...)I Norge bør disse flyktningene få asylstatus i stedet for opphold på humanitært grunnlag som i dag."	N
KrF	"Målet for FNs flyktningepolitikk er å hjelpe flest mulig mennesker i , eller ni nærheten av, deres eget land. Norge må medvirke til dette. Men dette må ikke skape grunnlag for å avvise eller la være å hjelpe mennesker som er alvorlig truet når de søker hjelp i Norge." "Ressursbruken ute må ikke settes opp mot bruken av midler til flyktninger her hjemme." KrF går inn for "at Norge øker mottaket av FNs kvoteflyktninger."	L
Senterp.	"Den internasjonale flyktningepolitikken må ha som mål å hjelpe flest mulig i nærheten av deres eget land, samtidig som Norge har et selvstendig ansvar for å hjelpe mennesker på flukt." "Senterpartiet vil arbeide for: at norske myndigheters praktisering tar hensyn til de anbefalinger og retningslinjer som blir gitt av Fns høykommissær for flyktninger. (...) - at kollektiv beskyttelse og repatriering bare blir benyttet ved tilfelle av massiv flukt. Ved repatriering må det tas hensyn til på gående utdanning og sosial tilhørighet i det norske samfunnet. - at transportselskap ikke kan pålegges å føre kontroll med om asylsøkere har "gyldig reisedokument"."	N
SV	"SV mener at rike land må ta størstedelen av ansvaret for å sikre folk på flukt et verdig liv, enten i sine nærrområder, eller i vårt eget land" "SV vil i perioden (...) - arbeide for at Norge skal arbeide for å utvide FNs flyktningedefinisjon til også å omfatte miljø- og krigsflyktninger og mennesker forfulgt pga etnisk eller religiøs tilhørighet." "SV vil i perioden: - arbeide for at Norge skal ta i mot flere flyktninger. - arbeide for at tvungen hjemsending av flyktninger ikke skjer. (...) - verne om retten til å søke asyl. flere asylsøkere må få innvilget asylstatus." m.m.	L

RV	"(...)At alle skal ha rett til å koma til Noreg for å leggja fram søknad om asyl eller opphald på humanitært grunnlag (...) - Å auka mottaket av kvoteflyktingar til minst 5000 pr. år."	L
2001-2005		
FrP	"Det er grunn til å frykte at en fortsatt innvandring av asylsøkere av bare tilnærmet det omfang som man har hatt i de senere år, vil føre til alvorlige motsetninger mellom folkegrupper i Norge.(...) Fremskrittspartiet vil begrense antall utlendinger (fra land utenfor EØS-området) som gis opphold i Norge, og vil derfor opprettholde innvadringsstoppen. Fremskrittspartiet vil at Norge skal fortsette å føre en restriktiv politikk når det gjelder å innrømme flyktingestatus (asyl). m.m.	R
Høyre	"I samarbeid med andre land må vi hjelpe dem som er på flukt i sine nærområder, hvor innsatsen i de fleste tilfeller monner mest. Norge må også hjelpe dem som har behov for asyl eller opphold på humanitært grunnlag her i landet." "Norge skal følge FN's flyktingekonvensjon og anbefalingene fra FN's Høykommisær for flyktinger i praktiseringen av vår asylpolitikk".	N
Arbeiderp.	"Alle asylsøkere som kommer til Norge fordi de trenger beskyttelse fra forfølgelse i hjemlandet skal få dette. (...) Utover dem som er direkte forfulgt i hjemlandet har Norge også en tradisjon for å bevilge opphold på humanitært grunnlag til asylsøkere som av ulike grunner, blant annet sterkt menneskelige hensyn, bør få bli i Norge." "Ut fra anbefalinger om en internasjonal byrdefordeling fra Høykommisæren bør Norge være villig til å motta et økt antall slike flyktinger"	N
Venstre	"Norge fører fortsatt en streng politikk overfor mennesker på flukt. Venstre vil gå inn for en mer liberal flyktinge- og asylpolitikk. (...) Retten til å søke asyl bør derfor grunnlovsfestes. Regelen om 1. asylland bør praktiseres med lempelighet. Transitt-opphold i utlandet bør ikke være til hinder for søknad om asyl i Norge." " Antall kvoteflyktinger bør økes."	L
KrF	"KrF går inn for at antall overføringsflyktinger må økes fra 1500 til 2000" "Asylretten bør styrkes. (...)Når søknader om opphold på humanitært grunnlag behandles skal det legges større vekt på sterke menneskelige hensyn."	L

Senterp.	"Alle som søker om asyl må få individuell behandling, slik at ingen sendes tilbake til død, tortur eller forfølgelse. For at vi skal kunne gjennomføre en rask og fullstendig integrering av asylanter og flyktinger, må vi gjennomføre en streng innvandrings- og flyktningepolitikk i samsvar med våre internasjonale forpliktelser." "Senterpartiet vil: at norske myndigheter skal ta hensyn til anbefalingene og retningslinjene fra FNs høykommisær for flyktinger i praktiseringen av flyktningkonvensjonen og fastsettingen av kvoter for overføringsflyktinger (...)at transportselskap ikke skal kunne pålegges å føre kontroll med om asylsøkere har gyldig reisedokument	N
SV	"Sammanlikna med andre europeiske land fører Noreg ein særers restriktiv politikk når det gjeld å godkjenne asylsøkjara, noko mellom anna FN sin høgkommisær for flyktinger har peika på. For å verne om retten til asyl, må det bli lettare å søke." "SV vil i perioden:(...)- arbeide for ei mindre restriktiv norsk tolking og praktisering av flyktningeomgrepet i FNs flyktningekonvensjon - arbeide for at Noreg skal ta i mot fleire kvoteflyktingar (...). arbeide for at det kan søkast asyl utanfor landet sine grenser, mellom anna ved å opprette eigne stillingar for dette føremålet ved norske utanriksstasjonar" m.m.	L
RV	"RV arbeider for: - å øke mottaket av kvoteflyktinger til minst 5000 pr. år. - At Norge skal godkjenne et utvidet flyktningebegrep som også omfatter økonomiske, økologiske og religiøse flyktinger, og de som blir forfulgt på nasjonalt grunnlag eller pga. etnisk rensing."mm	L

Circulars on asylum policy changes in Norway

Rundskrivnr	Type endr.	Vedtatt av	Rundskrivet omhandler
AI-68/08	Instruks	AID	Innstramming av praksis. Oppholdstillatelse skal ikke lenger gis på bakgrunn av den generelle situasjonen i Sør-Somalia. Innstramming overfor enslige kvinner.
AI-65/08	Instruks	AID	Innstramming av praksis. Individuelle vurderinger. Generell sikkerhetssituasjonen ikke lenger nok. Presiserer at retur til andre trygge områder skal vurderes.
AI-60/08	Instruks	AID	Praksisendring. Em unntas ikke lenger automatisk fra Dublin-prosedyrer. (ikke så relevant?)
AI-45/08	instruks	AID	UDI planla endring av praksis til utsendelsvern pga omgjøringer i UNE pga uklar sikkerhetssituasjon i Usbeksitan. Direktoratet samtykker ikke i praksisendringen.
A-40/2008	Lov og forskr.	St.ting/AID	Dublin.
AI-36/08	Instruks	AID	Samtykke til praksisendring: retur til stabilt område som søkeren ikke har tilknytning til skal skje unntaksvis.+ + Samtykker ikke i å innvilge asyl ved konvertering sur place.
A-25/2007	Forskriftsendr.	AID	Terskelen for å gi oppholdstillatelse til barn som følge av sterke menneskelige hensyn blir lavere enn tidligere.
A-23/2007	Forskriftsendr.	AID	MUF: Ikke lenger innvilge saker etter lavere terskel enn fast praksis. Hensikt å innskrenke retten til fornyet arbeids-og oppholdstillatelse.
AI-13/2007	Instruks	AID	Instruks om fastlegging av identitet. Presisering av at UDI skal fortsette å sjekke identitet til MUF'ere.
A-20/2007	Statsbudsjett	St.ting	Gjenninnføring av norskopplæring for asylsøkere. Vedtatt gjennom St.prop nr 1 og B.inst. S. nr 5(2006-2007).
AI-5/2006	Instruks	AID	Ikke fattest vedtak i saker som gjelder barn som har vært mer enn tre år i asylmottak, i påvente av ny forskrift.

HA-1/05	Instruks	KRD	Innstramming: Når asylsøkeren har behov for behandling, men ikke beskyttelse, bør midlertidig opholdstillatelse vurderes. Hensikt: å redusere tilstrømming av asylsøkere uten behov for vern.
H-13/05	Forskriftsendr.	KrD	Muf'ere kan nå få ordinær arbeidstillatelse. Diverse vilkår.
H-20/04	Forskriftsendr.	KRD	Enstemmig i stortinget: barn/barnefamilier som har vært i Norge i mer enn tre år får ny prøving av saken.
H-02/04	Lovendring	St.ting/ KRD	Flyktningestatus til overføringsflytkninger kan avgjøres før og etter innreise til Norge. + Økt forkus mot kjønnsforfølgelse + diverse om asylintervjuet
H-4/03	Lov og forskr.	St.ting	Diverse lov og forskriftsendringer som gjelder fingeravtrykkregisteret Eurodac.
H-16/02	Forskriftsendr.	KRD	Midlertidig advokatordning. Sikre at asylsøkere får bistand og oppfølging de har krav på.
H-07/02	Lov og forskr.	St.ting/ KRD	Diverse om utvisning + Innstramming av 15-månedersregelen. Gjelder kun behandling hos udi, og ikke klage på vedtak og identitet må være klar.
G-1999-88	Lov og forskr.	St.ting/ Justis	Diverse om identitet: krav til asylsøkeren om å hjelpe til å avklare identiteten. Uklart hva som er endringer i forskriften - sjekk høringsbrev!
G-2000-110	Lov og forskr.	St.ting	Uklart hva som er endringer, men: Asylsøkere gis midlertidig arbeids/oppholdstillatelse til søknad er avgjort.
G-72-2000	Lovendringer	St.ting	Asylsøkere spørres automatisk om de ønsker arbeidstillates, ikke etter anmodning. Asylsøker med avslag kan gis tillatelse inntil avslaget iverksettes.
G-49-1999	Lov og forskr.	St.ting/ Justis	Oppmyking av asylsøkeres adgang til å søke arbeidstillatelse
G-1999-49	Forskriftsendr.	Justis	Myke opp asylsøkeres adgang til midlertidig arbeidstillatelse.
H-10/03	Forskriftsendr.	KRD	Forskriftsendring om underholdskrav for familiejenforening etter søknad om asyl. Gjelder ikke personer som har fått asyl.

