

IMMIGRATION IN SWEDEN: SECURITY OR POLITICS

Master Thesis

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Abstract:

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International migration issue is acknowledged by the world society to be one of the most important social aspects. The securitization of migration is a comparatively new process, which can lead to the significant changes in the sphere of social politics of the state, in the norms, laws, sanctions and methods, which are employed by the states in order to regulate migration movement. Studying of the process of the securitization of migration can possibly contribute to the working out of the adequate measures to cope with the challenges, which arise because of securitization process.

In the realities of globalized world immigrants face qualitatively other difficulties, rather than strict boundaries and inflexibility. Now they sometimes face the problem, which can be characterized as the creating of the image of “migrant-enemy” in the host societies and the inclination of some governments to place migration issues in the security context, and to make immigrants be seen as a threat to the integrity and the welfare of the state.

Presented thesis is devoted to the issue of immigration in the context of security, and practices that function in this sphere in Sweden. In the thesis the claim is made that immigration in Sweden is taken in terms of securitization process. Therefore, with the help of speech act theory and rhetoric the analysis of the immigration issue presented mostly in manifests, official programmes of the parties presented in the Swedish Parliament (ruling coalition and opposition), including the speeches of the leaders of the parties, who are very influential people, with a high level of authority, charisma and support of the Swedish population is made. Some attention is also paid to the sphere of social politics of Sweden, where the recent actions of the ruling coalition in the sphere of immigration regulations are scrutinized and placed either to the sphere of the political or security sphere with the possibility of emergency measures application.

The result of this analysis shows that certain securitizing moves, which have place in the country may easily lead to the successful execution of a securitization of migration process, for example, by the activists of the right-wing ruling party, or the representatives of the radical ultra-right party, who are already elected to some of the local legislature bodies, as securitizing actor.

Contents:

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD	4
1.1. Background to the Research Problem: The Situation around Migration Issue Nowadays	4
1.2. The securitization of migration in Nordic Countries _____	6
1.3. Terms used in the Thesis _____	7
1.4. The development of the Security Concept in IR _____	9
Concept of Securitization _____	12
1.5. Relation of the Study to Previous Research _____	14
1.6. The Empirical Scope of the Study and the Identification of Primary Sources _____	14
1.7. Methodological Orientation _____	15
1.7.1. The Concept of Speech Act _____	15
1.7.2. Constative / Performative Speech Acts _____	15
1.7.3. Locution / Illocution / Perlocution _____	16
1.7.4. Felicity Conditions _____	17
1.7.5. Classification of Performative Acts _____	19
1.8. Methodical Application _____	21
1.9. Scholarly Contribution of the Study _____	22
2. THEORY OF SECURITIZATION: SOCIETAL SECURITY SECTOR.....	23
2.1. Security Sectors _____	23
2.2. Semiotic structure of securitization _____	24
2.3. Securitization in CoS _____	26
2.4. Facilitating conditions _____	28
2.5. Desecuritization process as a possible effect of securitization practices. _____	29
2.6. Securitization of Migration _____	33
3. SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN SWEDEN: WHY TO BE.....	39
3.1. Analysis of the pre- and post-election utterances of the Social Democratic Party _____	40
3.2. Analysis of the pre- and post-election politics of the ruling party. _____	47
3.3. The position of radical right-wing parties. _____	52
3.4. Situation in immigrants-districts _____	56
3.5. Denmark's experience. _____	63
3.6. Late developments in the social politics of the right-centric coalition. _____	65
CONCLUSION.....	69
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	73
Primary Sources: _____	73
Secondary Sources: _____	76
APPENDIX.....	81

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE FIELD

1.1. Background to the Research Problem: The Situation around Migration Issue Nowadays

In the 21st century almost all countries have been facing the issue of increasing migration flows. Migration is a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence of an individual or a group of people that tends to become one of the most urgent issues among the European states. The increased attention to the issue is connected with several factors. One of the most important factors that drew attention to migration issue from a different perspective was the collapse of the bipolar system and the rapid increase in flow of migrants to the Western Europe. The concept of migration policy has become the priority area of the European thinkers, In other words, increased immigration has been characterized by the process of Europeanization¹ of migration issues, and the member states of the European Union (EU) have agreed to develop a common immigration policy at EU level.

In the region of Nordic states the problem of migration has become more and more acute, too. The societies of these countries are the most homogeneous in the population but are facing a serious problem of depopulation for several years now. For example in Sweden according to statistics the structure of the population now is much influenced by immigration, in 2008 in particular 101 171 people immigrated to the country², which constitutes around s of the total growth of population in the country in 2008. Still, in order to provide themselves with maximum positive effects of migration the Nordic states should consider all the characteristics of today migration process.

In the contemporary world, the main factors that make up the specific nature of migration are the difficulties caused by globalization, unwillingness of local societies to integrate immigrants and inability of states to solve migration problems on their own. Now globalization is one of the reasons for the intensification of migration process. Continuing economic progress in the industrial countries is leading to the increase of a gap between them and the developing ones. So, globalization makes more and more people from the developing world leave their homes for better life. The situation becomes even more difficult because the increased migration flows can pose threat on the order on borders of Western Europe. So, in the course of globalization European as well as newly established states failed to set up the effective cooperation on

¹ The phenomenon of the 'Europeanization' means that an issue begins to be considered by the institutions of the united Europe, i.e. European Union on the one hand, and on the other hand, that the main scholars who are interested in the analysis of the issue are Europeans.

² "A year of milestones for Sweden" 2009.

migration and as a result it appeared to become a kind of unregulated or sometimes even chaotic phenomenon.

The situation is aggravated even more because of unwillingness of local societies to affiliate immigrants. They not always approve of the newcomers (usually from less developed countries) and make no attempt to help the last ones to integrate in the new environment. This happens partly due to the fact that some people in the West are worried that their jobs would be threatened due to increasing number of immigrants, willing to work for relatively low wages³. Moreover, a lot of native residents may consider it undesirable to have any changes of the ethnic structure of their societies⁴. As a result no institutions are set up to help immigrants to integrate into the new society.

Immigration, both legal and illegal has precipitated political crises in the Netherlands, France, Austria and Denmark where politicians staking on the anti-immigrant campaigns received the support of large portions of the population. Lately some representatives of the ultra-right wing parties have been elected to European parliaments, especially to those at the local level. On the one hand, the EU internal market needed immigrant workers to sustain growth because of the ageing of population and shortage of work force in spite of high unemployment, but on the other hand at the same time, as a result of the 9/11 events, immigration has been given a different connotation, again negative but related with crime and terrorism.

Immigration now appears to be the issue that requires immediate response and decision by politicians as well as societies. The situation is connected with the right-wing parties coming into force in a number of European states. It is commonly believed that right-wing parties especially make an ‘enemy from an immigrant’ and make him or her responsible for the high rate of jobless people and the lack of suitable positions for the native citizens. However, as Denislava Simeonova sees it making an enemy is much more easier then “the opposite process – restoring the image and facilitating the integration of immigrants through changing perceptions – [which] will take much longer and will depend on EU’s and migration policies⁵”.

It is generally admitted that it is impossible to solve problems caused by migration without strong cooperation among state governments, existing institutions of international law and non-governmental organizations. That is the main reason both for adopting special programs, such as the Protection Strategies in the context of Broader Migration Movements that aim to help senior managers to develop migration strategies consistent with the states’ interests⁶, and starting to work more intensively actively employing the instruments, which are available in the

³ More Unity and More Diversity 2003, p. 12.

⁴ Vishnevsky 2004, p.35.

⁵ Simeonova 2005.

⁶ UNHCR Global Report 2002.

framework of some international institutions such as International Organization for Migration that coordinate world's migration process. Besides, control over migration is one of the most important ways for fighting against the international terrorism, transnational organized crime and drug-trafficking, which threaten the states' national security, rather than connecting migration to these negative social phenomena. However the broadening of the concept of 'security' led to the situation when immigration is perceived negatively by most of the countries of Western Europe.

1.2. The securitization of migration in Nordic Countries

The Nordic countries now face the challenging question of reformulating their migration policies. On the one hand, it is argued that countries that are on the edge of the demographic depopulation and ageing of the population need to be more inclined towards migration-friendly policy. On the other hand, however, the fact that the Nordic countries are relatively homogeneous makes the integration of migrants into the host society a difficult task. Moreover, in the countries of Western Europe migration has been increasingly treated as a part of the field of security, especially after the disobedience caused by "immigrants" in a number of Western European countries in the beginning of 2006. In this thesis, I examine the ways in which immigration has been securitized in the Swedish society.

There are political agents and groups in these countries that attempt to associate a migrant with some criminal deeds, such as pick pocketing, fraud, etc. Immigrants are blamed for negative phenomena happening in the society and for this reason become securitized objects. One illustration of the way in which officials may contribute towards securitization of immigration is the production of statistics. To prove that immigrants are dangerous and responsible for spreading negative phenomena in the society (e.g. growth in some delinquencies, such as stealing, raping, etc.), certain kind of security knowledge, and "specific expectations concerning the social exchanges between various social groups"⁷ should be mobilized in order to reach the goal of securitization. So, the securitization should involve interactions among the speech acts of the political leaders or people possessing enough authority, the mobilization they create in order to set the population against a certain category of people and a specific sector, which would include police, intelligence, military services and other experts called by Bigo the "security professionals"⁸. The situation with such a propaganda of the immigrant as an enemy or danger leads to the growth of social tension, mistrust and suspicion in the society, which is never a good factor for the development. Thus, this process of the securitization of migration in the society

⁷ Huysmans 2002, p. 42.

⁸ Bigo 2002, p. 65.

leads to direct opposite results, when political actions that were directed to make the society feel secure give rise to uncertainty, tense relations and mistrust in the society.

Therefore, the problem for the Nordic countries is that the ‘securitization of migration’ worked out to protect European societies, to guarantee the ‘societal security’ of western states may cause on the contrary negative effects to these countries. Actually this issue is analyzed by the authors of securitization theory (B.Buzan, O.Waever) – i.e. the so called Copenhagen School – who argue that securitization has negative rather than positive effect on the stability and development of the societies. In the case of Nordic countries the problem of migration is rather difficult to analyze. A partial reason for this is the homogeneity of the Swedish population, its ageing, and depopulation, which approve the need for immigration flows to these countries.

The other fact in favor of immigration to Sweden is that until recently (September, 2006) left-wing Social democrats had majority in Swedish parliament, and left-wing parties are not normally inclined to securitize immigration. However even with the right-centric coalition winning the recent elections in the country, the audience (the society) does not perceive immigration as an existential threat to its identity; therefore to speak of successful securitization in the named country would be a premature act. It is only possible to point out some *securitizing moves* that lift migration issues to the politicized level but do not necessarily securitize them. In spite of this, in this work *I will argue that successful securitization of migration in Sweden is possible, and point out some of the signs of that process which can be found in the country right now.*

1.3. Terms used in the Thesis

Migration of the population is an interdisciplinary phenomenon, so it is the object of studies of a number of scientific disciplines, such as: economics, geography, history, demography, etc. This is a result of the fact that migration of the population is one of the few demographic processes, the nature of which changes immediately depending on the social, economic, and political conditions in a society. Therefore the choice of the right approach depends on the problems that are to be solved by the researcher and the question that is to be answered in the research work.

However, there is no comprehensive approach to migration and every theory that is concerned with studying of this phenomenon usually pays attention only to some aspects of the process. For example, the economic theory is concerned only with economic or labor migration, i.e. the migration that is caused by economic interests of people who leave their place of residence in order to find better living and labor conditions. Or, according to the law approach the

scale of influence of the law practices, especially that of international law, on the real position of immigrants is highly important. So, this approach is concentrated on the working out of the norms and rules of the modern process of migration.

Despite the importance of mentioned approaches in the present work the question is connected with the recent trend to place migration in the security context, so-called ‘security logic’, when the process of immigration tends to be analyzed as a matter of security, the issue that should be dealt with by security agencies of the state. Authorities and security agencies together with politicians construct the image of an immigrant as an existential threat to the society identity and original traditional culture, and as a result – immigrants influence negatively on stable development and consequently on the welfare of the state⁹. So in this work it is appropriate to use the ‘securitization theory’, i.e. the approach of Ole Waever and Barry Buzan on the societal security and the threat of migration first of all to social identity.

However before the analysis of the securitization theory it is also important to have the notion of the following terms that are to be used in the MA thesis:

- the term *population migration* itself may be seen in different senses, since there are several definitions of the concept. From etymological point of view migration of the population is resettlement or displacement. However, the concept has wider sense now. It could include any displacement of people, beginning from the traveling from house to the place of job to the international transfer of people. I am interested in the approach according to which migration is a kind of spatial displacement of population that leads to the territorial redistribution of people. Thus, this kind of migration may be occasional, pendulum, seasonable or irretrievable.¹⁰
- ‘*societal security*’ is the elimination of ‘existential threats’ to the welfare system, to the public order, and to the cultural identity of the community/nation. Thereupon the main threats to the societal security may include: the pressure of the relatively young and poor migrants on the social group of prosperous but ageing population of Europe, penetration of the groups of organized crime to the West, consequences of ethnic conflicts and the ‘import’ of terrorism to Europe.¹¹ It might, for instance, become a societal security problem for the North if resource depletion in the South should lead to a tidal wave of migration to the North.

Also the approach of the Copenhagen school researchers on the whole needs to be analyzed in the course of the study. In addition some works of the scholars who add some points

⁹ Huysmans 1996.

¹⁰ Vorobieva 2001.

¹¹ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, pp. 23, 120-123.

to the ‘securitization concept’ of Copenhagen School, such as Didier Bigo, Jef Huysmans, etc. will also be touched upon in the paper in order to present the full scene of the existing approaches to the phenomenon. There are also several studies to threats and unintended negative effects of ‘securitization of migration’ provided by Central European researches, such as D. Simeonova. For the comprehensive consideration of the research problem the studies of migration policies and perception of immigrants in the Nordic countries and especially of Sweden are examined.

It is important to highlight the following aspects of the securitization approach:

- 1) The concept of securitization itself;
- 2) The semiotic structure of the securitization;
- 3) And the desecuritization process as a possible effect of securitization practices (although this aspect is less important for the paper for the reason that the task of it is to understand the process of politicization and possible securitization of the migration issue in the country, rather than decide upon the desecuritization moves that could or need to be taken).

1.4. The development of the Security Concept in IR

Some research on the development of the security concept has been made by Björn Möller in *The Concept of Security: The Pros and Cons of Expansion and Contraction* (2000). Actually, it is possible to trace the development of the security concept in accordance with the course of development of International Relations (IR) studies as a whole. IR has always been characterized by the dominance of a certain doctrine in a certain period of time or the so-called battle between the supporters of competing doctrines (which partly correspond to the notion of paradigm introduced by Kuhn). According to the traditional realist concept of international system and relation the notion of security meant only the security of the territorial state. The levels of individual or collective security were neglected. In this case the more military power and resources the state had, the more secure it was. In such situation great influence had a concept of balance of powers in the international system. However, political realists paid little attention to security as it is, and as Björn Müller considers, only few including Arnold Wolfers made an attempt to define ‘security’. The latter in his turn characterized it as the absence of any threats to the values that are commonly recognized by the given society¹².

Based upon a Weberian-inspired understanding of interest in international politics, the realist and neorealist branches of IR theory have built upon the more or less coherent conclusion that differences between opposed international entities are to be resolved with the help of power

¹² Möller 2000, p. 2.

understood as a strategic, military and technological dimension and connected to the security of a given nation state. In this connection, Peter Burgess mentions, “the essential differences between states may derive from metaphysical value differences, but they are negotiated on the secular field of international politics¹³”, that is in terms of power and own independence.

Actually in their definition of security neorealists have much in common with their predecessors – realists. For neorealism, for example, security studies pay more attention to “high-politic” issues, such as external politics, international relations, and provision of security of the state from threats that are mostly military in their character. Neorealism is still a state-centered approach, which means that states are always competing with each other in the conditions of anarchic international system. Thus conflicts and competition are natural for such a kind of international system organization.

Therefore survival of the states is usually provided by increasing resource and military power of the state. So, security is a matter of urgency that should be paid much attention and force to deal with successfully. The situation is completely different with migration, since the state will only be able to solve the problems of stable development and welfare only after the provision of the feeling of being secure from external military threat¹⁴. Thus, migration is a part of “low-politic” issue, which is not on the first-hand agenda in the functioning of the state mechanism.

However, it became obvious that such a picture of security was not sufficient for effective policy making and building of international relations. Since 1980s the notion of ‘common security’ (or collective security as it is called by some) entered the IR theory. According to this approach IR theorists started to pay more attention to so-called common security, that means to threats, which pose danger to all the states, because of their growing interdependence. Bright representatives of such an approach were peace research studies, which paid attention to stable development, global threats, nuclear power and disarmament of the states, rather than to the military security of territorial states¹⁵. The representative of this stream Johan Galtung argued that it is not the absence of war that is the aim of the security politic of the state, rather its aim is to decrease all kinds of violence even indirect ones¹⁶. So, the approach of peace researches was devoted to the real security of the society, so-called ‘positive peace’, which included elimination of military as well as non-military threats.

Of course such an extension of security concept could not but caused disputes in the IR society. So, the IR theoreticians adopted one of the two views on the security issues: wide or

¹³ Burgess 2005.

¹⁴ Bourbeau 2006, p. 6.

¹⁵ Möller 2000, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

traditional. For example, Walt criticized the widening trend in IR for he assumed that too broad concept of security could lead to washing out of the concept, meaning that too many phenomena would be treated as a matter of security. To avoid the broadening of the notion, Walt in his turn suggests that the concept of security should include only the phenomenon of war¹⁷ and consequently pay attention only to military threat and force control.

However, the approach of Walt does not provide for the whole picture of contemporary world system. After the collapse of the Soviet Union bipolar system has crushed. Warfare conflict lost its meaning today and world society now tends to tackle other kind of threats, most of which Walt places in the field of domestic political field. Thus, a lot of issues including migration are left behind the security according to Walt, who rejects the connection of these notions to security¹⁸. But the situation is developing otherwise at the moment. The move of people is directly connected to the issues of security provision, moreover now it is no more the security of the state only, rather the security of values, peoples identity, cultures, traditions and welfare. In recent years the concept of security has thus become more comprehensive. While traditionally associated with foreign affairs and military matters the ‘security’ field has widened its attention to so-called new security threats, including the vulnerability of modern society and terrorism.

All the developments in international relations are often connected with technological revolutions and breaks through. It happened so that modern international society is afraid of environmental threats and threats, which can influence social stability, calm and direct way of development of social system and institutions. However, such an association of the non-military dangers with existential threats could already be noticed in 1970s, when the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe worked out and presented three baskets of the Helsinki Final Act¹⁹. The attention that was paid by European society to non-military threats, including illegal migration, led to the phenomenon when the opinion of Europeans acquired also members of non-European community. So, the problem of unregulated migration started to be perceived as a security threat.

Despite the number of theorists – the representatives of the ‘strategic studies’ or ‘security studies’ – who are strongly opposed to the widening of the security concept, the majority of the IR theorists agreed that the widening of the concept is highly necessary (but this expansion should take place only to the certain level and should not embrace every issue or problem of the state not to become impractical²⁰). However, to adopt the necessity and to negotiate the scale of the widening is completely different task. Some of the researches have a position that if the security concept would

¹⁷ Bourbeau 2006, p. 6.

¹⁸ Ibid, p. 7.

¹⁹ “Changes in the Security concept and the JHA agenda” 2005.

²⁰ Möller 2000, p. 2.

be too wide it would be possible to analyze every phenomenon of the social life in a security nexus which is not desirable for stable development of the world community.

Möller further argues that “a central premise for the question whether or not to expand the notion of security is whose security one is talking about, i.e. the referent object of security²¹”. Realism, for example, has neglected the dimension of ‘individuals’ security’ and treated the state as the only appropriate referent object of security. In this case the only value of the state is its territorial integrity and sovereign power. Thus, the realist approach did not pay much attention to state's citizens, the well-being and safety of its people. However people and state are highly connected, and sometimes in name of further development and wealth people are engaged in defense of state's sovereignty. The only difference is what goes first the survival of the state or its citizens.

Some of the neorealism theorists, who agreed on the necessity of the security concept widening still preferred to use the term security in 'collective', rather than 'individual' or global sense. Such moves gave birth to the creation of the 'societal security' concept, which can be defined as “...the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats²²”. Under this changes an approach known as risk management which will be further touched upon gained its development.

Among other wideners of the security concept were the group of theorists working in Copenhagen Peace research Institute. They further were called as Copenhagen school. This group of people with the leading role of Barry Buzan and Ole Waever developed a new concept of security based on the theoretical ground of constructivism. They assumed that everything in IR is socially constructed, including risks and threats. They changed this connotation somehow with the use of certain methodological approach in the study (the approach of speech-act proposed by J.L. Austin). The 'security' in their interpretation got the name of 'securitization theory'.

Concept of Securitization

Almost every phenomenon of the social life can and are studied by different disciplines. What discipline should be used is decided by the aims and tasks of the survey or research. Security as well as migration is the concept, which are the objects of different theoretical fields from economy, sociology, psychology to International Relation studies. Some of the researches such as Peter Burgess note that “until the publication of Buzan’s *People, States and Fear* in 1983 the concept [security] was relatively underdeveloped²³”. The reason for this could be that earlier the attention was payed to mechanisms of functioning and the structure of some security and

²¹ Möller 2000, p. 4.

²² Ibid., p. 7.

²³ Burgess 2005.

political institutions, at the same the term security itself and the question how that or these issues are dealt with in security nexus or in terms of normal politics, was not a matter to be scrutinized.

So, the fundamental basis for the development of securitization approach was introduced in 1991 (1983) in Barry Buzan's *People, State and Fear* and was transformed and further improved in Barry Buzan, Ole Waever and Jaap de Wilde's *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* of 1998. This group of researches represents the so called Copenhagen School of international relations (group of scientists working on the basis of Copenhagen Peace Research Institute).

One of the main ideas of that work by Barry Buzan was to present the concept of security which would be widened comparing with the traditionalist security studies, which argued that the only way to speak of security is to do it in the language of military threats to the state. However, Buzan suggests that this notion should be supplemented by additional sense that security might have. Buzan tends to speak not only about the security of states, but also about the security of "non-state collectives", which can be represented by nations, and about the security of "collectivity of humankind as a whole" in the face of global problems and threats²⁴. Buzan used the sectoral approach to the national security, the one on which the whole theory is based.

In *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* authors also introduced two concepts that should not be mixed; these concepts are the securitization and politicization. Actually this is the dichotomy to decide upon in this very paper, since the task of it is to determine whether the issue of migration is only politicized or already securitized in Sweden. In the researchers' opinion security can be classified as a certain act, which makes the issue be dealt "beyond the established rules of the game [...] as something above politics²⁵". According to this logic any problem or issue in the state may be 'nonpoliticized', 'politicized' or 'securitized'. In the first case it is quite understandable that the problem is not interesting for and government does not interfere to resolve it. The second one characterizes the situation when the issue is a matter of state, which is fully engaged into the decision making and governing the problem. Securitization in its turn means that the issue has been successfully presented as an "existential threat" and because of this fact, any emergency measures that would otherwise be disapproved of can be used to handle it. In spite of the fact that authors call securitization as the final stage or a "further intensification of the politicization²⁶", on international level these processes are somehow opposed. It is so in the sense that while being a political one an issue requires some open debates, some choice to be made, rather than when and if the issue is securitized. Then it is by no means open to public decision

²⁴ Buzan 1991, p. 19.

²⁵ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 23.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

anymore, just the other way round, the issue stops to be handled in terms of normal politics and becomes the prerogative of ‘top leaders’ to decide upon. So, the terms “politicization” and “securitization” could have much in common and the phenomenon of immigration securitization in Sweden should be scrupulously studied to distinguish between the terms.

1.5. Relation of the Study to Previous Research

This study presents further development of the existing approach of securitization of migration, since the main area of the research is the application of the existing theory of securitization to the situation in Sweden. So that there would also be present a kind of innovation in the context of existing scholarship, i.e. the very application of the theory to a specific Nordic country, so that the research would provide the analysis of the problem from the point of view and the position of this very country. Consequently, the research is planned to be more specific about the general mechanism of securitization acts made by the main political actors (political parties) in the chosen region, the analysis of the possible development of the securitization of immigration process (if any) in Sweden.

1.6. The Empirical Scope of the Study and the Identification of Primary Sources

What I am going to study is how some political actor is securitizing the issue of migration in Sweden, and whether she or he is acting successfully or does immigration continue to be just the issue of normal politics, i.e. not securitized but politicized one. In year 2006 a right-wing Parliament came into power in Sweden. In spite of the general view that right-wing parties are associated with securitizing moves, the process of securitization in Sweden is far from being an obvious one. Definitely, some may say, that in this country there is no sign that migration is being securitized.

So, according to the subjects of the research it would be necessary to study more recent parliamentary declarations, party statements and petitions, the highlighting of the mood of the Swedish society and immigrants living in Sweden in mass media in the period of pre-election campaign and afterwards. In this case the web pages of the Social Democratic Party and the Moderate Party were scrutinized in particular for the reason that these parties comprise the cores of the both coalitions presented in Swedish Parliament. However, to show the general moods of the Swedish society, the views and proclamations, which were made by the ultra-right wing party of Sweden, which is not elected to the central Parliament, but is represented on some local levels – Swedish Democrats – were also analyzed in the paper. Moreover to show the picture better

there are the examples of the assessment of the immigration issue in Sweden made by the local mass media.

1.7. Methodological Orientation

According to Waever to register the act of something being securitized, the task is not to assess some objective threats that ‘really’ endanger some object, rather it is to understand the processes of constructing a shared understanding of what is to be considered and collectively responded to as a threat. The process of securitization is a speech act. So, the whole Waever’s approach on securitization is based on the ‘speech act’ theory of J.L. Austin. That is why Austin’s methodological approach is chosen to be applied in the paper.

1.7.1. The Concept of Speech Act

Theory of speech acts is an appropriate methodology for constructivism as constructivism suggests that it is necessary to study language to understand the character of human beings and societies. The speech act approach of J.L. Austin that was presented in his book *How to Do Things with Words* (1962) is devoted exactly to this very phenomenon. It is not interested in the structure of a language as such but rather in its effects and actions. Austin noticed that many statements appeared to be ‘strictly nonsense’, in spite of their right grammar; and also he noticed that some utterances had the function of not only informing, but also of evincing emotion or prescribing conduct or influencing somebody in a special way²⁷.

1.7.2. Constative / Performative Speech Acts

Austin divides all the utterances to two main types: constatives and performatives. He argues that constative statements are those which are subject to true/false rule. That is, such utterances may be either true or false and therefore contain some sort of information that can be easily checked out, either proved or rejected. In this case performatives refer to fact of their own successful performance, i.e. something is done by saying the word (or the utterance itself is a performing of an action).²⁸ For example, giving a promise, betting, naming a ship are performatives. Two main characteristics of such utterances according to Austin are:

- 1) “they do not describe or report anything at all, are not true or false; and
- 2) the uttering of the sentence is, or is a part of, the doing of an action, which would not normally be described as ‘just’ saying something”.²⁹

²⁷ Austin 1962, 1975, p.2.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

For example, in the appropriate circumstances to say “I name this ship the *Queen Elizabeth*” (as uttered when smashing the bottle against the stem) is to do nothing less than to name the ship. Other examples include: “I do” (sc. take this man as my lawfully wedded husband), or “I give and bequeath this watch to my brother,” (as occurring in a will). All three examples demonstrate that the sentence is not used to describe or state that one is 'doing' something, but to actually 'do' it (Austin 6). So to utter a performative sentence means for Austin not to describe doing of what is said in the utterance, nor it is to state that somebody is doing it, rather simply to do it.³⁰

Austin also mentions that the performatives can be either explicit (those beginning with or including an expression, such as ‘I bet’, ‘I promise’, ‘I bequeath’ etc., i.e. the expression very commonly used in naming the act that is performed – betting, promising, bequeathing, etc.) and implicit (those where it is nothing in the circumstances that could help to define the utterances as performatives, but in a given situation it can be open to a researcher to decide whether it is one)³¹. The explicit performative must be, as Austin argues, “a later development than certain more primary utterances, many of which at least are already implicit performances”³². Speech acts become explicit if they are performed in the first person singular present indicative active form (or second and third and impersonal passive forms with signature appended), however any utterance that is a performative should be reducible or reproducible in such a form, with a verb in the first person singular present indicative active³³.

So, the distinction between constative and performative may be showed as the distinction between doing and saying. Although they have much in common also, and while the performatives could not be characterized by truth/ false criterion, at the same time, the criterion of Infelicity is applicable to constatives. But to see the parallel between statements and performatives, the total situation in which the utterance is issued – the total speech-act - should be considered. As Austin claims, “the total speech act in the total speech situation is emerging from logic piecemeal as important in special cases: and thus we are assimilating the supposed constative utterance to the performative”³⁴.

1.7.3. Locution / Illocution / Perlocution

Consider what happens when John Smith turns to Jane Green and says ‘Is Bill’s shirt red?’, to which Jane replies ‘Yes’. Firstly, John has produced a series of bodily movements which

³⁰ Austin 1962, 1975, p. 6.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

³² Ibid., p. 71.

³³ Ibid., pp. 61-62.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 52.

result in the production of a certain sound. Austin called such a performance a *phonetic act* (*performing the act of uttering certain noises*), and called the act a *phone*. John's utterance also conforms to the lexical and grammatical conventions of English – that is, John has produced an English sentence. Austin called this a “phatic act (uttering certain vocables or words, i.e. noises belonging to a certain vocabulary, conforming to a certain grammar and intonation)”, and labels such utterances *phemes*.³⁵ John also referred to Bill's shirt, and to the color red. To use a *pHEME* with a more or less definite sense and reference is to utter a *rheme*, and to perform a *rhetic act*. One cannot perform a *rheme* without also performing a *pHEME* and a *phone*. The performance of these three acts is the performance of a *locution* – it is the act of saying something³⁶. In the contrary, the act of *illocution* is a “performance of an act **in** saying something”³⁷.

The *illocutionary* and even *locutionary* acts involve conventions, whereas the *perlocutionary* act “always include some consequences”. It is important to distinguish the *illocutionary* act from *perlocutionary* one, i.e. for example to see the difference between “in saying it I was warning him” and “by saying it I convinced him, or surprised him, or got him to stop”.³⁸

However to acknowledge *illocutionary* as a happy or successful one the achievement of certain effect is still needed (in Austin's words ‘to secure uptake’³⁹).

The difference between *constative* and *performative* acts also occur in this aspect of *locutionary/ illocutionary* acts. With studying the *constative* utterance it is advisable to abstract from *illocutionary* aspects of the speech act and to concentrate on the *locutionary* ones, it is quite the other way round with *performatives*, since then it is preferable to give more attention to *illocutionary* force of the utterance, and not to consider the general correspondence with facts.⁴⁰

1.7.4. Felicity Conditions

To make the *performative* be a “happy” or successful one, some certain conditions, so called ‘*felicity conditions*’, have to exist. As it was already stated *performatives* cannot be subject to truth/ false criterion. However, as Austin puts it, “it is always necessary that the circumstances in which the words are uttered should be in some way, or ways, appropriate, and it is very commonly necessary that either the speaker himself or other persons should also perform certain

³⁵ Austin 1962, 1975, pp. 91-93.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 107-110.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

other actions, whether physical or mental actions or even acts of uttering further words”⁴¹. So this kind of circumstances can be called like ‘outward’ ones.

At the same time, there should also be some ‘inward’ conditions, for example, the possessing of certain intention to keep the promise while uttering ‘I promise’. It is necessary to escape the situation, which was defined even by Hippolytus like “my tongue swore to, but my heart did not”⁴². For example, to bet is not only to say the words ‘I bet’, but also to do it in a right way/ manner, and even then there remains the possibility that it would not be possible to agree that someone succeeded in betting. In this case Austin brings in the Doctrine of Infelicities,⁴³ i.e. some conditions (laws) that should be observed while uttering in order to make the utterance happy, so that none of the things appeared that could be and go wrong during the speech act.

Such conditions could be divided in some groups, for example Austin classifies those groups of conditions as A1, A2, B1, and B2 as opposed to Γ1 and Γ2. In this case the opposition of two Latin groups and the last Greek letters is to show actually the difference between the outward and inward conditions. So, for the utterance to be a ‘happy one’:

A 1. it must be uttered in conformity with an accepted conventional procedure (in this case – “uttering of certain words by certain persons in certain circumstances”) leading to a certain conventional effect, and

A 2. these particular persons and circumstances must be empowered to invoke the particular procedure invoked (to avoid misinvocation of the procedure and misapplication of it).

B 1. all the participants should follow the procedure both *correctly* and

B 2. completely (so as to prevent misexecution (e.g. procedure of naming a ship: instead of smashing the bottle at the stem, to let it fall) or incomplete execution of an act (e.g. “I bet you five pounds that this dog will win the race” =>no answer...bet is not on).

Γ 1. the participants of the procedure should mean what they say and have a desire to follow and act with the conformity with what they say, and finally

Γ 2. must so act afterwards.⁴⁴

However, not only performatives but also some constatives (or simply “statements” as called by the author) can be liable to felicity conditions. Austin also mentions that the utterance to be taken seriously must be said in ordinary circumstances (and not, for example, by an actor on the stage)⁴⁵.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 8.

⁴² Austin 1962, 1975, p. 9.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 14.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

According to Austin the concept of the Infelicity can be applied to all ceremonial acts, not merely verbal ones, and also the list of infelicities that the author has provided could be not complete. It is also obvious that during one utterance more than one condition can be violated, so that this violation would bring the combination of different infelicities that occur in one and the same speech act⁴⁶.

1.7.5. Classification of Performative Acts

Austin in his *How to Do Things with Words* provides for the following classification of performative speech acts:

1. Verdictives (giving of a verdict by a jury, arbiter, or umpire, etc.). They consist in “the delivering of a finding, official or unofficial, upon evidence or reasons, also as a judicial act”.⁴⁷ The examples could be: read it as, interpret as, rule, calculate, convict, estimate, locate, place, asses, characterize, analyze, etc.
2. Exercitives are the exercising of rights, powers, or influence (appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, warning, etc.). Also by exercitives it is meant “giving of a decision in favour of or against a certain course of action, or advocacy of it. So it is always the decision that something is to be so, in contrary to verdictive, which is a judgment that it is so”⁴⁸. Its consequences may be that others are compelled or allowed or not allowed to do certain acts. A few examples of exercitives are: appoint, dismiss, name, order, command, bequeath, dedicate, grant, nominate, etc.
3. Commissives (promising or undertaking) commit to doing something, but include also declarations or announcements of intention, which are not promises and espousals (siding with ...)⁴⁹. For example, promise, undertake, contract, give a word, am determined to, guarantee, pledge oneself, bet, consent, adopt, oppose, etc.
4. Behabitives are a kind of performative concerned roughly with reactions to behavior and with behavior towards others and are designed to exhibit attitudes and feelings, for example, apologizing, commending, condoling, cursing, and challenging, resenting, criticizing, etc. Although Austin mentions that there are so-called polite phrases that could have been classified as behabitives, but in reality have nothing to do with performatives, for example: “I have pleasure”, “I am sorry to have to say”,

⁴⁶ Austin 1962, 1975, p. 26.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 153.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 155.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

or “I am gratified to be in a position to announce ...”, i.e. conventional expressions used particularly in diplomacy.⁵⁰

5. Expositives or expositional performatives, they include “the expounding of views, the conducting of arguments, and the clarifying of the usages and of references”⁵¹, i.e. these are utterances fit into the course of an argument or conversation.

In the conclusion Austin says that all in all “verdictive is an exercise of judgment, the exercitive is an assertion of influence or exercising of power, the commissive is an assuming of an obligation or declaring of an intention, the bahabitive is the adopting of an attitude, and the expositive is the clarifying of reasons, arguments, and communications”⁵².

However, this approach may not be enough to analyze the existing trend of politicization and/or securitization of immigration process in Sweden. The reason for this is that in securitization process not only the act that is important, but also the reaction of the audience, which in a case of success is supposed to approve of the emergency measures that otherwise would be impossible to apply to handle the problem of an ‘existential threat’. Bearing this notion in mind it is also possible to use rhetoric in the analysis, which is the art or technique of persuasion. This art, however includes not verbal speech, but also for example – visual patterns, which include images that now are produced by television (the role of which is increasing rapidly). Sometimes it is enough to show a vivid picture, than to speak about it (for example, the effect that has the programme “No comment” on Euronews channel – showing only the picture, without any verbal commenting).

To analyze the influence of securitization steps in relation to migration issue the external context also should be taken into consideration. To win the audience usually means to say or tell about something that is very sensible and vulnerable for the audience, something that is a part of historical conjuncture. So, the success of securitization of immigration then depends on the ability of the securitizing actor to invoice the issue as a security one, when impatience and insecurity of the audience is at critical level. Such an inclination toward an externalist tendency may be seen more thoroughly in Thierry Balzacq’s *The three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context*⁵³.

Michael Williams also mentions that speech act or simple linguistic rhetoric is not enough for the performance of a successful security act. Securitization should involve also the certain content of speech devices, gestures, tonality, images, ideas, identifying mechanisms, metaphors,

⁵⁰ Austin 1962, 1975, pp. 81-83.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 161.

⁵² Ibid., p. 163.

⁵³ Balzacq 2005, pp. 171-201.

some other instruments that will “resonate with the hearer’s language⁵⁴”, and thus attract the attention to the issue and make the audience believe it is spoken of a security problem.

Björn Hettne and Elizabeth Abiri also provide some critique against the method chosen by CoS in their research of the securitization of cross-border migration in Sweden⁵⁵. They consider that in Sweden the security discourse is not prior to the process of securitization, as it is proved by the speech act theory. These authors try to argue that in this very country the link between the securitization and migration works the other way around: “security as a policy making act precedes the speech act⁵⁶” – to put it in their words. However, this paper is based on the assumption that it is a speech-act theory together with the rhetorical devices, which are used to support the views, that is appropriate method in analyzing the securitization moves around the migration issue in Sweden.

1.8. Methodical Application

As it could be seen from the previous part of the work, the constructivist theory (and the scholars of Copenhagen School as its part) uses the methodological approach provided by J.L. Austin. The application of the mentioned methodology is used for the analysis of performatives that participate in the making of securitizing speech acts, for assessment of their effectiveness and the results of “happy securitization acts” which should provide the appropriate reaction of the audience.

It will also be used to trace if present securitizing moves in Swedish politics possess needed ‘felicity conditions’ to make the issue be successfully securitized. The peculiarity of the securitization theory is that it pays little attention or rejects as such a role of ‘objective threat’, i.e. the presence of conditions or the character of the situation, which can be a danger only by the fact of its presence. Waever et al. believe that a number of forces and arms at the border of a neighbour can never be a threat on its own without a context and a political will of the authorities. For example, countries of the NATO will never assess as a threat the increase in number of rockets or tanks or whatever by one of the members of the organization. At the same time, such an increase made by a non-friendly state will be necessarily presented as a threat to security of European states.

Securitization is ultimately constituted in the inter-subjective realm and therefore even very important conditions for successful securitization can never replace the political act as such. This, however, does not make the conditions uninteresting. Security can never be a characteristic

⁵⁴ Balzacq 2005, p.184. & Williams 2003, p. 526.

⁵⁵ Hettne & Abiri 1998, pp.187-202.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 187.

of situation or condition; rather it is an act of political will to decide whether or not and how an issue should be tackled. In the support of securitization approach Martin O. Heisler also talks about the non-military problems, including the issues of migration, as of the items, which “are much more what they are made out to be than how ‘objective reality’ would have them⁵⁷”.

This methodology will also be helpful in deciding who are and can be successful securitizing actors in case with immigration in Sweden. Who plays a role sufficient to make people believe and adopt the idea that immigrants endanger Swedish society and allow the authorities get the issue above the realm of ‘normal politics’. So with this method applied it could be possible to watch and analyze who can ‘do’ or ‘speak’ security successfully, on what issues, under what conditions, and with what effects.

Rhetoric in its turn will help to understand the current situation with the attitude of Swedes toward the issue, the attitude of immigrants themselves and to prove that present ruling party in Sweden is inclined and already makes some steps in order to securitize the issue.

1.9. Scholarly Contribution of the Study

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the planned aim of the research is to gain certain practical results in the field of securitization of migration in the context of Swedish society. The study makes contributions in three main directions, i.e. theoretical (the securitization theory), methodological (the theory of speech-act and rhetoric), and the empirical (the attitude of the Swedish society and politicians toward the issue). The theory itself has been much written about but in this particular aspect (proof of the successful securitization of migration issue in Sweden) it has not been applied. So, the contribution of the would-be research to the existing scholarship will lie in the application of the theory in a new empirical domain.

⁵⁷ Heisler 2001, p. 246.

2. THEORY OF SECURITIZATION: SOCIETAL SECURITY SECTOR

2.1. Security Sectors

Theory of securitization aroused a lot of disputes and discourses. Many researches criticized the scholars of CoS for their desire to make every issue be seen through the prism of security field. However, Ole Waever and Barry Buzan tell about the securitization of the phenomena with negative connotation. They learn and study the securitization process in order to find possible opposite process of making less and less issues being treated as security ones. Sectoral approach was at first used by Barry Buzan, whose view was then changed and developed during further studies.

The issue of security is dealt by Waever et al. in context of international issue. Authors argue that international field is a specific one and differs from other spheres in the sense that it is exactly international security, which “is about survival⁵⁸”. Actually to understand better this postulate of the CoS it is necessary to note that such notions as existential threat, emergency measures, referent object, securitizing, functional actors are much interwoven. That is the reason to try to analyze these concepts separately, one by one. But to proceed with this analysis it is also necessary to bear in mind that this approach to security is fully based on the concept of security sectors. This means that different spheres of life in the country can be dealt separately according to their specific function, whether it is a political, military, economic, environmental or societal one. There are different approaches to define sectors, whether as the specific type of interactions or in relation to the security as in this particular theory.

As it was already above mentioned, this present approach to sectors was firstly developed by Barry Buzan, who however talked of them still from state-centric perspective. This concept was later modified to prove that if multisectoral approach is used, then referent objects other than state should exist⁵⁹. Although this separation on sectors is preferred by the researches, they argue that this was made only for the analysis to be easier, and by no way sectors are disconnected from each other. The situation only differs from the point of view of an analyst of different interest (economist, political realist, military strategist, or environmentalist are all “looking at the whole but seeing only one dimension of its reality⁶⁰”). So, according to the authors there always are “inevitable spillovers between sectors⁶¹”, in the way that the situation in one sector influences directly or indirectly on that of the other sector.

⁵⁸ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 21.

⁵⁹ See in *ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Therefore, security sectors may be characterized by different kinds of interaction within each of them. Correspondingly, each sector is supposed to have its particular units and values and at the same time the concepts that we began with, i.e. 'survival' and a 'threat' will not be the same in every sector.

2.2. Semiotic structure of securitization

The CoS with no doubt may be seen as innovative one, since the researches for the first time made a difference between the subject and the object of security. And as Peter Burgess puts it paraphrasing the Waever's et al view, it is the subject of securitization who “carries out an act ascribing security valence to the referent object⁶²”.

Hence, the act of securitization is connected with the presence of different groups, or as Waever calls them “units of security analysis⁶³”, namely ‘referent objects’, ‘securitizing actors’ and ‘functional actors’. Not everything corresponds to all the requirements to become a referent object. For example, it is not enough that something is threatening to the object for it to become a referent one. For the first thing this threat must be an existential one, i.e. to threaten the very existence of the object, and secondly, this object should “have a legitimate claim to survival⁶⁴” according to Waever et al, because in case this will not happen some dramatic consequences will proceed. Thus, to prove that securitization approach is a part of social constructivism, securitization process is characterized as an intersubjective one, when referent objects as well as existential threats are always constructed by actors.

As to the securitizing actors – there is a special place reserved for them by the securitization approach. The main point is that not everyone has the authority to make some issues securitized. This authority however “is never absolute⁶⁵” in terms of the authors. The reason for such a situation is that even if the subject has enough authority it is not with a 100% guarantee that the audience will believe that the situation needs emergency measures, as well as, no one actually is deprived of the right to make a securitizing move, however chances for such a move to be a successful one depend on the authority. So, to sum up, securitizing actors are subjects of security “who securitize issues by declaring something (a referent object) existentially threatened⁶⁶” as it is provided by Waever et al.

A functional actor is the category, which can be easily mixed with the securitizing actors. However functional ones are different in the way that they neither represent the referent object

⁶² Burgess 2005.

⁶³ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 35-36.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 36.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 31.

⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 36.

nor call for security of the one, however still play definite roles within sector relations. Functional actors include all kind of institutions that act according to the order of securitizing actors. They take into consideration the profit, market share, audience attraction, which can be developed by highlighting this or that issue as a security one⁶⁷. These functional actors may include some profile companies in the sectors, specific institutions that are quite influential in the field, and mass media to some extent.

According to the presented approach, referent objects, securitizing and functional actors are different (sometimes not necessarily, but mostly) in all sectors. For example, in a military sector traditionally state can be called the most important referent object. In this case ruling elites, pressure groups and defense intellectuals may be considered as possible securitizing actors. However, potential referent objects in the field may also be non-state institutions, such as tribes or nations (so called by the authors “pre-state referent objects”⁶⁸). Functional actors in this sector may be represented by for example arms industry (including state and private sector), Defense, Finance and Foreign Ministries, etc.

In environmental sector authors call environment as such, or the risk of losing achieved levels of civilization a possible referent object. As to functional and securitizing actors in environmental sectors, to define them authors use the approach of Porter and Brown, who divide the active participants of decision making in this sphere of life into lead actors, veto actors and veto coalitions⁶⁹. Among functional actors transnational corporations may also be present in this sector.

Economic sector in authors’ opinion is rich on referent objects, beginning from “displaced workers” to global economy market, including national economies and states. However, firms can rarely be presented as referent objects for the reason that they have nothing to prove their existence is necessary⁷⁰. At the same time representatives of states, IGOs and firms are the securitizing actors who can manage to achieve better results in the securitizing moves in economic sector.

In the political sector among other referent objects again territorial state is noticed, plus some new objects appear in this connection on the stage, such as emerging quasi-superstates (the EU), some of self-organized, stateless societal groups, which have strong political institutions of the form, which is not recognized by the international society, and some transnational movements

⁶⁷ See in Williams 2003, p. 528.

⁶⁸ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, pp. 49, 52, 55, 56-57.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 77. (for more information see: Porter, Gareth, and Janet W. Brown (1991) *Global Environmental Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press).

⁷⁰ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, pp. 100, 103.

that are able to mobilize supreme allegiance from adherents (communism of Soviet Union⁷¹) following the words of the researchers. The securitizing actors in such relations are states, or society of states, international media, and international law.

To the societal sector we will turn later, because the topic under analysis in the present paper – immigration – refers exactly to the societal security and therefore needs more thorough analysis.

On the whole after the cursory examination of the sectors it can be concluded that the state-centric approach that for a long time was the main in IR is the reason why still now state is supposed to be an “ideal referent object” almost in all sectors of security. This happens because the construction of referent object highly depends on its size. For example, as authors put it, individuals or small groups can rarely be made referent objects, for no appropriate response from the society will follow to answer somebody’s claims about the security of his/herself. There were some attempts to make a referent object on the system level, for example, to make it a question of all humankind. However the most competitive one is still middle ground that is represented by the state or nation. Still “security is not only about the states [... but] an area of competing actors⁷²”.

2.3. Securitization in CoS

Securitization itself is a very specific process. It is actually about the threats to and vulnerabilities of some ‘referent objects’. It is however important that to make an issue be a security one, just a threat is not enough. This threat must be presented as threatening the very existence of the object. While making an attempt to place something in above political spectrum, the role of audience increases. Presence of an existential threat does not automatically mean that the issue is already securitized. To be made one, the audience should accept a presented by the securitizing actor threat to pose danger to existence of a referent object, which must necessarily live without being destroyed. Since the relation between securitizing actors and audience is crucial, as written above, it is of high importance to make clear difference between a ‘securitizing move’ and ‘successful securitization’⁷³, to use authors’ terms. Like the dichotomy between politicization and securitization this one is also useful to consider in this very paper, since we should distinguish between attempts and results of making an issue securitized, i.e. securitization moves and successful securitization itself.

⁷¹ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 145, 149.

⁷² Ibid., p. 37.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 25.

To the minds of Waever, Buzan and de Wilde, successful securitization should necessarily include “three components: existential threat, emergency action, and effects on interunit relations by breaking free of rules⁷⁴”. It is caused by the process of interaction between securitizing actor and audience that requires specific actions and reactions from both. Therefore, by this approach security is understood as a kind of certain speech act (based on the Speech-act theory defined in details by J.L. Austin). In this case *to say* something is the same as *to do* something. Applied to the theory of securitization, it is not a threat itself, which is important, rather to represent/construct an image or a perception of something as a threat to existence of some societal values is more significant. This represents linguistic and rhetoric structure of securitization, and makes it clear why rhetoric and speech act theory are used in the analysis of the securitization process. Securitizing move or security argument always has its features.

However, this point produced by Waever and others is not the only one. Didier Bigo in his turn considers, that securitization is something more than discursive and linguistic practices. He assumes that this process “is of the same nature as non-discursive practices, technologies at work, effects of power, struggles and especially institutional competition within the security field⁷⁵”. Jef Huysmans also has the position that largely corresponds with the view of Didier Bigo. Huysmans argues that for successful securitization not only rhetoric and speech acts should be appropriate. His view also corresponds with that of Williams and is related to the higher value of the functional actors in the process.⁷⁶

Ole Waever *et al.* considers that the securitization may be of two different kinds: ad hoc and institutionalized. The first one is characterized by doing the securitizing steps however without any guarantee that these steps will be successful ones. According to the authors, it is military sector where a kind of institutions is well established, so that the process of securitization of certain issues dealt by these agencies automatically gains force and recognition of the case to be an emergency one by the public⁷⁷. When the speech act is established successfully, then the possibility exists that the securitization process will become institutionalized. The securitization process thus moves through several stages of development, from ad hoc securitization to a stage of high politicization, before it is ‘normalized’ and is becoming part of standard political discourse.

However, institutionalization could not become a final stage of securitization. It can occur if, for example, authorities manage to construct the image of an immigrant as enemy again and again. And at the same time the audience (public) will be ready and persuaded to treat the issues

⁷⁴ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 26.

⁷⁵ Bigo in Aradau 2001b.

⁷⁶ Huysmans in Aradau 2001b.

⁷⁷ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, pp. 27-28.

connected with immigrants as emergency ones, which need strongly to be solved in first place without any delay⁷⁸.

Authors also characterize securitization as intersubjective process. The reason is obvious, securitizing actors cannot themselves decide upon the success of the securitizing move, there is also audience that matter. Therefore the process is a social one and is decided *among* the actors. In his work *Security Agendas: Old and New Ole Waever* also draws attention to the crucial role of audience in the process of securitization, because the issue becomes securitized if and when “the relevant audience accepts the security argument to an extent where this could be used as a basis for using extra-ordinary means at fending off the alleged threat⁷⁹”. In this case we face a kind of contradiction between the notion that certain attention should be paid to audience and a method, which is used by CoS theoreticians, i.e. speech-act theory. Actually, as it was already mentioned speech-act theory does not suppose to take into consideration the mood and attitude of public, rather only the structure and the procedure of making a speech act. So, meaning the role of audience in the process, some other approaches should also be used in analysis of the securitization process, for example, rhetoric.

2.4. Facilitating conditions

With the tribute to the theory of J.L. Austin, Waever *et al.* on the basis of the speech act approach also provides for facilitating or felicity conditions that make securitization more probable. Among the conditions, which in the opinion of the authors may do the securitization attempts successful the first place is held by the position of the securitizing actor. Not everyone has the potential to make successful securitizing moves. However, such a position never guarantees automatically that they will succeed in the process. Of course, it is important – what is the position of an actor, but there are other necessary requirements, which should be fulfilled in order for an issue to be securitized.⁸⁰ The authors say about the necessary “combination of language and society, of both intrinsic features of speech and the group that authorizes and recognizes that speech⁸¹”, which can provide for the successful speech act.

Therefore, Waever *et al.* distinguish three groups of such conditions. The first one contains as Waever puts it “demand internal to the speech act of following the grammar of security⁸²”, which includes existential threat, point of no return, and a possible way out of the threatening situation. The second group involves intersocial relation between the audience and

⁷⁸ van Dijck 2000, p.5.

⁷⁹ Waever 2000.

⁸⁰ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, pp. 31-32.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.32.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

securitizing actor, who in his turn should possess enough authority and charismatic features, so that the chance that the audience will believe him is higher. The third group in the opinion of the authors includes the main characteristics of the “alleged threats that either impede or facilitate securitization⁸³”. Consequently, the authors developed the concept of Austin’s felicity conditions applying it to the securitization issue. To sum it up, bearing in mind that making an issue to be a security one, is actually saying, that it is a part of security nexus, moreover according to the CoS this saying should be presented obeying certain rules, procedures and conditions.

2.5. Desecuritization process as a possible effect of securitization practices.

Although the CoS pays much attention to security and securitization process, they do not tend to widen the security to unlimited number of issues, nor to argue for the securitization as a process, which can be good and profitable for the development of modern society. According to the Copenhagen school turning and dealing with the issues in a security realm should be assessed as a negative phenomenon, when authorities are not able to tackle thing without using extraordinary, emergency measures as they are supposed to do. Instead, they prefer to construct an existential threat and gain the approval for use of unlimited and uncontrolled measures. So Waever introduces the de-securitization practice as the optimal long-range option, since it means not to have issues framed in a statement when they are presented as “threats against which we have countermeasures but to move them out of this threat/defense/sequence into the ordinary public sphere⁸⁴” (or the economy, etc). So, people should pay more attention to desecuritization rather than to securitization practices in order to achieve peacefulness and to create conditions for stable development of the society.

According to Waever the concept of ‘de-securitization’ lies directly in the logic of securitization theory. Traditional approach to security supposed that security and insecurity are just the contrary options. This approved of the arms racing, because it automatically meant that the more security measures are taken by the state, the better, the more secure will its population feel. However, it is not always the case, because the increase in arms and forces of one state made other states doing the same (symmetrical answer to the demands of international system). So, the increased number of armies and weapons could never bring the feeling of security to the people. Waever and his supporters agree that security and insecurity are the concepts that have much in common and are constructed about the threats. In Claudia Aradau’s *Migration: The spiral of (In)security* it can be seen that the more securitization moves are made the more insecure feeling

⁸³ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 33.

⁸⁴ Waever 2000.

arises among the population, who start to be afraid of what is presented as a threat. Waever for example, from the view of securitization theory introduces this dichotomy as a triad:

- 1) “insecurity is the situation when there is a threat and no defense against it;
- 2) security is a situation with a threat and a defense against it;
- 3) and a-security is a situation that has been desecuritized or never securitized, when the issue is simply not phrased in these terms, it is not a question of being secure or not and there is not a perception of existential threats being present⁸⁵”.

So, in the compliance with this triad, for securitization theory supporters desecuritization, i.e. absence of any existential threat, is always better than production of exceeding security. They say that it is better not to raise questions in a security nexus and to speak about fewer issues as ones that need to be decided as a part of security. However, even if for the CoS desecuritization is an ideal they, first, pay too little attention to the process of securitization and fail to present a mechanism by which an issue may be desecuritized to the level of normal politics again, and secondly, as some of the scientists mention the desecuritization process contradicts the method of speech act.

Just to draw attention to quite a radical view on desecuritization of Andreas Behnke, who claims that in terms of speech act perspective desecuritization should be a proclamation that an issue is no longer a matter of security and does not represent an existential threat. But in this case such a statement will necessarily lead to a “language game” as Behnke calls it, when there is a strong debate and an issue can never leave the security discourse, hence preserves the status of a security issue. So, Behnke argues, that to desecuritize an issue better not speak about it at all, or to cite him “an issue becomes desecuritized through a lack of speech⁸⁶”. However, such an opinion is not shared by the majority of the securitization theory supporters, who think that desecuritization is possible and necessary for calming down threats and normalization of the issues from the exceptional field.

At the same time, another unusual view on desecuritization is the approach called risk-management. According to this approach issues are not defined in a security realm, rather risk society is taking place. In this case all the attention is paid to the mechanisms and techniques of successful risk management, which has more in common with desecuritization rather than securitization trend. Risk management differs significantly from exceptional logic of the process of securitization. Risk management techniques are better described in Rens van Munster’s *Logics of Security: The Copenhagen School, Risk Management and the War on Terror*. Risk management is completely different from the securitization theory, firstly for the reason that it

⁸⁵ Waever 2000.

⁸⁶ Behnke 2006, p.65.

rejects the friend-enemy dichotomy introduced by Karl Schmitt and presented in securitization approach. Rather risk management tries to classify, define, and evaluate some risks that unite a certain group of society, who fall actually under this risk⁸⁷. For all that, the measures are taken to manage this risk, i.e. to think about the possible ways of its development and to prevent the risk from evolving into the real threat to a community.

Munster tells that in risk management the subject does not have any concrete identity; that is why it is impossible to draw a line between a friend and an enemy. Rather, here everything depends on the concrete situation and configurations that are likely to create the situation of risk. At the same time, we can speak about at least three differences between the CoS approach and risk management. They are different in the definition of threat, strategy that is used to cope with the problem and the aim and tasks which are to be fulfilled. While the securitization theory is largely based on Schmittian dichotomy of friend/enemy and personification of a threat, risk management defines a threat in terms of “impersonal correlation of factors liable to produce risk⁸⁸”. Securitization theory assumes that some extra-ordinary mechanisms and instruments should be attracted to fight against and to cope with an existential threat and directed against the threat itself, while in risk management the appropriate measures are the monitoring, control, supervision, and analysis of the risks. And the last one, the aim or goal of the measures taken by the securitization approach is to handle the threat, to decrease or ‘erase’ it and make the social and political order survive. At the same time risk management deals not with existential threats, rather with risks preventing them from converting into a real threat⁸⁹.

Thus, the main task of risk management is to never drive the situation to the top intensity when it becomes threatening and spoken about in terms of security and war, just the other way round, all the factors should be calculated and the picture of the context built in full to notice that such a combination of components may produce risks for certain group of people and take every possible measure to control and manage the risk, so that it never develops to an existential threat, or in other words the task of risk management can be characterized as “making attempts to preempt or dedramatize conflict by acting upon the physical and social structures within which individuals conduct themselves⁹⁰”. Therefore, to provide the system of effective risk management strategy, it should include a special control structure comprised of risk calculations, risk management and risk reduction as a part of security mechanisms and instruments.

⁸⁷ van Munster, 2005.

⁸⁸ Rose cited in van Munster 2005.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

The main characteristics of the managerial techniques are “preventive rather than transformative or punitive⁹¹”. Managerial logic cannot include for example the contradiction of friend and enemy or be directed against the threat, i.e. the one who is threatening. Just the other way round, managerial approach is designed to manage the normal life of society and the development of the structure, economic welfare of the state.

As it was mentioned above, Ole Waever insists that desecuritization practice is a better alternative to a securitization one and says that it can be achieved in three different ways: not speaking about the issue at all, not to address the issue in security terms, or to return the issue back to the field of normal politics. However, the mechanism of such a return remains unclear, because the CoS seems to have underdeveloped this kind of thing. Anyway, it can be noticed that not to be laid in the security realm we can manage the issue (the process, which was described before) or transform the issue or in other words – desecuritize it.

Jef Huysmans offers three possible methods of desecuritization. The first one called ‘objectivist’ one refers to the situation when statistical, logical information and facts are used to convince the public that immigrants or any other issue does not represent a threat to the society or the state. The second one, ‘constructivist’ approach pays attention not to convincing, rather to understanding of the reasons and phenomena, which made an issue be treated as one of the security issues. In this case it is necessary to understand the way the issue was securitized in order to tackle and overcome the problem successfully.

And the third one, which is actually advised by Huysmans, is called a “deconstructivist” approach. It represents an outlook from inside the problem. To follow this method means to find a real story which will present an issue as a nice and society-friendly process. In case of migration it will mean the story of migrant who can be presented as the one of ‘us’, not different, the one with family, having a profession, children and so on⁹².

To sum up, desecuritization practices are the ones that follow directly from the securitization process. In this case one of the best ways is not to follow the securitization practices at first hand and in the process of addressing the problems to use the managerial approach, which stands for managing the issue rather than creating the dichotomy friend-enemy and breeding up the atmosphere of insecurity. However, if the issue was securitized it can be either not spoken about or desecuritized. However, now the process of desecuritization was not scrutinized enough and all the methods actually consist of the approach to desecuritization offered by Jef Huysmans.

⁹¹ Aradau 2001a.

⁹² Huysmans 1995, p. 56-57.

In this paper we are not trying to assess the desuritization process in Sweden, rather some securitization practices, so desecuritization process was not the aim of the work and it is touched upon as a necessary component of the securitization theory.

2.6. Securitization of Migration

With the tension which is rising around the self and other concept, migration is today perceived not only as a threat to the state, but also to the welfare and stable development of the host society, including its identity. According to the Ole Waever and others approach to security and the process of securitization, immigration is the issue to be dealt with in the frameworks of the societal security sector. The main problem with the societal sector is the issue of identity of a collectiveness, or as Waever puts it, “societal security is about large, self-sustaining identity groups⁹³”. Ole Waever does not think that security should be widened to individual level, rather it is about collectivities. In this connection strong differentiation should be made between social and societal security, the first one being correlated to individuals and economy to the large extent.

Therefore, if there is a group identifying itself with some ‘we’, so the threats in the societal sector are directed against the existence of that ‘we’. Among such issues the most often threat is considered to be migration inflows to the country. The reaction to such a threat by a community can take a form of acting themselves or with the help of government and other political institutions, so it becomes too close to the political sector and thus difficult to analyze⁹⁴.

The most frequent referent objects in societal sector include “tribes, clans, nations, or ethnic units, civilizations, religions, and race⁹⁵”. Media plays a significant role in making societal issues securitized. So, here the importance of functional actors is tremendous. These sources of information can easily produce either the image of friend or enemy of one and the same immigrant.

Didier Bigo has introduced a kind of critique to the approach of CoS, however adopting the widened security agenda. Nevertheless, in his approach that unites constructivist and structuralist tendencies Bigo considers that security must be seen not through the prism of sectors, rather through securitization and insecurity practices that can be traced through both internal and external sphere of the state. Bigo argues that there are no increasing threats either to state or the society at present time, however modern societies are characterized by “lowering of the level of acceptability of the other⁹⁶”. Or as he further argues that host societies already

⁹³ Buzan, Waever & de Wilde 1998, p. 119.

⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 122.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 123.

⁹⁶ Bigo 2005, p. 69.

associate organized crime and terrorism “with the presence of immigrants poorly integrated in new societies⁹⁷”.

Society, which according to Wæver is about identity, and “its self-conception as a community, and the individuals who identify themselves as members of this society, begins to see itself as a security agent under threat⁹⁸”. In consistence with the view of CoS identity may be a referent object in the societal sector, in spite of identity is never a central point in IR. Actually in this case it should be mentioned that constructing the other, the enemy, which is introduced by the CoS seems to have much in common with the realism of Karl Schmitt. In this context, some influence of Karl Schmitt’s concepts of “the other”, “the political” and “the exception” may be traced in the securitization theory by Buzan and Wæver⁹⁹. Since security is a socially constructed concept, groups in part “create” each other in an intersubjective relationship, projecting their fears onto the “other” in the process. Immigration helps provide the new “other” in West European societies, legitimizing the need for restrictive measures as a response to the perceived danger. The formulation of any immigration policy is thus in Ibryamova’s words “contingent upon the political debates to define the identities of large ethno-religious and political groups and their boundaries¹⁰⁰”.

Today more and more crimes that are committed in modern states, for example, trafficking, drugs, terrorism are connected by the public opinion with the migration flows. While immigration is not a new phenomenon, during the last two decades there has been an incremental shift toward the politicization and securitization of the issue. This has taken place in a context in which “growing foreigner populations have gradually given rise to public perceptions of cultural, economic, and security threats to West European societies¹⁰¹”. Although the phenomenon of immigration does not represent a threat to the state itself, during the 1990s migration has become one of the perceived dangers to domestic public order, i.e., it has come to be seen as a security problem along with drug-trafficking, organized crime, and terrorism.

One of the prominent features of Western societies in the post-bipolar era has been the production of a discourse of fear and proliferation of dangers with reference to the scenarios of chaos, disorder, and clash of civilizations. It is easily noticeable in the public sphere that the “fear is mainly about the different, the alien, the undocumented migrant, the refugee, the Muslim, the non-European’, the ‘Hispanic’¹⁰²”. These different expressions converge on the figure of the

⁹⁷ Bigo 2005.

⁹⁸ Ibryamova 2002.

⁹⁹ Williams 2003, p.515.

¹⁰⁰ Ibryamova 2002.

¹⁰¹ Fauser 2006.

¹⁰² Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002.

migrant, and often on legal migrants and their families, even if they are eager to integrate into the host society, to work, to learn language and traditions of the receiving state.

The most interesting thing is that everywhere the rhetorical arguments brought in against immigration process and immigrants as such have much in common independent of state where they are presented, with the only correction regarding the external context and the situation around. Often produced by politicians, security agencies, and the media, these arguments are usually articulated around four main axes:

1. “a socioeconomic axis, where migration is associated with unemployment, the rise of informal economy, the crisis of the welfare state, and urban environment deterioration;
2. a securitarian axis, where migration is linked to the narrative of a loss of control that associates the issues of sovereignty, borders, and both internal and external security;
3. an identitarian axis, where migrants are considered as being a threat to the host societies' national identity and demographic equilibrium;
4. a political axis, where anti-immigrant, racist, and xenophobic discourses are often expected to facilitate the obtaining of political benefits¹⁰³”.

A good example of the process of securitizing migration is a Debre law¹⁰⁴ passed by French parliament. According to some articles of the mentioned law, French police is given an authority to execute some car perquisitions and checks on the territory up to 20 kilometers beyond the internal territory of France (Article 3), or to further practice without strict limits identity controls on some plants, fabrics and building grounds with the access to all the documents they will consider useful (Article 10). Supporters of the law argue that such measures are directed against illegal immigration flows as well as illegal employment of newcomers. Through the use of such measures they suppose to decrease the “shady” or non-official migration. Thus, the Debre law seeks to make immigrants isolated from the native citizens of the state. They are labeled as a separate defective category of people, who sometimes can represent a real threat to the main population in case a number of special measures and procedures are applied so that immigrants and their relatives were always under control.

So much attention that police pays to immigrants may prompt people create the image of the latter as a criminal element who is responsible for increase in law violation acts and delinquencies in the society. In the opinion of Claudia Aradau, for example, laws such as the one presented can easily cause the effect when legal immigrants, despite the obedience to all the laws,

¹⁰³ Ceyhan & Tsoukala 2002.

¹⁰⁴ Debre law is an anti-immigrants in its character law, which allows to employ some disputable measures in legal relations with immigrants. According to the law immigrants could be made to undergo certain procedures – from the almost unlimited documents checks to perquisitons and temporal detention, for more information see: <<http://www.france3.fr/fr3/kronik/loidebre.html>>.

still suffer from the actions of the law representatives, because they are also, as illegal ones, exposed to negative attitude and unlimited checks and controls¹⁰⁵. The situation also contributes to mixing of different groups of the new-comers, such as migrants, asylum seekers or refugees. This state of things makes the native society think of immigrants as of those who want the economic benefits and financial support from the state they enter, and makes them underestimate and be careless of the legality and the position of those who want to employ their right on the asylum. In this case, negative attention and suspicion makes immigrants the Others, threatening in the opinion of the local society.

However, everyday suspicion and control is not the only negative effect of such measures. The criminalization of a migrant may lead to extension of disapproval of the phenomenon to situations where native people have good relations with immigrant families. Then, native people are labeled as “betrayers” or at least “accomplices to the ‘enemy’”. For this reason marrying an immigrant may evoke the disapproval and tense relations towards a member of the local society. Moreover, some IR theorists like Claudia Aradau presume that even officials of the country share such negative attitude towards newcomers which leads to transition from rules and norms of ‘normal politics’ to an emergency case – i.e. securitization¹⁰⁶.

As Didier Bigo argues: “the securitization of immigration (...) emerges from the correlation between some successful speech acts of political leaders, the mobilization they create for and against some groups of people and the specific field of security professionals (...). It comes also from a range of administrative practices such as population profiling, risk assessment, statistical calculations, category creation, proactive preparation (...)”¹⁰⁷. Hence, in case of immigration securitization not only speech acts are to be analyzed, rather the mood of the society, social order to mass media and other functional actors should be made to reach a success in securitization process. And to persuade the population – statistics, the opinion of well-known and respected persons is used as well as the various rhetorical instruments. Thierry Balzacq also rejects the trend of the Copenhagen School to reduce security to a linguistic, speech act practice, while ignoring metaphors, emotions, stereotypes, gestures, silence, and even lies, which can be used to succeed in securitization process and persuade the public. Instead the author suggests that a pragmatic or strategic practice should be used here, in order not to lose the significance of the “context, the psycho-cultural disposition of the audience, and the power that both speaker and listener bring to the interaction”¹⁰⁸. In other words, studying the securitization process as a whole, and the section of migration in particular does not mean to study only speech acts, but also to scrutinize all the

¹⁰⁵ Aradau, 2001.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 2001.

¹⁰⁷ Bigo in van Dijck 2000.

¹⁰⁸ Balzacq 2005, p. 175.

factors in the context, such as the institutional context in which securitization moves are made by securitizing actors.

Why has immigration started to be spoken more frequently in a security prism lately? Some political elites and authorities want people to believe that this is the only necessary reaction on newly appeared threats and demands of the world society. However, the actual situation is not so obvious. To the large extent powerful institutions by placing immigration into the security field act according to their personal profits and interests¹⁰⁹. Interestingly enough, all the disputes about immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented immigration are most intensive during pre-election campaigns and represent the mechanism of manipulating the society's opinion.

According to the securitization theory, as every issue which is made to be dealt with in security prism, securitization of immigration is not a separated isolated process. To make immigrants be securitized different agents (securitizing actors) need to make some steps, and to mobilize all kind of resources including the support of functional institutions in order to be able to reach planned effects with the securitizing speech acts made in certain place, by certain people in certain manner and observing certain procedures.

All the negative attitudes toward immigration concern also a labour migrant, who is someone who travels to Europe in order to look for better opportunities of work and quality of life than those his/her country of origin could ever offer. However it is frequently ignored that ageing European communities seek for immigrants with a capacity for work in order to prevent economic crises because of lack of workers in unprestigious spheres of infrastructure in the developed world¹¹⁰. It is part of a calculated attempt to create an enemy image out of migrants while at the same time denying them an identity with any positive content at all.

As to the process of institutionalization of securitization (which was already driven as an example of military sector), in case of migration the security discourse has “only a reproductive function and is getting routine articulations such as connecting migration, organized crime and terrorism into a transnational security continuum which is repeated at every possible occasion¹¹¹”. In this situation some practices that are bureaucratic in their character such as drawing up the statistics, database, and other administrative mechanisms gain the force of the securitization moves presenting immigrant as a threat. So, securitization process starts to include administrative instruments, which lead to the tendency when immigration starts to be seen as a managerial rather

¹⁰⁹ See Bigo 2002, p. 63-64.

¹¹⁰ Buonfino 2004.

¹¹¹ van Dijck 2000.

than a security problem. In this case managerial (or risk society approach, which was spoken about above) prevails the securitization practices.

Thus, the institutionalized security logic of immigration is dealt in routine everyday political course rather than as a case of emergency. Solving immigration problems is engaged in general duties of the authorities and does not represent the issue, which demands some measure to be taken at first hand. And, as van Dijck mentions “if and when the security logic is institutionalized, the “main goal of the securitizing actor becomes assessing and controlling all risks involved, rather than uttering a discourse in which fighting the threat and removing it with emergency measures is the central logic¹¹²” .

The securitization of migration provides for further instability in a society. Partly, because in the society the dichotomies friend-enemy, and safe-threatened are constructed. However, the feeling of insecurity in the society is also increased by misinformation. It is the official casting of migration as an issue of security, and the “rise of populist rhetoric in public discourse that focuses on crime, violence and the danger to ‘national identity’ posed by migration, rather than migration itself, that increases social insecurity and anxiety¹¹³”. In recent years there has been a rash of books aimed at a general reading public in both Europe and America which cast immigration as an issue of security, and whose explicit aim appears to be to produce insecurity and ignite the latent potential for fears of the ‘other’ (in particular around the idea of Islam).

To sum it up, securitization of immigration is according to CoS a part of societal sector, when a threat endangers the existence of an identity of a certain collectivity. As the securitization of any issue, the securitization of immigration produces more insecurity than the feeling of safety and supposes the presence of a certain enemy, along with emergency extra-ordinary measures, which should be taken to eliminate the enemy’s negative influence by lifting of this problem above the normal politics. To securitize migration certain speech acts should be made in order to have a needed for successful securitization should be performed with the observation of felicity conditions. For all that securitization of migration endangers the stable development of the society provides the feeling of insecure and needs to be avoided. However, in order to prevent securitization certain grounds for the development of the process should be noticed in time to be able to manage a risk rather than fight with a formed existential threat.

¹¹² van Dijck 2000.

¹¹³ Ibid.

3. SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN SWEDEN: WHY TO BE

The issue of immigration is a rather controversial one in Scandinavian countries. These are countries, which now face quite a difficult demographical situation, problems with ageing and depopulation. Some of them, like Sweden, have traditionally had the immigrant-friendly politics, which to some extent had positive results in economy. However, recently, right-wing parties came to power in these states, which are the most inclined to securitize the issues of societal security sector, including immigration to countries. In Denmark, for example, where the right-wing parties stayed already for a second term in Parliament, some restricting laws on migration, reduction in subsidies to immigrants, restriction on reunification of families have been passed.

The situation in Sweden is interesting enough to be compared with other Nordic countries. The right-wing parties are not ruling alone but it was a right-centric coalition that won the elections in September 2006. Will this mean that right parties would have less space to realize their policy to the full extent? It is difficult to say now, but undoubtedly they used some anti-immigration statements in their pre-election campaign. Also it is interesting to assess the role of Denmark in the question, for the reason Denmark is the country connected by the bridge to the tensest in immigration situation centre of Sweden, Malmö. Taking into consideration the strict approach in immigration politics in Denmark, Sweden may be a little bit fearful of the new influxes of immigrants coming not from Asia, but from neighboring Denmark.

So, in this chapter of the work it is important to analyze some, let us call it, sectors in Swedish life to understand, what the situation is with securitization and politicization of migration processes in the country. We divided the analysis to seven main parts: 1) analysis of the pre- and post-election statements of the Social democratic Party, 2) analysis of the ruling coalition and the main party of the coalition (Moderaterna, Conservative party in Sweden), 3) analysis of the position of radical right wing movements in Sweden (support Swedish Democrats have within Swedish societies), 4) analysis of the situation in some most densely populated by immigrants regions of Sweden, 5) analysis of the attitude to the situation of immigrants and native citizens, 6) analysis of the moods of the whole society (how tolerant it is towards immigrants), 7) analysis of some similarities to the development of the situation with immigration in Denmark, since right-wing parties there came into play. I will also consider some later developments of the securitization moves made by the parliament and their influence on the social politics of the country, development of the legislature concerning the immigration and integration process, which should migrants go through to become the part of the Swedish society.

3.1. Analysis of the pre- and post-election utterances of the Social Democratic Party

There is a great difference in the ways in which opposite-wing parties evaluate different social practices and possible ways of country's development. The programmes of the parties are different, and this fact is quite obvious. According to the Swedish Social Democrats' election manifesto:

Sweden has a population of almost nine million men and women, old and young – from all over the world. Diversity is an advantage that we must make the most of. Segregation must be ended – in working life, in education, in housing – and discrimination must be outlawed. <...> More efforts must be made in the field of labour market policy for migrants. Resources will be used to carry out a speedy evaluation of the knowledge and competence of immigrants, on individual matching at the job centers and on language training at work or on training programs. <...> *The next social democratic government will ensure that children with an immigrant background will receive better support in order to achieve the goals outlined in the national curriculum*¹¹⁴.

The utterance “The next social democratic government will ensure that children with an immigrant background will receive better support in order to achieve the goals outlined in the national curriculum” is quite easy to analyze with the help of speech-act theory. The verb “to ensure” produces all the characteristics of a performative, since it is given the meaning of a commissive performative that can be either the promising to the electorate or the declaration of intentions. Moreover, it also has the characteristic of a performative, because this is said not in order to inform the audience merely, rather to produce certain effect on some people. For the reason the presented extract is a kind of commissive, it is evident that the means of language here are used in order to make the society believe in promises given. Taking into consideration the audience, it occurs that the utterance is mainly supposed to prove to immigrants that their position would be much better with this party ruling, even to the extent that their children would have *better* support.

However to persuade somebody of something speech act theory is not enough, rhetoric is the method which is highly and successfully used by politicians. This word ‘better’ makes the audience hope, believe in a better future, while forgetting that this promise is made by Social Democrats who retained the majority in Parliament for several years at that moment, and there was no other time for them to make the living of immigrants better, than exactly before the elections.

¹¹⁴ Election manifesto of the Swedish Social democrats 2002-2006.

Despite the fact of losing in the elections of 2006, the Social Democrats seem not to be very inclined to revise their Party Programme, since the one, which is published on their web page is dated back to 2001. Again, this date can provide for the vivid picture of the general techniques that are used by the party during the pre-election period. The talks about immigration always acquire their tension during pre-election campaigns, however often do not mean that any steps will be further undertaken to fulfill their pre-election speeches. For example, the next passage demonstrates the disapproval by the Social democratic party of the current situation around immigrants:

Discrimination and prejudice on the groups of ethnic origin also lead to restricting and limiting people's life opportunities. *In today's real world immigrants and as often as not also the children of immigrants run a greater risk of unemployment, often have a job below their education level and are underrepresented in political assemblies.* Housing segregation hits inhabitants with foreign backgrounds more blatantly than is the case with other groups.¹¹⁵

This effect is achieved by the verdictive performative, which goal was to show that immigrants are generally better than they are showed, they have greater potential and would surely have realized themselves better if only had given the opportunity to do so, through having a job, which they really deserve, education, which they really deserve and the opportunity, which they of course deserve to be well-represented in all kind of official bodies. However, Social Democrats actually had already been given their chance (which lasted for a long period of time when they had majority in Parliament) to change this situation to the better.

The expositive, which is written in italics above, is used by the party to show, to produce a picture, to characterize the immigrants not as a threat but as a group of casualties of the modern conditions they face in the world. Of course, this passage by no means can be characterized as a securitizing move. Rather the statement the aim of which is to make the attitude of the audience towards immigrants warmer, friendlier, and kinder, can be taken as a desecuritizing move. Actually, this example produces the opinion that the Social Democratic party uses the example of immigration only to justify and obtain the support of their political views, simply – for winning votes of the electorate and benefit from the discourse. This can also be traced further in the text of Party programme, as for example in:

In many suburbs with a high density of immigrants a sense of social exclusion grows among the adults who are not admitted to the labour market and among the children who do not feel that they have any future in the surrounding Swedish society. This form of social exclusion creates one of the harshest and most offensive social divisions in today's society. *This sense of social exclusion and limited*

¹¹⁵ Party program of the Social Democratic Party 2001, p.14

*opportunities that far too many immigrants are forced to experience, are totally inconsistent with the ideals of freedom and equality of social democracy.*¹¹⁶

The quoted sentence represents a very interesting passage for analysis. It is a very strict, clear and emotional one. The performative here is a behabitive, which was used to show the opinion of social democrats and their deepest disaffection with the situation concerning the life of the immigrants in the new society. Such a construction of the sentence helps to express and exhibit the attitudes and feelings of the party.

Nevertheless the sentence is designed logically in favour of migrants. Such a situation is completely inconsistent with the ideals, so there is the other organization of things, when immigrants would not be excluded from the society, would become the part of it, not divided from the rest of the Swedish population. It seems that it is really possible to create a kind of social democratic society based on the principles of equality and freedom, inclusion of immigrants into the labour market, economic and social life.

Rhetoric here is used in order to make the effect stronger, the word combinations like “far too many”, “forced to”, “totally incocnsistent” make the sentence more emotional, tenser. Another example of a success of rhetoric is the metaphor used in the very end of the passage. The party talks about the ideals not of the democracy, but of the “social democracy”, meaning the programme and the course of the social democratic party in this case. This seems to be a perfect formulation taking into consideration coming elections, and proves the fact, that immigration starts to be talked and manipulated about during pre-election campaigns in order to win the votes. All in all, social democrats formulate the positive view on immigration and the changes it causes in the structure of the host society:

*A policy for equality is a policy for integration based on an open attitude to the opportunities provided by plurality and mutual respect between immigrants and native Swedes. Cultural and religious traditions contribute to personal identity and can be a source of enrichment to a society.*¹¹⁷

In the above passage the party calls not to the building of the wall between the Swedes and the immigrants, rather to be open for dialogue, working and living together with each other, respecting each other. Interestingly enough, it is the first time, when there is a demand for respect from the Swedish side. Before all kinds of requirements concerned only immigrants, who should observe a lot of things, abide by a lot of things, and do a lot of different things. Now the principal of mutuality is proclaimed and in order to get the profit from immigration should be observed.

¹¹⁶ Party program of the Social Democratic Party 2001, p. 15.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., p.21

The sentence “cultural and religious traditions contribute to personal identity and can be a source of enrichment to a society” itself represents the expositive and provides the interpretation of the Social democrats on the pluralism of cultures and religions in the society, which is introduced by the inflow of migrants. However, the party does not press on the flatness of their view. ‘Migration can’ but not necessarily ‘will’ be profitable to the society and enrich it. Rhetoric here can be used in order to create the route of escape. As if they never promised the profit and positive effect of the immigration.

Nevertheless, it is Social democratic party, who used in their international policy program the reason to welcome immigrants, which seems to have a great significance to the modern Swedish society. And it is the problem of ageing of the population and depopulation as a whole. They recognize that the lack of labour resources may and will cause a lot of problems to the wealth and nice functioning of the state:

But Sweden must also have a strategy on migration policy for more than just asylum seekers. *The population of Sweden is getting older and this means that fewer people must provide and take care for an ageing population. In the long term this represents a threat to welfare model unless the number of people in work increases substantially.*¹¹⁸

The utterance “In the long term this represents a threat to welfare model unless the number of people in work increases substantially” may be easily classified as a constative, since it sounds very much as a simple fact and there could arise a temptation to assess it from the true/false criterion. However, the information presented in a passage cannot be easily checked, proved or rejected. Just the other way round the sentence can be assessed from the point of view of its successfulness (as the future elections will show, it failed). Actually with the help of this performative social democrats try to warn the society against the consequences of restricting the immigration to the country.

The passage shows that social democratic party is eager not only to guarantee the right on asylum for refugees but also to work out and have the special strategy for inviting immigrants in order to solve the social problems of the state. The expositional performative shows in dark colours the situation when the social and economic sectors of the Swedish life are short of immigrants. It demonstrates with the means of rhetoric instrument ‘unless’ the future of Sweden without the new-comers.

In general, the power of the language in politics could not be under-estimated, because the real aims and sometimes sense of what is said by politicians is proficiently veiled. First passages

¹¹⁸ “A Just World Is Possible” 2005, p. 16.

that were analyzed in this paragraph show the generally known position and attitude of social democrats towards migration; however the next one may be assessed to be not so positive one:

Population movements in the world have increased. Immigration has in many aspects enriched the receiving countries, *but the inability to handle the new ethnic and cultural plurality has created overshadowing threats of segregation and marginalization.*¹¹⁹

The expositive here provides for the negative effects of the immigration. Although the authors acknowledge the positive results, which were provided by the increased immigration, they use the BUT-logic, to shorten sail of the welcoming of immigrants. Immigration is supposed to enrich the receiving society, but only if there is a system of treatment, integration and management of the living of the new-comers in the new environment. Otherwise the society will face huge problems, described by the words combination ‘overshadowing threats’ in order to make the audience think twice, before turning to immigrants’-friendly course. In this case rhetoric produces the strong effect of restricting the immigration approach and is used in order to demonstrate the electorate that the party is not going to open the border for everyone, rather is going to conduct a somehow cautious and careful immigration policy with remembering about the segregation and marginalization, which unlimited and light-headed immigration can lead to.

Actually, in spite of the fact that left-wing parties are supposed to be immigration-friendly (and examples above has shown this with a success), there are some hints that Social democrats may conduct a kind of restrictive immigration policy, as this abstract shows. However, there is a believe, this party to the large extent **had to** do so in order to escape something worse during the general elections in 2006. This view is shared, for example, by Charles Westin, who claim that Social democrats made such a choice in order “to appease anti-immigrant opinion with the goal of preventing the rise of a popular protest party with anti-immigration politics as its principal platform¹²⁰”.

The most interesting thing about the Social Democrats is that even in one and the same documents the characteristics and features of the immigration process they show may be different. For example, in the beginning of the Party programme the judgments are more careful and only following through the text of the document the ideas that are really shared are presented.

As it was already mentioned, it does not mean that social democratic party is really inclined to hold the restrictive political course, they admit and promise that plurality and enrichment, what immigration can potentially guarantee, may be achieved if the strategy is adopted and gradual steps are made on the way to the preservation of the welfare state. The

¹¹⁹ Party program of the Social Democratic Party 2001, p.3

¹²⁰ Westin 2006.

passage below characterizes actually the general point of view of the party on the problem and their role in it:

We social democrats are convinced that dialogue, respect, tolerance and common sense can overcome differences and divisions. Fundamentalist intolerance and a lack of respect lead to deep divisions in the relationships between people, nations and civilizations. *Wise political leadership can instead enrich the world with this plurality.*¹²¹

This part of the Social democrats International policy programme shows that despite all the difficulties it is possible to make the world plural and diversified and successfully employ all the positive changes immigration could bring in, provided that the electorate votes for ‘wise political leadership’ in the name of Social Democratic Party. “Wise political leadership can instead enrich the world with this plurality” is a performative, since it can be acknowledged to have failed (rather than a true or false statement), because it did not fulfill the main function it was supposed to – the winning of the elections. However, this performative is a kind of an implicit commessive, as it can be read as giving a word by the party to their supporters.

The presented above examples concerned the position of the Social Democratic party on the eve of the elections, during pre-elections campaign. Now the situation in Swedish parliament is a curious one. The Social Democratic Party is a party, which has more places, than any other party in the Parliament, which was elected in 2006. However, they cannot be called the winners, since their coalition has given in to the right-centric coalition headed by the Conservative Party (Swedish Moderaterna). After the election the general position of the social democrats became more clear, to the large extent now they are concentrated on the general critique of the immigration policy of the ruling coalition and express very immigrant friendly and picturesque attitudes, as for example in the following passage:

What do the coalition government and the Integration Minister Nyamko Sabuni (fp) do to make it easier for those communes, which take a great charge of the refugees’ admission to our land and when does the government hold their responsibility? We need new Swedes. *Without the man power Sweden stops.*¹²² (Translation by the author).

The article is published on the official web page of the party and starts to advocate immigrant-friendly politics from the very beginning. Its character as a desecuritizing speech act becomes evident not only from the name “Utan invandrare stannar Sverige” but also from the

¹²¹ “A Just World Is Possible” 2005, p. 23.

¹²² Carlström 2008.

The passage in the original: “Vad gör alliansregeringen och integrationsminister Nyamko Sabuni (fp) för att underlätta för de kommuner som tar ett stort ansvar för flyktmottagandet i vårt land och när ska regeringen ta sitt ansvar? De nya svenskarna behövs. Utan den arbetskraften stannar Sverige”. (*auth*).

text, where the word immigrant (*invandrare*) is replaced by workforce (*arbetskraften*). The presented passage, as a behabitive, is emotional part and designed to show the nonfeasance of the government, their inability to cope with the problems and relieve Sweden from suffering. This is a vivid example of an attempt of Social democrats to show that the voters made the wrong choice during the elections.

Rhetoric here is represented by a bright example of personification of the country. Sweden suffers, so it behaves like a human being, who is not care and thought about by those who are responsible and in charge of it. Thus, social democrats try to show that immigrants are totally necessary phenomena for Sweden to function and “feel well”.

It is not the only one evidence of immigrant friendly politics of the Social democratic party and their critique of the present government. There is also a very interesting article on the web page of this party called “4 myter om invandrare” (“4 Myths about the Immigrants”). The whole article is devoted to the dispelling of myths around the negative effects of the immigration to the host society. To dispel these myths the author of the article uses all kind of information including the statistics from the Statistic Central Bureau of Sweden, and other information, which provides the facts and data on immigrants, which help to convert the views of extreme right parties. The four myths about immigrants from the view of radical parties that are mentioned in the article: 1) They cost much, 2) They are criminals, 3) They come for the financial allowance 4) Mass inflow of immigrants to Sweden is taking place. The authors of the article, using all kinds of performatives, especially expository ones, since they give certain evidence, orderly step by step make it clear, that the image, which is given to immigrants by the right parties.

In the appendix the full text of the article would be given, since it is of the highest importance for the Thesis, and here for the example two passages will be analyzed. They are the following:

Myth # 2: “They are criminals”

If we continue to compare the groups of people with each other, we will clearly see, f.ex. that there are much more men than women as suspects in crime comparing to the number of immigrants as suspects to native Swedes. The same is the correlation between those, who attended gymnasium with those who did not, which is higher than the number in suspects among immigrants, comparing to the native Swedes.
(Translation by the author).

and

Myth # 3: “They come for social allowance”

When it refers to social allowance, according to statistics provided by the Central Office of Statistics, the amount of actual payments of social allowance to

*households of foreign begotten or refugees has constantly decreased since 1998.*¹²³
(Translation by the author).

Since the article is made up as a conversation or even a dispute, the presented examples are the expositional performatives, which are given to conduct the argumentation in the course of this conversation. These performatives are supported by statistics and other data, which help to defend the point of view of the social democratic party.

As to rhetoric, in the first extract, the comparison, which is used, is a very successful example, since the inclination for committing crimes among different groups of native Swedes seems to be higher or the same as among the immigrants. The statistic information, which is used in the second example also shows general improvement of the situation and demonstrates clearly that social payments to those with migrant origin have constantly been decreased lately, and the notion that immigrants come to Sweden in order to live only by the means of social benefits cannot be believed.

Therefore, we achieved a more or less clear view of the position of Social democrats regarding immigration issue. On the whole it by no means seems to be a kind of securitizing one, although it is also completely obvious that the issue is highly politicized in Sweden and is commonly used in pre-election campaign by the parties.

3.2. Analysis of the pre- and post-election politics of the ruling party.

However, to assume on the basis of the above analysis that the opposite – Moderaterna (Swedish Conservative Party) – has no other aims except to securitize the issue of immigration would be at least presumptuous and premature. Immigration can be traced in programmes and manifests of the party to be a desirable but complex phenomenon in the Swedish society, as the following examples explicitly show:

“Immigration is basically a tremendous asset to a country, as long as the people who come to live there are given the opportunity to develop and contribute to the general welfare. *The politics that have been pursued in Sweden have failed both in seeing immigrants as assets and when it comes to preventing problems*”.¹²⁴

or

“Migration to EU countries has greatly increased during the past 20 years. *Much of this immigration is positive, but there is also a tragic aspect. Organized crime has*

¹²³ Poohi 2007.

The passage # 1 in the original: “Myt 2: ‘De är kriminella’

Om man vill fortsätta att jämföra grupper med varandra så visar det sig till exempel att män oftare är misstänkta för brott jämfört med kvinnor än vad invandrare är jämfört med svenskar. På samma sätt är personer som inte gått gymnasiet oftare misstänkta för brott jämfört med de som gått än vad invandrare jämfört med svenskar”.

The passage # 2 in the original: “Myt 3: ”De ger på bidrag”

När det gäller socialbidragen så visar statistik från Statistiska centralbyrån att det faktiskt är så att utbetalningar av socialbidrag till hushåll med en utrikes född eller flykting har minskat konstant sedan 1998”. (*auth*).

¹²⁴ Nya moderaterna, election campaign 2006.

*become involved in refugee smuggling, and this involvement is increasing. For many refugees smuggling ends in tragedy”.*¹²⁵

In case of the first statement, it seems possible to classify it as an example of the verdictive performative, since it involves ‘a sentence’ or a ‘verdict’ to the political course that Social democrats had while tackling the immigration issues. The utterance has no direct anti-immigrant sense, so the question arises: What do Moderaterna see in the image of immigrants? Can immigrants potentially bring something good, be profitable to the Swedish society in their opinion?

Effective result has this but-logic, which appeared in the statement: immigration is asset, BUT to see it like this is a failure. So, the rhetoric used here may make the audience (of native origin, of course) become more opposed to immigrants, who stopped being useful – assets – to the society, and consequently, may further have also some negative influence on the development of their country.

The second utterance is an example of a verdictive, because it delivers a finding about the immigration situation and the state of immigrants (or refugees) in modern society. Although this passage talks about the way, in which immigrants become victims of organized crime, and do not represent any criminals themselves at all, it may happen so that the audience may not remember the details after hearing such an utterance, but for sure will remember, that immigrants were somehow connected to these negative phenomena mentioned in the abstract. Rhetorically it is a very sensible method to put the word in the row among the words with strong negative meaning to make the first one be seen in the like lights.

However, during the pre-election campaign, the leader of Moderaterna Fredrik Reinfeldt, being the member of Department of Justice in Parliament, produced the view on immigration as completely opposite to the pre-election promises.

Together with the contact among the countries, through the goods turnover, service and ideas improve; many people walk through the states’ borders. This refers to those people who flee from the developing countries to richer lands, but also to those, moving inside the developing world, to find better opportunities or better life income. *People, who change their place of residence, contribute the development of both their country of origin and the host one. Ideas spread and the exchange of knowledge and resources takes place.* People come back with valuable skills, new experience and changes, which can contribute to positive development in their home countries. For many developing countries money transfers, made by the emigrants to their relatives in the home countries (so called remittances) make up an important part of capital investments.¹²⁶ (Translation by the author).

¹²⁵ Carlsson 2006.

¹²⁶ Regeringens skrivelse 2006/2007:58, "Migration och asylpolitik" 2007.

The passage in the original: "I takt med att kontakterna mellan länder, genom utbyte av varor, tjänster och ideer intensifieras, ökar också mängden människor som söker sig överlandgränser. Det handlar om människor som flyttar från utvecklingsländer till rikare länder, men också mellan utvecklingsländer, för bättre försörjningsmöjligheter eller en

This is a completely positive statement, which provides for all the possible positive influences and effects of immigration, including: “people who flee their native lands contribute to the development of the both – the country of origin and recipient state”, and the development of knowledge, resources, competence of the employees, etc. This fact together with the following passage may be confusing. For the next passage cites a statement made by the right-wing Migration Minister Tobias Billström after several months of right-wing government rule in Sweden:

I think it is good that Sweden sets itself apart from other countries on this point ...
*A high level (of immigration) is not a problem per se. The problem is to get people to work.*¹²⁷

Here the Minister even does not consider the high level of immigration to Sweden be a problem (however, while other countries of Western Europe faced some immigration problems, Swedish neighbours pose migration into the problematic spectrum, in Sweden with right-wing government the situation is not perceived as a problem). This very article produces also the scene, where “Sweden, where about 12 percent of residents are foreign-born, has kept its borders relatively open” and does not seem to change anything in the nearest future.

In spite of the situation when Minister may seem to speak in favor of immigration, due to rhetoric practices in this statement the problematic view is also present. Following the logic of the statement, ‘immigrants’ who do not work are useless? By the way, there are a lot of problems posed by immigration, and the next one – social payments – is mentioned in the following passage:

Integration measures are at the offensive stake in the budget project. Detachment will be broken. *The risk that those people who come to Sweden will become passive and dependent on social allowance will minimize.*¹²⁸ (Translation by the author).

The sentence *The risk that those people who come to Sweden will become passive and dependent on social allowance will minimize*’ can be characterized as a commessive, a promise that is taken by the ruling coalition, while adopting the budget for the following year. Curiously, but if to believe the statistic of the Social Democratic party¹²⁹, the issue of social payments to immigrants are not

tryggare tillvaro. Sambanden mellan migration och utveckling är i huvudsak positiva. Människor som flyttar bidrar till utveckling både i ursprungslandet och i värdlandet. Ideer sprids och överfäring av kunskap och resurser ökar. Människor återvänder med värdefull kompetens, nya erfarenheter och värderingar som kan främja en positiv utveckling i hemländerna. För många utvecklingsländer utgör utlandsarbetsares privata överföringar av pengar (s.k. remitteringar) en viktig del av kapitalinflödet”. (auth).

¹²⁷ “Sweden keeps doors, minds open to immigrants” 2006.

¹²⁸ Borg & Sabuni 2008.

¹²⁹ The statistical data provided in the article by Poohl, Daniel, “4 myter om invandrare”, which was discussed earlier.

so acute. Moreover, they have been constantly decreased since the end of the 1990s. However, here the situation is presented as if the new government was the first to pay attention to the problem and do their best in order to solve it.

The above analyzed examples refer to the so-called socioeconomic axis arguments. To the extent that immigrants contribute towards the economic development of the country, the issue is desecuritized. In this case left and right parties demonstrate different positions around the question. Whereas Social Democrats are inclined towards the immigration-friendly politics in general, some of the statements and speech acts used by the representatives of the Moderaterna can be acknowledged as a securitization ad hoc (as securitization moves, which are taken but not guaranteed a success). The same picture emerges from the next example:

A fundamental principle is that everyone who comes to our land should work and take care of themselves. *Nobody has a right to call for allowance if there is safety is not full.*¹³⁰ (Translation by the author).

The arguments of the Conservative Party frequently touch upon another socio-economic theme, i.e. the issue of social payments to the immigrants. Since this utterance can be characterized as an emotional one, it is a highly tensed behavior. This statement describes the reassurance of the party that immigrants might insist on and demand social payments. Rhetorically, the use of the strong word ‘beg’ (*begära*) may contribute towards thinking of immigrants as people, who dream about fast and easy money and make their demands emphatically. Again, such a sentence may be designed to raise some emotions and negative attitudes toward the immigrants by the host society. Actually, such moves may be used in order to prepare the bases and the audience for the placement of immigration above the political spectrum. This can provide the ground not only for securitization ad hoc, but also for institutionalized securitization. Illustrations of the latter may be found in Sweden even today, the phenomenon, which will be scrutinized more in detail in the seventh section¹³¹.

However, it is not only the socioeconomic arguments, which are used by the both coalitions in quite different ways. Political axis – i.e. the use of immigration in order to have some political benefits – is also very popular. In the beginning of the chapter some examples of the changes which happened in the view of the Social Democrats were already demonstrated. Now there are the ones of the Moderaterna:

The full text of the article is available in the Appendix. (*auth*).

The passage in the original: “I budgetpropositionen presenteras en offensiv satsning på integrationsetgärder. Utanförskapet ska brytas. Risken för att de människor som kommer till Sverige förvisas till passivitet och bidragsberoende ska minskas”. (*auth*).

¹³⁰ “Vår tids arbetarparti.”

The passage in the original: “En grundprincip är att alla som kommer till vårt land ska arbeta och göra rätt för sig. Ingen har rätt att begära att ett land ska ställa upp med försörjning om skyddsbehov saknas.” (*auth*).

¹³¹ p. 62 of the present Thesis.

*During the elections 2010 the Moderate Party should have certain proposition, which will both minimize the detachment and cope with the decades of the weak integration politics.*¹³² (Translation by the author).

Such an exercitive obliges the working group to work out certain propositions for the elections in 2010. The question arises: if there were decades of insufficient politics of integration of migrants into the host society in Sweden, what was the government doing during the time that passed from the elections 2006? This sentence expresses vividly that it is very important to work out the strategy before the elections 2010, when it can easily be used for the successful pre-election campaign of the coalition.

Although Moderaterna represent the leading party of the right-centric coalition, utterances on immigration are also made by other members of the coalition. Moreover, along the prevailing socio-economic axis in the character of arguments against the immigration, there are also some signs of securitarian axis arguments – i.e. fear of a loss of sovereignty, crime, and weakening of border controls. Such examples are used, for example by the Christian Democrats (or radical right-wing parties, which will be analyzed in the next paragraph). One such utterance is the following one taken from the web pages of the Christian Democrats:

*“To accept diversity is not to turn a blind eye to the fact that conflicts may arise. These conflicts must be handled with respect for each other based on the mutual cultural and democratic values that our society is founded upon, what we Christian Democrats refer to as “an ethical minimum”.*¹³³

The performative here is used to make people be on the alert about the dangers, which can be brought in by immigrants. And although the statement as a whole may be described as a positive one, it produces some negative effect with the help of rhetoric which suggests that conflicts not only may arise, but will do so necessarily.

On the whole, most of the views and proclamations of the ruling party is not opposed to immigration as a whole; they just rather would prefer one kind of immigration to the other. However, there can be met a few expressions, which are not inclined towards welcoming of the new-comers to Sweden. Especially some restrictive measures can be seen in the analysis of the recent moves made by the ruling coalition in the sphere of immigration to the Swedish state. Generally, part 6 of the present chapter will show a certain change, which happened in the policy and opinion of the parties in power in Sweden recently.

¹³² Moderaternas arbetsgrupper 2007.

The passage in the original: “I valet 2010 ska moderaterna ha konkreta förslag för att både minska utanförskapet och komma tillrätta med decennier av bristfällig integrationspolitik”. (auth.)

¹³³ “Our core beliefs.”

3.3. The position of radical right-wing parties.

At the same time more radical right-wing parties, exemplified first and foremost by the Swedish Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna) are not represented in Parliament. However the influence and activeness of this party gains force. Such conclusions may be drawn from media sources that tell, for example, that this is the party that “doubled its support in September elections, is not represented in Parliament but has more than 200 seats on local councils, mostly in southern Sweden¹³⁴”. Swedish Democrats actually enjoyed the support of almost 3 % of the population, and according to the data provided on their official web page gained 16 seats in regional Parliaments, and 280 in municipal¹³⁵.

Sweden’s far-right says the country will be forced to cut immigration sharply. *”This is not a reasonable level because we already have very big difficulties integrating the people who are already here”*, said Jonas Åkerlund of the Sweden Democrats, a party with roots in an extreme-right movement in the 1980s. *”We have for a long time had an immigration that is sharply different from our neighboring countries. It’s a bigger task than we can handle”*, Åkerlund said¹³⁶.

The statement and opinion of Åkerlund is strongly opposed to invitation and receiving more immigrants in Sweden. Here, the performative is an expositive or expositional performative, providing some arguments after the opinion. Hence, Åkerlund wanted others to share his view about the migration and provided an argument that was supposed to make others consider the issue in the same way. Some rhetorical devices, such as ‘will be forced’ are used to improve and make the notion stronger.

On the whole, the information presented on the official web page of Swedish Democrats is rich in anti-immigration moods, despite the Party does not position itself as the one, which is completely against immigration. Although they reject any accusations in nationalism or racism, among their official proclamations there are such statements, as, for example, the following:

Recent legislation has made the Swedish population second class citizens in its own country, open to discrimination on behalf of newly arrived immigrants¹³⁷.

or:

Let Sweden stay Sweden!

A number of negative changes, which risked turning Sweden to the property

¹³⁴ “Sweden keeps doors, minds open to immigrants” 2006.

¹³⁵ Presentation of the Swedish Democratic Party 2005.

¹³⁶ “Sweden keeps doors, minds open to immigrants” 2006.

¹³⁷ Presentation of the Swedish Democratic Party 2005.

of being unrecognizable, have happened during the last decades.
*Multiculturalism and the decreased respect for the Swedish culture have undermined Swedish identity and unity in our society.*¹³⁸ (Translation by the author)

The verdictive in the first passage calls Swedes the second class people. Here the definition of immigration is close to that of ‘elite’, those who suppress the native population, sets their rules and traditions and try to discriminate, deforce them from their rights. This statement is a success to make a strong border line between the host society and new-comers. It is interesting enough that rhetorically Swedish society in this example is recognized as class society, but not the society of the equals. it is another platform for the construction of self-other division in the society and may contribute to social tensions and mutual antagonism of the representatives of different “classes”.

The second passage is a good example, which absolutely fits the views of CoS on the societal security sector and its referent objects. Here Swedish Democrats talk about the Swedish identity and the unity of the society which is endangered by the multiculturalism, which is present in the state now. Actually, multiculturalism and pluralism is admitted by the international society to be the features of the democracy in the state. However, in the opinion of this party, this phenomenon could not be assessed as a positive one. Rhetorically Swedish democrats are stating here, that representatives of other nationalities and cultures living in Sweden started to pay less respect to the host culture and traditions and Swedes as a whole. It also may contribute to self-other construction.

The following two examples are concerning the views of the party on the immigration to the country, which now, is organized in the way, when the Swedish society is in charge of the immigrants, who are not only a burden for the country but also bring in a lot of other problems, which cannot contribute to stable development of the state and state’s society:

Stop the development of the multicultural society!

Swedish immigration policy can't be more lax than in neighbouring countries.
Foreigners residing in Sweden will not be tolerated as public charges. A
foreigner that can't support himself should return to his home country.¹³⁹

and:

¹³⁸ Valmanifest 2006.

The passage in the original: “Låt Sverige förbli Sverige!
En rad negativa förändringar som riskerat att förvandla Sverige till oigenkännlighet har genomförts de senaste decennierna. Mångkulturen och den bristande respekten för det svenska kulturarvet har underminerat den svenska identiteten och sammanhållningen i vårt samhälle .” (auth).

¹³⁹ Presentation of the Swedish Democratic Party 2005.

- However, *immigration means not only economic burden. Segregation, cultural clashes, drug addiction and rising crime rates are other effects of this process*, - says Björn Söder.¹⁴⁰ (Translation by the author)

Even the heading of the first expression, which is a part of the Official Presentation of the party on their official internet source, appears to be a strong commessive, which is used in order to make the society believe and feel for the Swedish Democrats. They also are determined to make immigration to the state stricter and more difficult process. They promise that Swedes will not be in charge of the new-comers anymore, and the latter should be able to take care of themselves.

At the same time, the second passage, especially its part, which is written in italics, is designed the show all the negative phenomena connected and brought in by the immigration. Immigrants are associated here with all kind of delinquencies and crimes. This sentence seems to be the one, which is debated and cast back in “4 myter om invandrare” by Poohl (discussed earlier in the paper). Rhetorically all the features, which are put in one raw, become a whole picture for the audience and start to be perceived only together. So, in this case, hearing about the pit-pocketing may correlate this crime with the immigrant automatically.

Swedish Democrats continue to insist on the homogeneity of the social structure of the country, saying that it is one of the most important factors of the development and welfare of the state. In the next passage they do not only suggest, that immigration should be decreased, but also that immigrants who have already come to live in Sweden should be encouraged to leave back to their homeland.

Mostly homogeneous society has better background for peaceful and democratic development, than the heterogeneous one. That is why Swedish Democrats proclaim that increasing return [of immigrants] should be encouraged by all possible means.¹⁴¹ (Translation by the author)

Swedish Democrats try to make some changes locally, since they have no any opportunity to influence the decisions of the central parliament of the country. Together with gaining more popularity among native Swedes, they make some ant-immigrants moves in the regions, where their support by the local population is enough. There are some articles in the Swedish media that show the moods of the people in such regions and the role of Swedish Democrats in construction of them.

¹⁴⁰ "Sd vill upprätta mångkulturellt bokslut i Region Skåne" 2008.

¹⁴¹ Sammanfattning 2005.

The passage in the original: "Ett befolkningsmässigt homogent samhälle har bättre förutsättningar att nå en fredlig och demokratisk utveckling, än en heterogen statsbildning. Därför förespråkar sverigedemokraterna en restriktiv invandringspolitik, liksom att samhället på alla sätt ska uppmuntra en ökad återvandring." (*auth*).

For example, people are very critical about the fact that proposition does not contain any ideas about the possibilities to inspire freewill return of immigrants who do not need any security, and *people also consider that most of the new propositions in practice appear to be grievous care of the commune's immigrants, and therefore are completely discriminating towards the ethnic Swedes*. The most skeptical are people about the fact that this overtalked demand to stop immigration has disappeared.¹⁴² (Translation by the author)

The commessive use in the sentence (in the italics) is quite a disputable one, whether it is really so that care about immigrants necessarily means discrimination against the ethnic Swedes. To produce more threats, these propositions are rhetorically called “completely discriminating”, as though any law or bill, which is designed to make the living of immigrants better, or is somehow in favour of this category of the population automatically deprives Swedes of their rights and make them be discriminated by their legislature.

However, as it was already seen in the analysis of the Social Democrats' and Moderate Party's view, to the large extent – both parties are in favour of the potential economic profit, which could be gained from the immigration. Swedish Democrats differ at this point significantly.

*General labour immigration to Sweden from the countries from outside the EU is not needed and for this reason should not happen. [...] Immigration to Sweden in the present quantity contributes to unemployment.*¹⁴³

Here the party not only claims that only the immigration from the EU is preferable for the development of the country. Even this part of the passage and the use of the expositive may provoke the self-other division in the society. The second statement in the passage is even more negative towards the immigrants, than they appear to be one of the factors of increasing unemployment in the country. This utterance cannot make the host society be friendlier towards the new-comers, since they are threatening their jobs.

Moreover, the party considers that the question of labour immigration can only into play and be discussed individually for every case bearing in mind the profit, which could be gained from this or that certain immigrant. This can be seen from the next passage, for example:

¹⁴² "Slopät krav på invandringsstopp får Sverigedemokraterna att säga nej till uppmärksammat förslag" 2004.

The passage in the original: "Man är till exempel mycket kritisk mot att förslaget inte innehåller några ideer kring hur den frivilliga återvandringen av invandrare utan skyddsbehov skall kunna stimuleras och man menar att flera av de nuvarande förslagen i praktiken kommer att innebära en positiv sörbehandling av kommunens invandrare och därför är direkt diskriminerande mot etniska svenskar. Mest skeptisk är man dock mot att det omdebatterade kravet på invandringsstopp har strukits." (auth).

¹⁴³ Ideedokument. Arbetsmarknadspolitik 2006.

The passage in the original: "Generell invandring av arbetskraft till Sverige från länder utanför EU behövs inte och ska därför inte förekomma. [...] Invandring i den omfattning som sker till Sverige ökar arbetslösheten." (auth).

The Party also means, that the requirement for moral qualities of those, who want to have livelihood allowance in Sweden should be strong. *Labour immigration should become a matter of any discussion only for those candidates, who are invited to key positions in Sweden.*¹⁴⁴ (Translation by the author)

Thus, Swedish Democrats, being an ultra right wing party demonstrate considerable difference in their position on migration comparing not only to the Social Democratic Party but also to the members of the right-wing coalition of the Swedish Parliament. Among their views there are utterances against immigration as the phenomenon, which ruins social identity and culture of Sweden, is economically unprofitable and should not happen from outside the countries of EU.

Besides, it may be important to notice, that Swedish Democrats is a party that has its own on-line journal, which was actively involved into the scandal with the cartoons of Mohammed, and even started the contest of cartoons on that topic. However, such contest was not held, because the government ordered to stop the work of the journal's web-page. Anyway the party, which is now exercising more and more power, represents itself as strongly anti-immigrationist and even somehow a nationalistic one.

Although this party is not represented in the Swedish parliament now, it may say its word in performing and constructing internal and external politics of the states on different issues, and deciding whether or not this or that issue is the existential threat to the (well-)being of the society during the forthcoming elections in 2010. Politicians, and especially party activists are supposed to be those people who make securitizing acts quite often. The audience will decide whether such acts or moves can be successful. And this very audience tends to believe more and more radical right-wing parties.

3.4. Situation in immigrants-districts.

Sweden is a country where there are a lot of people of foreign origin. For a long time Sweden held the policy of immigrant-friendly country, where immigrants hoped to find shelter and a better life. However, now the situation is that a lot of immigrants appear to live together in new communities, being separated from the rest of the society. Whole immigrant districts appear to be settled in some cities. Here, the analysis is made about the situation in two of such fully immigrant districts. One of them is Rosengård in the one of the most densely-populated with

¹⁴⁴ Befolkningpolitiskt handlingsprogram 2002.

The passage in the original: "Partiet menar också att det meste ställas högre krav på god vandel för den som vill ha uppehållstillstånd i Sverige. Arbetskraftsinvandring bör komma ifråga endast för den som är erbjuden en nyckelbefattning i Sverige." (*auth*).

immigrants in Swedish city of Malmö, and the other one is Södertälje to the south of Stockholm. As to the Malmö, ethnic and social situation in this district is described by the following abstract.

For the reason that almost 40 % of the population of Malmö has immigrant background, and speak 100 different languages, and there are 166 different nationalities, the commune becomes a natural attractor or magnet for such rootless people.¹⁴⁵ (Translation by the author)

Actually according to some of the sources “Malmö was already known as a miniature Babel on the Resound¹⁴⁶”. So, the fact that the district is already tensely populated by immigrants contributes to increase in new-comers specifically to this region. It is obvious that there are a few reasons, which make immigrant choose one or another area to settle in a receiving state. One of such factors is the number of people of the same nationality, traditions and language in the region. It is always easier to find their place and to make living in the society of the people, who can understand and support, rather than in a completely new one.

However, such a density of different nationalities make Rosengård be a socially tense district. There often appear messages in mass media, that the situation in the immigrants’ districts is far from being quiet one. This news also contribute to native Swedes being afraid and think twice before entering the district populated by immigrants. There is some news, like, for example, the following:

Six cars were put on fire on Saturday night in Malmö, south-Sweden. *It happened in Rosengård, a part of the city which is dominated by immigrants. It has been some protests there the last days after Muslims there were not allowed to use a certain room for praying any more.*¹⁴⁷

The example shows that there is a tension in the district between the immigrants (here Muslims) and local authorities. Actually, such social riots are very much alike the ones, which happened in other parts of Western Europe – France, Germany, Greece, etc. However the news presented is given in a very discreet manner, still attention is payed to a negative fact, which actually is directly concerned with immigrants and the most densely populated by them district of the city. However, it is significant to say, that it stays absolutely unclear what led to the prohibition for using the room by Muslims. Still, if there are cars put on fire, there is nothing to

¹⁴⁵ Andersson 2007.

The passage in the original: “Eftersom Malmös befolkning till 40 procent har invandrabakgrund, att det talas cirka 100 olika språk och där finns 166 olika nationaliteter, så fungerar kommunen som en naturlig magnet för sådana rotlösa människor.” (*auth*).

¹⁴⁶ de Jong 2007.

¹⁴⁷ “Cars on fire in Malmö” 2008.

wonder at that native Swedes prefer not to come over these districts. Even some official authorities in the face of local police does not risk entering the district sometimes:

Börje Aronsson, chief of the local police department says that *it is too dangerous and there are too few police officers in order to enter the block Herrgården in Rosengård city district.*

“There are raining stones, Molotov cocktails, firecrackers coming mostly from the balconies’ and the roof tops. I have an obligation to intervene, but at the same time I have a responsibility for the work environment”, says Aronsson to newspaper Sydsvenskan.

He says that Herrgården is *a catastrophe with structural problems beyond the reach of the police. Something he has told both local politicians and government ministers.*¹⁴⁸

According to the passage the situation in this district is not an easy one. Here are the expositive performative speech acts, which tell about at least one of the incidents in the area. It provides some information of support, which includes the information on the methods, which are used by the participants of street riots in their clashes with the police. The passage on the whole can be characterized by a rather skeptical view on the situation, which is represented partially by the qualifier applied to the whole situation in the district, and especially by saying that the situation is a “catastrophe”, the word which is rhetorically very strong. Actually any catastrophe implies the use of emergency measures, i.e. the direct feature of the successful securitization process.

Often, the news on the mentioned district contain the information about the living and introduction of their traditions at the new place not by all of the immigrants, but particularly by the certain groups of them – Muslims. For example, the government authorized to make a report about the rate of extremism and radicalization in the district, which resulted in the following:

Ranstorp and Santos write how *“ultra-radical” Islamists, who belong to the mosque masters in the district “preach for isolation and act as views-controllers, and who at the same time support threatening culture, which at first hand persecutes women physically and mentally”.* “Newly arrived families, which have never been particularly religious or traditional say that they lived more freely in their homeland than in Rosengård”, write both of the scientists.¹⁴⁹

The passage describes some rude traditions that are brought in Sweden by Muslim families. This kind of information is presented by the author as a fact, however it still can be

¹⁴⁸ “Police abandons troubled city district in Malmö” 2009.

¹⁴⁹ Erikson 2009.

The passage in the original: “Ranstorp och dos Santos beskriver hur “ultraradikala” islamister som tillhör källarmoskéer i området “predikar isolering och agerar åsiktskontrollanter samt upprätthåller en stark hotkultur, där främst kvinnor trakasseras fysiskt och psykiskt”.

“Nyinflyttade familjer som aldrig varit speciellt religiösa eller traditionella uppger att de levde friare i hemlandet än i Rosengård”, skriver de båda forskarna.” (auth).

recognized as implicit performative. The reason is that the story described in the abstract still counts on certain reaction of audience, depending on images, associations and parallels, which it would be possible to raise in a human's mind. In this very piece rhetoric is used to represent immigrants as a category of people, who came to the others' land, and do not want to integrate into the society that gave them shelter and allowed to live on their territory, just the other way around immigrants are determined to preserve their "barbarian" traditions. Some of the sources say that there are even "honor-killings" among immigrants, and therefore both in Stockholm and in Malmö safe houses are inhabited to the large extent "by Muslim women fearing honor killings or domestic violence".¹⁵⁰

The last sentence of the abstract, which says about immigrants feeling freer at home, than in Sweden is proved also by the opinion of some immigrants, who have already faced such a problem. According to their words, they are highly blamed for not observing the traditions of their nationality (for example, wearing headscarf by women).¹⁵¹ Such an intention to strengthen the traditions and religiousness of their own by the immigrants and their unwillingness to integrate into the host society provides for the certain segregation of this group. The example shows that immigrants are the ones who seem not to be willing to integrate with the host society, find common language with it. At the same time, when there is a large number of such immigrants behavior presented in press and all kind of other media, host society may start to see this trend among immigrants as a hostile one. Therefore, in this district the situation even between the representatives of immigrants is getting worse. So, Swedes may easily decide that it is dangerous to enter the territory, where the relations between people of similar origin and position are already complicating and requiring special skills not to make the situation worse. And then another kind of situation is possible and easy to appear, when host society in response to the driven fact, or under the influence of something else begin to oppose the integration of new-comers to the society, considering that it would be better not to have anything in common with those people who spread direct danger to their own culture in their own state.

There are also a lot of problems with street riots in Södertälje. Swedish mass media is rich in news about the incidents happening in those two districts evoked by the people with immigrant background, for example as stated further:

Four food stores were put on fire during the night and three of them are now totally destroyed. [...]
Several Swedish media mention that an organization called "Global Intifada" may be behind the attacks. In and around Södertälje have notes been put up challenging people to burn down food stores who sell American products. The notes have been signed by "Global Intifada".

¹⁵⁰ Caldwell 2005.

¹⁵¹ de Jong 2007.

Global Intifada is a leftwing extremist activist network. The organization states to fight the current global order, imperialism and capitalism with the anarchist method of direct action. *They also hold a pro-Palestinian agenda.*¹⁵²

In response to these facts of hostile actions represented by the Islamic inhabitants of the districts, one of the present ministers in the Swedish government says:

*The fact that there are fundamentalist groups in Rosengård, which recommend children marriages, persecute women, who do not wear headscarf, and encourage youth to isolate themselves from the society is unacceptable. Swedish laws, rights and equality should be respected by everyone, even those who live in Rosengård.*¹⁵³
(Translation by the author).

Here rhetoric seems to be an appropriate method for analysis, since the variety of its instruments is used in the passage. Here the behavior used by the minister demonstrate the attitude of the government towards the situation and the behavior of the Islamic immigrants at least in one of the analyzed districts. Here the Swedish society is officially warned that such things happen in the districts. It is an example of a rather strong statement, which is not in favour of immigrants at all, and does not contribute to the development of immigrant-friendly moods in the society just the other way around.

There are other examples of immigrants building “the wall” between them and host society. For example, many of them even do not want to learn Swedish language, either for the reason they have no time or just no will to do so. This is supported by the notion:

Södertälje, a municipality south of Stockholm with 82 000 inhabitants accepts more refugees from Iraq than USA. There are enormous problems to find jobs and accommodations to everyone. [...]

One reason that many Iraqis choose Södertälje is of course the fact that there are already many Iraqis there. Majid Khatoun, a Södertälje resident with Iraqi origin says to Dagens nyheter *that in Södertälje you do not need to understand Swedish or English, you do fine with Arabic.* That is a reason why many people who just arrived chose to settle there.¹⁵⁴

This abstract contains the information not only on the discussed above facts, that immigrants prefer to settle in the areas already inhabited by the people of the same origin, that immigrants cause some economic problems like unemployment, but also on the unwillingness of immigrants to learn Swedish, which together the problems and tensions among immigrants themselves in the described districts, and the countermeasures of the government, which finally

¹⁵² “Several fire-raising attacks in Södertälje” 2009.

¹⁵³ Erikson 2009.

The passage in the original: “Att det finns fundamentalistiska grupper i Rosengård som förordar barngifte, trakasserar kvinnor som inte bär slöja och uppmuntrar ungdomar att isolera sig från samhället är oacceptabelt. Svenska lagar, rättigheter och jämställdhet ska gälla alla, även boende i Rosengård.” (auth).

¹⁵⁴ “Södertälje tries to solve refugee problems” 2008.

contributes to the polarization of the representatives of native and foreign. Such processes happening in the society if are not the examples of securitization process themselves, still provide the securitization steps (either already taken or would be) to become successful, because one of the conditions to achieve them (to be more specific outer conditions, the ability and readiness of the public to accept something as existentially threatening) is already present.

In this case rhetoric may be rather effective in making public believe in whatever, including in immigrants as a source of threat. Actually this is a vivid example, of the fact that CoS is criticized for using a speech act theory (which in this case appears to be a too narrow one) instead of rhetoric on a certain ground. Such critique to the approach is provided by for example Thierry Balzacq in his “The Three Faces of Securitization: Political Agency, Audience and Context”, where he draws the attention to the rhetorical analysis of a securitizing act made by Demosthenes¹⁵⁵.

At the same time, the situation in Sweden is that of a country, which is more open for new flows of immigrants and refugees than other countries of the EU. And this flow does not tend to stop even with right-wing party ruling the country. For a long time now, Swedish society felt nothing was wrong with this phenomenon, and a welfare state always was ready to have more people, who need to be helped through.

On the whole the situation with the host society and its perception of immigrants seems to be one of the best in Europe, despite the fact that number of immigrants coming to settle in Sweden is great and still increases annually, as can be seen from the following statements appeared in press:

“While Sweden is receiving immigrants in record numbers, few voices are calling for closing the borders. [...]”¹⁵⁶ or “Immigration will reach record levels in Sweden this year with nearly 100,000 people moving to the Scandinavian country, up 48 percent from the year before, the national statistics office said Wednesday”¹⁵⁷. So immigration provides for the growth of population in Sweden. However, statistics show that:

“Swedes had the most positive attitudes toward immigrants in the bloc, with 77 percent saying they contribute a lot to society. In Germany only 30 percent agreed. The EU average was 40 percent”¹⁵⁸.

Actually, according to the pure statistic there should not be any problems of Swedes and incoming new flows of people. There even are some examples, which show that native people are not so strongly opposed to the immigrants, for example as follows:

¹⁵⁵ Balzacq 2005, pp. 171-201.

¹⁵⁶ “Sweden keeps doors, minds open to immigrants” 2006.

¹⁵⁷ “Sweden sees record immigration in 2006” 2006.

¹⁵⁸ “Sweden keeps doors, minds open to immigrants” 2006.

The concept of integration is an insidious one, because it implicitly refers to Swedes to be a norm, and immigrants to be deviant, therefore it is the last, who must change themselves. [...] There should not be obligation to study Swedish, there should be a right to do so. Nobody should be obliged to do the same things as Swedes do, but they should be given an opportunity to get information about Swedish culture.¹⁵⁹ (Translation by the author).

Here, the author claims that the concept of integration proposed by the official bodies is not a fair one. He argues that immigrants should not be made to study and Swedish traditions and language and behave like Swedes, rather the conditions should be created, when immigrants have the willingness and the opportunities to know more about their new country and become a part of it, but a part of the whole preserving intimate traditions and cultural features of themselves. Some of the Swedes even try to protect immigrants against the construction of an image of an immigrant as an enemy, by stressing the fact that even while showing the negative features of the only specific group of immigrants, other new-comers are also likely to suffer from negative attitude of the host society:

Too often people just draw out only problems of the area when they discuss immigration. Rosengård with its social problems and street riots often becomes an example to characterize the immigration on the whole. [...] *Black pattern of Rosengård grasps also 99% of immigrants, who do not live in Rosengård.* There are a lot of myths. The majority of people talk about the unemployment, dependence on social allowances, crimes and expenditures.¹⁶⁰ (Translation by the author).

However, the above mentioned cases are more likely the exclusions from a general rule. Evidence produced before in talking and analyzing about the all-immigrant districts gave the opposite kind of information and view on the problem. Then the situation to the large extent touched upon the Muslims, who come from Iraq in great numbers now. But, there are also some examples, which show that even Russian immigrants may face negative attitude from native Swedes. Irina Makridova, who is a representative of a Russian Union in Sweden, has written about these facts as more or less frequent in Sweden in her article *What does it mean to be a non-Swede in Sweden?* In her opinion:

¹⁵⁹ Andersson 2007.

The passage in the original: "Integrationsbegreppet är lömskt, eftersom det underförstått gör de infödda svenskarna till norm och invandrarna till en avvikelse, där det är de sistnämnda som måste förändra sig. Det ska inte vara en skyldighet att lära sig svenska, det ska vara en rättighet. Man ska inte vara skyldig att göra som svenskarna gör, man ska ha en rätt att få information om svensk kultur." (auth).

¹⁶⁰ "Rosengård är inget typiskt invandrarområde" 2009.

The passage in the original: "Det är alltför vanligt att bara dra fram problemen när man diskuterar invandring. Rosengård med sina sociala problem och gatukravaller får ofta stå som exempel för invandringen generellt. [...] Svartmålningen av Rosengård drabbar också de 99 procent av invandrarna som inte bor i Rosengård. Myterna är många. De flesta talar om arbetslöshet, bidragsberoende, brottslighet och kostnader." (auth).

One of the reasons of the lowered position of the Russians in Sweden and their fear to claim in good voice about themselves lies in a long historical tradition of enmity attitude of Swedes towards Russians. [...in Swedish [language] there are a lot of negative names of Russian people that became phrasal statements such as "ryssen kommer" [...], "ryskskräck" [...] and "aryfiende", which means not just an enemy but an enemy by heritage. [...] in addition, great is role which Swedish mass media plays in the situation by describing a rather dark picture of Russia with its Russian mafia organized crime, and Russian prostitutes.¹⁶¹

Therefore, the situation is made worse with all the means available on the world web. Being the main source of information and outer influence at the same time, there are a lot of anti-immigration sources in the on-line space, beginning from the web pages of radical right groups of people (as Swedish Democrats and their on-line journal: SD-kuriren) or simply forums to discuss the issue under such names as: "I hate that we take in lots of immigrants in Sweden" or "Stop mass immigration – Sweden bears no more!¹⁶²". Again, the view of Social Democrats, that there is no now massive inflow of immigrants to the territory of Sweden stays without any attention.

3.5. Denmark's experience.

Denmark is a country, which shares common open border with Sweden. Moreover, it is a country where right-wing parties have enjoyed power for several years now. That is why they are supposed to have more experience, than their Swedish colleagues. In Sweden the change of the ruling group happened in a manner, which is similar to the Swedish one. At first, right-wing coalition won the majority with a small advantage, and preferred not to behave radically during their first years in a new role, which no longer was the role of opposition. In Denmark as in Sweden, left-wing parties were always present as a majority in parliament for number of years. Because of such analogies that can be made between Denmark and Sweden, it seems interesting to pay attention to this country and assess its role and significance in the evolution of security issue agenda in Sweden.

First, to prove that, unlike in Sweden, in Denmark the Government is acting in the course of securitization of migration issues actively, the following abstract was analyzed:

The Government regards it very necessary to limit the current influx of aliens coming to Denmark. This will lead to the necessary calm and secure that the necessary resources are made available for a far better integration of aliens already residing in Denmark. They must learn Danish and have jobs in order to be helped out of the social security system.¹⁶³

In order to restrict the inflow of those immigrants, who already made their mind to go to Denmark, and to create such conditions that immigrants, who have already settled in the country,

¹⁶¹ Makridova 2005.

¹⁶² Stoppa massinvandringen - Sverige klarar inte mer! (*Translation by the author*).

¹⁶³ Danish new policy on asylum and migration 2001.

would prefer to flee Denmark voluntarily than to stay in the state (curiously enough is in what direction they will flee), Danish government is ready to pass certain bills.

The utterance in italics is of a performative kind, especially for the reason that it can be easily reproduced into the form of first person verb in present indicative active. These words are pronounced as an official view point of the Danish government, i.e. the representatives of the ruling party, so the pronoun We or I are appropriate to use in such a situation. It also cannot be called a true or false one, since it is not a fact that is stated. As to a kind of the present performative it is an example of commissives, since it includes a declaration or announcement of intentions of the government, which at the moment of performing this act was really in power. The proof that the situation changes with this utterance is to know whether some measures were really taken by the Danes in order to achieve the proclaimed goal. If there is such evidence, then depending on the measures taken the situation with immigrants in Denmark can be seen as a deeply securitized one. Did the Government manage to achieve the aim? The next passage will give a very clear positive answer to the question:

“It is to Denmark that Swedes have looked with most anxiety. There, the rise of the anti-immigration Danish People's party [...] has succeeded in winning passage of Europe's most stringent laws on immigration. Denmark now restricts asylum admissions, welfare payments, and citizenship and residency permits for reasons of family unification. Danes under 25 who marry foreigners no longer have the right to bring their spouses into the country. Many such half-Danish couples now live in Malmö”.¹⁶⁴

The whole passage seems to be a large verdictive to all the Danish immigrants and their families. Like sentence in court, such measures are not at all immigration-friendly and create the situation of insecure and tense immigrants, forced to do something (for example, move again further to one of the neighbouring states, where the processes of securitization has not gained such force yet). However, the authority of Danish right-wing parties appears to be so great as to allow them create securitizing moves, which are directed not on their own country, but on their neighbour Sweden:

“The Danish People's party leader, Pia Kjrsgaard, replied to the Swedes in a newsletter: "If they want to turn Stockholm, Göteborg, and Malmö into Scandinavian versions of Beirut . . . then that is up to them.”¹⁶⁵

The example shows quite a great and rare securitizing act. It is obvious than there is no any Swedish person who is eager or at least ready to compare their country with Beirut. It is one of the strongest commissives, which promises to Swedes such a picture in the future, unless the

¹⁶⁴ Caldwell 2005.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

politics in the sphere is changed completely (was not this one (or the like) very convincing security act that led right-centre opposition to the winning of the Parliamentary elections in Sweden).

3.6. Late developments in the social politics of the right-centric coalition.

This part of the analysis is devoted to the characteristics of the securitization of immigration process in Sweden, which is initiated by the right-centric coalition, which is in power now, and started lately in the country. Actually, above it was stated that Moderate party is not likely to make some radical steps in order to make the rules for immigrants stricter. In this case, it was also mentioned already, that in Sweden there are signs of the securitization ad hoc, which involves making some securitization moves, speech acts, which however do not guarantee the either success of the process or the move of the issue to the sphere of emergency politics above the political spectrum. At the same time, before there were no signs of any successful securitization.

Now in the Swedish, Parliament and the society a lot of disputes aroused due to the initiative of the ruling coalition to introduce a certain contract, which immigrants should sign in order for Sweden to have some guarantees, that they will be useful and profitable for the state, or if they are not, this fact will give the state some rights to apply restrictive measures for those incomers:

“- I think that the need for a clear and individual contract really is huge. But such an agreement both needs to clarify the role and obligation of the state, for example to offer language education, but also what is expected by the newly arrived immigrant, says Elisabeth Svantesson, MP and director of the Moderate Party Group for Integration Policy.¹⁶⁶

So, this passage is devoted to a recent trend to make all immigrants sign a special contract, where their responsibilities would be clearly outlined. This exercise is designed to make public believe that thing really needs to be so. In order to make everyone (the state as well as newcomers) do their best on the way of building healthy and welfare state without conflicts and tensions. However, this contract will for sure make the living and especially entering the country more difficult for the immigrant. At the same time, further in the article, Elizabeth Svantesson allows a certain anti-immigrants utterance, which looks like:

According to Svantesson the integration policy in Sweden of today is too focused on “caretaking” of immigrants. The “kindness” of Swedish authorities leads to passivity of immigrants and their power of initiative. She thinks that if someone has had the ability to leave their earlier home country there must be a belief that

¹⁶⁶ Jonasson 2008.

they also have the capacity to take responsibility for themselves in their new country”.¹⁶⁷

Expositive here is used to show that the ‘carrot’ method does not work any longer and it is a high time to use a ‘stick’. This sentence is used in order to make the audience believe that kindness can drive to the situation, when people because of the excessive kind attitude start to make use of it without giving anything in change. The debate on the new trend and the introduction of a contract with immigrants now is in a very controversial and disputable manner highlighted in the sources of mass media.

This discourse also represents the arguments in favour of the securitization of migration trend, which are articulated in all the four axes: socioeconomic, political, and identitarian one. The contract is supposed to be a complex of mutual responsibilities and guarantees of the state and newly arrived immigrant. It would probably include the obligation to learn Swedish language, traditions, laws and principles of the Swedish society (identitarian), the demand to start to work for the immigrant as soon as possible (socioeconomic), and the profit, which will gain the party during the forthcoming elections of 2010 if such an agreement is a success.

It is already known, that the Moderate party intends to include in the treaty the paragraph, which will concern the consequence, which will be applied if one of the sides of the contract would not fulfill the requirements of the paper they have signed:

*In case one of the sides does not fulfill its responsibilities, written in the treaty, certain consequences will follow, for example, in the form of treaty prolongation or renegotiation of the economic clauses of the contract.*¹⁶⁸ (Translation by the author)

In this case exercitive tends to show all the firmness and seriousness of the ruling party on the way of reformations in the sphere of immigration process management. At the same time, there are some opinions that not everyone will be obliged to sign such a contract. Such a division among foreigners again provide for the self and other logic development. Such utterances encourage the construction of friends and enemy perception of the immigrants by the host society. Such division, or label, which will have some categories of immigrants as distinguished from the other group of new-comers to the country, can provoke the rise of social segregation and as a result – tensions:

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Svantesson 2008.

The passage in the original: "Om någondera part inte uppfyller sin del av överenskommelsen i kontraktet ska detta få konsekvenser, t ex i form av förlängning av kontraktperioden eller omförhandling av de ekonomiska förutsättningarna i kontraktet." (auth).

*There will not be any requirement to sign a contract to get the asylum. The exact look of this treaty and those who will be made to sign it is not clear yet, but Schlingmann says that those people who comes to work from other EU countries will not need to sign the paper.*¹⁶⁹ (Translation by the author)

However, the introduction of the contract for immigrants is not the only trend, which gains now force in the social politics defended by the ruling coalition. Another task, which face the coalition and tries to solve is the place of inhabitation, which immigrants choose. Sometimes, it happens so that coming to a new country immigrants prefer to stay in the districts, where there are already representatives of their nation, religion, etc. So, they try to find areas, where they can meet understanding, help, people, who are like them. At the same time, such state of things does not satisfy the host governments. This provides for the situation, when districts densely populated with immigrants are established in the state, whereas areas that need immigrants, and consequently some economic branches, enterprises, which need labour source or the people with certain qualification stay short of immigrants. With this in mind, there is nothing strange that the right-centric government decided to solve the problem and make immigrants settle in the areas, where the state wants them to, by restricting them somehow:

*Moderates are in doubt. Working group offered not to abolish the right for self residence, but in some cases to cut back compensations and to oblige those people who prefer self residence in overoccupied communes to be able to become the part of the whole. Thereby, it seems, people would stay in the places where there are jobs and living opportunities*¹⁷⁰. (Translation by the author)

In other words, quite a rational willing of the government of the host country can result in non desirable additional obstacles for immigrants, which can have more negative consequences than just the displeasure of the new-comers. Every taboo or restriction may make people find other ways, a back-door entrance, which will give them what they want, rather to be ordered where to settle in order to find favour in the eyes of the state. Of course, such moves against the will of immigrants are articulated in socioeconomic axis, taking into consideration only the economic needs of the country, and benefits, which the country may have from the immigration, without making any efforts rather than doing their best in order to make the area they want to be inhabited by new-comers more attractive for the latter or the native citizens:

¹⁶⁹ Svantesson 2008.

The passage in the original: "Det ska inte vara något krav att skriva på kontraktet för att få asyl. Exakt hur kontraktet ska se ut och vilka som ska tvingas skriva på är oklart, men Schlingmann säger att de som kommer från andra EU-länder för att arbeta kanske inte ska behöva underteckna papperet." (*auth*).

¹⁷⁰ Jonsson 2008.

The passage in the original: "Moderaterna är kluvna. Arbetsgruppens förslag var att inte avskaffa ebo, men att i vissa fall minska ersättningen och att den som väljer ebo i "överetablerade kommuner" ska kunna bli av med den helt. Därmed skulle människor söka sig dit arbete och bostäder finns, är tanken." (*auth*).

In order to get asylum seekers to locate where there are housings and work opportunities, it takes clear economic incentives. The same goes for those who later on will get a residence permit.

This writes a work group from the Moderate Party (liberal conservative) in an opinion article in Dagens Nyheter. The group will present its final report during the spring in 2009.¹⁷¹

Thus, this paragraph demonstrates that now right-centric coalition started to make securitizing, immigrants'-unfriendly moves in order to get some up-to-the-minute economic benefits and win the votes of the electorate on the forthcoming election in 2010. There are no radical anti-immigration utterances made by them, but the immigrant contract and the will to make new-comers settle in certain places, represent certain measures that are designed in order to have the support from the host society and make the division between the native and the other more vivid. These steps are not completely anti-immigrant, but they are cautious moves of a totally new spectrum of immigration perception.

¹⁷¹ "Moderates want stricter rules for immigrants" 2008.

CONCLUSION

According to the research, the task of the thesis was to inquire about the situation with immigration issue in Sweden and decide whether it is handled in terms and procedures of normal politics, or is situated above the political level of the issue and is a securitized, although there are no explicit signs of it.

Securitization theory introduced by the researchers of CoS is a rather complicating one, for the reason that it still has some contradictions, malfunctions and misunderstanding in between the supporters of a theory. A lot of discussions are held concerning the concept of security agenda widening presented by Ole Waever et al. However, this constructivist approach to security seems to be one of the dominating one in IR at the present moment.

The question of method, which should be applied in the framework of the securitization theory, is also disputable and controversial. Method chosen by the founders of the theory – a theory of speech acts of J.L. Austin – seems not to satisfy the application of it to the full extent. Speech act theory seems to be a part of a system of methods, which could characterize and define the process of securitization more thoroughly. In this context a lot of authors, who share in general the views of CoS on the issue of security, offer other methods to be used in the examination of securitization process. These may include in addition to speech act theory, for example, rhetoric (as in the present work), for there a lot of examples can be found of using rhetoric to pursue the audience that something extraordinary (not of day-to-day political practices) should be made or undertaken in order to be safe. In this paper rhetorical analysis made a great contribution to the inquiries about the possible securitization of immigration process in Sweden.

The first conclusion that can be made of the analysis of the situation with immigration issue in Sweden is that right-wing parties really are inclined towards the restriction of immigration flows to the country, as well as the securitization of the issue. This picture becomes vivid from their pre-election manifests, other documents of the campaign, promises they used to give to the Swedish society before parliamentary elections of 2006. Since members of this kind of parties now enjoy the majority in Parliament, and also the Government is largely represented by right-wing politicians, they seem to have all the resources they need to securitize an issue in hands. I mean, that since legislative and executive branches of powers are in one hands it is possible to influence the audience's opinion by adopting laws and directives, or by mobilizing the institutions of the executive branch in order for them to provide their professional view on the situation, draw some statistics in support of the Governments position. Moreover, the winning of

the elections by this party seems to prove a certain degree of trust to the politicians of this wing, and especially to the Prime Minister (leader of the Moderaterna Frederik Reinsfeld), who is supposed to enjoy the needed rate of authority (not only political) to make securitizing moves.

However, despite it is the right-wing Parliament that took its place instead of the left-one, which has ruled for several parliamentary terms, the winning party makes it understandable that no radical steps are now planned to be made, including in the field of immigration, and the policy will not change from upside down. Partly, the reason for this is that right politicians are not the only host of the Parliament, it is not the Party, who won the elections, rather the coalition of four (Conservatives (Moderaterna), Centrists, Liberals, and Christian Democrats). Therewith still there are some securitizing moves made by the coalition in the field of migration (immigrant contract, the settlement of the immigrants in certain areas), designed to make the rules for immigration process stricter (what can be seen in the changes of the social politics of the state) and to make the attitude of the society towards the new-comers an alert one.

Besides the winning was not an overall one. The coalition had only 2 percent advantage before the Social democrats. So the support of the party is not so stable now. It is logical to assume, that in their first term to the Parliament the coalition will try to win additional votes, while not loosing the electorate that is in favour of them now, and consequently to run politics without radicalization, rationally and calmly. This argument seems to be reasonable, since the example of Denmark, where right-wing party that had a majority in parliament started to act actively after the re-election on the second term.

The role of Denmark in the development of the attitude of Swedes towards immigrants may play one of the decisive roles here. The reason is that in Denmark a number of amendments were passed in order to make the rules of immigration to the country stricter, as well as the position of already immigrants – much less favorable and convenient for them. For this reason and for the reason that the movement between Denmark and Sweden is absolutely open and uncontrolled the flows of immigrants to Sweden that exist now are not only from Asia, but also from neighbouring Denmark. And the number of such inflows is constantly increasing. This means that to eliminate such undesirable inflow of immigrants from its neighbour Sweden will be forced to take some measures, which risk to be the same or the like, as in Denmark, i.e. the process of taking securitizing moves will be intensified and some of them will definitely lead the issue of immigration to be successfully securitized.

Of course, it is obvious, that no radical steps were made by the right-wing Prime Minister or the governing coalition on the whole to restrict or securitize immigration immediately after they came into power. But still the example of Denmark shows, that during the first term newly

elected right-wing coalition there tried only to strengthen its positions, and did not make any radical steps. However, during their second term the government and Parliament started to conduct the policy restricting immigration to the country. This tendency may also be applicable to Sweden, since the analysis showed that even now, the government has already started to make some restrictive moves towards the immigration (signing of a contract, denial of a free will to choose the place to settle in).

To proceed further, there is also a trend in Sweden, by which the whole western society is now characterized. In this case, the increase in authority of the ultra- or radical right-wing parties, especially on the local levels, i.e. the growth of the representatives of neo-nacist parties in the official institutions of municipalities in different countries of Europe. These parties have traditionally been opposed to immigration, and even to other nations as a whole. In Sweden, the support of Sweden democrats has doubled in 2006, and the party is represented in the south local authority bodies. Sweden Democrats have no enough political resource to make effective securitizing moves. However it has its own on line Internet issue: SD-kuriren.

Media is proved to play a crucial role in the securitization process even in the opinion of the founders of the securitization theory. Now it is however additionally argued that not only rhetoric in the media or linguistic practices that are forceful and powerful, but also images that media creates of some issues. With this respect, SD-kuriren is full of various information, pictures and tactics that can successfully construct the image of an immigrant into that of the enemy. As the most popular source of information Internet seems to be the perfect source for different kinds of groups to conquer the attention of the public and make them believe in what they say and make propaganda of it. Therefore, such kind of journals or forums of anti-immigration nature makes anti-immigration forces gain additional support and find the way to persuading of the audience in what they want.

Another negative factor, which contributes a lot to the process of securitization, is the existence of all-immigrant districts in the cities of the country, where the integration of immigrants to the society is impossible and is perceived as unnecessary. Such situation creates a state of exclusion. Native citizens never cross the border of such areas, simply for the reason they are totally afraid to. The situation is getting even worse, because the number of strong-religious people coming to live in such districts has been increasing lately, and makes the relations between different groups of the same religion to gain tension. It is like a stalemate position in chess, for the reason that the tension and intolerance is growing not only between the natives and new-comers, but also between the new-comers. This, undoubtedly, can produce the state of

affairs, when the feeling of insecurity and enmity to each other by the representatives of different groups will end up in complete securitization and the use of emergency measures.

There is a tendency in the Swedish society already of negative attitudes toward immigrants and their families. More often such attitude is reflected in relation to Muslims, and sometimes Russian. Since some habits of international relations are made by history of the two states, than in case of Russia there is nothing to be surprised at.

To make a kind of summary of the results and outcomes of the research it can be clearly stated, that although securitization process in Sweden is not a successful one yet, securitizing moves are made more frequently, and tension between immigrants and host society becomes stronger. This means that a small incident (similar to what has happened in France with two young immigrants, which was the impulse for immigrant communities to revolt) may result in a common situation (as it was in France, South of Germany, etc. in 2006) happen in Sweden. Then it will mean that from now on right-wing parties will feel free to securitize the issue of immigration and reduce the privileges such categories of people have to the minimum or deprive of them completely.

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4 myter om invandrare

Invandrare kommer till Sverige för att begå brott eller leva på bidrag och det pågår en "massinvandring" utan begränsningar. Propagandan från de högerextrema grupperna bygger ofta på vi-och-dom retorik där en begränsad invandring är lösningen på alla problem. Men vad är egentligen sant av det de säger? Läs vidare vad Expos chefredaktör Daniel Poohl skrivit om de 4 vanligaste myterna om invandrare.

Myt 1

"De kostar för mycket"

En vanlig förekommande siffra över invandringens kostnad är 267 miljarder årligen. Uppgiften kommer från Lars Jansson, författare till boken "Mångkultur och välfärd?" och tidigare aktiv i den invandringskritiska lobbygruppen Folkviljan och massinvandringen.

I boken radar Jansson upp en mängd kostnader som han menar är kopplade till invandring och invandrare, bland annat biståndet till tredje världen och medlemsavgiften till EU (Han menar att det är bistånd EU-länderna). Han räknar inte in de inkomster som invandringen ger, till exempel att invandrare som arbetar betalar skatt eller att de producerar varor och tjänster.

Så kan man naturligtvis inte räkna. För det första faller siffran på sin egen orimlighet. Om man jämför siffran med Sveriges totala statliga utgifter för år 2005 som var 731,5 miljarder blir det tydligt att den är grovt överdriven. Siffran 267 miljarder går trots detta att finna på de flesta högerextrema organisationer flygblad - eftersom den passar deras syften.

Om man ser till statens kostnader för invandrare och flyktingar låg siffran under 2005 på 7,1 miljarder. I den siffran ingår bland annat kostnader för omhändertagande av flyktingar.

Om man vill räkna in den totala kostnaden för invandringen blir siffran givetvis högre, men långt ifrån så hög som Lars Jansson hävdar.

Den vanligaste förekommande siffran är ungefär 40 miljarder. Bakom den siffran står Jan Ekberg, professor i nationalekonomi och verksam vid arbetsmarknadspolitiskt centrum vid Växjö universitet. Den största orsaken till kostnaderna är arbetslöshet bland personer som statistiken räknas som invandare.

Myt 2

"De är kriminella"

Ja, Människor begår brott. I alla tider har människor begått brott. Rasistiska grupper i Sverige försöker dock få det till att just invandrare begår brotten. De framställer invandrare som kriminella och våldtäktsmän. Officiell statistik visar att det är en snedvriden bild.

2005 gjorde Brottsförebyggande rådet en undersökning för att klargöra om invandrare var överrepresenterade i brottsstatistiken. Rapporten redogjorde för personer som hade varit misstänkta för brott mellan 1997 och 2001.

För det första visade rapporten att oavsett bakgrund var den absolut största delen av befolkningen inte misstänkta för brott överhuvudtaget. Bland svenskfödda med båda föräldrarna födda i utlandet var det 90 procent som inte varit misstänkta för brott.

Rapporten visar dock att det finns en liten överrepresentation bland utlandsfödda och personer med ena eller båda föräldrarna födda utanför Sverige.

Förklaringarna till det är många.

- En förklaring är givetvis att många invandrare tvingas in i livsvillkor som kan leda till kriminalitet. Om man jämför de som räknas som invandrare med svenskar med samma livsvillkor minskar också skillnaderna.

- Enligt Kriminologen Jerzy Sarnecki löper också personer med invandrabakgrund större risk att anmälas för brott.

- Det är svårt att bryta upp från hemlandet och bosätta sig i ett nytt land.

Om man vill fortsätta att jämföra grupper med varandra så visar det sig till exempel att män oftare är misstänkta för brott jämfört med kvinnor än vad invandrare är jämfört med svenskar. På samma sätt är personer som inte gått gymnasiet oftare misstänkta för brott jämfört med de som gått gymnasiet än vad invandrare är jämfört med svenskar.

Det finns helt naturligt inget som säger att invandrare av naturen är mer brottsbenägna än svenskar. Det finns ingen brottsgen - men däremot brottsfrämjande miljöer i ett samhälle med stora sociala och ekonomiska klyftor.

Myt 3

"De går på bidrag"

Ena stunden anklagar extremhögern invandrare för att stjäla svenskarnas jobb. I andra stunden anklagas de för att komma till Sverige för att gå på socialbidrag. Det är en omöjlig matematik.

De bidrag som specifikt riktas emot invandrare är så kallade introduktionsbidrag. Nä en person med uppehållstillstånd bott i Sverige i två år försvinner att typer av introduktionsbidrag. Om man då är i behov av socialbidrag omfattas man precis som alla andra av socialtjänstlagen, samma regler gäller med andra ord för alla.

Under en persons första tid i Sverige betalas dock särskiljda pengar ut, men de summorna är betydligt lägre än vad extremhögern försöker få oss att tro.

Den tiden en person väntar på besked på ansökan om uppehållstillstånd utgår en daglig ersättning. Ersättningen varierar beroende på ålder och om personen bor ensam eller inte. De som får mest är de ensamstående, 71 kronor per dag. Lever man med någon annan vuxen får man 61 kronor. Är man under 18 år är ersättningen ännu lägre, förutsatt att man har hittat någonstans att bo. Om man bor på ett boende i Migrationsverkets regi där man får mat är summorna ännu lägre. Ensamstående får då klara sig på 24 kronor om dagen. De som lever med en annan vuxen får 19 kronor.

Utöver detta går det att söka särskilda bidrag för "en dräglig livsföring". Det kan handla om vinterkläder, glasögon eller kosttillskott.

För att sätta siffrorna i ett perspektiv kan man notera att de som sitter i svenska fängelser, enligt Kriminalvårdsverkets informationschef Ann-Marie Dahlgren, får upp till tio kronor i timmen för "organiserad sysselsättning".

Om personen får uppehållstillstånd betalar Integrationsverket ett schablonbelopp till den kommun som personen flyttar till, förutsatt att personen uppfyller vissa kriterier, till exempel att personen fått uppehållstillstånd på grund av anhörigskäl eller är en så kallad kvotflykting. Schablonbeloppet varierar mellan 101 800 till 164 700 beroende på ålder. Beloppet är tänkt att fungera som ekonomiskt stöd för kommunens introduktion av personen, det handlar alltså om SFI-undervisning.

Pengarna betalas ut portionsvis och när kommunen anser att personen kommit in i samhället eller när högst tre och ett halvt år gått utgår inget mer ekonomiskt stöd. Pengarna är inte knutna till en individ utan delas ut för att användas av alla.

När det gäller socialbidragen så visar statistik från Statistiska centralbyrån att det faktiskt är så att utbetalningar av socialbidrag till hushåll med en utrikes född eller flykting har minskat konstant sedan 1998.

Myt 4

"Det pågår en massinvandring till Sverige"

I den högerextrema propagandan framstår Sverige som det land som tar emot mest flyktingar i hela världen. Det talas om en massinvandring, som om våra gränser stod vidöppna. Det är långt från sanningen.

För det första. Enligt FN:s flyktingorgan UNHCR var cirka 20 miljoner människor på flykt under 2005. De flesta av dem sökte sig inte till Europa. De som sökte sig till Sverige utgjorde med andra ord en mycket liten del av världens alla flyktingar.

Om man tittar på utvecklingen i Sverige har Migrationsverket beviljat fler uppehållstillstånd år för år sedan 2001. Men långt ifrån alla tillhör den grupp som extremhögern säger sig vilja stoppa. 2005 beviljades 56 108 uppehållstillstånd. 8 076 av dem var flyktingar eller motsvarande. 22 028 av dem var anhöriga till personer i Sverige. Cirka tio procent av dem var anhöriga till flyktingar. Den stora ökningen gäller de som kommit hit på grund av EES-avtalet alltså personer som bor i Europa, 18 069 stycken. Runt 6 837 av dem som fick uppehållstillstånd var gäststudenter.

Faktum är att det inte är speciellt många av dem som söker asyl i Sverige som får uppehållstillstånd. Under 2005 beviljade Migrationsverket endast 13 procent av de behandlade ansökningarna. Under hela 2000-talet har den siffran legat på mellan 10 och 20 procent.

Extremhögern talar främst om att stoppa den utomeuropeiska invandringen, men statistiken över invandringen från 2005 visar att den största delen av invandrarna kommer från Europa. Statistiken visar dessutom att 17 procent av de som invandrar till Sverige är hemkommande svenskar. 31 procent av de invandrare som kommer till Sverige är från Norden, med svenska hemkommande svenskar inräknade. Nästan 60 procent av de som invandrade till Sverige kom från europeiska länder.

Den stora massinvandringen som extremhöger talar om är alltså inget annat än ren skrämpropaganda .

<http://www.socialdemokraterna.se/Webben-for-alla/S-foreningar/Goteborg/Biskopsgarden/Politik/4-myter-om-invandrare/>

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