Reviewing the Politics of Immigration in Sweden over the Bilateral Remittance Flows between Sweden and Turkey in light of Theories on Remittances

Bachelor’s Thesis in Political Science
Fall Term 2015
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Abstract

In recent years, remittance flows as a part of economic and political competition has become an important issue in politics. Countries intend to increase money inflows by encouraging their citizens who live abroad to transfer their earnings back to their home countries. Today, since the influence of remittances on global economy is perceived to be very critical the remittance flows between countries are closely monitored by important political and economic actors. Sweden and Turkey are the two countries which have developed close relations on migration and remittances over the last fifty years and now Sweden passes through a transition period in terms of evolvement of the public opinion on immigration. This dissertation focuses on the analysis of remittance structure between Sweden and Turkey with a theoretical perspective in order to contribute to evaluation of immigration policies of the political parties in Sweden in light of remittances. The recent general election in Sweden resulted in favor of political parties which support more restricted immigration policies. Eventually, the dissertation aims to contribute with another economic aspect to the comparison on the perspectives of the political parties in Sweden towards immigration. Therefore, the results from the case study is used to verify whether the tendency of the public opinion in Sweden is meaningful.

Briefly, in this study, the bilateral remittances between the two countries are examined per se considering views of mainstream theories on remittances and the results are evaluated with the recent political thoughts on immigration in Sweden. The results refers that the negative tendency of public opinion echoed by some political parties in Sweden towards immigration is not economically rational in the sense of remittances.

Keywords: Sweden, Turkey, Migrants’ Remittances, Theories on Remittances, Remittance Flows, Bilateral Remittances, South – North, Theories of Migration, Politics of Immigration, Politics of Remittances, Riksdag, Swedish General Election, 2014
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Acknowledgement

I would like to express my special thanks of gratitude and respect to Dr. Martin Nilsson who never stop believing in me and sincerely supported me through completing my study.

I would also like to thank my brother, Yusuf, my beloved wife, Damla and my caring mother, Güllü. They helped me a lot in following my career path by cheering me up and keeping me motivated anytime. Thank them for all of the love, support, encouragement and dedication.
1. Introduction

In today’s world that passes through globalization process and questions national boundaries in every aspect of life, it can commonly be seen that the mobility of people among countries increases significantly. Owing to this increment, even though the reasons may differ from one to another, migration becomes an important issue in politics. Besides, monetary outcome of migration flows has gained importance and popularity because of the influence of money inflows and outflows on economies. Now, the money transferred by migrants that is basically called as “remittances” turns into a good indicator for social and economic development. Official records on remittance flows to developing countries are predicted to increase by 6.3 percent, reaching $414 billion in 2013, while the overall worldwide remittance flows is estimated to be about $550 billion in 2013. The World Bank’s predictions, shown in Figure 1, regarding the remittance flows provide us with a striking evidence for an upward trend of money transfers, which can be interpreted as that remittances will gain more importance in the future.

*Figure 1: Growing trend of remittances*

*Sources: World Development Indicators and World Bank Development Prospects Group (IMF, 2013).*

Remittances are also good reflectors of international relations. They especially demonstrate regional connections and economic dependencies as in the case of North-
South and South-South remittances. The connection between remittances and economic dependencies can be seen through the economic classification of countries and their remittance activities. According to IMF’s data for remittance flows at Table 1, developing countries receives most of the remittance inflows. Considering the World System Theory this situation can be explained with economic dependencies created by core countries. The theory claims that as they are semi-periphery in the system, developing countries supply skilled labor to core developed countries in return for remittances. Like this example, there are many instances those can be given in order to show direct linkage of remittances with political and economic relations of countries.

Table 1: Estimates and projections for remittance flows to developing countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>All developing countries</th>
<th>2009</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
<th>2013e</th>
<th>2014f</th>
<th>2015f</th>
<th>2016f</th>
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<tr>
<td>East Asia and Pacific</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe and Central Asia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin America and Caribbean</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle-East and North Africa</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Asia</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>World</strong></td>
<td><strong>418</strong></td>
<td><strong>454</strong></td>
<td><strong>506</strong></td>
<td><strong>519</strong></td>
<td><strong>549</strong></td>
<td><strong>594</strong></td>
<td><strong>646</strong></td>
<td><strong>707</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low-income countries</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Middle-income countries</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>345</td>
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<td>376</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>488</td>
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<tr>
<td>High income countries</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Hence, analyzing the remittance structure between Sweden and Turkey will allow us to illustrate how well developed their social and economic relations are. Additionally this will also show that whether the political perspective towards immigration in Sweden is supported with the economic rationale. By saying that it is aimed to verify political opinions through a case study. In terms of academic contribution, the dissertation also aims to find out which theory on remittances is more suitable while testing political opinions on immigration through the remittance flows between Sweden and Turkey.
Similar to every aspect of social science, in political science to understand the human factor on causes and effects of many issues is not fully possible. Since migrants who naturally create remittance flows between countries are in the center of the topic, remittance theories do not have a commonly accepted conclusion. For instance, in contrast with a common opinion that believes in benefits of remittance flows, remittance flows between countries do not always show a positive correlation because the sign of correlation may sometimes be led by social and economic differences between countries. Thus, some of theories on remittances claim that people migrate from poor countries to rich countries and then just transfer their money back to their home country. Therefore, the dissertation will inquire whether common theories on remittance are acceptable in the case of Sweden and Turkey.

Whereas some of theories on remittance defend that remittances are beneficial and create positive results, there are some theories that are going to be mentioned in this dissertation claim that remittance flows have many drawbacks. Thus, initially the theory that has the highest explanatory power for the case of Sweden and Turkey is going to be determined and then that theory is going to be tested by observing the current situation between the two countries. Finally, the findings of the test will be compared with theory’s claims.

In Sweden, the general election to the Riksdag that were held on 14 September 2014 showed that public opinion has inclined to believe that immigration affects the country negatively for some reason. As it is in all democratic states, parliaments represent their citizens’ perspectives. Therefore, the Riksdag will reflect the same point of view towards immigration. However, even though the public opinion gradually leans to accept the idea of that immigration damages economy of the country, this belief should be analytically examined in order to reveal whether there is any rational base for this perspective. Eventually, by determining positive or negative contribution of immigration it will be disclosed that whether the public opinion is economically rational and which of the political parties in Sweden are misled by their party programs, in other words, their ideologies.
One of the main reasons why I choose Sweden and Turkey for this case study is because previous comparative analyses in political or social studies have surprisingly provided us with clear and meaningful results. For example, Rustow examines the democratization process of Sweden and Turkey in his case study while writing his influential article “Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model” (Rustow, 1970). In his case study, he explains the dynamic structure of democratic transitions depending political history of these two countries and his contribution inspires researchers to further their studies on the relations between them. Another reason why I select them comes from my personal curiosity regarding these countries in terms of their social and political structures.

1.1 Purpose and Research Questions

The main purpose of this dissertation is to examine thoughts on immigration of the political parties in Sweden by using a case study that analyzes the relation between Sweden and Turkey in terms of bilateral remittances while determining where it stands in respect of remittance theories. Moreover, regarding public opinion in Sweden the benefits and the drawbacks of immigration is questioned in the elections held on September 2014 and this study targets to find out whether this inquiry is rational with respect to remittances. Firstly, in order to reach the objective of this study the following questions are inquired;

- How do the remittances flow between Turkey and Sweden? (Part 4.1)

- Can the remittance flows between Turkey and Sweden be explained by remittance theories? (Part 2 & Part 4.2)

The first sub-question required to be asked because the bilateral remittance flow structure should be known in order to examine the case. The second sub-question is prepared to see if findings are in line with the theories.
After finding answers to those questions, following inquiry can be made to illustrate the foundation of the correlation between those countries’ remittances regarding politics;

- How shall we interpret the background of the remittance flows between Turkey and Sweden? (Part 4.2)

Eventually, following the academic justification to compare the results of the case study with the political perspectives towards immigration in Sweden two additional sub-questions should be asked;

- What are the political opinions towards immigration supported by the political parties in Sweden? (Part 6)

All in all, the main inquiry below summarizes all sub-questions and it aims to set the border of the dissertation pointing the main theme;

- How the recent political thoughts on immigration in Sweden can be interpreted considering the case study on bilateral remittance relation between Sweden and Turkey?
1.2 Disposition

The dissertation has six main sections. It starts with an introduction to the concept of remittance and it concludes with an analysis on the thoughts of political parties on immigration in Sweden considering the results of the case study on the remittance flows. In the first section, in order to eliminate an interpretation error, main concepts will be defined and explained clearly. In the second section, an overview of the remittance theories as well as previous literature with respect to those theories that could underpin a powerful remittance structure between Turkey and Sweden will be presented. In addition to that, a review of previous researches that touch on this topic will be provided as this could be very useful to understand the implications and the limitations of the previous studies regarding the remittance flows. In the third section, methodological and material aspects of the dissertation, as well as the analysis, will be determined. In the fourth section, the case of the bilateral remittances will be analyzed considering immigration and remittance data. Thereafter, the point where the case stands among the remittance theories will be explained. Furthermore, explanatory theories will be criticized within the limits of the case. In the following section, the political perspectives on immigration of political parties which possess seats in the Swedish Parliament “Riksdag” will be examined. In the last section, the dissertation will be concluded with a political analysis on the results obtained from the case study and the immigration perspective of political parties in Sweden while clearly indicating which political party in Sweden has more economically rational policy with regard to remittances and what kind of political perspectives would make both countries better off regarding remittance flows and migration.
2. Previous Researches & Theory

2.1 Previous Researches on Bilateral Remittances

In the literature, there is paucity of studies on bilateral remittances. A broad review of literature has shown that researchers mostly have focused on the global effects of workers’ remittances since they have mainly tested major paradigms of the theories. The reason why they may have preferred to conduct more studies on theories might be due to lack of available data. However, recently international institutions have started to publish bilateral remittances data and Central Banks have begun to keep remittance accounts with country breakdowns. These developments have contributed to an increase in the number of available data sources and attracted scholars to conduct more studies on bilateral remittances.

Through the review of previous researches on bilateral remittances it has been found that remittances of Turkish citizens living abroad have been investigated by a few studies. In one of these studies, it is revealed that Turkish migrants who particularly live in Germany contribute to their home country with their remittances (Elitok, 2014). Turkey is classified as a developing country by many global organizations such UN and IMF. As a result of having a developing economy Turkish government continuously makes an effort to find ways to promote money inflows. Therefore, the contribution by remittances of its citizens working or living outside of the country still takes an important place on the government’s agenda. However, opposite to the government’s expectations, according to a recent policy brief, it is asserted that the direction of remittances have recently changed its direction, i.e., remittances has started to flow from Turkey to Germany (Elitok, 2013). The report finds out that the Turkish migrants who used to live in Germany but has returned back and now live in Turkey have started to send money to their families who still live in Germany. It also claims that classical theories fall short of analyzing the remittance case between Turkey and Germany due to this reverse direction of remittance flows which is mentioned as a contradiction to traditional patterns. Additionally, it points out that there has always been a bias on academic studies regarding remittances due to the remittance
flows that occurs via informal channels. Another study supporting these points claims that Turkey has started to experience a decline in remittances considering bilateral remittance flows (Elitok & Straubhaar, 2012). Overall, previous researches on bilateral remittances of Turkey indicate that recent structure of the remittances data illustrates a declining reverse movement.

On the other hand, previous researches on remittances of Swedes demonstrate that Sweden as a developed country is a destination country for migrants from relatively poorer countries and, therefore, there are usually remittance outflows from the country. For example, a policy note that is published by Institute for Futures Studies Arbetsrapport focuses on analyzing the patterns of the outflows from Sweden using a survey study on remittances (Pelling, et al., 2011). Similarly, another policy note on remittances published by Nordiska Afrikainstitutet strongly mentions remittance outflows from Sweden (Engdahl, 2009). Additionally, at the beginning of the note it is accepted that Sweden is a remittance-sending country. In spite of this, some may still claim that Sweden also receives remittances as Swedish citizens who live abroad might prefer to spend or invest their income back in their home country. However, the literature review has not shown any study on inflows of migrants’ remittances to Sweden. At first glance, even though it might not seem reasonable to analyze a developed country’s remittance inflows, it could be a good practice to investigate the topic of the remittances to Sweden in order to consider all possible scenarios including the case of an abnormal bilateral structure.

Consequently, the literature review has not shown any academic study on bilateral remittances between Sweden and Turkey. One of the possible reasons of that initially people may think that Sweden and Turkey do not have so much in common in this particular topic. However, if we consider migration and its close link with labor movement retrospectively, it may be easier to see this relationship.
2.2 Theory and Literature Review on Remittances

Remittance can be defined in different ways. For example, Tewolde describes it as “monetary and non-monetary items that migrants earn while working abroad and sent back to their families living in their homeland (country).” (Tewolde, 2005). As there is not a single description, an institution may interpret remittances with a broad sense such as “monetary transfers that a migrant makes to the country of origin. In other words, financial flows associated with migration. Most of the time, remittances are personal, cash transfers from a migrant worker or immigrant to a relative in the country of origin.” (IOM, 2006)

Another broad definition of remittances is stated in the 5th edition of Balance of Payments Manual (BPM5) by IMF in order to establish a standard for measuring remittances using balance of payment data that is regularly reported by member countries. According to the BPM5, the term of “remittance” can fundamentally be described as “Workers’ remittances consist of goods or financial instruments transferred by migrants living and working in new economies to residents of the economies in which the migrants formerly resided.” (IMF, 1996)

In addition to above statement, the definition of remittances is limited to some conditions, such as, while workers’ remittances do not involve transfers of self-employed migrants, it includes migrated workers who stay in foreign economies for at least one year. (IMF, 1996)

As there are various definitions of the remittances, technical definitions of remittances differ in terms of the way the estimated amount of remittances is calculated. In other words, a technical definition can be distinguished from others with regard to the formulation used while measuring the volume of remittances. Thus, in order to make an up-to-date analysis which is easily quantifiable, the most recent data from official resources are collected considering the latest definitions of remittances. Some of those reliable resources have modified the definition of the remittances due to recent
developments, hence, the IMF has revised its definition and introduced a new notion of remittances in the Sixth Edition of the IMF Balance of Payments and International Investment Position Manual (BPM6). According to the BPM6, there are three main components to calculate “Personal remittances”, shown in Table 2. The “Personal remittances” consists of two measurable elements which are “compensation of employees” and “personal transfers”. The data for these two main inputs are relatively easy to find and calculate for all countries. However, the data for the “capital transfers between households” component of the personal remittances is difficult to collect, therefore, for most of countries this data is missing. (IMF, 2013)

As it can be seen from Table 2 shown below, “total remittances” include a “social benefits” component according to the formula prepared by the IMF. But, the “social benefits” is numerically hard to measure. Considering the quantifiability of “capital transfers between households” and “social benefits”, global remittances are calculated mostly as summing up the data of “compensation of employees” and “personal transfers”.

Table 2: New formulation of remittances

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total remittances : a+b+c+d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal remittances : a+b+c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal transfers (standard component in BPM5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, since the individual data for bilateral remittance flows has not been available (Ratha & Shaw, 2007), it becomes essential to make a credible analysis on personal remittance flows between two countries. Besides, as there are always unofficial transfers, it is clear that remittances cannot be calculated precisely. As a result of these constraints, bilateral remittance flows are usually tried to be estimated indirectly using bilateral
migrant stock data and making assumptions about the remittance behavior of migrants. For instance, Harrison, Britton, and Swanson use the assumption of fixed average transfer amount for each migrant. (Harrison, et al., 2003) Like Swanson et al., the World Bank uses many indirect estimation methods when calculating bilateral remittances in order to obtain a highly accurate estimation result. The process of estimation is continuously improved by World Bank’s researches and their findings are mostly accepted as reference points for bilateral remittances by countries.

Recently, the World Bank has decided to use a new technique in order to estimate bilateral remittance flows between countries. The methodology is presented in the book, "South-South Migration and Remittances," which is written by Ratha and Shaw who work at the Development Prospects Group of the World Bank in 2007. The process of estimating the remittance data basically uses three inputs which are host country income, origin country income and estimated migrant stocks. To be more specific, the authors calculate bilateral remittances by allocating remittances which is received by developing countries to each country of destination of its migrant nationals. They apply three different allocation rules and find out that a formulation considering host country income, origin country income and estimated migrant stocks gives reasonable results. (Ratha & Shaw, 2007)

In addition to quantitative inputs of the remittances estimation models, there are many other means of estimation for remittances. However, most of these means are not measurable. For example, one of the means is called as “remittance-in-kind” which includes material goods such as books and clothes as inputs. Another medium that is difficult to measure is social remittances which can also be called as social capital such as ideas and practices. Additionally, collective remittances those are emerged from missionary targets of diaspora groups, forced remittances which are collected by authorities for a certain aim such as funding specific projects, and terrorist remittances those are transferred to fund terrorism are also important means that can be considered as a part of remittances flows. But all these non-measurable resources are out of the dissertation’s scope because they do not provide an analytical background for analysis.
Fundamentally, theories on remittances are strongly related to movements of people. Therefore, theories of migration play an important role in reviewing theories on remittances. Since the definition of remittances varies in its preset content and paradigms, this uncertainty appears as an establishment of two distinct schools of thoughts.

2.2.1 Optimistic Theories on Migration and Remittances

On one hand, optimistic views basically defend that migration and remittances do not only have a positive impact on remittance-receiving countries but also they help those countries to reduce poverty and boost economic development. Besides, the remittances are also a good source of external financing which is helpful when the remittance-receiving countries face current account deficit. Sometimes it becomes so vital that it may even save remittance-receiving countries’ economy from getting collapsed. For example, Turkish economy has suffered from international sanctions and military coups between 1960 and 1981. However, according to Turkish Central Bank, during that period, remittances of Turkish migrants in Germany covered 80% of trade deficit and 60% of current account deficit of Turkish economy (Elitok, 2014).

The first theory on remittances emerged in 1950s was Developmentalist Theory which is also called as Classical Theory. The theory claims that capital transfers and industrialization help poor countries to catch rapid economic development and modernization. During 1950s and 1960s, the theory proved that there was a migration flow from the South to the North. Therefore, classical theorists believe that there is an ongoing transfer of investment capital, which can be called as remittances, from the North to the South due to migration and this flow may also lead transfers of cultural values such as democracy. The theory took effect and influenced immigration policies of developing countries. Developing countries began to promote emigration as they believed that eventually migrants either would come back to their homeland with capital and cultural surplus or they would send their earnings back to their home countries in order to take care of their relatives left behind. In other words, migrants are accepted as future investors and social influencers in the Classical Theory.
Classical Theory and Neoclassical Theory on migration share the same optimistic view. However, unlike Classical Theory, Neoclassical Theory does not try to understand the remittance structure (Taylor, 1999). It mainly focuses on migration considering factor price equalization via money flows such as remittances and labor movements. Even though Neoclassic Theory does not directly involve with remittances, it expects that remittances would flow in the opposite direction of labor flow while analyzing the relationship between migration and factor prices.

The perspective of neoclassical theory regarding to migration is based on the equality of wage levels among countries with respect to the adjustment of production factors’ prices. It asserts that this equalization process provides an optimal allocation of production factors for the benefit of all parts. According to the theory, migration would be ceased once wage levels become equal at both origin and destination countries (Haas, 2007). Neoclassical migration theory may be seen as the most eclectic hypothesis compared to other core theories. Even today it evolves its paradigms and still debatable since it involves two contradicting ideas. While it claims that migration outflows cause scarcity of labor in migrant-sending country, it asserts that migration contributes to economic development by factor price equalization. Despite having such a contradiction, it can be inferred that the theory actually implies that even though the capital flows into the migrant-sending countries, an increased wage level due to the lack of labor supply in migrant-sending country causes the benefit of the remittance inflow to be ineffective. Briefly the theory accepts that migration outflows spur the development of economies. But, on the other hand, it also optimistically claims that migration helps economies to develop by adjusting factor prices to an optimum level. Due to many arguments like this, some of neoclassical theories on migration are strongly questioned by scholars. Nevertheless, according to Haas, neoclassical view on migration and development significantly influenced strategies and plans of international financial institutions (Haas, 2007).
2.2.2 Pessimistic Theories on Migration and Remittances

On the other hand, pessimistic views on the definition of remittances fundamentally claim that migration and remittances damage economic development of remittance-receiving countries therefore it is detrimental to the economy. It can also cause overspending and more consumption which lead the economy to become less productive and more import-dependent. Moreover, it may increase political dependencies which might damage independent decision making process and sovereignty of remittance-receiving countries.

In other words, remittance-receiving countries may become dependent to remittance-sending countries social and economic policies. Furthermore, economies of remittance-receiving countries may show good results in short term but in long term those economies become more dependent on remittance inflows. This is primarily because abundance of remittances might lead the remittance-receiving economies to rely on easy money making them reluctant to production and innovation. Therefore, this situation exacerbates the dependency in economies of the receiving countries.

In the 1970s, two new theories which are called as Dependency Theory and Structuralist Theory were proposed. Dependency Theory states that migration eventually causes dependencies on global political-economic systems. These dependencies appear in the form of domination of ‘hegemon’ states and exploitation of dependent countries. Due to the dependencies, dependent countries lose their working-age population and worsen their economies while serving other countries which control the capitalist economy. Besides, the theory claims that migration destroys traditional peasant societies by exploiting their human and natural resources. According to Structuralist Theory, migration and remittances are just some of the results of the structured international arena. That means, migration and remittance flows only strengthen the existing structure and this brings many drawbacks to the economies of underdeveloped countries.

Another theory on remittances is Neo-Marxist Theory which states that capital system is the key actor of migration and remittances. The system creates inequalities and pushes people to migrate to other countries. By doing so, it is claimed that the system breed a new class to exploit their labor force. The theory has a pessimistic view on migration and
remittances while claiming that migration and remittances have detrimental effects on economy as it allows people to consume imported goods in their homeland. According to the theory, consumption of imported goods damages domestic industries and directly affects wages in home country. As a result, it propounds that proletariat, i.e., the working class suffers from exploitation.

2.2.3 Pluralist Theories on Migration and Remittances

According to some scholars, the mainstream theories mentioned above are too rigid and deterministic to deal with complex realities of migration and development interactions (Haas, 2007). In addition to those mainstream theories there are some influential approaches based on pluralist perspective. The perspective provides an understanding of remittances through two main approaches: New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) and Livelihood. NELM was pioneered by Stark in the 1980s and 1990s and associated causes and effects of migration with a structure-actor relation. Livelihood approach consists of conceptually parallel paradigms with the NELM. The livelihood approach came up when the main actor of migration and remittances changed from individuals to households in the late 1970s. The approach establishes a correlation between migration and the remittance in terms of risk-sharing behavior of households. According to this approach, households are capable of diversifying their resource of incomes such as labor force in order to minimize risks related to income. (Stark & David, 1982) The approach also considers motives rather than income maximization for individuals that is presumed to have a significant impact on migrants’ decision making process. For some scholars, pluralist theories on migration and remittances are more explanatory because they are not looking for an optimistic or pessimistic statement. Also, they are claimed to be more focused on finding the reasons of differences.

2.2.4 Development of the Theories on Migration and Remittances

These three main perspectives sprouted and helped many mainstream theories on remittances to take a shape and to base their findings. Whilst optimistic view on remittances are mostly represented by Developmentalist Theory and Neoclassical Theory,
pessimistic view are fundamentally advocated by (Structuralist) Dependency Theory and Neo-Marxist Theory. Theories mentioned in this dissertation cover a historical timeline. It starts from the era of Developmentalist optimism in 1950s continuing with the emergence of Structuralist pessimism in 1980s to the optimism of 1990s and 2000s.

Table 3: Main phases in migration and development research and policies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Research community</th>
<th>Policy field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before 1973</td>
<td>Development and migration optimism</td>
<td>Developmentalist optimism; capital and knowledge transfers by migrants would help developing countries to step into take-off stage in economic development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973–1990</td>
<td>Development and migration pessimism (dependency, brain drain)</td>
<td>Growing scepticism; concerns about brain drain; after experiments with return migration policies focused on integration in remittance receiving countries; migration largely is out of sight in development field.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990–2001</td>
<td>Readjustment to more subtle views under influence of increasing empirical research</td>
<td>Persistent scepticism; tightening of immigration policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After 2001</td>
<td>Boom in publications: mixed, but generally positive views</td>
<td>Resurgence of migration and development optimism and a sudden turnaround of views: brain gain, remittances and diaspora involvement; further tightening of immigration policies but greater tolerance for high-skilled immigration.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Pluralist approaches as well as other theories with their optimistic and pessimistic views mentioned above try to surpass each other from time to time. Haas’s retrospective analysis on theoretical approaches about remittances in Table 3 clearly illustrates how the remittance theories aroused a lot of interest. Haas also claims that currently optimistic views on migration and development resurge. The claim of Developmentalist theory on existence of North-South transfer of investment capital as a result of migration is fairly accepted by academia. And, this might be thought as a sign of the recent reappearance of optimism. As they are expressed in Developmentalist theory, the North and the South refer to the location of the remittance-sending country and the remittance-receiving country respectively.
In respect of the politics of immigration, optimistic theories defend that immigration makes countries better off by making adjustments such as balancing economic discrepancy through a north to south transfer, therefore, the theories suggest that immigration policies should be loose. On the contrary, pessimistic theories are against loosening immigration policies and they try to prove that countries experience a setback in terms of social and economic aspects due to immigration. Apart from these two perspectives, pluralist approaches do not provide any comments on immigration politics because they are mainly focused on the reason of migration and remittances. In other words, the main objective of the pluralist approaches is to examine the instinct behind migration and remittances, therefore, they do not bring forward an idea in order to loosen or tighten the immigration policies. Pragmatically, it can be seen that thoughts of political parties in Sweden reflects the same categorization of theoretical approaches towards immigration.
3. Method and Material

3.1 Method

As a methodological approach, an inductive case study method will be implied to the dissertation. This methodology combines analyzing a case study and using inductive reasoning through a generalization process to find the representation of the results within an upper knowledge base (Johansson, 2003). In other words, a case study is usually applied within a theoretical framework by using a deductive reasoning, but, in this dissertation the case will be analyzed using a purely quantitative manner. Then, it will be questioned with theoretical perspectives. Although one of the purposes of the dissertation is to investigate whether the case can be associated with a theory, the dissertation particularly intends to reveal discrepancies between existing theories and the case. One of the most important advantages of this case study is that since the data for analyses is available, therefore, methodologically the results of the analyses will be based on quantitative figures which can be validated and tested easily and objectively. By using an inductive method, it is also presumed that the case will have a certain pattern that can be evaluated by theories. Besides, it is assumed to have a normative result as well as a quantitative result from the case in order to use this result for the criticism of thoughts of political parties in Sweden. Thus, after obtaining the results from the case study, theories will be reconsidered according to their explanatory power. In order to provide the methodology clearly, the steps of the dissertation regarding the methodology can be summarized as following; (1) Analyzing the remittances relation between Sweden and Turkey, (2) finding the most explanatory theories for this correlation and (3) determining the uniqueness of the case from the theory, (4) reasoning on the differences of the case, (5) understanding opinions of the political parties in Sweden on immigration (6) evaluating findings from the case study with those opinions and criticizing political behaviors considering the case.
3.2 Delimitations

Remittance in the literature stands at a grey area since it combines two major subjects: political economy and international migration. The dissertation particularly focuses on remittances and immigration as a reflection of remittances in politics while additionally utilizing economic and migration data in order to create a basis for the analysis. Therefore, neither social nor solid political aspects of the immigration policies of political parties in Sweden will be the main subject of this study. Because of using a case study as the main approach, other countries and their remittance correlations will be ignored. Moreover, it may not be possible to consider all of the remittance theories while evaluating the results of the case analysis, because, specific to this topic, there might be some theories which can be ignored while reviewing the literature due to their minor impact on the literature or insignificance. Hence, the dissertation will cover only major theories on remittance. It is worth to mention that while defining a theory as a major theory, the decision is made according to their retrospective influence to the main subject. Furthermore, only political parties which won seats in the recent general election in Sweden are subjects to the verification of the immigration policies with the results of the case study because the rest of the parties do not possess means e.g. votes to impose their thoughts about immigration in the Riksdag.

The most important restriction for this dissertation is considered to be unavailability of sufficient historical data about the amount of remittance and migrant stocks of Turkey and Sweden, but, there is not a commonly accepted figure about the size of the data for a case study analysis. Therefore, it can be said that the dissertation is limited to dates of the data collected.
3.3 Material

Little knowledge exists in terms of bilateral remittance transfers. Some of the central banks still consolidate remittances data and as long as they do not consider keeping remittance accounts with a breakdown of remittance sending and receiving countries, bilateral remittances will remain as a challenging issue and be difficult to calculate. In this dissertation, the source material used in the analysis of remittance relationships between corresponding countries is based on primary sources which are mostly either official data issued by the World Bank or the academic literature on remittance theory. The primary data source is the World Bank’s matrix for remittance flows among countries that is collected for certain years.

The main drawback of the World Bank’s data is that even though the source has a very high academic validity and reliability, the data is estimated by a formulation based on a methodology (Ratha & Shaw, 2007). The dataset used in this methodology is composed of disaggregated host country and origin country incomes, and their estimated migrant stocks. However, one could understand that it is not possible to calculate the amount of remittance flows among countries with a hundred percent of assurance because of the nature of the process. For instance, the remittance money can sometimes be transferred through an unofficial intermediary, therefore, for some cases there is no registry for transactions that can be involved into the calculation of global remittance flow. In addition to the primary source of data, some supplementary data for the analysis is obtained from secondary sources such as newspapers and online articles. The materials used in this study are rarely based on unofficial or non-academic sources but that given information might be known with common sense and intellectual knowledge by who follows recent activities related with the issue.

One of the alternative source of information for the analysis is the IMF’s database. The statistical information on remittances can also be reached from the IMF. The sixth edition of the Balance of Payments Manual (BPM6) published by the IMF contains data definitions and classifications similar to the World Bank’s study. The differences between
these two data sources can be neglected because they demonstrate very similar result patterns.

One of the caveats of this dissertation on data collection is that while remittances may not use formal channels such as banks and post offices, they may not be documented for formal use. Because of that, remittances flow through informal channels which sometimes cause problems in data collection process for official resources. Despite the fact that it is almost always statistically favorable to work with a dataset that contains information regarding the population, having a reasonable sample size of data obtained from a reliable source allows researcher to make statistically significant inferences about their hypotheses.

In addition to the World Bank and the IMF, another primary source is Valmyndigheten which is the official election authority. The results of the general elections in Sweden was obtained through this official institution (Valmyndigheten, 2014). Therefore, the general election data is not questionable in terms of reliability and validity.
3.4 Validity and Reliability

In this dissertation, four types of validity were sought, these are statistical conclusion validity, internal validity, construct validity, and external validity. Statistical conclusion validity fundamentally checks whether conclusion of the study is reasonable considering the data (Morton & Williams, 2008). For this study, it is obvious that there is a reasonable relationship between remittances data and immigration, therefore, it is highly possible to say that the conclusion made on political opinions is reasonable. In terms of internal validity, a causal relation between the bilateral remittances and the political opinions on immigration is established through a case study analysis. In order to ensure this causality, the cause and effect relationship is explained in the part 5 (The Political Parties and the Remittances). Furthermore, the meaningfulness of this relation is supported with the data analysis. By analyzing the cause and observing the effect a valid relation is established. Moreover, internal validity is also tried to reach by questioning the causal relation of data and remittance theories through the dissertation. However, even though the causal relation between political opinions on immigration in Sweden and the bilateral remittance structure can be satisfactory, there are other causes that can explain the effect on political opinions. For instance, it can be claim that not only remittances but also other economic and social causes may cause the political thought towards immigration. Therefore, as long as the impact of other factors are not considered it is hard to say that the internal validity is fully possessed. Construct validity is another required feature for robust social researches. It basically seeks for the appropriateness of dataset for the research question (Morton & Williams, 2008). This feature is possessed by the dissertation via using remittance data and general election data in order to reveal the answer of the main research question which simply inquiries the effect of bilateral remittance on political thoughts on immigration in a case study. About external validity, it can be said that the case study methodology intrinsically possess generalization as a feature. But, with a strict sense, in order to provide full external validity the study should be applied on different pair of countries through their political perspectives on immigration and relevant remittance relations. Despite that the dissertation fixes its base on a case study, considering this case study a possible similar pattern between Turkey and Germany is
mentioned in the part 2.1 (Previous Researches on Bilateral Remittances). Technically, according to Morton and Williams “most political scientists rarely worry about the external validity issue with observational data but do worry about it with experimental data” (Morton & Williams, 2008). They further their claim by depending the reason of the trust on observational data on scientists’ beliefs on untouched structure of data generating process. But they criticize this perspective emphasizing broad existence of unnatural data generating process. Even though they disapprove this general view, as it is quoted above, for most of political scientists external validity holds for a study when the data set resembles non-manipulated data gathering process. Similarly, for this study it can be claimed that the data gathering process is not manipulated since the data gathering process was held by an international unbiased organization, the World Bank. Furthermore, the data is taken from that source is unmanipulated. Therefore, it can be said that the dissertation partially assures external validity.

Since reliability is one of the most common features of robust academic studies, the study gains its reliability over the official data gathered from the World Bank database and Valmyndigheten. In addition to that, the dissertation have some intrinsic limitations due to necessity of drawing conclusions only from the material used, therefore, it actually may not require any additional support to obtain reliability. In other words, the methodology of the case study possesses reliability since it is based on a quantitative data analysis. As long as the data used is the same and they are collected properly, anyone will reach the same reliable results. When the data is checked about reliability it can be seen that since the data resources are mostly identified as reliable references in academia, it can be said that the main pillar for reliability of the dissertation is obtained. Except, one can claim that due to not verifying the estimation method the dataset of the World Bank may be the most questionable part of the case study.
4. Analysis and Empirical Results

4.1 Analysis

Before evaluating theoretical base of the aforementioned case structure and reviewing political perspectives towards immigration over that assessment it is necessary to analyze the case in order to understand the structure. Therefore, as it is pointed out in the part 1.1 (Purpose and Research Questions), the first research inquiry “how do the remittances flow between Turkey and Sweden?” will be answered in this part. In 2011, while about 100,000 people with a Turkish background live in Sweden, around 10,000 Swedes most of whom with a Turkish background live in Turkey (Swedish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 2011). In order to understand and reveal the remittance correlation between Sweden and Turkey, it is better to start with analyzing the migration data. The data for this analysis is provided by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations. The decennary data table (Table 4) shows that both countries receive migrants from other countries in the world. Turkey and Sweden are the two countries experiencing migration inflows. If we look at bilateral migration structure between these two countries, it can be said that the amount of Turkish migrants immigrated to Sweden is about six times more than the number of Swedish migrants moved to Turkey. Table 4 also shows that both migration flows increase gradually at every decade.

Table 4: Total migrant stock matrix of Sweden and Turkey at mid-year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Destination Country</th>
<th>1990</th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>World</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1.150.463</td>
<td>4.874</td>
<td>1.263.140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>777.571</td>
<td>32.595</td>
<td>1.003.798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


One can easily infer from Table 4 that the direction of bilateral remittance flows should be from Sweden to Turkey, because Sweden has more Turkish migrants compared with the number of Swedish migrants who live in Turkey. Besides, according to classical
remittance theory, remittances are supposed to flow from north to south, in this case, from Sweden to Turkey.

Figure 2: Migrant remittance inflows and Outflows for Sweden and Turkey


To clarify the initial conclusion reached by utilizing migration data, the conclusion needs to be reinforced by providing more evidence. As it is demonstrated by Figure 2, the data (see Appendix I) on total remittance inflows and outflows published by the World Bank shows that Turkey has more remittance inflows than Sweden. Also, considering total remittance structure it can be seen that Sweden produces greater remittance outflows compared with Turkey. With regard to the structure of remittances total remittance flows can be a proper reflector of bilateral remittance and hypothetically the structure of bilateral remittance is supposed to be shaped similar to the direction of total remittance flows i.e., from Sweden to Turkey. In order to check this correlation the total remittance data published by the World Bank (see Appendix I) is examined. According to the data, Turkey starts to generate remittance outflows, through official channels, from 2005. Besides, Sweden illustrates a profile similar to a remittance sending country since there is a significant difference between sent and received amount of remittance in favor of remittances sent. Therefore, it can be claimed that migrant remittances might most likely
flow from Sweden to Turkey during the given period of the time in the data. Hence, it might be said that the migration data and remittance data validate each other by reaching the same conclusion.

Up to this point, the initial data analysis shows that bilateral remittance structure between Turkey and Sweden complies with the classical remittance theory and there is no significant difference in terms of total remittance flows.

**Table 2: Estimated amounts of bilateral remittance flows**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sending Country (down)</th>
<th>Receiving Country (across)</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9,6</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td></td>
<td>12,8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14,5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, with respect to bilateral remittances, the results obtained in the previous paragraphs might not be valid. The bilateral remittance data which has been published by the World Bank recently demonstrates that Swedish migrants in Turkey send more money back to Sweden as compared to the remittance amount sent back to Turkey by Turkish migrants who live in Sweden. According to the data shown in Table 5, Swedish migrants remitted $3.2 million more than the amount that Turkish migrants sent back to Turkey in 2010. In 2011, the difference becomes $4 million and the gap reaches $4.4 million in 2012. Contrary to the results obtained from the migration and total remittance data, the recent bilateral remittance data clearly indicates that remittances flow reversely, i.e., from Turkey to Sweden. In other words, in contrast to the classical remittance theory’s north to south proposal, the direction of bilateral remittance flows is found to be opposite, i.e., from south to north.
Figure 3: Estimated Amounts of Bilateral Remittance Flows between Sweden and Turkey (millions of US $)

It can be seen from Figure 3 that there is a relatively high correlation (~0.7) between north to south and south to north remittance flows. With the most critical point of view, this might be an indication of forecasting error in World Bank’s estimations. But, as it has been previously mentioned, similar to the other data used in this study, data obtained from a World Bank publication is considered as reliable source of information. Besides, most of NGOs such as Migration Policy Institute use the same data published by the World Bank in their studies. Therefore, reliability of the data should not be a matter in this dissertation.
4.2 Empirical Results

An analysis on bilateral migrant remittances using a recent dataset has shown that remittance relationship between Sweden and Turkey is different than it is expected. It is seen that analyzing this relationship within a particular sub-structure yields a totally different result. This is maybe because of the fact that using the bilateral remittances data as a minor constituent of total remittances data does not necessarily need to give the same conclusion. This is also justified with the time interval of the data used. The direction of overall remittance flows is captured with more recent dataset. The minor drawback of using this data is that there is not any alternative dataset which can be used to cross check the validity of the data.

Empirically, it can be concluded that although the direction of migration is from Turkey to Sweden, the flow of migrants’ remittances is from Turkey to Sweden. In other words, the migration and remittances flow unexpectedly to the same direction. Contrary to the expected results of the classical remittance theory, within a bilateral remittance context Turkey remits more money than Sweden does. According to the main theories, it can be basically claimed that remittances are as a consequence of migration as well as a part of migrants’ remitted earnings. Hence, migration and remittances are expected to flow opposite to each other. However, there may be some conditions which may affect the direction of this flow. Those conditions mainly can be counted as following: real wage differentials between countries of origin and home country, the employment levels, cost of living in the host country, transfer channels, cost and speed of remittance transfer, opportunities for integration and settlement and possibility of the inclusion of migrants in politics and society of the country of origin.

If it is not possible to fit a case into a theory then another inquiry can be made in order to find out the reason of such unique divergence from previous cases. Deterministic migration theories do not have an explanatory power when they try to explain the underlying reasons of a reverse flow. Nevertheless, pluralist approaches tend to find the main reasons behind such an unexpected result. Therefore, a fundamental pluralistic question might be as following: “How shall we interpret the background of the remittance
It is certain that there is not a clear answer for this question, but comments can be made within a theoretical framework using obtained signs and tracks through literature reviews. Plausible explanations for this unique case can be obtained using more data. In order to conclude the review of the bilateral remittance structure, additional comments are provided with supportive data. However, it may not be claimed that one interpretation is more explanatory than others since these comments do not have direct connections with theories.

Table 3: The amount of immigrants whose country of birth is Turkey with a breakdown of the reasons for immigrating to Sweden. GFB: Grund För Bosättning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Database type =&gt;</th>
<th>GFB 1998-2008</th>
<th>GFB 2004-2009</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Immigration Cause:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protection</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Particularly distressing circumstances</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refugee</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family ties</strong></td>
<td>573</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>1,028</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner (Person with sufficient funds)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data not available</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Regarding the motivations of the remittance flows between Turkey and Sweden, first proposal can be made related to family ties. Table 6 gives us an idea to find the reason of exceptional flow of migrants’ remittances from Turkey to Sweden. The data show that Turkish people migrate to Sweden via their family ties. From the first migration agreement between Sweden and Turkey in 1967 to recent past, labor movements has been
the main cause of remittances flow from Sweden to Turkey, but today people who migrated to Sweden over four decades ago moved back to Turkey and their descendants preferred to stay in Sweden. They send their earnings gained from their investments in Turkey to their relatives living in Sweden. This comment is partially supported by statistical data, but still there is not significant information that can explain Turkish migrants’ above mentioned behavior. Thus, in order to draw an obvious conclusion, elderly migrants’ movements and their money transfers should be closely examined per se. From a different point of view, considering all pluralist approaches this explanation can be seen as a simple sample of pure altruistic theory. Theory of pure altruism claims that migrants remit money because they basically care about the well-being of the family members and they want to support them by providing additional income.

Another explanation to the rationale behind the remittance flows between Turkey and Sweden concerns immigration of minorities. As an effective actor on the subject of migration and remittances between Sweden and Turkey, Assyrians (Suryoyo or Suryani) might be one of the reasons that create such a unique remittance structure between the two countries. They mainly migrated to Sweden from Anatolia as asylum seekers. There are approximately 120,000 Assyrians living in Sweden and a part of them migrated from Turkey. They have established an influential community so that they have five representatives in Swedish Parliament. Assyrians moved from Turkey to Sweden still have relatives living in Turkey and possess assets in Turkey, especially in the city named Mardin. In addition to such bonds that attach Assyrians to Turkey, after Turkish government’s recent democratization initiative, Assyrians start to invest their incomes to farms and villages they own in Turkey, even though they still continue to live in Sweden. As a result of their investment, if they generate surplus, they may transfer that surplus back to Sweden. This explanation may contribute to the unpredicted direction of money flow that is found to be contrary to the existing theory. Considering all pluralist theories this comment on the remittance flows between Turkey and Sweden can be accepted as a case of self-interest theory. Theory of self-interest defends that migrants remit to their homeland in order to increase their visibility and public esteem. They also expect to possess assets to inherit their descendants. According to pure self-interest theory,
migrants clearly show their intention by transferring money to their homelands in order to possess durable goods and invest in real estate or businesses at their country of origin. Last but not the least, even though the number of Swedish migrants in Turkey is only one sixth of the number of Turkish migrants in Sweden, it can also be asserted that Swedish migrants can be more productive and they may create more surplus. As a result, they might choose to transfer these surplus back to Sweden. There are two main theories that may explain Swedish migrants’ remittance behavior. First one is the theory of transnational family contracts of insurance which claims that remittances provide migrant’s family living in home country with leverage against temporary economic shocks. Therefore, the migrant’s family is able to adjust their consumption in order to deal with economic distress (Stark & Lucas, 1988). According to this approach, Swedish migrants transfer their earnings in order to guarantee that they will not suffer from any economic difficulty in their country of origin in the future. Another perspective on this issue regards the portfolio diversification theory which brings forth a risk-return analysis on migrants’ decision on remittances. In this theory, not only the return but the risk also plays an important role. Even though most of migrants may only consider the return aspect of money transfers, some migrants may prefer to keep their earnings in a risk free country. Hence, according to this theory, it can be claimed that Swedish migrants may remit more than their Turkish counterparts, because they might be more willing to take less risk. Thus, they may prefer to keep their earnings back in their home country which can be economically considered as a safe heaven. In other words, based on the current fact that Sweden is a less risky market, they may want to diversify their portfolio and mitigate the risk with less risky assets from their home country. Although, when positive real interest rates in Sweden and Turkey are compared, Turkey is seems to be a more profitable market for investment, however, it carries greater risks. On the other hand, Sweden is a safer place to keep money against economic catastrophes.

In terms of theories, in spite of the fact that pluralist approaches seem to be a little bit more explanatory for the case of Sweden and Turkey, when politics starts to interfere, pluralist approaches fall short to offer a reasonable perspective on immigration and remittance policies. The case has shown that, contrary to theoretical expectations, whilst
Sweden appears to benefit from the bilateral remittances and immigration, Turkey already took an advantage of the relations owing to the establishment of the bilateral structure. However, it should be noted that recently Turkey encounters with a decline in remittances. Therefore, it can be said that a mutual benefit between these countries is established in terms of remittances, even though the beneficiary differs from time to time. Considering the political results of the bilateral remittances, the perspective of optimistic theories on the benefits of remittances provides a more acceptable explanation. Similar to the claim of the optimistic theories on remittances, the migration structure creates bonds between countries and helps migrants to transfer money when they needed. However, optimistic theories are still lack of explanatory power when it comes to analyze the reverse remittance flows.

5. The Political Parties and the Remittances

There are many results of immigration which can be categorized under two main aspects as shown in the Figure 4. These results shape the ideological background of the political thoughts on immigration. For example, while economy is in recession people tend to recast their thoughts on immigration negatively considering labor oversupply, lower wage rates and integration costs such as housing and health care costs that is spent in order to integrate migrants to the society. However, in that situation the impulse which causes a change in the public opinion should be questioned for its factuality. While thinking on trueness of the cause it should be known that whether the immigration really effected the economy badly and if the immigration come with any benefits. The thinking process needs a clear understanding of the results of immigration and the answer is hidden in the paradigms of remittances. As an economic effect remittances is one of the main results of immigration. Therefore, while evaluating political thoughts on immigration, remittances particularly, as a significant result of the immigration, should be taken into consideration.
In order to show the impact of immigration clearly, a bilateral remittance structure shall be analyzed and its results can be reflected as a paradigm while questioning political thoughts on immigration. While determining the paradigm the relationship between Sweden and Turkey was used exclusively. The reason that Turkey is chosen for the case study in order to expose paradigms is explained in the introduction chapter. In addition to those explanations it can be said that Turkey is a perfect match as a case study of bilateral remittances because the immigration between Sweden and Turkey depends on a long term relation and it has already created its results sufficiently. For instance, Sweden has two ministers who can be accepted as Turkish originated: Ibrahim Baylan as Minister for Energy from the Social Democrats Party and Mehmet Kaplan as Minister for Housing and Urban Development from the Green Party. This situation can be seen as a reflection of social results of immigration. The fully formed relationship between these countries helps all aspects of immigration to reflect themselves clearly. Therefore, while analyzing the bilateral remittance structure between Sweden and Turkey, we find paradigms that we can use to judge political thoughts on immigration in Sweden.
6. **Swedish Political Parties and their Opinion towards Immigration**

Remittances are one of the most significant outcome of immigration and while political parties express their perspectives towards immigration they are also revealing their thoughts about remittances indirectly. Views of political parties on immigration are one of the main differentials effects the decision making process of voters therefore before questioning the rational background of a pessimistic or optimistic perspective towards immigration among Swedish political parties with regard to the empirical results which was obtained through the case study, thoughts of the political parties is required to be known in advance. The recent general elections in Sweden were held on 14 September 2014 and according to the results of the election which is shown at the Appendix I.I eight political parties had passed the threshold and won seats in the Riksdag. The legitimacy of the general election improved if it is compared with the last election that were held in 2010. As it can be seen at the table which is shown at the Appendix I.II abstentions decreased by 1.18 percentage points and legitimate votes increased by 1.35 percentage points. This election data demonstrates that the public opinion reflected to the election result relatively more compared to the last election. Therefore, views of the political parties on immigration will be questioned according to the results, which means the public opinion in Sweden is also a part of this inquiry. The political parties which won seats in the recent election and their thought on immigration are examined below.

6.1 **The Social Democrats** *(Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti)*

In the party program of Social Democrats it is written that "*Immigration has, in many ways, enriched the receiving countries, but the inability to handle the new ethnic and cultural diversity has created an imminent threat of segregation and marginalization*". *(Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti, 2001)*. They further this idea with thoughts of sharing responsibilities of refugees with the EU and this point of view is reflected in the same program as follows; "*the EU must take joint responsibility for asylum and migration issues.*"
The party differentiates its political standpoints according to two main immigration types. About the immigration of refugees, they believe that “Sweden will offer a safe haven to people who are forced to flee from persecution and violence. We want to have a rich and orderly immigration. All municipalities have a responsibility to take in refugees, and all efforts should aim at enabling work and their own security, the right to education and home ownership.” (Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti, 2013)

On the other hand, from the party’s perspective the labor migration is not as welcome as the immigration of refugees. Therefore, they want to tighten the rules for labor migration to ensure orderliness in the Swedish labor market. (Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti, 2014)

### 6.2 The Moderates (Moderata samlingspartiet)

The Moderate Party reflects a clear optimistic view about immigration in its party program. They welcome labor migration as well as migration of refugees because they believe that Sweden is open to the world and will continue to be with the same openness. (Moderata samlingspartiet, 2014) The party’s immigration policies are shaped according to their job-oriented perspective. They believe that “work is the best route into the Swedish society, that is why they are working to lower the thresholds for the first job.” (Moderata samlingspartiet, 2014) Measures towards labor migration in the party program can be summarized as providing career support, informing about Swedish society and instilling the laws and regulations in Sweden.

The moderates promise refugees to provide a legally secure examination of asylum and a good reception with humane and clear rules. The party accepts that Sweden has an absolute responsibility to uphold the right of refugees to seek asylum in accordance with international conventions. Therefore, they want to increase Sweden’s commitment for quota refugees. On the other hand, the party argues that no one has the right to demand security if the security requirements are missing. Besides, they want to introduce security requirements for family immigrants. (Moderata samlingspartiet, 2014)
In order to meet the international economic competition, the party wants a transparent legal framework for labor migration. While comparing thoughts of the party with perspectives of other parties it can be observed that they are against to the proposal of the Social Democrats about limiting labor migration because they believe that the limitation would obstruct recruitment, growth and the emergence of new jobs. (Moderata samlingspartiet, 2013)

6.3 The Sweden Democrats (Sverigedemokraterna)

Unlike other political parties represented in the Riksdag, Sweden Democrats want to impose a restrictive immigration policy. They think that only certain kind of refugees can be let to immigrate to Sweden and refugees should be identified according to the criteria of the United Nations Refugee Convention. They also plan to impose quota for the number of asylum seekers under an agreement with the UNHCR. (Sverigedemokraterna, 2007) Additionally, the party is opposed to the idea of giving permanent residence permits. They want to convert all permanent residence permits to temporary ones and apply a new system with a permit renewing structure. In that system the temporary residence permit would be renewed until the asylum seekers return to their homeland. (Sverigedemokraterna, 2007) Even though Sweden Democrats slightly agrees immigration of refugees, they want to minimize labor migration. According to their official website their explanation for this argument is that “when it comes to immigration, it must be differentiated because there are different types of immigration. Labor migration can be properly designed and conducted in accordance with Swedish interests. We are therefore open to a means-tested labor migration based on high-skilled occupations where there is a labor shortage. We are, however, strongly opposed the free labor migration of low-skilled occupations carried on today, and that creates an oversupply of labor wage dumping as a result.” (Sverigedemokraterna, 2014) They only approve labor migration if a migrant will be in possession of an employment contract with a Swedish employer. But still the migrant will be on temporary residence permit.
Furthermore, the party advocates assimilation of immigrants and want that the immigrants should adapt to Swedish culture. (Sverigedemokraterna, 2007)

Overall, the Sweden Democrats wants;
• A restrictive immigration policy,
• An expanded refugee aid in close crisis areas,
• The strengthening of the Swedish culture
• An open “Swedishness” which requires adaptation and assimilation of immigrants into Swedish society,
• Increased support to the immigrants who voluntarily wish to return to their home countries. (Sverigedemokraterna, 2007)

6.4 The Green Party (Miljöpartiet de Gröna)

Regarding all Swedish parties, the Green Party possess the most liberal immigration policies. The party advocates a completely free immigration to Sweden in the long term. Fundamentally they believe that all people should have the right to live where they wish. In the shorter term, the Green Party want more generous and flexible refugee policy, and it also argues to protect illegal residents who is not guilty of serious offenses. The party support the idea of granting asylum automatically if those illegal residents have lived in Sweden for a long time.

In detail, the party wants to establish an asylum mechanism leans on judicial courts. The proposed system is in favor of asylum seekers because if the courts is late for the decision about 12 months, the residence permit will be automatically granted.

Pragmatically they suggest that certain human smuggling should be decriminalized, and argues that citizens and non-Europeans should have the same right to work freely within the EU. The Green Party wants a world without borders, where everyone has the opportunity to move, but no one is forced to flee. (Miljöpartiet de Gröna, 2014)
6.5 The Center Party (Centerpartiet)

Center Party argues simpler immigration rules. They believe that everyone shall have a freedom of movement so that it is easier to move between countries and that Sweden shall have a generous refugee policy that gives a good reception to the migrants. On the other hand, Centre Party is in favor of controlled refugee reception where the municipalities have the main responsibility. The party wants an extended relative safety immigration process allowing more people rather than only the nuclear family. The Centre Party also seems labor shortage in Sweden. They advocate a system where green-card is introduced, which means that 20,000 immigrants get a residence permit in order to work here. They also want all foreign students who have studied in Sweden should have the opportunity to work in the country. As it is written in their official website, they believe “it is good that people from other countries come to Sweden to live and work. It is important that everyone who comes here has the same opportunities and responsibilities as those who already live here. We want to open the door to Sweden for more people, as it develops our country.” (Centerpartiet, 2014) It is clear that they have optimistic point of view towards immigration.

6.6 The Left (Vänsterpartiet)

According to the Left Party’s program, the party wants to "Sweden shall maintain a humane refugee and asylum policy where all asylum seekers are guaranteed the right to an individual assessment under conditions of dignity and with generous criteria for refugee status and asylum" (Vansterpartiet, 2012). On the other hand, they claim that there are too many migrants whose labor is exploited by their employers and they want to set a rule in order to prevent the exploitation on the labor migration. They offer to oblige the employer to attach a binding contract to an application for a work permit (Vansterpartiet, 2014). Additionally, they want migrant workers who come forward and tell of grievances with the employer to be allowed to stay in Sweden, even if their lease times is out. Overall, it can be said that that the Left Party has optimistic perspective towards immigration.
6.7 Liberal Party (Folkpartiet liberalerna)

The perspective of Liberal Party towards immigration is clearly reflected with the motto of “Yes to immigration, No to racism” on the official website of the party. Liberals believe that individual freedom of movement is a human right and argue that Sweden needs more labor force. On the other side, they want a regulated immigration structure. They strongly emphasize that Swedish is the key to the integration of migrants. Therefore, they want to introduce a requirement for skills in Swedish and a citizenship course for the new arrivals to get a Swedish citizenship. Furthermore, the party wants to set a security requirement of the relative safety immigration (anhörighetsinvandring) which is a process that relatives of migrants use to get a residence permit. (Folkpartiet, 2014) In general, it can be thought that they have optimistic point of view towards immigration.

6.8 The Christian Democrats (Kristdemokraterna)

The Christian Democrats believe that immigration is fundamentally beneficial and usually contribute to the development and welfare in Sweden. They emphasize a humane and legally secure refugee policy. They prefer to welcome regional rather than local refugees. Therefore, they support reunifications of migrating families torn apart by war and other circumstances. Additionally, they think labor migration is not an issue that can be considered as a threat to the welfare in Sweden. On the other hand, the Christian Democrats argue that the multicultural society requires a common ethical basis that is also respected by immigrants. (Kristdemokraterna, 2014) Moreover, they claim to prevent residential segregation in order to obtain socially integrated neighborhoods. As part of its major immigration policies, the party wants to invest in teaching Swedish for newcomers. It promises to cater more rental housing opportunities and development money which is a sort of grant that is given to local development groups. In brief, it is sure that they are optimistic towards the benefits of immigration.
6.9 Summary of Political Perspectives

All parties in the Swedish parliament, except the Sweden Democrats and Social Democrats defend an optimistic perspective towards immigration. However, even though most of the political parties are optimistic, there are differences between their thoughts on immigration: The Moderates want to ask certain requirements for family reunification, which would likely reduce immigration, while advocating free labor. The Left wants to increase the relative support groups, refugee and humanitarian immigration, but wants some restrictions on labor migration. The Green Party's vision is to be completely free immigration.

On the other side, as a party with pessimistic opinions on immigration the Sweden Democrats have taken immigration policy as a high-profile issue, and they have a more restrictive approach to immigration policy than the other parties, and would aim to limit immigration severely. Considering arguments of the party with an economical perspective it can be said that migrants’ remittances would flow temporarily because immigration is permitted for a short period of time and further connections between destination and home country is discontinued. As it can be clearly understood from the statements above the party’s policy would also damage the multilateral structure of remittance flows as it breaks social connections between migrant and their family in his homeland. Similarly, the opinion of the Social Democrats on immigration is fundamentally defends to minimize labor migration while letting immigration of refugees just as limited as mentioned in the international agreements.

The results of recent general election clearly shows that the public opinion in Sweden on immigration reversed negatively. The Sweden Democrats increased its votes by 7.16 percentage point which means 29 extra seats in the Riksdag compare with the last election. In addition to that, with its changed immigration perspective The Swedish Social Democratic Party gained 0.31 percentage point with 1 extra seats and the party came first in the election. But the real winner of election is considered as the Sweden Democrats by all political commentators because they performed an important upsurge regarding the last general election.
Considering the first labor migration agreement between Sweden and Turkey and family ties of migrants, as the Social Democrats and the Sweden Democrats advocate, preventing or restricting any kind of immigration e.g. labor may result in discontinued or restricted remittance flows. That means, the beneficial situation in favor of Sweden would not be possible. On the other hand, thoughts of the political parties which has an optimistic view of immigration are parallel with the findings of the case study.

7. Conclusion

Theoretical studies on remittances overwhelmingly focus on international remittances compared to bilateral remittances. Through this dissertation, the flow of migrants’ remittances between Turkey and Sweden is unexpectedly found to flow in a reverse direction, from Turkey to Sweden. Apparently, none of major theories on remittances is able to explain this reverse flow. Neither optimistic theories nor pessimistic theories on migration anticipate a parallel movement of remittances and immigration. Pluralist approaches may have something to say about this situation because they are more focused to understand why the structure evolved differently. But these approaches will not be enough to place the relationship on a new theoretical base; therefore, there is still a lack of existence of explanatory theory for this case. Furthermore, even though some arguments such as family ties can be alleged while clarifying the background of the remittance structure, more information on migrants’ behaviors and proper understanding of migrants’ decision to remit are required in order to demonstrate obvious reasons of the reverse bilateral remittance flows within a theory.

Politically, the analysis has shown that loosening bilateral migration and remittance policies between Sweden and Turkey can make them better off. Especially, recent conjuncture puts Sweden in a more advantageous position. The recent election results refers that Swedish voters tend to believes that any type of immigration worsens the country and this idea echoed as votes to the political parties those advocate pessimistic views on immigration. This can be thought as a normal reaction of voters because even some major theories on remittances support the same idea of that Swedish economy is
supposed to be negatively affected by immigration. However, on the other hand, the quantitative results of the case study demonstrates that immigration is economically beneficial considering the specific case of bilateral remittance structure between Turkey and Sweden. Therefore, counter to the public opinion in Sweden, the case indicates that it is not certain that immigration is harmful to Swedish wealth and prosperity. Moreover, it can be said that immigration creates international money flows in the short run, afterwards, in the long run it stimulates money inflow to the country by establishing mutually beneficial relations e.g. family ties. Even though some of the party programs in Sweden especially aim to restrict immigration over family ties imposing extra requirements, the case study showed that family ties are not as detrimental as it has been thought.

In conclusion, according to the result that obtained from the case study it can be claimed that the negative tendency of public opinion on immigration is not economically rational in the sense of remittances. Additionally, it can be said that party programs of the political parties which defend a restrictive immigration policy in Sweden ignore remittance aspect of immigration. Therefore, even though the political parties which mainly argue restrictions on immigration gained popularity in the recent general election, the reality of benefitting from immigration through remittances cannot be ignored as seen in this case study.
8. Appendix

Appendix I.I The results of the Swedish general election held on the 14 September 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>Votes</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>±pp*</th>
<th>Seats</th>
<th>Won</th>
<th>+/-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swedish Social Democratic Party (S)</td>
<td>1,932,711</td>
<td>31.01</td>
<td>+0.35</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>+1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moderate Party (M)</td>
<td>1,453,517</td>
<td>23.33</td>
<td>-6.74</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>-23</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sweden Democrats (SD)</td>
<td>801,178</td>
<td>12.86</td>
<td>+7.16</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>+29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Party (MP)</td>
<td>429,275</td>
<td>6.89</td>
<td>-0.45</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Centre Party (C)</td>
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<td>5.72</td>
<td>+0.11</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>+2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Left Party (V)</td>
<td>356,331</td>
<td>5.22</td>
<td>-0.44</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>-1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberal People's Party (FP)</td>
<td>337,773</td>
<td>5.42</td>
<td>-1.63</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Democrats (KD)</td>
<td>284,806</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>-1.03</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feminist Initiative (FI)</td>
<td>194,719</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>+2.72</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pirate Party (PP)</td>
<td>26,515</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>-0.22</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enhet (&quot;Unity&quot;, ENH)</td>
<td>6,277</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>+0.09</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party of the Swedes (SVP)</td>
<td>4,189</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>+0.06</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Party (DjuP)</td>
<td>3,553</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>New</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Christian Values Party (KrVP)</td>
<td>3,450</td>
<td>0.06</td>
<td>+0.03</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent Rural Party (LBPO)</td>
<td>1,210</td>
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<td>+0.01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Swedish Senior Citizen Interest Party (SPI)</td>
<td>1,037</td>
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<td>New</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direktdemokraterna (&quot;Direct Democrats&quot;, DD)</td>
<td>971</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>-0.01</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Classical Liberal Party (KLP)</td>
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<td>0.01</td>
<td>+0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vägval (&quot;Crossroads; Path choice&quot;, VägV)</td>
<td>693</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>±0.00</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Justice Party (RS)</td>
<td>3,174</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>±0</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Total: 6,231,573 100.00 349

Appendix I.II Comparison of the validity over the Riksdag election in 2010 and in 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Validity Breakdown</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>2014 -2010</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Population</td>
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<tr>
<td>Registered voters</td>
<td>7,330,432</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>7,123,651</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abstentions</td>
<td>1,040,416</td>
<td>14.19</td>
<td>1,094,969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Votes cast / turnout</td>
<td>6,290,016</td>
<td>85.81</td>
<td>6,028,682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invalid/blank votes</td>
<td>58,443</td>
<td>0.79</td>
<td>68,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valid votes</td>
<td>6,231,573</td>
<td>85.02</td>
<td>5,960,408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Election Authority (Valmyndigheten, 2014)

* ±pp: percentage points, change in percentage
### Appendix II. The data on Migrants' Remittance Total Inflows and Outflows of Sweden and Turkey (US$ millions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Outflows</th>
<th>Total Inflows</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Outflows</th>
<th>Total Inflows</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Sweden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1993</td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>1995</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1.312</td>
<td>1997</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>982</td>
<td>1998</td>
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<tr>
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<td>102</td>
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<td>982</td>
<td>1999</td>
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<td>49</td>
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<td>47</td>
<td>1.694</td>
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<tr>
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<td>66</td>
<td>2.071</td>
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<tr>
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<td>81</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>2.490</td>
<td>2003</td>
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<tr>
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<td>137</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>2.140</td>
<td>2004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1.513</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1.807</td>
<td>2006</td>
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<tr>
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<td>290</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1.714</td>
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<tr>
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<td>338</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1.634</td>
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<tr>
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<td>367</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>2.021</td>
<td>2009</td>
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<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>1.776</td>
<td>2010</td>
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<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>3.063</td>
<td>2011</td>
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<tr>
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<td>654</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>3.246</td>
<td>2012</td>
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<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>2.819</td>
<td>2013</td>
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