

Nationalism and Integration Policy:
A Comparative Cross-National Examination

by

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ABSTRACT

The existence of national integration policies does not imply that such policies are effective. This research examines the integration policies in place for Canada, Hungary, and Sweden. Factoring in each country's history and present-day affiliations with nationalism, I examine the extent to which Canadian immigration policy demonstrates nationalism/nationalistic ideals in comparison to similar policies in Hungary and Sweden. Referencing the Migration Integration Policy Index and the Sustainable Governance Indicators, the cross-national comparison of these countries is supported through standardized data. Drawing on the theoretical work of Ernest Gellner to explain the creation of nationalism and its sustainment in the modern era, the research finds the active presence of nationalism in each country of analysis. Nationalism influences the immigration and integration policies of each country studied and subsequently, hinders the ability for immigrants to foster a sense of belonging. This research addresses the importance of belonging, both for immigrants and for the country to which they have immigrated. This research provides recommendations for effective policies of integration, reimagined institutional processes, and further explorative research into integration policy's impacts on gender and family.

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Chapter One – Introduction

Who is a citizen? Who belongs? These are legitimate questions that in recent years have arisen in media, policy, and, public discourse, particularly during the 2020 summer of discontent when I began my thesis. My interest in these questions is chiefly motivated by my own experiences as a first-generation Canadian of Nigerian descent deciphering what it means to belong to a nation. Identity struggles are common amongst immigrants and their children (Kebede, 2010). They often become a negotiation over which identities to commit to and which ones to relinquish. Belonging in the sociological sense describes a powerful connection that brings with it substantial benefits to the group and to the individual. To belong to a nation is to be counted as a valid participant in the national project. Identities provide individuals with purpose, group ascription, ideology, and, support.

The extensive value of belonging is the primary reason why the study of nationalism is sociologically important. When individual identities are tethered to the well-being of the nation for the nation's benefit, it changes these individuals fundamentally. I wanted to develop a more thorough understanding of how nations are able to coerce individuals into adopting an aggressive identity role such as nationalism. Additionally, I sought an in-depth understanding of the ways that nationalism is covertly perpetuated, especially through immigration policy, which is the most transparent window into national beliefs about belonging. Immigration policy plays a role in national identity formation and it is thus the focus of my research.

Postcolonial theorist Frantz Fanon provides significant insights into nationalism and its pitfalls in *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963). He understood that nationalism has a short lifespan in terms of its usefulness in mobilizing the masses to work together in a beneficial manner. Nationalism first encourages people to rise against their oppressors, but then weakens as the previously oppressed group gains more freedoms. Much of the nationalism practiced in the twenty-first century is rooted in colonial thinking, gravitating away from national independence and toward the enforcement of ethnic and religious boundaries based on imagined racial principles.

Colonialism is a key feature in the history of the three countries that are the heart of this analysis: Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden. Each has strong ties to colonialism, including the control of existing cultures and peoples for national profit. Canadian colonialism sought to oppress and displace Indigenous peoples from their own land to serve settler-colonial capitalist needs. Colonialism in Canada remains persistent; in virtually all systems in Canada, systemic inequality against Indigenous peoples remains a reality (Fonseca, 2020). Historically, Sweden colonized parts of Africa as well the Americas. Sweden engaged in deeply invasive, cruel colonial practices alongside other more well-known colonial nations such as Britain and Spain (Palme, 2013). Sweden was able to retain political, cultural, and, economic hold over its colonies, further subjugating the inhabitants of those lands. Hungary's colonial roots are in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The empire was unsuccessful in acquiring and sustaining large colonies; its geographical location was a disadvantage for the empire but beneficial to the livelihood of those it sought to oppress. Hungary experienced the effects of colonization as well from the Habsburg rulers in the sixteenth century when Habsburg rulers attempted to shape Hungary into a nation more aligned to the German vision (Waters, 2012).

Nationalism is incapable of inclusion because it is focused on a singular, homogenous identity. This direct focus makes nationalism incompatible with any diversity, whether ethnic, religious, or otherwise. As Fanon says, "nationalism is the most fervent and efficient means of defending national culture". Fanon's work shows that nationalism benefits only the state. Following Fanon's line of reasoning, what benefits does the existence of nationalism within state policy afford the state? What benefits does it deny to the individuals living in that state?

In this thesis, I seek to explore, compare, and, contrast the nationalist ideals expressed in the immigration policies of Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden. My thesis considers current literature in the field of nationalism and immigration policy in Chapter Two, detailing the history of nationalism and immigration policy in each country. My theoretical framework is presented in Chapter Three and is guided by the work of Ernest Gellner. Gellner explains that nationalism is created due to societal inequalities, thus meeting a need and creating an agenda. Chapter Four presents qualitative and quantitative evidence about the immigration policies of the three national

case studies. In this chapter, the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI), and, document analysis supply the critical evidence I use to answer my research question. In Chapter Five I make connections between ruling governments, national histories, and, community principles to explore the ways nationalism is sustained in each country. Overarching issues, successful measures, and, how societal practice and policy are shaped are addressed in this chapter. Finally, my conclusions and concrete recommendations are presented in Chapter Six.

Research into nationalism and immigration policy is sociologically relevant given current contexts in an increasingly globalized world over migration and belonging. Questions about who belongs are now commonplace, and the burden of justifying why one belongs too often falls on those who are seeking admittance. Understanding how societies organize themselves is essential to innovate or dismantle policies that impact individuals' lived experiences. The organization of a society can create an environment of fairness or it can actively prevent constructive qualities from flourishing. Research into nationalism and its impact on immigration policy in countries can help us understand the ways in which states create societies of their own design. This kind of inquiry will expand knowledge about the intertwining of nationalistic policy and its pervasive impact on those whom the policy addresses.

Chapter Two – Literature Review

Belonging and nationalism have implications for societies as well as individuals. A sense of belonging is fundamental to group formation and membership. Beyond social interaction, belonging gives individuals meaning and purpose; to belong is to have an identity and be identified. Nationalism, too, creates a sense of identity. Nationalism shapes the relationship an individual has with the nation, making the individual an intimate vessel for the interests of the nation. Under nationalism, the nation becomes the primary identifier for an individual. Through nationalism, there is but one national identity—the one the nation desires. Understanding nationalism leads to a more robust grasp of factors that influence and create social groups. A sense of community and group is based on social (read: national) values. Where nationalism reigns limits discourse and practice about who is permitted to belong.

This chapter begins by laying out the framework for understanding the external forces, socialization, and, social identity theory that provide our first understandings of self. It then discusses the elements of nationalism, its different types, and, the nationalism practiced in each country of study. The following section looks to understand policy, how it shapes a nation, and, the role of states in creating nationalist policy. The section on immigration policy and belonging addresses the benefits of belonging, as well as impacts on identity and the process of place-making. The final section discusses ethnic and civic nationalism, particularly their operations in mediating between nationalism and immigration in nation states.

The Role of Socialization

Socialization is the process through which individuals are introduced, become accustomed to, and have reinforced the norms, mores, and folkways regarded as acceptable in society (Ravelli & Webber, 2013). Talcott Parsons was a key theorist of how primary socialization aided substantially in ensuring individuals understood the unwritten mechanics of society. He identified the family to be the most important institution. Separate from familial ties, social and community groups comprise sites of secondary socialization where people come to understand and negotiate the space around themselves and away from the family. Group socialization teaches individuals acceptable ways of belonging. Belonging to a group is crucial to

both an individual's psyche and to how they are seen by others; the inability to be accepted by a group paints an individual unfavourably, potentially barring their entry into other identity spheres. Group membership is the foundation of identity.

Social identity theory analyzes the intricate group components of cohesion and contrast amongst both intra- and inter-groups. Groups consist of individuals who share a similar sense of identity, similar opinions, and, similar actions. A person's social identity stems from their belief that they are a member of a particular social group (Hogg and Abrams, 1988). Social identity requires maintenance through self-regulation. Group belonging means an individual behaves or appears similar to other group members and adopts the viewpoint of the group; membership trumps individual opinions because it is tied securely to understanding of self (Stets and Burke, 2000). It is this process of socialization that creates the individuals whom we know and with whom we interact every day. Identity is pertinent to belonging, upward mobility, and, social capital. It is the essential fabric that comprises the individual. Nationalism fixates on the construction of the individual and seeks to amalgamate it with devotion to the state, curating a citizen who attests to the state's integrity, superiority, and, substance.

Nationalism

In *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1973), Hannah Arendt writes that anti-Semites who considered themselves patriots introduced the whitewashing of their own people and the condemnation of Jewish religion and influence as the new national feeling (Arendt, 1973). The rhetoric that a nation's way of life is under threat fuels nationalist action to protect the nation from perceived threats. Nationalism is an influential, compelling sociological phenomenon capable of altering the state and dictating how it governs. Nationalism demands of its participants continuous loyal engagement, thereby becoming a dominant force in their lives. Nationalism can be understood as both an ideology and a movement committed to promoting the interests of a specific nation. Nationalism becomes the entity through which political power can be maintained.

Some theorists suggest that due to nationalism's ability to become and remain entrenched in political governance, all inhabitants of a state are nationalists by default (Finlayson, 2003). Other theorists propose that nationalism takes different forms (Wirth, 1936); it is the condition of these forms that determines how passively or actively an individual would engage with nationalist ideology. Two dominant strains of nationalism that are commonly examined are civic and ethnic nationalism. Hans Kohn (1944) was a pioneer in making the distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism, an observation that grew out of his experiences in World War II. He understood civic nationalism as a methodical, liberal mode of thinking. The concept of nation-building is supported by the actions of the state; civic nationalism is aligned with, and reinforced by, the status of the state. Ethnic nationalism, by contrast, is concerned with the preservation of culture, language, and, ethnicity within the nation. The state is not responsible for the creation of the nation in ethnic nationalism, as it is the components of the nation that comprise the state. Ethnic nationhood illustrates that the pre-existing characteristics within the population secure the bond between individuals. The notion of belonging is biological and instinctual, as opposed to abstract and learned.

In Canada, Indigenous peoples were the local, geographically centered ethnic people prior to colonial contact. When colonization occurred in Canada, the state became responsible for the creation of the nation. Through the systemic murder, oppression, and, dismantling of Indigenous peoples' ways of life, the Canadian colony designed the ethnic identity upon which to base its nationalism. White European settlers became the ideal for Canada's ethnic nationalism. The historical story of Canada is one that directly feeds into entitlement of belonging being linked to biology. Though ethnic nationalism does not dictate the overall identity of Canada today, ethnic nationalism is a key feature of its history.

The colonizers of each state have outlined preconditions regarding their autonomy as established by state parameters. The range in autonomy that citizens have globally varies and nations can extend and restrict the autonomy of nationals as they see fit. I believe that the type of

nationalism can impact the attitudes of the national towards individuals who are deemed “not national.” Citizens within a state that operates under and based on civic nationalism are partial to law, choice, and, rational attachment. Such individuals would view citizenship as the only valid criteria for admittance into the nation. Since it is the individual who shapes the nation, the concern is with value alignment, not with the identity of the citizen. States which promote this form of nationalism in legal and judicial proceedings are rooted firmly in notions of liberty and democratic heterogeneity. Canada is an example of a civic nationalist nation. By promulgating diversity and multiculturalism, the Canadian government works diligently to maintain its international reputation as a welcoming nation.

Despite the official policy of multiculturalism, Canadian society and institutions are organized around racist regulations and policies. To be Canadian means a person is generally understood to be white and of European descent, and born in the country; without these attributes, others are not granted full access to Canadian identity (Arat-Koc, 2005). These policies and regulations deny individuals access to many amenities Canadians have such as having their education credentials honoured. Newcomers disproportionately have their education credentials scrutinized and rejected upon arrival in Canada. The inability to honour and transfer foreign educational credentials without issue means newcomers tend to be forced into career paths that are often underpaid and underregulated. These career areas then become stereotypical roles for immigrants. Promoting multiculturalism and diversity are not sufficient to dismantle the racism that arises in response to this endorsement of diverse ethnic identities.

In 1976, the Canadian government revised its immigration policy. The 1976 Act reformed Canada’s demographic, economic, and, social goals by prioritizing diversity (Dirks, 2017). Immigration became marketed to Canadians as an implementation strategy to address the nation’s population concerns. This narrow conception of immigration was framed in a unidimensional light that was beneficial solely to the nation’s interest. Such framing additionally placed immigrants themselves in the limited role of simply helping add to population growth and little else, making it easier to sustain anti-immigrant rhetoric. Canada continues to practice *jus soli*, or birthright citizenship. However, even birthright citizenship does not guarantee acceptance

of those who “do not look Canadian.” Liberal and Conservative Canadian governments alike have considered changes to the Citizenship Act to limit citizenship to *jus soli* (“right of soil”; birthright citizenship) and *jus sanguinis* (“right of blood”; nationality citizenship). The changes are spurred by the concern that non-residents of Canada could obtain social welfare or immigration benefits by giving birth in Canada (Dickson 2018; Cosh 2019). These principal objectives support Canada’s inherently civic nationalist ideology, fostering a devout sense of civic duty within the population.

An outlier to the Canadian identity is the province of Québec, where strong ethnonationalist pride is widespread. Québec has a significant place in the political culture of Canada, positioning itself as a nation in and of itself. From this role, Québec as a state is able to symbolize and maintain the ideology of the Québécois against what it sees as the invading, centralistic dispositions of the English Canadian state (Cultural Survival Quarterly Magazine 1994). Québec does not engage in or support a Canadian identity like rest of the nation does. Even within Canada, there are differences in how civic nationalism is performed, sustained, and supported.

In countries where ethnic nationalism is the dominant understanding of nationalism, bloodlines, inheritance, and, emotional attachment are foundational. Ethnic nationalism focuses on inclusivity through ethnic identity: one must be born into the appropriate ethnic, religious, and, linguistic identity to have access to the nation. The nation is what sustains the individuals within it, and there is a singular, acceptable vision. This element of unity amongst peers makes it easier for the state to target groups for ostracization from the nation. By defining themselves in ethnic terms, the ethnic roots of a nation become increasingly visible (Kumar, 2010). Hungary is heavily invested in ethnic nationalism. Hungary prides itself on maintaining deep cultural roots and traditions, setting the expectations the nation has for its members. One way Hungary protects its ethnic identity is through basing nationality law on *jus sanguinis*. *Jus sanguinis* means the “right of blood,” a rule of law through which citizenship is determined or acquired via the nationality or ethnicity of the child’s parent(s). States operate under the constraints of *jus sanguinis* and *jus soli* – birthright citizenship – with few states deviating from these two

practices. Hungary's "right of blood" approach to nationality excludes those who are not Hungarian by ethnicity; being born on Hungarian soil is not enough to make a person a citizen. Depending on the strength of ties an individual has with Hungary, the naturalization process can take years before citizenship can be granted.

Sweden adheres to the *jus sanguinis* model (Sauer, 2017) but to a much weaker version than in most other countries. "Swedishness" is attainable if individuals dedicated themselves to reaching such the goal. In comparison to Hungary, Sweden's *jus sanguinis* is concerned to a lesser degree about nationalistic ascription. In Sweden, the national way of being is an enterprise of access, whereas in the Hungarian context, aggressive gate-keeping is the key mode of operation. Hungary acknowledges identity as a natural feature that is bestowed upon individuals with ties to origin; neither Canada nor Sweden restrict identity participation to such primal constraints.

Understanding policies of belonging must include the conceptions of *jus soli* and *jus sanguis*. One can see from Hungary and Sweden how the information being supported by the state can directly impact the understanding of identity that citizens have. The phenomenon creates an idealized nation. Regardless of which form of nationalism is practiced or supported, it is important to highlight the deeper implications for the established institutions within the states. States have the resources, institutions, and, power to create definitive notions of about community and homelands. Nationalism's potential must be acknowledged in the discussion of governance. Policy is contingent on the interests of what the state determines to be essential, whether based on ethnic principles or otherwise. Within nationalism is the latent ability to mobilize, suppress, mend, and, divide; as such, understanding its inception is crucial for comparative analysis.

Debates about the origins of nationalism can be divided into those that stress biological, instrumentalist, modernization, or evolutionary theories and perspectives. Sociobiological explanations of nationalism propose that ethnicity is a linkage of individual ascription to national

ideology. In the sociobiological perspective, social ties can be used to explain the formation of character within groups. In the sociobiological domain, nationalism is a viable form of ethnic identification; the nation is an extension of familial bonds, solidifying connections with the state. Geertz (1973) asserts that primordialists ideology considers identity a natural 'feature', that is granted to individuals. Those who disagree with Geertz note that his theory fails to explain the malleability of ethnic groups, wrongly caricaturizing nationalism as a one-dimensional phenomenon.

Instrumentalist theories focus on how nationalism is produced and maintained by the interests it claims to serve. Instrumentalist theories can take a sociobiological, sociological, and, individualist approach to conceptualizing nationalism. Pierre van den Berghe (1981) noted sociobiological nationalism was identification fueled by group interests. Sociological instrumentalism derives from Marxist and elite theorists united by the conviction that nationalism is ineffective when utilized, weaponized, and, abused by those in authority. Those who follow the Marxist tradition portray the bourgeoisie as avid promoters of nationalist ideology to masquerade their own class interests as though they were the interests of the masses. Elite theorists understand that it is not fully acceptable to view nationalism as an inherently manipulative discourse participated in by the masses. Another instrumentalist school takes the individualist perspective, operating with a stylized model of how the rational person is depicted. Accounting for the ability to distinguish an individual's nationalist conduct, but unable to explain their propensity towards it, rational choice theorists are chiefly concerned with a rigid explanation of nationalist interest (Geertz, 1973). The principal concern of instrumentalist theorists is to explain the impacts of nationalism.

Nationalism and Policy

The aim of policy is to meet objectives through implementable actions. Social policy has its concerns established in the function of societies, critically assessing the relationship between states and societies. Public policy makes government agendas into applicable programs and initiatives for a population. Due to the shifting nature of the world, it is essential that policy be

re-evaluated so effective actions to be administered, implemented, and, executed successfully. The state introduces and executes policy based on causes it considers deserving of government support.

The constructs of nationalism and belonging can be identified in immigration policies. Sandovici, Jakobsen, and Strabac (2012) worked to uncover the correlation between nationalist attitudes in the political sphere and immigration at the policy level. Sandovici et al. noted that nationalist governments and anti-immigration sentiments often exist within the same suprastructure. The relationship between the two is causal because the inception of nationalist governance makes it easier to disseminate anti-immigrant rhetoric. Research has noted that negative media coverage of immigrants leads to increased nationalistic views as well as anti-immigrant sentiments (Brader et al., 2008). Concurrently, survey data shows that Canadians are becoming more open and accepting of immigrants and refugees. For example, two-thirds of Canadians now reject the notion that immigration levels are too high (EnviroNics Institute, 2020).

Detractors often see immigration as a threat to state economies based on fears that immigrants will rely on institutional support during the resettlement process. Additionally, immigration is conceptualized as a threat to national identity, as immigrants bring their own cultural mores and folkways. These cultural elements may be distinctly different or in full contrast to the host nationalist society's established norms (Sniderman et al., 2004). Exclusionary policies with support from state government and media have their reach significantly increased. States that harbour nationalist perceptions have a particularly intense focus on the concept of a unified national identity, contingent on active, acceptable engagement by its citizens. The rhetoric is displayed, phrased, and, constructed in a way that individuals feel compelled to take on a one-dimensional identity. This construction enables governments to alter the individual's understanding of themselves, of others, of statehood and the requirements of identity maintenance. Sandovici et al. (2012) argue that immigration policy alone is not enough to promote anti-immigrant sentiments; government policy regarding immigration, preceded and shadowed by public discussion, heightens the perceived importance of the topic to citizens. In such instances, individuals are led toward the notion that the government should develop policy

to redress the issue. Individuals are predisposed to supporting anti-immigration policy that draws upon nationalist ideologies.

Nationalism is often incorrectly associated with patriotism, and the two concepts should not be conflated. Patriotism and nationalism are both rooted in devotion to the nation. Patriotism's key difference from nationalism is its emphasis on the positive influence an individual brings to their country. Patriotism can mean one exhibits a positive feeling towards one's country without morphing into nationalism. In contrast to patriotism, nationalism is invested in the entrenchment of the principles it values into the structures of the nation. Nationalism is exclusively concerned with intergroup processes in order to support beliefs of dominance and superiority. Nationalism favours authoritarian structures, stringent definitions of the nation as homogenous, and, intolerance towards groups viewed as cultural threats (Mukherjee et al., 2012). Some theorists maintain that nationalism and patriotism cannot be treated as separate concepts (Billig, 1995, 55-59), however, I disagree. While the two phenomena are related, they nevertheless differ.

Feelings of patriotism and nationalism can become internalized within individuals. A survey by Mukherjee et al. (2012) found a strong correlation between participants national identification and their support for tough measures against undocumented immigrants. The study recruited 125 participants; after filtering for U.S.-born and White/Caucasian participants, 54 men and 40 women with a median age of 24 year comprised the study. Participants stated that more stringent immigration policy upheld laws not ethnocentric-related prejudice. Identification with patriotism correlated with high endorsement for tough measures to punish law-breaking immigrants and Americans. Patriots favoured banning both migrants and ineligible workers. Nationalists had no tolerance for those who were "illegal" unless their labour was exploitable. There are hierarchical distinctions amongst ethnic groups in nationalism as well. Ethnonationalism is singularly concerned with and in defense of identity. For researchers, ethnonationalism is important to understanding immigration policy construction. Nationalism can directly impact the type of policy governments support. Nationalism works to repress perceived threats to its identity, including altering policy.

Fijalkowski (1993) noted that policies which address social integration should be devoid of ethno-national restrictions. Policy developed through nationalism restricts ethnic, cultural, or religious differences in order to reproduce a homogenous population. Restrictions of this nature, according to Fijalkowski, have influence on the regulation of citizenship, nationality, and, naturalization. Germany denies it is not an immigrant country and until 1997 lacked any official immigration laws. By failing to consider itself a nation reliant on immigrants, Germany can preserve German statehood. This dichotomous construction creates a restricted understanding of identity; one is either German or not. Government policy in Germany is shifting towards inclusive immigration policy but parts of the population still align with twentieth-century conceptions of immigration. The long-term residency process in Germany is challenging, providing further obstacles in the citizenship process. This prevents individuals from becoming “immigrants” in Germany as they are unable to easily immigrate.

Immigration Policy and Belonging

Discerning who is and is not an immigrant is key to understanding belonging in relation to immigration. Stereotyped physical attributes such as skin colour or accent can be used to determine a person’s “position” in the nation. These ways of determining immigrant origin are rooted in racial discrimination. These practices communicate to immigrants and newcomers broadly that belonging is a performance. Individuals who immigrate or migrate to a nation are forced to establish a sense of belonging shaped by their ethnicity, language, legal status, socio-economic status, religion, as well as the characteristics of the environment that they settle in (Wessendorf, 2017). Yuval-Davis (2006) highlighted interrelated levels of belonging relating to social locations, individuals’ emotional attachments to collectivities, and, ethical and political value systems used to judge individuals. These interrelated dimensions influence the newcomer’s sense of belonging and access to social capital. Sense of belonging involves the feeling, belief, and, expectation that one fits in the group and has a place there (Macmillan & Chavis, 1986). It is more difficult to foster a sense of belonging when faced with instances of discrimination. When confronted by the need to make decisions about residency based on perceived instances of

discrimination, migrants fare best in ethnically distinct communities where “place-making” can occur (Pemberton and Phillimore, 2016). Place-making constructs individuals’ identities around ethnic lineage. Pemberton and Phillimore (2016) state that settlement areas with visible, discernable diversity aid ethnically diverse migrants in developing a sense of belonging. Sense of belonging is attached to visibility and invisibility. The ability to become invisible is an important factor in newcomers’ decision to remain in settlement spaces.

Nationalism and Immigration

Nations have two forms: civic nations and ethnic nations. Civic nations are founded on shared legal principles, political principles, and, institutions. Residing in a common territory is an additional marker of a civic nation. Civic nationhood’s political identity is shaped according to communal state citizenship. Culture and dialects are supported, and citizens’ allegiance resides in the institutions. Ethnic nations are a stark contrast, exclusively based on beliefs in a singular, common descent and unified cultural heritage. An agreed-upon common language, ethnic ancestral lineage, and, potentially religion are all features of ethnic states (Muller, 2008). Ethnicity is of singular importance. Ethnic nations may incorporate minority groups into the dominant identity, but often ethnicity is understood to be a fixed, inherited feature.

The global conversation around immigration and its impact on states has led to increased investment into ethnic return migration. Several European and East Asian nations have enacted legislation to promote return migration to their states, supporting the notion that ethnic identity is integral to state structure (Kulu, 2000). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) supports the return of citizens to their home nations. For instance, India and Israel both encourage the return of their ethnic citizens after spending time abroad. Israel’s *Law of Return* (1950) serves as the country’s central ethnic return migration policy (Bielewska and Amit, 2020). India’s ethnic return migration policies were introduced in the 1990s and in recent years, the Indian government has become more vocal in its calls to bring Indian citizens home (Balaji, 2018). Even with encouraging calls for individuals to return, return itself may not be possible. The society left behind may be changed or unchanged, making it an unsafe option for

those who have fled or left for varying reasons.

Ethnic return migrants are immigrants, however; due to ethnic ties, they receive more favourable treatment than standard immigrants. Upon return, ethnic migrants are accepted, granted citizenship opportunities, or have their nationality reinstated. State access accelerations based on ethnic lines produce legislation supporting preferential treatment to a homogenous ethnicity. An immigration state can redefine its definition of immigration through this practice. This practice has the potential to be weaponized by right-wing populist governments that historically push against multiculturalism, promoting prejudiced behaviour towards certain ethnic groups. Ethnic return migration policies are rooted in ethnonational interests; these policies further the “self-other” paradigm of global migration.

Moriconi, Peri and Turati (2018) analyzed immigration and nationalism in European elections from 2007 to 2016. The study highlights the influential relationship immigration has to nationalism. Immigration was viewed positively when presented as a potential asset to the nation. Immigration policies were highly influential in causing individuals to vote for or against nationalist parties (Moriconi et al., 2018). The researchers stated that a balanced inflow of migrants who were low- and high-skilled encouraged underlying preference away from nationalist voting practices. The policies, by nature, were rooted in balancing current immigration standing, not aimed at increasing it and therefore may be the reason individuals were not aggressively opposed. Individuals did not view border closures to non-EU migrants as a highly favourable solution, registering low in nationalist voting. It is notable, however, that while border closures are not viewed as a support for nationalist parties or their ideals, failing to close borders is understood as detrimental to established immigration policies.

The demographic changes due to the current migration in Europe is described as a decline; however, immigration is viewed as positive when specific classes of immigrants are brought into a country. Low-skilled immigrants made nationalism a more salient point of discussion amongst voting parties. The Moriconi et al. study found support for immigration assessed in terms of benefits to the host nation. Highly-skilled immigrants are not construed as a

burden to established societal standards and therefore are not a threat to nationalist identity. How liberal participants answered could be due to the fact they were not asked about the group's integration or inclusion. Controlling immigration is directly linked to the maintenance of state sovereignty (Arendt, 1973). Media's negative portrayal of immigrants has increased nationalistic and anti-immigration sentiments (Brader et al., 2008). Immigrants pose perceived threats to established nations in social and economic domains. Granting immigrants such access compromises established nationalist perceptions.

Nationalist ideology lacks flexibility. Individual worth is tethered to an idealized identity. As a result, immigration is a disruption to the idealized group construction (King, 2000). Immigration policy is an essential sector of state policy, and it is important to the growth of a nation and to individual livelihoods. Where immigration policy is a concern is in states with ethno-nationalist ideologies. Bias towards certain ethnic groups can translate into rejections of sound applications in favour of those deemed "unthreatening" to the homogenous state. Ethnic migrant return policies are an example of such a bias. In pursuit of homogeneity, states are offering ethnic descendants space in a nation they may never see. Nationalism is far more intense, complex, and, catastrophic than overly patriotic appreciation for one's homeland. Allowing this phenomenon to operate uncontested within state governance supports ethno-nationalist restrictions that aim to segregate the globalized world.

Socialization plays a critical role in the formation and development of the individual. Each country of analysis had elements of nationalism in the process of citizenship acquisition and nationality ascription. Understanding the establishment of nationalism and colonialism in each nation allows for robust discussion regarding the structure of state institutes. Public opinion is greatly influenced by the way immigration, migration, and those who engage in either are framed by the media and political institutions. For example, Canada markets immigration as a population increase strategy, limiting the scope for immigration and migration. However, positive public perception of these issues leads to increased positive attitudes, which is encouraging for nations that want to change current attitudes. Citizenship and residency are insufficient criteria for an individual to claim belonging. Belonging is part of the public domain,

and one's access to the unified nation can be called into question. The amalgamation of nationalism and immigration policy has direct, structural implications for the lived experiences of those of the nation. The relationship between nationalism and immigration policy creates the body of citizens responsible for validating nationalist systems. An examination of the way civic and ethnic nationhood influences the institutional structure highlights nationalism's pervasiveness. The following theories presented in my third chapter provide insight into complex philosophies of nationalism and nationalist ideology.

Chapter Three – Theoretical Framework

In order to study nationalism in comparative immigration policy, we must understand what nationalism means. Josep R. Llobera (1999) categorized nationalism according to four broad theoretical distinctions: primordial/socio-biological, instrumentalist, modernization, and, evolutionary. Each category presents a contrasting origin and purpose of nationalism. The intention of this chapter is to map nationalism's historical and theoretical background. Hungary, Sweden, and, Canada each have a unique experience with nationalism, so the theories in this chapter explain the respective origins and their impacts. I review the theories of nationalism that are most relevant to my research. In particular, I explain how Ernest Gellner's theory is central to my analysis. Gellner was a modernity theorist who defined nationalism as a political principle. The modernity time period is defined as society's transition from agrarian to industrial; Gellner stated that the rise to modernity would not have happened without nationalism.

Nationalism may be ethnic, religious, civic, and, ideological. Each form is important, although my research mainly focusses on ethnic and civic nationalism. Elements of ethnic and civic nationalism are present in each country under study. For that reason, these two forms of nationalism are my primary foci. Ethnic nationalists argue that nationalism has a functional role. Through this understanding, sustaining ethnic identity spans language, culture, ancestral lineage, and, heritage. The central focus of religious nationalism is influence on institutional state affairs (Omer and Springs, 2013). Religious nationalism indoctrinates religious practice into law, providing institutions additional power and control. Intricate layers of tension are created through religious nationalism, as it is simultaneously an identity issue as well as a political and spiritual concern.

Civic nationalism supports progress towards social cohesion and the maintenance of rights and freedoms of the individual. The goal of civic nationalism is to achieve equality and social justice through institutional means (Hall, 1998). Civic nationalism has been defined as the voluntary selection of allegiance based on values (Shen, 2007). The oldest and arguably most spirited form of nationalism comes from the ideological perspective. The ideological form of

nationalism calls for nations to embark on self-governance, asserting that self-determination provides the state with power (Smith, 2010). Ideological nationalists believe that a nation is only as sound as its institutions of governance; the political institution is the physical manifestation of a nation's power. This understanding of nationalism places significant confidence in government institutions without considering that government institutions may themselves be flawed. It is worth briefly summarizing the key assumptions and main weaknesses of the Llobera's four theoretical approaches to nationalism. I move through each of them in turn.

Primordial and Socio-Biological Theories

Primordialists assume that group identity is a given (Llobera, 1999). The existence of primordial—that is, primitive or under-developed—conditions exist within virtually all societies. The attachments we exhibit based on blood, race, language stand as principal features of our societies. These natural bonds are reinforced through our lived experiences in relation to our families and additional primary groups of socialization. The nuances result in a sense of cemented, coercive power (Geertz, 1973). Primordial groups provide group identity that individuals use to understand their place in the world (Isaacs, 1975). The strength and permanence of these bonds lie in the symbolic meaning humans confer on them. Emotions related to a socially-constructed entity can be as strong as biological, blood-based group ascription (Llobera, 1999). The potential for an ethnic group or nation to harbour emotional attachments as strong as those exhibited toward our biological relatives is the result of our ability to give our bonds significant meaning.

The socio-biological perspective assumes nationalism is the result of kin selection and its desire to incorporate a greater sphere of individuals (Llobera, 1999). These individuals are characterized based on common ancestry. Through the socio-biological lens, nationalism cannot be explained via genetic mechanisms without consideration of the human and social sciences at work. Ethnocentrism is supported in the socio-biological perspective through the establishment of “in” and “out” groups. Xenophobia demonstrates the treatment of “out” groups. The psychological dimensions of nationalism establish a bond between the individual and the nation.

Terminology used for kin describes the relationship with the nation. Socio-biologists are unable to account for the creation, evolution, and, subsequent dissolving of nations through this perspective, as they do not account for history in their perspective. The socio-biological perspective is still supported in more recent works such as Herrnstein and Murray's *The Bell Curve* (1994) which reported IQ to be linked to race with flawed data that promoted damaging and racist stereotypes of Black people (more specifically in this case, African Americans). Until his passing in 2012, Canadian academic Philippe Rushton adamantly stood behind his research equating race to the size of an individual's brain and hence their intelligence. Despite the flawed data in Rushton's work which questions its validity, the harmful promotion of behavioural differentiation among various segments of the human race persists.

Instrumentalist Theories

The instrumentalist perspective states that ethnic groups alter their boundaries and conditions based on circumstances. Ethnicity is the result of economic, social, or political processes, which is why it bears no permanently fixed borders (Llobera, 1999). Barth (1969) defined ethnicity on four main levels. The micro-level looked at identity formation and experiences brought on by virtue of interaction with others. The median level of ethnicity examines group mobilization and formation, focusing on the leadership that guides identity implementation. The macro-level analysis looks at state influence in legal frameworks, policy implementation, and, usage of force. Lastly, the global level addresses global human rights discourse.

Competition theories attempt to explain the rise and decline of ethnic movements (Olzak and Nagel, 1986). The guiding view of this theory is that ethnic identities appear or reappear in order for distinct groups to compete with one another for access to resources. Banton (1983) and Hechter (1988) explain ethnicity through rational choice. The theory operates on two external considerations: that individuals function to capitalize on their privileges economically or socially, and that the choice an individual makes is singular, explicit, and, unalterable. This view is limited as it does not acknowledge any potential for revision of choices.

Modernization Theories

Karl Deutsch (1951) analyzed nation growth and nationalism as they evolved from traditional to modern societies. Deutsch highlighted communication's integral role in advancing nationalism. Communication supports the creation of national communities from which the nation is constructed. When the nation exists, those within it are able to communicate more effectively and intensely, strengthening their internal bonds. Based on historical evidence, large scale social mobilization occurred in tandem with commercialization, industrialization, and, urbanization. Language and culture were able to flourish due to the emphasis placed on social mobilization; from there, nationalism takes shape. Rustow (1969) deems the intensive division of labour essential in the understanding of the modernization and nationhood's relationship. Rustow and Deutsch both view the optimal political structure for modernization being performed through a nation-state. Rustow's perspective, however, dictates that a national identity fares best in terms of growth and survival when it occurs within the context of modernization.

Benedict Anderson wrote in his work *Imagined Communities* (1983) about the reach of print capitalism in the birth of nationalism. Anderson considered the nation to be an imagined political community exhibiting limited and sovereign properties. Print language influenced perception within the nation through the dissemination of text. The existence of a unified language streamlined the ability for masses to consume the same information and reinforce their shared identity with one another. The obsession around language influenced newly constructed communities to develop a relationship dependent on the system of production and ensuing productive relations.

Ernest Gellner (1964) perceives nationalism as inevitable when a society requires a malleable labour force. Nationalism, Gellner reasons, can be understood through industrialization. Processes of industrialization ultimately undermine pre-existing social structures to make space for cultural elements to come to the fore. The focus of identity shifted from an individual's social relations to their cultural attachments. Gellner maintains that

nationalism did not pre-date industrialization. The agrarian society that existed prior to industrialization did not define political units in terms of cultural boundaries. Nations in Gellner's theory are not the by-product of individual persons, nor are they the imagined communities that Anderson presents.

Gellner's theory suggests nationalism serves a purpose for the established society. Acknowledging the societal purpose of nationalism supports my research into how nationalism influences immigration policy. I rely on Gellner's theory in my research to address nationalism's ability to shape immigration. Gellner views nationalism from a historical perspective. Likewise, this is important to my research, as the history of each country plays a significant role in my analysis. History has a significant impact on each nation's performance of nationalism, immigration policy structure, and, system of governance. Through understanding the waves of modernization and industrialization and their impact on these nations, we can better understand the nationalism they exhibit. Gellner maintains that nations exist only after nationalism has defined them by the terms that suit it best. This perspective means that nationalism must be sustained for the nation to exist. Nationalism gives the nation importance; nationalism gives the nation directive. The nation is thus reliant on nationalism. The phenomenon plays a functional role in societies that, without nationalism, would be devoid of meaning and power. Political institutions and nationalism function in tandem, operating a mutually beneficial relationship. These interlocking properties explain how policies created within a nation's political institutions can be a product of nationalism. Gellner addresses the universality and impact of nationalism within political institutions, making the theory of considerable importance to my analysis of nationalism in Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden.

As fitting as Gellner's theory is for my research, it is not fully complete. The theory does not account for developments of nationalism in Western Europe. There, nationalism occurred before industrialization and therefore, seem to contradict Gellner's theory. Moreover, Gellner's focus is exclusively on how economic ventures created nationalism. The motives of nationalists cannot be understood without the socio-economic element. Despite this weakness, the decision to use Gellner's theory as part of my research project remains firm. Ultimately, Gellner's approach to

nationalism posits that modernity created nations. This unique perspective states that nationhood is not a construct that was created through our own intentional actions. In the current globalized world, we function in recognition of national boundaries; this is how we come to understand our relationship with others. Gellner's reasoning is that we have become accustomed to the destructive properties of nationalism because it has benefitted our institutions and construction of identities. This perspective is crucial to understanding the impact of nationalism on immigration policy. We operate this way because it is beneficial to our way of life. If we were able to find another way of operating that was beneficial to our way of life, there is the potential that nationalism would be pushed out of favour. The possibility that this integrated rationale could be dismantled suggests that nationalism can be altered for the better.

Evolutionary Theories

Evolutionary theorists agree that nationalism was birthed from modernity. These theories are focused on nationalisms which started in Europe, particularly during the medieval times. The European focus of evolutionary theory finds it difficult to explain nationalism in other parts of the world. This is a significant drawback, but the theory can still be used to explain how we define state and nation. National identities, according to this theory, had to be created in order to make agrarian societies and industrial societies comparable in their approaches. This theoretical approach suggests that industrialization arrived when the concept of national identities was already firm, positing that there is no affiliation between capitalism and nationalism (Llobera, 1999).

When national culture became a societal aspect worthy of identification, its preservation and defense became stronger; multinational states began to homogenize their territory to create a uniform state identity. Evolutionary theorists regard nationalism as an important step in understanding how society has been shaped and how it currently functions. Where evolutionary theorists differ from other conceptions of nationalism is in their aim to explain the phenomenon by considering all factors that impact nationalism's appearance simultaneously.

The Gellnerian Critique of Nationalism

A key component of nationalism is engaging in the active inclusion and exclusion of peoples within the confines of the nation. Gellner addresses this feature as important, supporting his belief that the perpetuation of nationalism is responsible for the construction of nations. Through the Gellnerian lens, nationalism is sustained through an intentional timeline; several factors were at work prior to its inception. The Gellnerian perspective views the origin of nationalism in the context of positive and negative social foundations. The more positive aspects of nationalism Gellner attributes to its origins where the processes of industrialization assisted in its arrival. Gellner is concerned with what industrialization produces societally as opposed to its more intricate processes. In order for industrialization to create nationalism, society had to have possessed advanced means of communication. This led to the standardization of communication that created a uniform language of conversation. Language is a critical tool used by individuals to position themselves. Gellner noted language generates a great sense of cultural identification due to its collective uniformity amongst groups. Nationalist tendencies are fuelled in persons by way of necessity; the phenomenon serves a functionalist role. Individuals existing during the dawn of modernity were unconsciously contributing to the positive social foundations of nationalism.

The positive social foundations of nationalism are visible and celebrated. Despite what appears to be a seamless functionalist explanation for the phenomenon, the negative social foundations require analysis. The negative aspects of nationalism's impact on our social foundations are closer to the nationalism we are familiar with in the current day and age. Modernization did not progress smoothly; the irregular spread of modernization stoked the fires of nationalist aspiration. Pre-existing inequalities were further exacerbated during this process. Divisions were rife amongst groups, and these conditions allowed distinctive identity to be weaponized and wielded against others who differed from one's own group. Nationalist movements developed from this, flourishing from the lack of social cohesion. To Gellner, nationalism is not the mobilization of nations because a nation is dependent on it for an identity. Nationalism requires differentiating markers to assert itself in a space of division. This requirement persists regardless of negative occurrences that may develop in its wake.

Anderson (1983) argues Gellner's approach is teleological, as his depiction of nationalism is based on the sharing of high culture. It is through this sharing, according to Anderson, that Gellner loses his argument. High culture assumes itself to be the singular cause of nationalism's origin. Gellner's theory also falls short in Anderson's view by relying on nationalism as a product of modernization. This framing of nationalism limits its capacity to exist beyond the instrumental discourse. Gellner's theory does not consider the political realm. Nationalist movements are key to influencing which cultures have enough political power to become nations (Kumar, 2010). For this research project in particular, the examination of political influence is crucial. My research identifies where political power intersects with the promotion of nationalism, leading to the further explanation of how its presence impacts individuals within nations. Critics of Gellner state that his theory does not highlight political participation as explicitly as it should. However, I argue that the theory's limited scope of political participation is useful to my research. In using Gellner's theory as a guide, I am able to investigate political participation without rigid contextualization of how nationalism operates within institutions.

Gellner's theory states that as a community, individuals' collective agreement on certain principles is what led to the conception of nations. If we follow Gellner's pattern, it is evident that what gains significant traction prevails in our societies. Powerful political influence has the capacity to sustain nationalism. Political power doesn't highlight nationalist movements but the movements are vehicles through which political decision-makers can exercise their agendas, principles, and, ideologies. Gellner's theory of nationalism does exemplary work showcasing the progression that has led to the position's current Western European societal perspective. Gellner's theory states how we come to conceptualize ourselves, our environment, and, belonging. Utilizing this theoretical framework furthers research into political institutions' use of nationalism, what benefits they derive, and, how such a practice can be reduced if not dismantled.

Chapter Four – Methodology

This research project produces insights into how immigration and nationalist policies interact through a critical analysis of three countries: Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden. Answers to this question involved the collection and qualitative analysis of documents, indexes, reports, and, census data. My central interest is to explore the extent to which Canadian immigration policy compares to nationalism and nationalistic ideals among similar policies in Hungary and Sweden. The qualitative method provides an element of description, interpretation, contextualization, and, insight into integration policy implementation and effectiveness. .

I analyzed a broad range of documents such as legislative papers, policy reports, census records, country analyses, and, research studies, since a narrow focus risked eliminating data sources beneficial to the research. Sources were published in English texts accessible on the internet, and government documents were the main type of material I collected. As members of the European Union, Hungary and Sweden provide English versions of official documents, which made my analysis possible. During my studies, I was awarded a University of Manitoba Hungarian Scholarship as well as an Erasmus Plus Mobility Scholarship that funded my three months of study at the Central European University (CEU) in Budapest, Hungary. My studies at CEU allowed me to learn more about the Hungarian immigration system. For all three countries, I analyzed documents published between 2000 and 2020. Both the rise of right-wing populism in Hungary and the effects of migration on policy in Sweden are examples of key policy changes in the past 20 years. A narrower time parameter would not include these key political and policy changes. Conversely, a longer span of time would have overloaded the study with an excessive amount of information, making coding difficult and burying key research findings. The decision to focus on two decades was the ideal solution.

Another factor used to select sources for analysis were keywords. The keywords for inclusion were as follows: integration, migration, policy, social policy, public policy and, nationalism. This list was not exhaustive, but it provided a framework for analysis. The

application of these keywords was a necessary component for my methodology. Keywords allowed me to refine terminology that aided my thematic coding.

Organizing and coding material involved identifying all documents that included keywords and/or words closely associated with them. Once those documents had been identified, they were grouped by country of analysis. From this categorization, documents were arranged into their corresponding document types to allow for easier assessment of the texts. Documents were grouped into government documents, journal articles, news articles, and, research studies. Systematically gathering the data into these formats streamlined the coding process significantly. Coding helped identify and refine themes, patterns, and, changes within the countries chosen for analysis.

Data Sources

To answer my research question, I sourced index data discussing immigration policy and nationalism from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) and Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI). The MIPEX assigned ranks to each of the 38 countries on the basis of 167 policy indicators (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). These indicators relate to aspects of migrant integration and are designed as benchmarks for current laws and policies. It is through consultation with institutions and scholars that the benchmarks can be measured against expected performance. MIPEX defines a policy indicator as a question on a particular policy component; the policy indicator fits into one of the eight policy areas of MIPEX analysis.

The three MIPEX policy areas that I focused on were political participation, access to nationality, and, anti-discrimination. Thirty-eight countries participate in the MIPEX index. Rankings for each policy area are given three score options; a score of three ranks indicates equal treatment of immigrants and host society members. Scores from each policy dimension are averaged to produce a value across four policy dimensions. The four dimension scores are compiled into an average assigned to each of the eight policy areas per country. From this, each country receives an overall score. The domains are equally weighted to ensure data is

standardized. Final national scores range from zero for “no equality” in the policy domains to 100 for “complete equality.”

The European Union also relies on data collected through its Quality Framework for Services of General Interest. Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) assess and compare policy performances, concentrating on governments’ efficacy in achieving policy goals. The SGI is premised on the interconnectedness of good governance and sustainable development. The SGIs uses three pillars of policy performance, democracy, and, governance to assess how governments approach sustainable development. Many OECD and EU governments struggle with implementing effective and sustainable policy, which is why the SGI is an important tool. The evidence-based analysis informs stakeholders in OECD and EU nations on how to better create innovative policies. In terms of policy performance, the SGI believes governments must cultivate social, economic, and, environmental conditions that sustain well-being and empowerment. SGI evaluates qualitative assessments and quantitative data to establish the extent governments actively foster opportunities and contribute to the provision of global public goods.

Democracy, the second pillar of the SGI, has substantial influence on the sustainability of policies within a country. A nation that is able to guarantee its citizens opportunities for democratic participation cultivates citizens’ confidence in political leaders’ actions. Increased confidence in mechanisms and institutions of governance allows societies to be more pliable. As the third pillar, governance is anchored in adoption of long-term views of public policies that considers interests in future generations. Overall, the SGI reveals the extent to which institutions enhance the public sector’s capacity to act as well as how citizens, NGOs, and, others hold governments accountable for their actions.

Together, the two indexes—the MIPEX and SGI—provide added depth to the data obtained through document analysis. Using these previously constructed and standardized measures benefits the interpretive features of the methodology, offering strong empirical comparisons across several domains. The multiple data sources complement each other as

opposed to being contradictory. The methodology benefits from the use of qualitative and quantitative research sources.

A main focus of my research is comparative, or cross-national, evaluation of government policy. In the evaluation of the effectiveness of immigration policy within the outlined nations, it is important that the research critically analyze documents. Atkinson and Coffey (1997) regarded documents to be “social facts” that are produced, shared and used in socially organized ways. The document analysis-based research methodology involves superficial examination (skimming), thorough examination (reading) and finally interpretation (Bowen, 2009). To produce optimal results, coding was incorporated as part of the document analysis process.

Thematic coding is critical for effective document analysis. The research draws conclusive evidence regarding policies that exist in the nations under analysis. To support the analysis, I developed five key themes, under which several phrases can be encompassed. The key words that allowed me to explore these themes are nationalism, integration, policy/social policy, multiculturalism, and, immigration. The terms were selected to ensure the research scope were as complete as possible. My research question was to evaluate the extent to which Canadian immigration policy demonstrates nationalism/nationalistic ideals in comparison to similar policies in Hungary and Sweden. The comparative element of my research required a methodology that was able to fully address this aspect of the research.

Document analysis has several disadvantages associated with its application. A researcher should be aware of these prior to implementation. In document analysis, the research is at the mercy of the original purpose of the document (Bowen, 2009). In summary, policies serve a practical purpose and while they can be used for research, they omit some information a researcher might find useful. Documentation may be subject to low retrievability, meaning that the ability to access or retrieve a document is severely restricted. Finally, biased selectivity is a concern when collecting documents. Those documents that are readily accessible may promote certain viewpoints, such as a specific, collaborative body of work. This poses a risk of bias. The

document analysis method can be used on its own, however, it is important for researchers to be wary of risks. To avoid this, I bring supplementary data into the project to expand its breadth. Using qualitative and quantitative research sources such as the MIPEx and SGI, in addition to qualitative analysis, strengthens my document analysis.

Alongside document analysis, this project uses existing datasets, tables, indexes, and, graphs produced about and from the analysis. The inclusion of datasets allows the quantifying of variation and predictions of causal relationships. The indexes included in the analysis supply an additional view of how belonging emerges in the three countries under study. The indexes and tools used are not explicitly tied to policy analysis, however, the perspectives offered aid in the development of further understanding ethno-nationalism and immigration. The additional statistical elements support the descriptive interpretations generated through document analysis. This corroboration strengthens the research inferences that are generated as my research identifies the underlying agencies that operate in immigration policies in Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden.

A significant obstacle to my research was having to rely exclusively on English documents. Two of the three countries do not have English as an official language. As a result, there were occasions in which certain Swedish and Hungarian documents were unavailable for analysis. I made every effort to double-check each document was available in English. In cases where it was not, I searched for an English translation. For census data and indexes, this was often readily available, but journal articles and reports proved harder to find in English. A second obstacle was document sampling; documents used for analysis were all selected by my own volition. A final obstacle was the risk of over-relying on just one avenue of research. To avoid this, I use a wide variety document types written by a host of different, verifiable sources such as the University of Manitoba's online library database, the PARLINE database on national parliaments, and, governments on the WWW database.

In summary, this chapter addresses the host of obstacles, concerns, and, limitations regarding methodology. As a researcher, I understand transparency to be crucial; being open about the benefits and disadvantages of my methodology remains part of that process. In addressing the benefits and disadvantages, I acknowledge that my approach selected is not without flaws. The index tools used have limitations that are detailed in the subsequent Findings chapter. I have implemented measures to mitigate these issues to the best of my ability. My objective is not a surface-level examination of the effectiveness or budgetary allocation of immigration policy. Instead, my aim is to draw parallels and bring to light the hidden properties that dictate government agendas, impacting the lived experience of often marginalized groups. Collecting strictly numerical data would not do my research justice and would be insufficient. The analysis of policy allows me to accumulate data I need. This methodology supports the vital coding that enables proper distinctions to be made from a plethora of sources. Qualitative research requires robust data collection techniques and the intimate detailing of the research procedure (Bowen, 2009). As a researcher, I feel I met these objectives in the justification of my usage regarding this particular methodology. Additionally, I have justified the practice of document analysis as a stand-alone method despite its typical usage as complement. The index tools used further strengthen my research and the resources that constitute my methodology support the development of impactful research to the field.

Chapter Five – Findings

I used various qualitative tools to assess the state of immigration-related policies in each of the three countries under comparison. My aim was to measure policies that integrate migrants as well as to understand governance and policy performance. Since Hungary, Sweden, and, Canada differ in many ways, I also relied on statistical evidence to explore the extent of nationalist reach in each country.

One key data source was the Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which measures policies that integrate migrants. The 2015 Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) was financed by the European Fund for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals, a portion of the European Union. The MIPEX promotes transparency through knowledge dissemination of migration policies. A comprehensive tool, the MIPEX scores and compares integration policy across 38 countries with the aim of improving policies in each nation. Each of the 38 countries in the MIPEX is evaluated across eight key policies areas: Access to Nationality, Health, Anti-Discrimination, Labour Market Mobility, Education, Permanent Residence, Family Reunion, and, Political Participation (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015).

These policy areas address larger sociological concerns about integration. Social integration refers to the process of newcomers or minorities becoming incorporated into a host society's social structure (Alba & Nee, 1997). Supportive social integration brings together people of various identities and differing ethnic groups without diminishing any group. The MIPEX measures legal frameworks that promote integration into the dominant society. The degree to which the policies assist, support or advocate for migrants is an indicator of migrant integration in a country. The MIPEX data I used is from 2015, the most recent publication date, and, it covers the period 2009 to 2014. The next release of the MIPEX dataset will cover 2014 to 2019 and was scheduled to be released at the end of 2020. Delays due to the COVID-19 pandemic have slowed its releases and the new data on Canada, Sweden, and, Hungary were not available at the time I was writing this thesis (Migration Policy Research Group, 2021).

The MIPEX uses a particular methodology to attribute scores, as well as thematize and configure results. The eight policy areas of the MIPEX are condensed from an array of 167 policy indicators related to migrant integration. A policy indicator is determined by the MIPEX to be a question for which there are three options. A maximum of three points is awarded to an indicator when policies are perceived to have met the highest standards for equal treatment. Scores are compiled from the eight policy areas and averaged to obtain what the MIPEX refers to as a “dimension score.” Each policy area has four dimension scores. Dimension scores for each nation are averaged to obtain the overall rankings. This rigorous scoring permits cross-country comparisons.

The MIPEX is a beneficial tool for the study of migration and integration policy. It condenses and standardizes data, scoring the finished product in a digestible format to facilitate comparisons. The efficiency of the MIPEX tool is its capacity to synthesize qualitative and quantitative data into a cohesive format. This feature was of substantial benefit to my research project. As helpful as it is, there are limitations to the MIPEX. One structural issue is that the 38 nations are evaluated on a select number of indicators. The tool is thus restricted to the data used by the index. A second issue is time lag. The 2015 report provides only snapshots, a glimpse of trends nations underwent in that time period in comparison to previous years’ scores. Because the central focus of MIPEX is migrant integration policy analysis, immigration policy is not a primary concern. The MIPEX reveals upward or downward trends; it functions optimally as a guide, however, the index itself does not make inferences. The MIPEX does provide some contextual factors but stops short of linking areas together. The ability to decipher correlation between anti-discrimination protections in a nation and migrants’ access to nationality is a task for the researcher.

I selected three MIPEX themes for comparison across Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden: Political Participation, Access to Nationality, and, Anti-discrimination. Each nation was scored on predetermined dimensions and supported with standardized values to draw clearer inferences. The overall rankings of each country ranged from a score of 1 to 38, with lower scores indicating

more progressive and inclusive policies. In the overall ranking, Canada scored sixth, Hungary earned twenty-third place, and, Sweden came out on top with first place. The overall MIPEX values score is out of 100. On total MIPEX values, the countries ranked in order were Sweden (78), Canada (68), and, Hungary (45). MIPEX value scores within each category are ranked out of 38 possible points. The smaller the score in the sub-category, the better that nation is doing in that area.

Table 1: Overall MIPEX category rank for each country

	Canada	Hungary	Sweden
Access to Nationality	8	31	2
Political Participation	20	27	7
Anti-discrimination	1	7	5

Access to Nationality

Nationality within the Canadian context reinforces the value of citizenship, asserting it as part of its traditional integration model, scoring 8 out of 38. Reforms in 2012 and 2014 made it harder for those with permanent residence status to obtain citizenship. Canada actively seeks to bring immigrants into the nation but fails to construct a citizenship process that is reasonable and without ample barriers. The parameters surrounding immigration in Canada were introduced by the former Conservative government led by Stephen Harper (Ibbitson, 2014). Despite the Liberal Party holding power since 2015, there have been no moves towards removing barriers or softening restrictions regarding immigration. The Liberal government strongly supports bringing

immigrants to Canada. However, the prominence of the Liberal Party's support without the augmentation of the existing policies harms a greater number of immigrants than it helps. An extra year was added to the naturalization process, extending the eligibility for permanent residents to apply to four out of six years. Canada has developed professional tests for citizenship. The Canadian government added a proof of language requirement in 2012. The costs associated with citizenship as well as the language barriers are active measures that prohibit low-income families and people from being able to apply. A requirement for good character was added in 2014, and the overall costs of the examination increased. Each amendment to the citizenship process illustrates the hurdles immigrants must pass through to prove themselves worthy. The reforms of 2012 and 2014 reinforced the value of Canadian citizenship to ensure new citizens were "better prepared to assume the responsibilities of citizenship and have a strong attachment to Canada" (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). The language implies strong attachment, loyalty, and, devotion to the state.

The MIPEx found immigrants and their Hungarian-born descendants were not encouraged to become Hungarian citizens, earning the country 31 out of 38 giving it a highly negative score on this particular measure. Almost half the non-EU citizens within Hungary have lived there past the length of time to qualify for citizenship. Hungary offers one of the most generous supports to citizenship for ethnic Hungarians regardless of where they reside. These supports are more generous than the ones given to others who are not ethnically Hungarian. This gives preferential naturalization processes to individuals based solely on ethnicity. Ethnic nationalism is at the forefront of Hungary's integration policies, most visible in policies related to nationality access. Hungary requires eight years of long-term residence, the longest de facto criteria among MIPEx countries. An additional restriction is that children born and schooled in Hungary are not immediately granted Hungarian citizenship. Legal barriers prevent full involvement in the legal process. Applicants who are rejected are not told why they were unsuccessful nor are they able to appeal rejections. This is in sharp contrast to 31 other MIPEx countries who do give rejected applicants feedback and the right to appeal. Since 2011, applicants can no longer be rejected on the basis of being "against the national interest" (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). The continued presence of a right-wing populist government suggests that the removal of the "against national interest" clause was not beneficial

to immigrants. Hungary's restrictive naturalization policy deters most non-EU residents from beginning the application process.

The trajectory of citizenship in Sweden is a clear path to beneficial integration outcomes. Sweden received a ranking of 2 out of 38. Permanent residents in Sweden are legally entitled to a secure citizenship and dual nationality after five years of residency; refugees and stateless persons are given four years (Migrationsverket, 2020). Citizenship in Sweden is granted through the *jus sanguinis* model and bases citizenship primarily on being born to a Swedish parent. New citizens are granted the same security as those who are Swedish-born, strengthening newcomer integration. A condition of Swedish citizenship is a good character requirement. The state determines what comprises good character using the Swedish populace as the default. Despite these conditions, the pathway to citizenship (and by extension, nationality) is relatively barrier-free.

Political Participation

Canada's liberal approach to immigration policy earned it 20 of a possible 38 points in political participation policies that support migrants. In Canada, the naturalization rate is 86.2 percent (Hou & Picot, 2019). Immigrants to Canada are actively encouraged to make civic contributions. There are elements of political participation that are easier to measure and count such as statistics related to citizenship uptake or voting numbers. The more subjective elements of political participation are substantially more difficult to measure. Questions related to whether the political party supports certain immigrants' identities, their values, or religious beliefs are elements of political participation that are just as important but cannot be as easily measured. The Canadian integration model presupposes all immigrants will take the necessary steps towards citizenship and become voters in the democratic process. Troublingly, the Canadian immigration model fails to consider those immigrants who are long-time settled but who, for a variety of reasons, are not citizens. These individuals are unable to participate in processes that directly impact their livelihood.

Most Western European and Oceania nations permit permanent or long-settled residents to at least vote in local elections, if not in higher-level elections. The province of British Columbia is attempting to bring voting rights to permanent or long-settled residents (Martisius, 2019). However, voting rights in Canada are considered a federal concern and in order to have success with this initiative, all Canadian provinces and territories would need to join British Columbia in this advocacy. The MIPEX suggested the Canadian political participation immigration model should ensure either local democracy voting rights to immigrants or to implement consultative bodies for them. Essentially, the Canadian model fails to support immigrants' political participation before they become citizens because they are prevented from true political participation prior to acquiring citizenship—a weakness in Canada's ability to support newcomers. The absence of immigrant consultative bodies means a lack of visibility and inclusion for immigrants in their new environment.

Hungary's conservative approach to immigration policy earned it 27 out of 38 points in policies supporting migrants' political participation. The average naturalization rate in Hungary is 0.33 percent (Eurostat, 2019). The MIPEX noted Hungary has a considerably weak policy when compared to other European nations but the score itself does not make the nation an anomaly among central European countries. The current immigration policy in Hungary has developed a system where migrant and immigrant positionality is not advantageous. Immigrants are not consulted, informed, or supported in Hungary's integration policies. In Hungary, non-EU residents have few means to engage in political participation. Hungary restricts basic liberties, denying foreign residents in 2012 the right to hold office. Foreign residents do not receive representation from consultative bodies, and local and national authorities have not explored dedicating resources to these enterprises. The country has used Hungarian citizenship to expand its democratic community, registering an estimated 60 percent of non-EU residents as Hungarian citizens in 2012 (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). However, naturalization in Hungary is not a viable option for those immigrants without ethnic Hungarian ancestry, and they must also pass national knowledge and language examinations.

Sweden's social democratic model of governance earned it high marks in all 8 policy

areas, earning 7 out of a possible 38 points in its implementation and execution of migrant political participation policies. Sweden's naturalization rate is 7.6 percent according to OECD statistics (OECD, 2015). Sweden is the most inclusive democracy for long-settled non-EU immigrants, according to MIPEX. There are few non-EU adults who do not meet the minimum requirement to participate in local voting rights (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). Sweden's policy allows non-EU citizens to stand for local office after three years of legal residency, after which they can also vote locally and regionally. The Swedish government funds the Cooperation Group for Ethnical Associations in Sweden (SIOS), in addition to other immigrant organizations. The Swedish integration model gives immigrants the platform to advocate for themselves, become visible and, is a primary reason for the high levels of immigrant political participation. Where Sweden falls short is in its inclusion of immigrants in national and local dialogue structures; were immigrants given greater inclusion, their integration in Swedish politics would be heightened.

Anti-discrimination

Anti-discrimination policies in Canada are guided by a human rights perspective. Implementation of equity programs earned Canada a 1 out of 38, the top score among the three nations I examined in this thesis. Federal, provincial, and, territorial human rights codes protect against discrimination. Individuals are broadly protected from discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, race, religion, and, nationality. A weakness of Canadian anti-discrimination policy is inadequate victim access to procedures and class actions are not universal across provinces. Authorities in Canada promote public campaigns that combat discrimination and racism. One positive action taken by the Canadian government is the Federal Internship for Newcomers Program, a program to recruit immigrants in federal departments, agencies, and, private organizations.

Comparatively, Hungary has weak policies when it comes to equality, but the country nevertheless achieved a score of 7 out of 38. Six percent of people in Hungary (2012) felt that they had recently been subject to ethnic (4.8%) and/or religious (1.4%) discrimination. Victims of nationality discrimination, ethnic profiling, or discrimination based on assumed characteristics have some legal protections in Hungary. Victims receive limited protections in the private sector.

State equality policies fail to do an extensive job informing the public about anti-discrimination laws. An increase in public awareness led to more victims coming forward with complaints in 2012 and 2013, and as a result, stronger sanctions have since been imposed. To the detriment of the current system, not all complaints are followed through to the full extent of the law. A major factor in reporting is that those without Hungarian roots are not naturalized and are unlikely to report incidents of discrimination, rendering the policies ineffective.

In Sweden, those who experience discrimination are aware of their rights and have viable avenues to pursue protection measures, obtaining a score of 5 out of 38. 2.5 percent of people in Sweden felt that they had been discriminated against or harassed in 2012 based on their ethnic origin (1.4%) and/or religion and beliefs (1.2%). In Sweden, more NGOs exist to support victims and courts award higher damages. These two measures compensate victims and deter future perpetrators from engaging in such practices. Persons are largely protected against forms of discrimination in all areas of life within Sweden. High levels of trust in the police and justice system have led to an increase in reporting. Even with increased enforcement trust, non-reporting is a concern; the Swedish government is working to find resolution to the issue of non-reporting.

Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) provide evidence-based analyses to score EU and OECD nations' performance across Policy Performance, Democracy and Governance. SGI data is obtained through a cross-national survey. The survey is administered to 41 EU and OECD countries. The comparisons made by SGI data encourages innovation in governance, benefiting all nations. The role of governments according to the SGI is the introduction, adaptation and deployment of policies to address societal challenges. The cross-national comparative survey is designed to identify and foster success in effective policymaking, exploring how governments target sustainable development. Each nation receives a score from zero to ten that corresponds with a description of how effectively the nation's policies support migrant integration.

Canada received a score of 9 from the SGI 2019 Integration Report. Policies in Canada support the integration of migrants into Canadian society. At the time, Canada received approximately 250,000 immigrants per year (Sustainable Governance Indicators, 2019). An

examination of cultural, educational, and, social policies in Canada included language training and orientation courses. The SGI Integration Report commends Canada's implementation of language and orientation courses to aid in immigrant integration, though such programming is not universal across the country. Immigration and citizenship are facilitated by the federal government, and immigrants encounter vastly different experiences across each province. A lack of uniformity in provincial programming leads to inconsistent immigrant integration. As such, newcomers are dependent on their settlement province's proactivity.

The SGI Integration Report finds immigrants to Canada have among the highest educational attainment in the world (Sustainable Governance Indicators, 2019). Canadian immigration uses a point system; applicants are awarded additional points based on education level as well as work experience and language skills. The higher the education level of an applicant, the more favourably the application is viewed. Individuals with high education are seen by Canada as investments in the country's economic future. However, Canada's point system unfairly disadvantages those with low formal education and presents them as unsuitable applicants. Another caution is that the current Canadian education institutions are incapable of transferring and validating foreign educational attainment seamlessly. Newcomers are often required to redo their education prior to working in Canada. Recent immigrants to Canada have increasing education levels but decreasing earnings, due in part to the devaluation of foreign education and work experience (Buzdugan & Halli, 2018). The labour market integration of immigrants is impeded by credential recognition barriers, immigrant urban concentration, and, language barriers. The policies in Canada have weaknesses as demonstrated by the relatively poor labour market performance of recent immigrants when compared to immigrants' high rate of return to their countries of origin (Sustainable Governance Indicators, 2019). Despite Canada's high integration scores there is still significant work to be done. If the current issues are not addressed, Canada risks building a system that may collapse internally.

The current Hungarian political climate, coupled with the ongoing displacement of persons due to war, famine, and, humanitarian crises, has influenced the central European nation. The displacement has highlighted that Hungary is primarily a country of transition; few migrants

make the decision to stay. This is due to the government's approach to immigration, citizenship, and, naturalization. Hungary has a fragile economy and relatively low wages, neither of which is a draw for those seeking refuge from statelessness. The Hungarian government is led by President Viktor Orbán. Viktor Orbán was President of the Fidesz party from 1998 to 2002. The Orbán government is well-versed in government-orchestrated xenophobia, a deterrent in newcomers' settlement to shift Hungarians' understanding of national identity. The Orbán government vehemently refused to facilitate the integration of non-Europeans and non-Christians, branding them a danger to national culture and identity (SGI, 2019). Barriers to newcomers explain why the SGI has attributed a score of 3 to Hungary. This score is detrimental for Hungary; the SGI score reflects the lack of integration policies identified by MIPEX. The absence of integration policies impacts Hungary across other indexes. The well-being of immigrants is a low-level priority for the government. This approach creates a self-fulfilling prophecy for immigration. The same individuals who are seen as a drain on society are not given the resources they need, creating a vicious circle of poverty, xenophobia, and, exclusion.

Receiving a score of 7, Sweden's social democratic approach to immigration still has ample room to improve. Swedish immigration policy is relatively generous and together with Germany, Sweden is regarded as one of the most immigration-friendly countries in Europe. Sweden has been the recipient of significant immigration from various humanitarian crises, predominantly the ongoing Syrian Civil War. Sweden offers permanent residency to unaccompanied children as well as Syrian families with children. Permanent residency was granted to 120,000 refugees from 2015 to 2017 (Sustainable Governance Indicators, 2019). Despite this generosity, these provisions are disputed in contemporary public discourse and parliament. The changing immigration climate challenges the Swedish model. Policies regarding newcomer integration are regionally implemented and include language training, supportive labour market policies, and, housing policies. Where Canada approaches immigrant integration at the provincial level, Sweden relies on local governments to facilitate immigrant integration. When educational attainment and employment are considered, immigrants in Sweden have a harder time integrating than immigrants in similar nations. Where Sweden is experiencing issues in its implementation is that there reside unaccounted-for barriers in the integration of

immigrants which the integration policies do not effectively address. This short-term phenomenon could develop into longer-lasting issues for the country as it implements integration policies.

Nationalism Construction

Nationalism must have a host nation because without the nation, nationalism cannot occupy space. The first ideological conception of the nation was identified in the eighteenth century in the transpiring of two significant revolutions (Anderson, 2002). The first revolution was the North American colonies' rebellion against Britain; the second was the loosening of absolutism's grip on France. The colonization of Indigenous people by Canada could be considered the third revolution. The central act of colonization was the forcible displacement of First Nations people; this is central to Canada's history, creation, and, its present-day foundation of systemic racism. These catalysts created a nation tethered to political rationale; to be in defense of the nation meant allegiance to political ideologies.

The birth of the nation was framed by the experience of common reason becoming pitted against tradition. The definition of the nation is rooted in the conception of governing politics. The nation was created by citizen mobilization toward the building of a novel community. A nation's influence on the people is deeply perverse; its mere existence alters internal understandings of community, social relations, and, identity. Anderson (1983) stated in *Imagined Communities* that members of a nation will not have exposure to all members but in their minds resides conscious consideration of shared communion. Anderson believes that from the nation springs nationhood, whole imagined communities and the nationalist ideology which facilitates governance.

Canada

Canada's origin and role are unique, due to both its inception and geography. For millennia before European colonization, Canada was exclusively populated by Indigenous

peoples. Indigenous peoples developed extensive trade networks, social organizations, and, spiritual beliefs that were encroached upon and dismantled by Europeans. After colonization took hold, Canada made itself dispensable to its allies, particularly during both World Wars. In World War I, Canada's involvement fostered British-Canadian nationhood. In World War II, the Canadian Army was involved in a host of battles that earned the country recognition for its efforts alongside the Allied Forces. Following the conflicts, Canada experienced prosperity as it began to build and sustain its reputation. In the 1960s, under Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau, Canadian immigration policy was amended, extending opportunities to immigrants from all continents, regardless of ethnicity, by removing the ethnic "adaptability" clause. During Trudeau's term, multiculturalism was adopted as the official Canadian policy. However, adopting a policy and ensuring that such policy is enacted are entirely separate practices.

Before the World War II, immigration was a tool to strengthen the nation. Canada engaged in exclusionary policy. Population homogeneity was the primary objective, which is why Canada indoctrinated discriminatory, racist policies via its immigration framework. Canada discouraged non-European immigrants from settling through various practices, such as making it difficult for minority women to gain entrance to Canada to disrupt family reunification (Kallen, 2010). Shortly after, the Canadian government reworked existing immigration policy in 1967, removing parameters founded in racial bias. The points-based system heavily emphasizes human capital in the allocation of points (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014) and accounts for over 60% of all migrants entering the country. On the surface, Canada's immigration policy supports its long-prophesized objective of encouraging heterogeneity amongst its people. However, it is important to note that Canada's immigration policy is rooted in the ideal of the benefit immigrants bring to the Canadian economy, environment, culture, and, social sphere. Thobani (2000) notes that the system facilitating the promotion of "good" immigrants into Canada creates a barrier. This means immigrants are automatically held to a standard of productivity upon entering the country.

Canada has long prided itself as being a global example of multiculturalism, boasting a foreign-born population of 21.9 percent (Statistics Canada, 2016). As Canada's multiculturalism has grown it has been met with resistance from a portion of the population who identifies as

“true Canadians.” These individuals hold beliefs that the Canadian identity is undermined by multiculturalism. Some claim that the ‘Canadian identity’ has been eroded due to immigration (Abedi, 2019). Canada’s nationalism is peculiar, as it directly contrasts what Gordon Allport (1954) proposed in the contact hypothesis. Allport theorized that prejudice reduction occurred when groups were forced to interact. The reason the contact hypothesis seemingly fails in Canada is that contact does not occur under optimal conditions. There must be equal status, shared goals, authority sanction, and, the absence of competition between the groups (Pettigrew & Troop, 2006).

Many critics of immigration in Canada allege that immigrants take jobs from Canadians, a claim not substantiated by fact. More accurately, newcomers fill positions that have been long left vacant by Canadians. Further, because the unemployment rate for newcomers is higher than for Canadian-born residents, the allegation of competition is not sound. Despite the faulty rhetoric, there are increasing demands that Canada tighten its already stringent approach to immigration. Individuals who feel they are “true Canadians” feel that newcomer identities alter established principles. Where individuals feel threatened by newcomers, immigration and immigration policy cannot thrive. The double bind is that if immigrants are successful, then they are seen as taking from Canadians; if they operate below par, they are viewed as an economic drain. As immigration and migration become more commonplace topics in life, so too do contentious attitudes towards them.

Presently, Canada is moving away from the human capital model of immigration and instead choosing to address specific labour market needs. The Express Entry program was introduced in 2015, allowing employers and provincial/territorial governments to select immigrants to better meet the needs of local labour markets. Similarly, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) encourages provinces and/or territories to nominate an individual for immigration to Canada with the condition that they reside in the nominating province/territory. The individual can use their skills to contribute to the economy of the nominating province or territory.

Hungary

The central European nation of Hungary has a storied history. Hungarian nationalism began in the early nineteenth century, inspired by the Enlightenment and Romantic eras. Nationalism grew during this period (1825-1848), with an intensified focus on the use and dissemination of Magyar, the Hungarian language. Language, Gellner notes, is a principal catalyst for nationalism (Minogue, 2001). Magyar replaced Latin as the official state language and set the tone for nationalist practices in the following years.

The end of WWI meant significant territory loss for Hungary due to the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy by the Central Powers. As a result, 70 percent of territory from the Kingdom of Hungary was lost. The lives of 437,402 Jewish Hungarians were lost to Nazism during the 1944 occupation. Between 1944 and 1949, Hungary transitioned to Communism, signed the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1947, suffered further territorial loss, and was forced to relinquish all terrain obtained from 1938 to 1941. To this day, Hungary remains drastically reduced in size.

The Orbán government was concerned with a narrative of Hungarian victimhood. Hungarian history was presented as a series of catastrophes wherein Hungary and its people were victims. The Fidesz party win in 2010 marked the beginning of an intense nationalist agenda. The Hungarian government engages in myth creation to lay blame on an imagined other, encouraging civilian rhetoric to do the same. Orbán has built his career on the idea that multiculturalism is a threat to Hungarian sanctity. Orbán and his party are fervent in their pursuit of restrictive, regulatory legislation to deter immigrants from entering the homogenous Christian state. The process of becoming a naturalized Hungarian citizen has become much more difficult since Orbán took office. In 2011, ethnic Hungarians were automatically granted naturalization. Ethnic lineage was more highly preferred than any other factor, regardless of whether an individual actually resided in Hungary or not. This advanced naturalization process means that 95 percent of new Hungarian citizens are ethnic Hungarians. In comparison, foreign residents require 12 years of residency and consistent, stringent citizenship testing to qualify for naturalization (Tóth, 2013). Strategic rejection of all that is non-native is a key feature of

Hungarian values championed as important for the function of society, particularly now that far-right populism governs. Each year extreme government bodies remain in power, their agenda is strengthened and further validated.

Despite its intricate scheme to prevent potential immigrants from entering, Hungary remains a country of transience. Individuals who enter Hungary are making their way to other countries, such as Germany, that better serve their interests. In spite of this fact, the Hungarian government feeds the narrative that immigrant bodies sow discord within the established community. Migrants are positioned as a threat to economic agency, Hungarian jobs, and, Hungarian livelihoods; migrant bodies are feared to have the capacity to rupture a precariously peaceful environment (Thorleifsson, 2017). Agamben (2005) noted that states have unprecedented power in the act of policing borders under the guise of securitization. Border policing dictates which bodies are valid.

Hungary's approach to immigration is founded in nationalistic desire to create a state in which the sovereignty and culture of Hungarians are protected. The current Hungarian government firmly believes liberal principles are detrimental to national prosperity. This approach normalizes intolerance at the institutional level. Orbán openly denounced multiculturalism as a valid national strategy, stating that the intermixing of different creeds on a "mass scale" was wholly unfavourable (Dunai, 2015). The Hungarian prime minister applauds autocracies such as those of China, Russia, Singapore, and, Turkey, heralding them as successful models that Hungary could emulate (Gorondi, 2014). Zygmunt Bauman (2004) reflected that bodies of refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and, the undocumented are conceptualized to be human waste and an outcome of modernity. These lives provide Hungary no intrinsic value and therefore should be expelled.

Nationalism is the guiding principle for Hungarian policy. All policy is curated to only support Hungarian people and their blood descendants. Orbán's government has tied the worth of citizens to state preservation. Orbán's party, Fidesz, places the nation as central, encouraging the

focus to remain on the institution of the state (Horváth et al., 2011). The party is heavily invested in a homogenous Hungarian nation with appropriate cultural, ethnic, and, religious values. Hungary is a significant example of how nationalism directly impacts policy—chiefly immigration policy—within states. Hungary does not seek multiculturalism or diversity because the nation believes those strategies and ideals negatively impact state identity.

In 2015, the Hungarian government launched an aggressive anti-immigration campaign. The central messages were that immigration and terrorism are connected, that immigration results in labour market layoffs, and that immigration increases the crime rate (Sík et al., 2016). The tri-partite anti-immigration campaign was tied to themes of culture, security, and, economy. The state utilized Goffman's framing theory to promote the notion that immigrants pose a fundamental threat to national integrity. Hungary is not an immigration nation; the state does not have an evidence to support its anti-immigration rhetoric. Fidesz strategically brought immigration to the fore as a scare tactic to secure votes. The institution sets the tone, pace, and, parameters for discussions of immigration.

The Hungarian state maintains that it can revitalize itself without migration. The government has begun to prosecute those who aid migrants, halting NGO and resource centre work (Human Rights Watch, 2018). "We do not want to see any sizable minority with different cultural characteristics and backgrounds among ourselves," Orbán stated in a nationally televised interview following the 2015 *Charlie Hebdo* terrorist attacks in Paris. He added, "We would like to keep Hungary as the country of Hungarians" (Bocskor, 2018). The Hungarian government would rather finance the return of ethnic migrants than permit them an opportunity to settle in Hungary. Immigration is kept low due to a variety of factors, including the lack of a national immigration strategy, an issue that was not addressed until 2013 (Hárs & Sík, 2008). Inadequate immigration policy coupled with rampant xenophobia does not make Hungary an attractive nation for migration. Hungary's conception of statehood and identity are dramatically one dimensional, convinced that ethnic identity is key to the nation's integrity. Immigrants are portrayed as the other, the unknown, and, the lawless. For this reason, these individuals are

received with resentment. They are portrayed as irredeemable, making them prime targets for scapegoating.

Sweden

The northern European nation of Sweden has a different history than other European countries. During WWI and WWII, Sweden exercised armed neutrality, focusing on forging relationships with other nations. In the decades that followed WWII, the Swedish welfare state developed through collaborative efforts of Swedish labour leaders, politicians, and, the working classes. At the height of the European Migration Shift, often called the European Migration Crisis, Sweden was receiving more newcomers per capita than all other EU countries (Foreign Policy, 2016). Certain political parties in Sweden used this influx, coupled with Swedes' desire for law and order, to put forth anti-immigrant discourse.

Sweden is often regarded as the archetype of a fully developed and generous welfare state. The Social Democratic party currently holds power in Sweden, with the Sweden Democrats as their official parliamentary opposition since 2010. The Sweden Democrats (SD) have an anti-immigration agenda, arguing that immigration is detrimental to state integrity (Kobierecka, 2017). Originally, anti-immigration parties like SD emphasized ethnicity in their nationalist rhetoric. Their current approach has shifted from collectivist/ethnic to collectivist/civic nationalism, emphasizing non-negotiable cultural assimilation to achieve citizenship or full membership in the Swedish nation (Åberg, 2019).

Sweden's immigration policy was structured to address the needs of immigrants and to prioritize refugees (Naurin & Öhberg, 2014). The Swedish government argued this was humane action to help individuals fleeing persecution and oppression. By offering more protection than required by international agreements, Sweden solidified its national reputation as a selfless contributor. Despite the generosity—or because of it—concerns over integration grew as neighbourhoods and suburbs began to segregate. Certain suburbs were comprised of a

homogenous ethnic group; entire schools had no children with Swedish as a mother tongue (Naurin & Öhberg, 2014). Such segregation creates ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves of minorities can sever cross-cultural interactions, making social cohesion difficult. Multiculturalism requires depth and introspection beyond granting individuals access to spaces within nations. Active integration of immigrants is required in multiculturalism, and mere passive acceptance without genuine meaning can lead to segregation.

The SD share of votes increased during the 2018 Swedish election, and the Social Democratic party saw its most disappointing numbers in over a century. As immigration became a more prevalent discussion, nationalist platforms were able to push far-right rhetoric. Swedish immigration policy has shifted and become more restrictive since the SD party's parliamentary introduction. Additionally, Sweden has received the majority of those who are experiencing displacement during the European Migration Shift, another reason why Sweden's immigration policy has significantly changed (Skodo, 2017). After 2015, Sweden introduced tighter border controls and made asylum laws more restrictive. These measures were developed to reduce the number of asylum seekers arriving in the country and to mitigate strain on the system. In 2016, a further restrictive law limited the access of asylum seekers and their family members to residence permits. Asylum seekers also lost their right to assistance if they were refused entry or were ordered expelled. Swedish immigration legislation actively discourages individuals from seeking asylum in Sweden

In recent decades, Swedish discourse has centered ethno-nationalism, with calls to "take back" the country in response to a perceived loss of sovereignty (Bhambra, 2017). The decline of Sweden's golden age increases the country's heterogeneity. The lack of cohesion and challenges to Swedish culture are central to the justification that non-European migration is the main social threat to Swedish identity (Elgenius and Rydgren, 2019). The Social Democratic party halted migrants at its borders in 2015, citing increased terrorism threat as the reason (Kärman, 2015). Mass migration is viewed as disruptive to the established understanding of Swedish identity and nationhood. Policy counter migration is centered on securitization of land and identity.

Theorists have speculated that Sweden's susceptibility to nationalism is due to Swedish exceptionalism, which created an idealized state (Ericson, 2018). Ericson argues that the image of Sweden as an exceptionally modern, secular, equal society legitimates initiatives of securitization, nationalistic protectionism, and, the normalization of xenophobia. By lobbying against anything that can threaten the idealized image of Sweden, nationalist policy is the most viable option to combat threat.

Aside from threats of terrorism there are concerns regarding immigrants' ability to adopt traditional Swedish values. Language courses and education classes in Sweden are geared toward improving an immigrant's ability to become integrated. Despite these government-mandated courses, certain groups in Sweden continue to experience high levels of discrimination and xenophobia. Immigrants from Muslim countries are often singled out as particularly threatening to Swedish values, alleged to be the least compatible with Swedish traditions and least inclined towards assimilation (Zaslove, 2004). The Sweden Democrat party has grown over the decades as national identity becomes more widely discussed. National identity is an anchor that gives individual access to social domains based on ethnic validation. Right-wing parties pair national identity threat with falsely framing immigration as correlating with increased crime, thereby defining an effective framework of anti-immigration rhetoric (Elgenius & Rydgren, 2019). According to Elgenius and Rydgren, the increased presence of the Sweden Democrats has infused Swedish politics with ethnic nationalist discourse.

This chapter addressed the influence of nationalism in each country. Using the MIPEX and SGI quantitative tools helped to strengthen my inferences. The MIPEX provided insight into the migrant integration policies in each nation, revealing that all three countries are proponents of nationalism to varying degrees. The MIPEX provided rankings of each nation and highlighted that the existence of a migration policy does not directly translate to said policy being effective. Standardized scoring provided by the MIPEX helped me to evaluate each country accurately and fairly. The SGI addresses the effectiveness of policymaking decisions by OECD and EU nations.

Incorporating SGI findings kept my research informed on the current policy standing of each country of analysis. I delved into the history of Canada, Hungary, and, Sweden independently to highlight how nationalism was introduced, promoted, and, sustained in each nation. It is not possible to fully address the phenomenon of nationalism by excluding the historical context. The tools, literature, and, inferences made in this chapter serve to strengthen my conclusion.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

Nationalism is often portrayed as an age-old practice, experienced in outlier nations who are tumultuous states. Yet the research I have conducted makes it evident that nationalist ideology is widespread amongst the world's leading nations. Nationalism impacts immigration policy and fosters nationalistic ideals. No country is beyond its influence. I have presented evidence showing how Canada, Hungary, and, even Sweden sustain nationalism, detailing the elements of nationalism within each country's immigration policy and showing nationalism's impact on certain ethnic groups' lived experiences. Nationalism must not be minimized, as it is far too influential. In my research, I address nationalism as a pervasive, entrenched phenomenon that states actively indoctrinate. In a globalized world which is growing exponentially more diverse, nationalism remains a cause for concern.

Kohn (1944) argued that each of the four forms of nationalism is damaging. Civic nationalism is tethered to state interest and status. Be it devotion to war or ways of belonging, civic nationalism thrives in a solid, impenetrable state. Ethnic nationalism operates solely via ethnicity to determine which ethnic identity can access nationhood. Civic nationalism is validated through the performance of duties, while ethnic nationalism is contingent on biological characteristics. Religious nationalism uses religion to govern, making national belonging synonymous with religious affiliation. Occurring in a small number of countries in the world, religious nationalism exhibits zero tolerance towards religious deviations; unity is paramount (Omer & Springs, 2013). Lastly, ideological nationalism emphasizes the functional properties of a nation. A nation's power is manifested through the political institution. All forms of nationalism have precise viewpoints that hamper their ability to visualize other, perhaps more sustainable avenues.

My research methodology was presented in Chapter Four, where the rationale for its selection and the insights brought were further explained. To ensure my analysis of each country's immigration policy was extensive, I employed additional methods to strengthen

results. By employing document analysis, I was able to draw more explicit inferences from the data. Document analysis coding allowed me to produce a more intensive study of the documentation that met my criteria needs. This thesis relied upon documents published between 2000 and 2020. Coding allowed for categorical theming of elements, keeping the focus centered and permitting more developed interpretations.

My research utilized secondary quantitative data. The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) provides analysis of EU and OECD nations to assess how their policies aid in migrant integration. The MIPEX provided validated statistics on the impact and effectiveness of integration policy. By studying the MIPEX, I was able to distinguish between those nations making conscious, concentrated efforts and those who were developing policy without careful consideration. In tandem with the MIPEX, I consulted the Integration Report on integration policy by Bertelsmann Stiftung. The Sustainable Governance Indicators (SGI) provided by the policy report cross-reference policy performance in EU and OECD nations. The SGI directly measures the effectiveness of government policy. The SGI model states that good governance and sustainable development are interconnected principles. The three pillars of evidence-based SGI analysis are democracy, policy performance, and, governance. The evaluation of these pillars scores each country out of ten. Both the MIPEX and SGI indexes synthesize qualitative and quantitative data. The qualitative and quantitative research methods used in my research strengthen the inferences I made.

Ernest Gellner's work provides the theoretical framework for my research. *Thought and Change* (1964) offers theoretical insights into how nationalism influences immigration policy. Gellner addressed modernity, arguing that historical renovations supported the rise of nationalism. Nationalism manifests when a society requires a pliable labour force. This condition for nationalism means it can exist in any nation, no matter how the nation conducts itself. Each nation's history significantly influences the nationalism perpetuated through the governance system and immigration policy structure. Nationalism becomes critical to the nation's progress and status. The political institutions derived from nationalism are self-serving, uphold

nationalism. and justify the nationalist institution. Following Gellner, I argue that dismantling nationalism requires a deep, intense reconfiguration of societal institutions.

My recommendation is that nations must ensure multiculturalism is a fully developed concept prior to the introduction of integration policy and programming. Integration policy that is incorrectly implemented has the potential to do more harm than good. Incorrect application of multiculturalism policies can exacerbate social dissolution as opposed to facilitating social cohesion. Significant depth and introspection are required when crafting policy to address the needs of migrants and newcomers. Policies largely determine whether immigrants settle permanently, become voters, or pursue citizenship (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). Barriers to access stifle policy from being truly inclusive or multicultural.

States must address integration policy with exceptional care. The trickle-down effect of poor policy implementation can strain not just individuals, but the nation as well. For example, negative lived experiences of those facing logistical barriers in obtaining citizenship could result in their disconnection from their new country. This can lead to decreased participation in societal programming. Each nation in the MIPLEX has integration policies in place for migrants but earns staggeringly different scores regarding their effectiveness. Making an enterprise available does not directly translate to its success. My research reveals that substantial work is needed in the field of integration policies for migrants and newcomers in many nations. More consideration should be given to the welfare of integration policy and program recipients.

The current global attitude regarding migration and immigrants is fraught, emotionally charged, and, utilized as a political bargaining chip. In recent years, far-right parties with anti-immigration platforms have been highly successful in North America and Europe. Mainstream parties have become threatened, and in some instances far-right parties have been elected with relative ease. Overall, public perception towards immigration within Europe varies and remains generally uninformed (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). In 2012, two-thirds of Europeans thought immigrants should be granted equal rights. Only two years later in 2014,

attitudes toward non-EU immigrants changed drastically with 57 percent of EU residents admitting that non-EU immigration evoked “negative feelings” (Migration Policy Research Group, 2015). The European Migration Shift has put the permeability of borders at the forefront of nations and their citizens. Globalization has given sovereign states the ability to alter geographical boundaries as extensions of state ideology. Such state ideology manifests as a nationalist enterprise, negatively impacting individuals’ lived experiences. A balance must be struck quickly as the criminalization of immigrants continues to occur across the world, including among Western powers. The phenomenon of nationalism is rooted in power and coercion to achieve an end, be it through the nation, the citizens, or the institutions.

Despite my best efforts, there are questions regarding integration policy and nationalism that I was unable to answer. I was unable to answer how integration policies impact the genders differently. Women make up just under half of the international migrant population (United Nations, 2019). Integration policies impact women and men differently due to the social and cultural roles the different genders play. In my research, I was not able to investigate how nationalism and integration policies impact the lived experiences of women and men differently. Additionally, I was unable to provide more detailed answers to how family structures are impacted by ineffective integration policies. The family performs a number of essential functions in society. Integration policies can disrupt and alter the fundamentals of family if implemented incorrectly. These two topics, gender and family, are research areas that I plan to delve into in the future. The research I have conducted provides extensive analysis in the broader component of integration policy and nationalism research, however, there is more work to be done and I hope to complete such work soon.

Each country studied can implement a number of measures to foster a greater sense of belonging in their immigrant populations. Canada heralds itself as a multicultural, diverse, and, welcoming nation but in terms of facilitating a sense of belonging, there are concrete ways for the country to improve. In order to foster a sense of belonging, Canada can begin with removing barriers that invalidate foreign education credentials. By allowing foreign education credentials to be transferred, newcomers will be able to work towards contributing to the Canadian economy

through employment. This will also allow newcomers to earn a living to begin their new life, feel part of the Canadian populace, and, offset the economic barriers related to permanent residency and citizenship. Canada would benefit from moving away from the use of second-generation and third-generation when referring to the kin of immigrants. The use of these terms for statistical reasons can be justified, however, in Canada where 21.5% of the population is foreign-born, the continued use of these terms serves to other individuals. Canada must ensure that individuals feel they belong in the nation through appropriate terminology.

Hungary can foster a stronger sense of belonging amongst immigrants by moving away from the continued rhetoric that immigration is a threat. If Hungary put forth the narrative that immigration has the potential to strengthen the country by providing additional perspectives, cultures and ways of knowing, sense of belonging would increase. The current social and political environment in Hungary are chiefly to blame for the divisiveness regarding immigration. Changing the social and political environments are not easy and will require substantial, conscious, and, sustained practice in order for it to last. I do not believe that the current Hungarian political party is capable of fostering a genuine sense of belonging in Hungary's immigrant population. For this reason, moving away from a right-wing populist government would be the country's first impactful step to fostering a sense of belonging. A change to a more open-minded government will benefit Hungary and its immigrants greatly.

Sweden has had a long-running public image of being the nation that is leagues ahead of all others. Through my research, I have shown that Sweden struggles as all other nations struggle; there is work to be done in Sweden to strengthen and foster a sense of belonging in Swedish immigrants. Immigrants to Sweden must undergo a rigorous culture and language process at their own expense. These government requirements delay Swedish immigrants' participation in the country, impacting their sense of belonging. Sweden also holds onto the notion that those who come to the country are expected to embrace traditional Swedish values. This narrative does not allow space for the existing cultural traits that immigrants bring with them. Effectively, the current Swedish narrative forces immigrants to choose embracing the new culture, as other cultures are not compatible. Moving away from this staunch rhetoric that

Swedish culture is the only culture permitted will foster a greater sense of belonging among Swedish immigrants. When individuals have their identity supported and represented in the social and political environment around them, they are more likely to feel connected to their country.

Erica Benner (1997) argues that we function better when we remove our rationalist thinking and see that the politics of nationality has merit. Benner is correct: nationalism should not be readily dismissed. Nationalism constructs whole identities and alters the conceptions of individuals in remarkable ways. Nationalism could be harnessed to foster cohesion instead of discord, but only if careful consideration and assessment are undertaken. To achieve such means, critical evaluation of integration policies must occur.

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