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UNINTENDED OR UNANTICIPATED CONSEQUENCES?

An analysis of the effect of Danish migration policies from 2011 to 2019

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ABSTRACT

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The Danish universal welfare state is based on the junction of trust, egalitarianism, solidarity, and confidence. Social cohesion, the cultural aspect, and homogeneity reinforce the success of the universalistic model. However, from the 1960s onwards Denmark has received immigrants from all parts of the word, becoming a more multicultural society. As an effect of the multiculturalism combined with the foundations of the universalism, welfare chauvinistic resentments arise substantiating the employment of tight immigration policies to minimise the inflow of newcomers. Meanwhile, Denmark has always kept a welcoming tone towards high-skilled foreigners, seeing them as key factors to increase economic growth and development, contributing to a more advanced society. Yet welcome, many specialised workers have been deported or fined due to their work, mainly foreign researchers and musicians. I call this situation an unintended consequence: unexpected results deriving from purposive social actions, that can be either anticipated or unanticipated. Learning, analysis of previous outcomes, and debate in the media and society are mechanisms to overcome side-effects by anticipating them. Hence, to what extent are Danish politicians aware of unintended consequences? Are they able to anticipate them? For that, this research brings an analysis of Danish media articles about immigration policies, from 2011 to 2019. The first part is an exploratory data analysis using R programme, providing inductive learning about the structure and the underlying patterns of the collected articles. The second part is an in-depth analysis of the observations, with unique learning about the content and the dynamics of speech, report, and cases, by applying the articles into the unintended consequences theory. From this study, I observed that politicians tend to anticipate issues after the occurrence of unintended consequences, demonstrating the importance in the process of learning to overcome side-effects. However, learning through feedback is not so strongly built into the policy-making system that it can anticipate or even prevent better the occurrence of unintended consequences.

Keywords: Unintended Consequences. Welfare State. Denmark. Immigration Policies. High-Skilled Labour.

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

> *"We make rules, and then they apply. Then they will apply in some instances where you think it was the damn – excuse me, that was not exactly what we intended"* (Lars Løkke Rasmussen cited by Nielsen, 2019)

Every decision, policy, and rule is subject to unintended consequences. In May 2019, the daughter-in-law of the then Prime Minister of Denmark, Lars Løkke Rasmussen, soon a Harvard graduate, was forced to leave Denmark because of the 24-year-rule. Because of her age, she is not entitled to stay in Denmark with Rasmussen's son, based on a rule preventing family reunification if one of the parts is younger than 24-years old. This rule was created to avoid forced marriages, based only to obtain a residence in the country. Now, the rule strikes other couples, that it was not intended to strike, as the Rasmussen case.

Not only the 24-years rule but other policies are producing unintended consequences in Denmark, in the past years. The Danish migration waves from the 1960s onwards, combined with the universal welfare state, shaped the way foreigners are seen and welcomed in society. Tightening, hampering the access of newcomers, and the establishment of those already living here marked the history of Danish migration policies.

Trust, egalitarianism, solidarity, and confidence are components of the universal welfare state, together with social cohesion, the cultural aspect, and social homogeneity. In Denmark, the society was built shrouded by these characteristics, forming one of the main models for universalistic welfare. However, the influx of other cultures and people in the past decades rose selective and targeted policies, as a response to the multiculturalism, corroborating to welfare chauvinism sentiment (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

Welfare chauvinism is a phenomenon when public policies, goods, and rights, are distributed differently among natives and non-natives. It is a dynamic concept ranging from stricter eligibility criteria to nativist resentments. Intensive migration flows and economic crisis explains the de-universalisation trend, in which the sense of unity and homogeneity is altered to multiculturalism and multiethnicity. Danes responded this inflow to from highly politicised

and restrictive migration policies, influencing newcomers arrival, limiting their opportunities, and access to social provisions (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016; Mewes and Mau, 2013).

Restrictive migration policies contributed not only to welfare chauvinistic resentments but also to the rise of unintended consequences. The case of Rasmussen's daughter-in-law is one of many cases affecting those Denmark does not want to hurt. 2017 was marked by several cases of foreign researchers and musicians suffering penalties and deportation for exercising jobs outside their contract's scope and proper governmental authorisation. Surprisingly, Denmark has always had a welcoming tone towards specialised labour, considering them as key factors to increase economic growth and development. For this reason, to restrain the presence of high-skilled professionals is an unintended consequence, because it is not expected, based on political rhetoric.

Robert Merton conceptualised unintended consequences as unexpected results deriving from purposive social actions. To him, side-effects were a general problem, with distinctive forms and fields, impossible to determine a specific cause and mechanism to overcome them. Merton used unanticipated and unintended consequences indistinguishably, but de Zwart used Merton's theory to provide an in-depth discussion on the topic, presenting four possible outcomes. To him, consequences are based on different levels of anticipation and intention, so unanticipated consequences could only be unintended, whereas unintended consequences could be either anticipated or unanticipated (de Zwart, 2015; Merton, 1936).

> *"The majority of people caught in it are ethnic Danes who have been abroad to work. So it contradicts the intention of those who adopted it. It is impossible to administer"* (Peter Hummelgaard cited by DR, 2019a).

Peter Hummelgaard, from the Social Democrats party, refers to the recently changed rule on unemployment benefits. Previously, it was necessary to live 5 out of 12 years in Denmark or the EU to receive unemployment benefit. This year, the threshold shifted to 7 out of 12 years. In August 2019, the government retracted the change because of the unintended outcomes, e.g. harming Danes living abroad. Policy learning is a fundamental part to overcome side-effects. Politicians can learn from the unintended consequences by tracing back the policy origins and what influenced the obtained outcome. Therefore, in the future, they can anticipate outputs by checking previous situations.

This research provides a discussion of unintended consequences within the field of immigration policies. Even though the majority of academic production has focused on the outcomes of international programmes for development and aid, the use of this consolidated field can bring new inputs for a non-developed academic area. Hence, by translating the concept to the immigration field I contribute to improving and bringing new perspectives to the theory.

I elaborated an analysis of Danish media articles about immigration policies. DR and Politiken were the selected articles' sources, from 2011 to 2019, covering the last two governments. For that, I used automated methods of collection and filtered them according to relevance. The data evaluation and application of the theory was performed in two steps: an automated method to learn about the structure and the underlying patterns, and in-depth analysis classifying relevant articles and applying them into the theoretical framework.

This research is organised into four chapters. The first – T*he Danish Welfare State: migration policies, universalisation, and unintended consequences in labour market policies* – provides a generic panorama of the welfare chauvinism theory, the trajectory of the Danish migration policies, combining both into a discussion about unintended consequences of migration policies. The second chapter – T*he theoretical framework: unintended or unanticipated consequences?* – traces the evolution of unintended consequences theory, explaining the differences between unanticipated, unintended, and unforeseen, applying the findings to the immigration field. The third – *Methods and Data Collection* – explains the case selection and data collection. The last chapter – *Combining theory and practice: an eight-years analysis of Danish newspaper's articles about immigration policies* – entails a quantitative and qualitative analysis, transforming text as data and applying the theoretical framework to the Danish case.

The analysis of migration policies in the light of unintended consequences theory, therefore, provides better knowledge on the extent to which politicians are aware of their policies, extending the theory to the migration field. I found that policy-makers are aware of unintended consequences, responding to them, anticipating some of the side-effects. However, through the analysis of debates, learning through feedback is apparently not built into the system. Hence, learning per see still does not prevent the occurrence of all unintended consequences of migration policies in Denmark.

1 The Danish Welfare State: migration policies, universalization and unintended consequences in labour market policies

Trust, egalitarianism, solidarity, and confidence in public institutions and the government are the foundations for the formation of the Scandinavian universal welfare. The cultural aspect, together with social cohesion, and homogeneity contributes to forming the success of the universalistic model. However, in the past decades, selective and targeted policies are rising, corroborating for the welfare chauvinism. Different from Sweden and Norway, the presence of chauvinistic attitudes in Denmark has increased because of new policies combined to new world dynamics, raising awareness as to what extent universalism can stand as a format of statecraft (Frederiksen, 2018; Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

The historical success of the Danish welfare state can be attributed to a combination of marginal groups' inclusion and high levels of social provisions. Denmark is a Nordic welfare state characterized by a tax-financed universal social security system: open and broad access to social benefits among all residents, without nationality distinction. Traditionally the system has been inclusive, while the country combined conventional policies with ongoing concerns. However, a recent positioning shift derives as a consequence of the migratory and economic crises worldwide (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

The Danish Immigration and Integration policies changed and developed from the first migratory wave to nowadays, reflecting in the welfare state-building. The first migratory wave started in the late 1960s, a period Denmark called for foreign labour due to the economic expansion. Migratory policies were unrestrictive: different nationalities moved in exchange for good salaries, welfare, and the promise of work. Despite a small public scepticism, policies were well accepted with a condition for foreigners to leave when their roles ended. Many remained in the country, and Denmark started a path to integrate non-natives in society, combining the changes with traditionalism to guarantee the existence of the universal welfare system (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013; Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

Universalism carries a discussion onto the "magnet effect". Namely, low-skilled labour is attracted to universalistic countries for access to generous public benefits, i.e. pensions, education, and healthcare. Then, how to welcome and to integrate foreigners without the consequences of a magnet effect? A new period in integration policies from the 2000s to now

established restrictive and selective policies. These switched from universalistic to restrictive: even though resident in Denmark, foreigners gradually had different access to pensions, unemployment schemes, and other benefits from the system. To migrate and remain in Denmark became a challenge for some nationalities, indicating a process of de-universalization of the welfare system (Jensen and Pedersen, 2007; Ponce, 2018).

The de-universalisation triggered unexpected outcomes. Primarily, laws on migration were developed to reducing the "welfare magnet effect": to decrease the attractiveness of unskilled labour by restricting access to public services and residence. Recently, these rules have been affecting unskilled and skilled labour, namely foreign researchers and musicians invited to guest lectures or concerts. According to the law, non-EU must hand in a special request at the Immigration Service for each side-job, accepting it only after a positive decision. This is considered time-wasting and high-bureaucracy, impeding specialised labour in Denmark (Larsen, 2017a).

In 2017, the media mapped 14 cases of non-EU high-skilled workers – the majority, university researchers – charged to break the law by working outside their contract's scope without reporting to the Immigration Service. Fines, risk of deportation, criminal charges, and an obstacle to applying for a permanent residence are consequences for breaching this rule. Thus, policies developed to affect a precise part of the society hurt others who, at first sight, were not intended to be hurt. These are called unintended consequences (Larsen, 2017b).

This chapter introduces the relations between the evolution of migration and labour policies, universalistic welfare policies, and unintended consequences. In the first section – Welfare Chauvinism and (De)universalisation: The Danish Case – I explain the process from an exclusive-universalist welfare system to the identification of welfare chauvinism traces. I discuss the concept of de-universalisation of the welfare state and how restrictive policies contribute to chauvinistic sentiments. The second section – Trajectories of the Danish migration policies – I trace the history of migration policies for a historical understanding of the decisions behind the current policies. This section goes from the 1970s until the last government in 2018/2019. The third section – An issue statement: unintended consequences of migration policies – I explain the case of non-EU professors affected by restrictive migration policies and how this hurts the principle of universalisation and the prospects of Denmark as a universal welfare state.

a. Welfare Chauvinism and (De)universalization: The Danish Case

The historic-cultural process, social homogeneity, geography, and economy are among the features composing the welfare state. The enlargement of labour rights and the promotion of social provisions by the State marked the establishment of welfare as a tool for statecraft. Esping-Andersen (1990) classified the welfare states into clusters, according to levels of commodification – the need to access the private market to obtain social provisions – and stratification – a society with different socio-economic degrees.

The universalistic, or social democrat, model is based on high levels of decommodification and minimum social stratification. Particularly, quasi-unrestricted access to social services provided by the State, dispensable use of private services, and non-distinction among residents. Equality and trust central parts to the functioning of a universal model. For that matter, residents are entitled to a social contract, with moral obligations to the State, i.e. labour and payment of taxes, in exchange for social provisions. Therefore, a sense of membership embraces the system, whereas society's homogeneity fosters the feeling of belonging (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Frederiksen, 2018).

The Danish Welfare System is a reference for a universalistic welfare model, because of the social protection system and the universal access to public services and benefits for both natives and foreigners. Traditionally, Denmark had liberal migratory rules, conceding social rights to all residents and elaborating programmes to integrate other nationalities in the community. For all that, this trend has recently been changed. Generous and broad in social policies, the Danish system has proved economically vulnerable when dealing with large scale migration and heterogeneity in society. Hence, a result of selective social investments and restricted access to social provisions for non-natives mark the new phase of de-universalisation of the welfare state (van Kersbergen and Kraft, 2017).

This general trend of de-universalisation is explained by migration flows and economic crises. These changes are perceived as a threat to the community. Religion, ethnicity, identity, and culture are no longer homogeneous and, thus, the universal system of social provisions need to adapt. Yet, recently, Denmark not only deployed restrictions on immigration but also elaborated policies to differentiate the access of Danes and non-Danes to welfare. This position triggers what is understood as welfare chauvinism (Andersen, 2007; Fietkau and Hansen, 2018; Frederiksen, 2018).

Jørgensen and Thomsen (2016) define welfare chauvinism as *"public policies, goods, and rights that are attributed within a hierarchical system of civic stratification. It is "a dynamic concept with weak and strong forms"*. The weak form is characterized by stricter eligibility criteria – i.e. who contributes have the access to public benefits –, and it is used as a form to justify the need to protect the system from those who do not contribute but use the social provisions in the same degree as those who contribute. The strong form of welfare chauvinism, on the other hand, is based on nativist resentments against the inclusion of immigrants in society. The latter grants public provisions only to natives, whereas the first grants to those who contribute. Namely, the welfare state goes from universal – unrestricted and independent access to social provisions – to "based on the criteria of who is entitled to what" – i.e. the access to the welfare state depends on nationality and compliance to pre-established rules, e.g. payment of taxes and following laws (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016).

Mewes and Mau (2013) conceptualise welfare chauvinism as the phenomenon when *"the native citizens are unwilling to grant social rights to foreigners"*. Hence, the welfare chauvinism refers to *"an understanding of the welfare state as a system of social protection for those who belong to the ethnically defined community and who have contributed to it"* (Kitschelt, 1997 cited by Mewes and Mau, 2013). In other words, the social provisions pass from the access by all to restricted and dependent to compliances and requirements from certain groups in society. In this sense, the current debate is on to what extent the Danish policies are taking a course to the welfare chauvinism context. This is reflected on restrictions in migration, use of public benefits and difficulties in permissions for non-Danes and, moreover, non-European Union citizens, to take up residence.

Schumacher and van Kersbergen (2016) argue that welfare chauvinism links welfare to multiculturalism. The migration waves conflicted the unified common people and their sense of homogeneity with the remodelling of social services and transfers to embrace the migrants. In Denmark, this process was no different, when the migration waves to the country started in the 1960s. Yet immigration was seen as a way to economic growth, in the past decades it enforced the sentiment of multiculturalism as a threat to the Danish model of welfare state. First, the attitudes towards migrants were based on the need for the labour force. Over time, the multiculturalism was seen as a threat to the economy, labour, and community. As a result, the debate on how to stop migration and how to integrate those already in the country emerged not only at the political but also at the societal levels (Fietkau and Hansen, 2018; Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2013; Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003)

The last 20 years were marked by highly politicised, and restrictive immigration and integration policies. They affect not only the flow of foreigners and their limited access to social provisions, but also contribute to the rise of welfare chauvinism sentiment, where a multicultural society is seen as a threat for the welfare state. For that matter, the distinction between natives, residents, and migrants concerning their right to use the public system substantiates the debate about the de-universalization of the Danish welfare system (Andersen, 2007; Frederiksen, 2018; Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2013).

The future of universalism in Denmark depends on the extent to which social policies will shift from a universal character to a selective and targeted profile. This change is attributed to the migratory waves, the "magnet effect", and the failure in accommodating natives and non-natives equally in the labour market and society. They are marked by unequal access to citizenship, public services, and integration, e.g. shifts in money support, housing, collateral requirements, access to pension and unemployment benefits. For that matter, these changes in social rights contributed to change the labour market and its laws, compromising the performance of foreigners in society (Andersen, 2007; Breidahl, 2011; Ponce, 2018).

The major challenge to the universal welfare state is to combine society with the new dynamics in world affairs, notably the migratory flows. We have been witnessing an increase in the welfare chauvinism, related to a direct and indirect exclusion of immigrants from the State. The selective and restrictive policies in Denmark not only contribute to a de-universalisation but to the expulsion of necessary forces to the country's development: the high-skilled workers. Hence, de-universalisation can increase risks of poverty and lack of social integration, but can also generate other significant consequences, as the expulsion of wanted migrants from the country due to restrictive policies to foreigners, compromising the economic and labour fields (van Kersbergen and Kraft, 2017).

b. Trajectories of the Danish migration policies

> *"If a Christian Somali educated at the Sorbonne would like to move to Denmark, it should obviously be possible"* (Lars Løkke Rasmussen cited by Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016).

This statement, from 2014, by the former Danish Prime Minister Lars Løkke Rasmussen helps to understand the profile of the Danish migration policies from the last decade: the

differentiation of citizens and migrants, and a selective migration between skilled and non-skilled foreigners.

The basis of the universal welfare model is a non-distinguishable provision of social protection and benefits, including natives and foreign residents. Contrary to this assumption, the reality has proved that universal welfare states are economically vulnerable to large-scale migration. Instead, a rise in the welfare chauvinism – differentiated access to the State's social provisions – has been observed in the Scandinavian countries, especially in Denmark. Thus, the Danish welfare state not only introduced restrictions on immigration in a larger scale but also elaborated measures to differentiate natives to foreigners, relativizing access to social benefits. In this chapter, I cover the evolution of these restrictions that led to the discussion about the fall of welfare universalism and the rise of welfare chauvinism in Denmark .

The government's change in 2001 marked the history of regulations for integration and immigration. From this date, the acceptance of migrants became harder, integration policies tighter, and the political rhetoric against the flux of other nationalities to Denmark more visible. However, it was not always that. Part of the success of the Danish welfare was to combine the inclusion of marginal groups and high levels of state-provided social security. Moreover, the last three decades of the 20th century were marked by policies to attract workers from abroad and recognition of the formal status of refugees, for example, but also by the debate on universalising the social provisions to non-Danes, and Danes who were abroad for a longer period (Blaakilde, 2015; Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

The first labour migration wave to Denmark was in the 1960s, the time in which the economic boom increased the demand for labour. At this stage, the Danish government had two options: to restrict the scope of labour and production in the country or to search for additional workers in the international market. After negotiations with trade unions, employers, organizations, and exposure of the situation in the media, the country opened to immigrants from inside and outside Europe, as long as they contributed as workforce in developing the country (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013; Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

Even with open and more flexible migration policy, the scepticism was strong: fear of a negative impact on wage levels, due to unskilled labour, but also fear of losing the country's cultural identity and sense of community. Despite the concerns, this policy was largely accepted because it was a common belief immigrants would return to their homes when their labour activities ended, which was not the case (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

Hence, there are two factors to understand the immigration policies path from the 1960s to the present time: economically, a poor economic performance foster negative opinions towards migrants, and culturally, an increase in the perception of group differences, contributes to eradicating the sense of unity, enlarging competition among natives and non-natives (Fietkau and Hansen, 2018).

The first migration wave stopped in 1973 due to the oil crisis, intensifying again in the1980s, from public debate to a political issue. The Immigration Act of 1983 introduced the refugees' formal status, and their right to be in the country while having their case processed, as long as Denmark was their first nation for requesting asylum. Rules for family reunification equated Danes to foreigners and obtaining permanent residence was simplified. This liberal debate towards immigrants followed the 1970s: open and inclusive to foreigners. However, as the migration issue became more politicised, the doubts on a liberal policy increased and the Danish right-wing became more critical, afraid of a threat to nationality and unity. Public support to the right-wing increased, whereas they gained more space in the political scenario (Green-Pedersen and Odmalm, 2008; Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

The debate during the 1980s was how to integrate the migrants that came into Denmark to work and decided to stay. Jønsson and Petersen (2013). write about the concerns on the formation of ghettoes (regions with a concentration of specific nationalities), quota schemes, and learning of Danish. Behind these concerns, the dilemma was to distribute welfare policies and social security provisions in a country that no longer was homogeneous. Was the solution to elaborate discriminative policies or should the government focus on ensuring equality in a heterogeneous society? Hence, foreigners would have the same status as Danes, but not positively distinguished or preferred regarding governmental assistance.

A parliament majority supported flexible and open migration policies, despite the contestations from the Danish right-wing. Yet, the scope changed in the 1990s. From 1993 the position of the Danish Conservatives and Liberals shifted dramatically, both on migration and integration matters. In 1995, the Danish People's Party – Dansk Folkeparti (DF) – was founded, with a critical and sceptical position on migration and migrants' access to public assistance. Gradually, the country's right-wing focused on the rhetoric and the media to create a speech to maintain the aspects of a universalistic welfare state: culture, religion, homogeneity, and ethnicity. Thus, DF gained followers dissatisfied with the presence of foreigners and the path Denmark was taking, playing a crucial role in the future of Danish politics (Green-Pedersen and Odmalm, 2008).

The 1990s marked the establishment of tighter policies to obtain a residence permit and citizenship. For instance, the foreigner was required to know about the country and culture, to integrate into the community, and to learn the language. Namely, the tightening of migration policies was justified by favourable tone to the Danish society, against all threats to the existence of the universal welfare state. This fostered the presence of the Danish right-wing in the country's politics (Green-Pedersen and Odmalm, 2008; Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

The Danish National Elections in November 2001 marked the country's political history. The conservative and liberal parties formed a coalition with the Danish People's Party, giving influence and power to DF, opposing the liberal Social Democrats' policies.

The cost of migration was central to the 2001 elections, yet the left and right differed about what was beneficial to the country. Immigration control was not the only spotlight, but how to incorporate foreign residents into society. As Denmark is a universalistic tax-financed welfare state, many wondered about the country's ability to sustain social provisions to all. Hence, while the Danish People's Party emerged and became popular among natives against immigrants, the Social Democrats reinforced a narrative against a harsh tightening of migratory policies (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003).

The period after elections was marked by tighter policies and anti-immigrant sentiment: culture and religion played a central role, as well as integration, adaptation, and acceptance of non-western foreigners in the country and their inclusion in social policies. Moreover, foreign policy was lined to what extent Denmark should remain open to immigrants, and to become a multicultural country. The alternatives to that was an integration via the labour market and new requirements to newcomers (e.g. education background and nationality). Hence, the following years of Danish politics were based on a conservative right-wing government, focused on elaborating policies against the acceptance and maintenance of foreigners, debating to what extent they should have the same access of to public services (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2003).

Part of a tighter Immigration Act was the 24-years rule: to get married the couple must be at least 24-years old. The justification was to restrict forced marriage and to give women a better chance of life and education before marrying. A major change was the 300-hour rule, which affected married cash benefit recipients and it required at least 300 hours of legal employment, without any form of wage subsidy, within 24 months, to maintain public cash benefits. In 2008, this rule was expanded to 450-hours (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

Restrictive and selective policies summarised the Danish policy-making since 2001. It increased the struggles for a foreigner to access the State and its social provisions. To those not

available for the market – not working and not contributing without any valid reason –, the rights to receive benefits were diminished considerably.

The Start Help programme marked this shift in the Danish migration policies. Before 2002, Denmark had a very generous package of help to refugees and other immigrants, including language lessons, household's income help, among other benefits. In response to the large migration flow to the country, the Start Help was created to incentivise employment and self-sufficiency, and to reduce the reliance of foreigners on the government. Consequently, the benefits in this new package were reduced profoundly, if compared to the Start-Aid, the first programme for newcomers (Andersen et al., 2019).

The Start Help had a reduction of almost 50% in the cash benefits and investments, compared to the Start Aid, which was not well seen by the international community, nor by those against tight policies. With this dramatic change, Denmark passed from the most generous country in public benefits to one of the least in the north of Europe. The Start Help packaged levelled the benefit to the same amount students receive as support, considered a low income to maintain a household (Andersen, 2007).

Start Help focus was to increase employment take-up, by incentivising self-sufficiency and employment with cash benefits. This increase is obtained by lowering cash transfers, reducing the income of low-income households, and imposing the take-up conditionality. Consequently, the reform increased the participation in job searching programmes and, as a result, increased labour earnings in some households, but this was not generic. At that stage, households exclusively dependent on the government dropped dramatic their income, leading to an inequality situation (Andersen, 2007; Andersen et al., 2019).

Since 2001, not only the access of benefits changed drastically, compared to the 1970s, but also the access to obtain citizenship and permanent residence permit. Social benefits' receivers were monitored to guarantee their cross-compliance to rules, whereas newcomers were welcomed based on efforts to integrate, learn the language, and contribute. To that, less compromise with the requirements meant a decrease in public benefits, affecting foreigners' welfare, boosting the process of de-universalisation of social policies through selective investments (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013).

Targeting and de-universalisation of the State had started: social provisions were no longer based on the conventional criteria – e.g. old age or sickness –, but based on the home nation. That way, the welfare state moved from an entitlement-based condition to origin-based.

The Financial Crisis of 2008 contributed to another tightening process, resulting in new changes in migration policies in Denmark (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016).

From the 1990s until 2008, Denmark had low unemployment rates. The crisis led to a considerable decrease in the Danish GDP, resulting in economic reforms, reduction of public expenditures, and modifications in the retirement system. The immigrant unemployment rate increased from 9,8% to 16% in 2010, a struggle for foreigners demanded to maintain their jobs for eligibility as benefits' receiver (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016, p. 336). Considering that policies for social security demanded employment take-up, an increase of 6,2 % points in the unemployment rates for immigrants put many of them in a situation where they could not receive public benefits and could not work due to the lack of opportunities. Thus, the scenario for immigrants was complicated.

In the General Elections of 2011, the government shifted to the leadership union of Social Democrats, Socialistic People's Party, and Social Liberals. After a long period commanded by the right-wing, the tone towards immigrants opened. Even though the discourse focused on receiving foreigners to contribute, many of the restrictive policies remained active. The focus of this government integration and economic growth, avoiding undesired effects from the Financial Crisis. Consequently, it increased policies to attract high-skilled foreigners.

A Point System Scheme was introduced to easier the moving of foreigners with high-education and better living conditions. Based on that, Denmark would minimise social dumping – the practice of changing from one country to another to simply improve the foreigner life's condition. Hence, better-educated immigrants would contribute better to the Danish society. This scheme affected negatively foreigners accompanied by spouses: he or she should also be accepted based on the point system, otherwise could not stay in Denmark. Therefore, "a person who is employed on a Danish Company for a high salary cannot get a residence permit for its spouse, if one does not have a full-time job here", harming the country's attractiveness (Brandstrup and Skærbæk, 2012; Politiken, 2011a).

The Danish social security system was reformed in 2013, remodelling the cash benefits programme: integration no longer only necessary, but mandatory. Namely, a demand to assimilate cultural values and struggles, in an attempt to maintain social cohesion in Denmark. The access to social benefits was conditioned to integration and participating in the labour market became harder, which marginalised some of the newcomers in society (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2016, p. 346).

The right-wing returned to the government in the Elections of 2014. This new government is marked by an increase in the requirements for Danish residency and citizenship. More years living in Denmark, with full-time job positions, attachment to the country, cultural identification, and monetary savings were the new requirements created to difficult the access of non-Danish natives to the welfare state (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

Concomitantly, the government keep attracting high-skilled labour to Denmark: foreigners with unique specialisation and education have their work permissions facilitated – through a Green Card and Fast-Track schemes – when signing a contract with a Danish company. However, if they wish to establish permanent residence they must comply with the rules as other foreigners, including integration and Danish language skills. So, educated professionals are welcome to the country as long as they contribute with their knowledge to enhance Danish production and economy (SIRI, 2018).

Since 2011, the country debates on policies to integrate and to welcome high-skilled labour to Denmark, including easier schemes to work permits, through partner companies, with attractive salaries. The positive list – an official list of professions experiencing a shortage of qualified professionals in Denmark – simplify the migration of these workers to Denmark. Yet, the immigrant has to sign a contract with a Danish employer and follow the rules and conditions of a work permit: a restricted contract, limiting the individual's role to the exact contract's scope (SIRI, 2018).

That way, there are incentives if one comes to Denmark to study or to work as a skilled-labourer, which does not mean the immigrant will not face consequences from the history of tight migration policies. Contrarily, in the last few years, high-skilled non-EU have been suffering negative consequences, questioning how far the tightening process is going, by hurting who are not supposed to.

Jørgensen and Thomsen (2018, pp. 351–352) argue that the attraction of foreign labour is not only based on economic logic but cultural and ethnic differentiation. A university degree is not the only requirement to be considered high-skilled, but the country for education training is decisive to an assessment by the Danish authorities. The Green Card Agreement granted high-skilled non-EU citizens the possibility to work in Denmark, but it fails, because most of these foreigners did not have their education recognized by the labour market, could not find a job or integrate, ending in low-skilled positions. Hence, these attraction agreements tend to favour education from western countries. Therefore, to get a work permit, the foreigner not only needs to be skilled but also have his/her training assessed according to Danish levels.

Table 1. Narratives and tools targeting labour migrants

POLICY NARRATIVE	TARGET GROUP	NARRATIVE PORTRAYAL	ANTICIPATED POLICY TOOL	POLICY TOOLS
ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION	High skilled and specialized labour	Diversity and Innovation	Selective migration control	Special Schemes Attracting Talent
WELFARE SCROUNGER/SOCIAL DUMPING	Low Skilled Labour	Abuses welfare services Economic burden Pressing wages down	Minimum wage	Restricting labour market regulations

Source: Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018, p. 352

Table 1 explains the argument between the narratives toward skilled and unskilled labour. For the first, there is a selective migration control with special schemes aiming at attracting skilled labour force to help develop the country. On the other hand, low skilled labour is approached with restrictive policy tools and recognised as an economic burden to Denmark. Thus, low skilled labour is attracted by the "welfare magnet" effect, while high skilled is attracted by policy and wage incentives. Although the speeches and approaches are different, these policies tend to conjoin at some point, because are in the same context. Hence, yet encouraged to live in Denmark, high-skilled workers are affected by restrictive policies and labour regulations: an unintended consequence situation.

The migration policies of Denmark evolved through the years, becoming tighter from the beginning of the 21st century. A mix of integration policies and incentives to insert in society and the Danish labour market determined the way Denmark looked after the immigrants. Nowadays, the attraction of skilled foreigners has been through a positive list, yet culture and ethnicity play a significant role in the labour market. Recently, it was brought to knowledge high-skilled migrants suffering from the tight policies of labour, contradicting the welcoming tone to those contributing to a better society.

c. An issue statement: unintended consequences of migration policies

Along with the evolution of Danish migration policies, there was a high distinction in the discourse about how skilled and unskilled, and western and non-western migrants are treated regarding rules of work and study, as well as their access to the social benefits. For instance, the way stories about migrants dependent on governments' assistance were depicted in the media contributed not only to the rise of a chauvinistic sentiment but to justify an increase in the restrictions to the welfare state. Skilled foreigners were welcomed and expected to use less public provisions, contribute to the tax system, and be productive. Hence, through a "selective migration control", high-skilled labour is attracted to Denmark through special schemes and, as long as they follow their contracts and the rules under migration and work, they are welcome in society (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018, 2013).

The 2000s migration policies aimed at changing the composition of migrants from unskilled and dependent, to skilled and contributor. The refugee and the financial crises around 2008 affected Denmark, therefore adaptations in the economic and political scope were necessary, to not dismantle the welfare system, and to avoid an imminent inequality situation. Therefore, the biggest concern was on to what extent Denmark could maintain the low levels of inequality and poverty, and also keep the universalistic welfare system. Thus, the scepticism on unskilled foreigners and refugees increased, whilst skilled workers remained well-seen through the State and society's lenses (Jønsson and Petersen, 2013; Razin and Wahba, 2015).

Denmark has a large historic of tightening of policies and laws on immigration, focusing on unskilled migrants. Lately, high-skilled workers have also been affected by tougher requirements and bureaucratic procedures. Because the legislation does not differ penalties depending on the degree of the crime, high-skilled workers affected by these laws are suffering threats of deportation, fines, and other punishments. Originally this was not aimed by the government and I will call this a side-effect or an unintended consequence.

In 2017, the case of Brooke Harrington – an American professor from the Copenhagen Business School (CBS) – gained media exposure: Harrington was fined because, at the request of the authorities, she presented gave a lecture in the Danish Parliament. After lecturing, she received was called by the Danish Agency for International Recruitment (SIRI) reporting her to break her work permit and threatening her with fines and deportation from the country.

In Harrington's (and in many others' work permits), it was stipulated that she was exclusively hired for a specific position within the university. However, as a professor, she is

expected to hold presentations outside her university, be a guest lecture, or censor. The problem is, as a non-EU resident and employee, she is not allowed to hold guest lectures or exercise any activity outside the specifications of her work contract unless she requests legal permission from SIRI (Kjeldtoft, 2017a).

Because Harrington had not applied for a side-job permission, she was punished: received a fine and was no longer allowed to apply for a permanent residence permit for the next 15 years. This is because the rules do not differentiate the degrees of breaking the law, counting the fine she received for the other consequences she might face (Kjeldtoft, 2017a).

In 2017, the media estimated that there were a total of 14 cases of foreign non-EU professors who were caught in the Danish legislation by communicating their knowledge in other activities than the ones described in their work permit. According to the Danish legislation, all workers are entitled to side-jobs as long as they apply for an extension of the scope of their work permit for each specific occasion. This means that, in Harrington's case, before she lectured she was supposed to ask a side-job permission through SIRI (Kjeldtoft, 2018; Larsen, 2017c).

According to the rules, non-EU citizens with a work permit need to fill a 19-pages form to apply for an exemption of work at SIRI if they wish to perform jobs outside the main scope of their permissions. Otherwise, lecturing outside university or being a censor is considered illegal in the light of migration laws. Accordingly, this exemption must be filled and sent to the immigration service every time the foreigner wishes to work outside their contract's scope, no matter if it is paid or unpaid work. Besides, it covers all kind of jobs, including lecturing. In other words, in case a professor is invited to be a censor in another university, one has to ask permission. This is considered bureaucratic and time-expensive, as there are many activities outside the scope of a classroom and research, in which many are invited without time enough to wait for a governmental decision. Hence, the debate is about bureaucracy and how restrictions affect high-skilled workers in Denmark (Larsen, 2017c).

> *"I can find another job in a country where they don't hate me. Otherwise I see myself as a fighter who doesn't give up. But the Danish law has its desired effect. I do not feel welcome"* (Brooke Harrington cited by Kjeldtoft, 2017a).

It is not only Brooke Harrington who does not agree with the way rules on foreigners are elaborated. This work permit and exemption for side-job laws are applied only to non-EU citizens. Anders Bjarklev – vice-dean of the Technical University of Denmark (DTU) – has commented that their employees are, after all these cases, considering whether they are welcome in Denmark or not. At his perspective, the employee should follow the rules in its work permit, but one has to fit the demands of a research job, including sharing its knowledge in guest lectures. Therefore, he states that a professor should not be punished by being a censor or lecturing as a guest in another university or environment. Instead, the professor is helping to spread knowledge and improve the country, so Bjarklev believes the law under which these non-EU academics have been punished does not fit and should be adapted (Larsen, 2017a).

Contrarily to the view of Anders Bjarklev and others in the field, Martin Henriksen – from the Danish People's Party – believes that the rules for non-EU citizens are well written and emphasize that both researchers and other foreigners with a residence permit have the opportunity to work beyond their permission as long as they comply with the requirements. To Henriksen, foreign researchers – as high-skilled labours – should share their knowledge with Denmark, as they are cooperating to improve the country. In order to do that, they should seek for exemption, as all the other workers do, with no distinctions (Ingvorsen, 2017).

The Minister for Immigration and Integration of Denmark – Inger Støjberg – stated her belief that it is the State's interest a foreign professor in Denmark can spread knowledge in lectures, be a censor, and all the other duties related to the job. To her, the rules shouldn't be fundamentally changed, instead, she suggests to look at whether the law should be more flexible and softened for researchers, therefore allowing them to take part in all activities of their jobs without threatening them with fines or deportations (Ingvorsen, 2017).

The fact that foreign researchers are not allowed to fully perform their jobs due to restrictions in the work law to non-EU citizens, begs the question: to what extent did policy-makers not anticipate these consequences while elaborating policies? To Sofie Carsten Nielsen, from Radikale party, the restrictions are pointless and she does not understand why no ways were created to overcome this issue since the first time it came to the parliament's knowledge. To Nielsen, this is an urgent matter to be solved, as it is impeding skilled foreigners to work and to contribute to the community (Larsen, 2017b).

According to Kjeldtoft (2017a) the fines' system on foreigners doing side-jobs was introduced to the Danish law in 2005, voted by parties that now criticise the way these cases have been handled. By receiving fines, the immigrant loses the right to seek permanent

residence for the next 15 years according to the Aliens Act. Therefore, it becomes harder not only to work in the country but also to guarantee the possibility to live here and to fully use the universal welfare system, as tax-payers.

Harrington affirmed CBS was not aware of the rules and the fines she would get for lecturing outside the scope of her work permit. However, the Ministry for Immigration and Integration informed that the rules are clear and have been the same for many years. Thus, Støjberg was surprised when it came to her knowledge that non-EU professors have only been reported within the time when Harrington's case happened. Interestingly, there were a few similar cases between 2011 and 2017 (Kjeldtoft, 2017b).

Hence, only after 2017 it seems the law has been reinforced more carefully by the State. Another discussion is about the enforcement of the law. According to Per Holten-Andersen, dean of CBS, these rules were never enforced before, so it is difficult to say whether there has been a tightening of policies in the last years. To him, this enforcement sends the message that Denmark does not want foreign researchers to engage with the community (Kjeldtoft, 2017b).

After attracting also the international media, the debate about the laws under which non-EU researchers are suffering consequences increased significantly. In December, the parliamentarians were asked, during a section, whether there was a gap in the current legislation to avoid criminal prosecution of Harrington. In other words, if there was anything possible to be done to not fine and prosecute the professor because of her activities, considering the consequences of such a process. The official response was that it is up to the police and to the prosecutor to assess whether there is a basis for prosecution, but that the Aliens Act states that foreigners must have a work permit to take paid or unpaid employment. Not following the rules means the act is punishable by fine or imprisonment for up to one year (Folketinget, 2017a).

Sofie Carsten Nielsen asked the Minister about changes in the legislation punishing researchers. Støjberg agreed the rules for a secondary job must be reviewed and Denmark should be open to those who want to develop and strengthen the Danish society. Furthermore, she stated the need for more manageable and less bureaucratic rules for non-EU researchers, so they can fully exercise their roles in the academic environment without being punished (Folketinget, 2017b).

Besides these two answers, a few others on the topic can be found in parliamentary debates (Folketinget, 2017c). The common statement is that the situation of tighter rules is true, but it is necessary to change the scope to allow skilled labour – in this case, researchers – to help develop Denmark. Hence, politicians are not aiming at having unwanted consequences

due to restrictions, but restrictions are considered necessary to control who is entitled to work and, therefore, to be in the country. Hence, the discussions in the media and the parliament reveal the conviction that non-EU researchers must follow the rules, but those need to be changed, or at least to be moderated if the country aims to keep them here (Kjeldtoft, 2018).

This chapter briefly summarised the evolution of the welfare state in Denmark, its migration policies, and the recent unintended consequences resulted from the tightening of them. The universalistic format of welfare influenced extensively how the State elaborated its policies and how it responded to adverse situations, in both domestic and international levels. From the literature, it is impossible to know if politicians considered all side-effects when elaborating the policies. However, comparing the evolution of the migration policies to the Danish scenarios gives a clear panorama to what led to the current situation of unintended consequences. To that, the way migrants were portrayed in the media influenced the relations between government, natives, and foreigners.

From the tightening process emerged unintended consequences. Brooke Harrington's case brings an important discussion to what extent are politicians aware of their policy-making and the consequences in society. Looking at the historical evolution to find pitfalls is one option, but it doesn't cover all the explanations for the current situation. To that, I suggest a deepening into the unintended consequences theory, to learn with other scholars and to come up with methods to interpret better the Danish case.

2 The theoretical framework: unintended or unanticipated consequences?

> *"We need to make these rules more flexible so that we uphold our status as an attractive country for qualified working capacity. It is obvious that when it was brought to my attention that we have some rules that put obstacles in the way of that goal, then I want to do whatever I can to change them (...)"* (Minister Inger Støjberg speech cited by Koors, 2018).

These were the words spoken by the former Minister for Immigration and Integration of Denmark – Inger Støjberg – after bringing to her knowledge the case of Brooke Harrington, an American professor at the Copenhagen Business School (CBS), risking to receive a fine and respond to the policy on further consequences – e.g. being deported from Denmark – because of the lecture she gave to the Danish Parliament in 2017.

This statement reflects one special event in the social sciences: the appearance of unintended consequences in public policy. Unintended consequences are an old phenomenon, conceptualized first by Robert Merton, in 1936. He discussed purposive social actions: *"the consequences that are limited to those elements in a resulting situation which are exclusively the outcome of the action"*. This means that, in theory, the outcomes of action would only be the ones expected within the design. However, the reality is different. Unintended consequences are present everywhere because we live in a space of multiple interactions, where it is impossible to predict everything (Merton, 1936).

Merton's contribution did not include variances in the concept. He used indistinguishably unanticipated and unintended consequences. Later on, some authors raised the debate about the differences between these concepts. de Zwart, for instance, described the outcomes as unintended or intended, anticipated or unanticipated. According to him, it is necessary to have a clear distinction among them, as they reflect differences in the stages of elaborating a purposive social action (de Zwart, 2015; Merton, 1936).

The literature on unintended consequences is vast. Contrarily, very few scholars relate this phenomenon to issues in the law-making field, e.g. migration rules. Instead, scholars focus on programmes for aid, international cooperation, and development. Thus, the authors analyse

side-effects in the field of policy evaluation, evaluate designs, and suggest methods to avoid undesirable effects (Jabeen, 2016; Koch and Schulpen, 2018).

The focus on understanding unintended outcomes in the policy evaluation field does not reduce the importance to understand this phenomenon in other fields within the social sciences. This solid background can help the analysis, understanding, and learning from what has been done, to evaluate side-effects in other fields. Hence, to learn about the weaknesses and the strengths of social action may help other fields to develop strategies to comprehend and to overcome their unintended consequences.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section – *Policies and Evaluation on Unintended Consequences* – describes the academic discussion about unintended consequences. Here, I discuss is the field's approach, and how errors in the design of these programmes are decisive to the achieved results. The second section – *Unintended, unanticipated or unforeseen?* – reports a conceptual debate: different definitions are used when talking about side-effects, depending on their origin and perspective. Lastly – *Learning from unintended consequences* – I explain how we can use what we learned, based on this well-established field, to apply in the current case of Denmark and migration policies.

a. Policies and Evaluation on Unintended Consequences[1]

There is an extensive literature on the conceptualisation of unintended consequences. Its academic significance began with Merton, in 1936, when he published the article *"The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action".* Yet crucial for the fields of policy evaluation and policymaking, in the recent past, very few scholars reported the phenomenon of unintended consequences towards issues as migration and labour. Otherwise, the academic community has been focusing on aid, international cooperation, and development, and their relations to unintended consequences (Jabeen, 2016).

The studies about unintended consequences are centred in the field of policy evaluation in international programmes, albeit this phenomenon is also present in other sectors of society. In other words, the literature provides procedures and mechanisms to allow the evaluation of international and development programmes, their specific goals, targets and action plans

[1] In this section, I will use unintended consequences, side-effects, unintended effects and unanticipated consequences indistinctly. Further on in this chapter, these concepts will be differentiated. The order presented in this chapter, thus, follows the logic developed by the academic literature in unintended consequences. This logic started, first, with the identification of the phenomenon and, later on, its differentiation according to each terminology.

(Bamberger et al., 2016). To these fields, the analysis is well-structured, which gives a great overview of likely issues to encounter and how to overcome problems and obstacles, to minimize side-effects (Jabeen, 2016; Koch and Schulpen, 2018).

Unintended consequences limit the ability to detect and to explain sought outcomes by the policy-makers. Hence, to interpret the origins and the factors behind these effects is a mechanism to avoid wrong approaches and designs in the future. For good performance, the evaluator may comprehend the causes of side-effects, how they are related, and how they affect the aimed goals. By doing this, the researcher can find mechanisms and paths to minimise these issues, increasing the changes to achieve the targeted goals (Morell, 2005).

The design is given as the central aspect to overcome or generate unintended consequences. However, a good design alone does not guarantee the cessation of side-effects because there are multiple actors and actions involved, in interconnected relations, so it is impossible to control for all. For instance, Sherill (1984) advises using previous analogous events – i.e. programmes, projects or policies – to learn how to avoid similar unintended side-effects. The literature on unintended consequences facilitates access to this knowledge, as there are many publications concerned to highlight the reasons why certain adversities occur and how to examine and to control them (Bamberger et al., 2016; Jabeen, 2016; Keijzer and Lundsgaarde, 2018).

Some authors raise awareness of the way the evaluation of policies and programmes are designed. To them, most of the assessment methods fail to detect unintended consequences, because they are trained to capture the target goals and results and not the failures or side-effects. To one side, some authors claim they are conscious about these issues and that it is crucial to design programmes able to measure and to suggest ways to overcome unintended consequences. To the other, surprises may be inevitable, even at the best-controlled programme so, it is natural to have, to some extent, unintended consequences, as it is impossible to predict everything (Bamberger et al., 2016; McDaniel Jr et al., 2003).

Keijzer and Lundsgaarde (2018) recognise a dichotomy: what is unintended from one perspective may not be unintended from another, it was just not shared to all. To that, programmes involve multiple actors to plan, design, implement and control, and not all divide the same intentions when agreeing to participate. Hence, to connect these actors it is necessary to have ‘mutual benefits’ or ‘mutual interests’. This means that actors work to satisfy the expectations of the other actors involved alongside, to achieve the expected goals. To the

authors, what an outsider sees as an unintended consequence, an actor inside the programme could see as compliance with mutual benefits: intended but not shared to all.

Mutual interests facilitate creating and implementing programmes, because actors are bounded into a common situation, even at different reasons. Interests, however, are not always the exact goals of the programmes, because there is a different perspective of necessity and desire according to each involved actor. Therefore, unintended consequences are not always unintended but depend under which perspective the outcome is evaluated (Keijzer and Lundsgaarde, 2018).

Unintended consequences are present in diverse sectors and programmes, so it is a multidisciplinary field, where one can learn from other's researches and experiences. The literature on policy evaluation highlights the circumstances behind side-effects since the beginning of the last century. However, the understanding of the causal mechanisms, the relevance in academic publications, and the expansion to other fields started only in the 2000s.

As it is a multidisciplinary field, exchange of experiences and findings is fundamental to help policy-makers to anticipate unintended consequences. Koch and Schulpen (2018) explained the importance of having a journal to contribute to the academic environment and to combine the experiences of unintended consequences into one space. To the authors, it is necessary to bring academics together with policy-makers, to strengthen methodologies and to avoid side-effects. Hence, to transpose this phenomenon to a non-conventional field approach and share this knowledge, we are not only contributing to the topic but enhancing the discussion and providing inputs for better policy management.

The design and the grouping of stakeholders, government, and other actions affect directly the outcomes of policy-making. Learning, previous knowledge, accountability, and errors are ways to overcome negative unintended consequences (Keijzer and Lundsgaarde, 2018; Merton, 1936; Sherrill, 1984). Negative is an intriguing outcome, but there is also the chance of having positive or even neutral unintended consequences. Hence, it is crucial to discuss what is an unintended consequence, how it happens, and how to evaluate and adapt if perceived. As, perhaps, the evaluation of the outcomes may not be related only to intention or not, but to other variables, as anticipation.

b. Unanticipated, unintended or unforeseen?

Unintended consequences are not only present in international programmes, but all social sciences fields. To explain unintended consequences into the migration field it is necessary to translate the concept and define the terms. This step is essential to enlight adverse situations yet without a proper theoretical explanation. Furthermore, to distinguish unintended, unanticipated, and unforeseen consequences brings clarifications about the origins and the mechanisms to overcome it.

Unintended consequences are not always unanticipated or unwanted. It can be anticipated or not, and also unforeseen or not. The use of these terms interchangeably affects the interpretation of outcomes, their origins, and interactions. Thus, to distinguish and use properly the terms is a necessity to an assessment of the programmes' results (de Zwart, 2015). A few authors are working with the distinction of these concepts and, approaching this debate in this thesis will enrich the discussion and the interpretation of the phenomenon in the Danish migration field.

"The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action" establishes the conceptualisation of unanticipated and unintended consequences. Merton recognizes the problem throughout history and explains its diversity in context, forms, and terms. To him, these outcomes can either take part in unorganized or formally organized social actions. Thus, the unintended consequences are a more general problem, that does not affect a singular or a specific area in society but occurs in all fields and societies. Because of the distinct forms, it is a problem to determine a specific and unique cause, and the mechanisms to overcome an unintended effect (Merton, 1936).

Merton uses indistinctively the words unintended, unanticipated, and unforeseen. To him, they are all the same and are part of purposive social actions. He does not work with integrated systems of society, but with isolated actions. He suggests that to observe unintended consequences, we should first look into the action scope and, later, observe other interactions. This would facilitate to comprehend what relates to the design and what is inevitable due to external interactions. Hence, it is necessary to first understand isolated factors in society, to gain knowledge on these cases; and after expanding to the larger scenarios (Merton, 1936). This research has a focus on understanding the unintended consequences of formalized social actions, as it involves explicit statements of purpose and procedure.

Yet appearing as unforeseen, these consequences are not necessarily always undesirable, but part of the nature of the case and, thus, may be desirable according to the perspective of another observant actor. In other words, one unintended consequence could be, for the policy makers, a desirable phenomenon, even though not clear to the population, while for the outside observer it would be taken as an undesirable issue (Merton, 1936). These differences in the parameters and analysis are, in fact, one of the motors of discussion within the field and the justification to separate the three varieties of consequences.

To Merton, the problem of unanticipated consequences is attributed to the failure of human intelligence. Ignorance, erroneous ideas, and distinct personal values are other causal factors. Hence, knowing about previous social actions and their mechanisms reduces the chances of undesired side-effects in purposive social action. Moreover, if the scope and goals of a programme are new, it would be impossible to avoid all unintended consequences, because there should be no way to estimate some of the interactions and the results. For that matter, it is hard to predict and to eliminate unintended consequences of premature purposive actions, because there is no previous knowledge to be based on (Merton, 1936).

Merton was not the only author approaching unintended consequences. In fact, since his publication, other researchers developed his theory by differentiating unintended, to unanticipated and unwanted outcomes. This is crucial to understand how the outcomes are related to the policymakers and the policy design. That way, Merton was a pioneer in the topic but he did not differentiate the variables within unintended consequences, which is a necessity if one wishes to understand the origins and effects behind the outcomes.

Baert explained unintended consequences as

> *"the particular effect of purposive action which is different from what was wanted at the moment the act was carried out, and the desire of which was the reason for carrying it out"* (Baert, 1991).

He argues that unintended consequences face two problems: (1) the scope of the concept and (2) the relevance. The first enquires which events should be considered as consequences of a previous event, given that there are multiple social interactions and it can be difficult to attribute consequences exclusively to a determined situation. Secondly, the problem of relevance is a problem of selection of consequences: some outcomes have more importance,

sociologically speaking, than others, hence the reason why some are addressed before and others are not (Baert, 1991, pp. 201–202) .

To Baert, situations are not specific to one event and, if they are, it may not be relevant to raise discussion on their origins. To verify the level of relevance, we look at how the effect refers, its value, the awareness of the evaluators, and the time spent on it. Therefore, it is not simple to assess a result of social action as bad or unintended, because it depends on other social interactions and previous knowledge. Besides, some unintended effects may not generate significant alterations in the original aimed results, so it may not be worth to address considering the trade-off between awareness of the causes and efficiency of the action.

Following Baert, addressing and discussing unintended consequences and mechanisms to avoid them is not always a need. Some outcomes are more costly to debate than the emergent results. In other words, politicians and evaluators do not have time and space to discuss all the unintended consequences but only those with actual impact in the expected products.

Hence, to Baert (1991), it does not mean that the side-effects disregarded from the debate are not relevant. Instead, it can be that it is not crucial to spend resources on that situation, or is not worth to debate at that specific time, but addressed later on. In the case of Denmark, for instance, the debate on work permit issues seemed to be just brought into attention when it hurt what was not intended to. Hence, only at that time, a discussion on what the government could improve to avoid such complications begun.

Sherril addresses about the degrees of intention and anticipation. To him, unintended outcomes of governmental actions have received little attention from the evaluators. Therefore, a larger effort is necessary to identify and to measure unintended outcomes, because they maybe are even more important than intended outcomes, as they can generate significant “bad” side-effects. The value judgment of the consequences may be done in monetary or human rights terms, or even in both. The first alters the level and the distribution of income, while the second alter the levels and distribution of rights. Therefore, he suggests better programme designs to overcome this issue (Sherrill, 1984).

> *"Unintended outcomes are unexpected or counterintuitive consequences of governmental actions that arise from a preoccupation with the techniques as solutions and from a failure to see consequences as reactions of complex and interrelated social systems and subsystems (Meyers, 1981 cited by Sherrill, 1984, p. 27)*".

In other words, intended and unintended outcomes should be. The last is also an important part of policy-making and, although difficult to evaluate, it should receive more attention, compared to what the majority of evaluators do. Outcomes may be positive, neutral and negative– not only those intended but also the unintended. Sherrill suggests a division between anticipated and unanticipated outcomes inside the unintended rubric. For that matter, governmental actions will always produce unintended outcomes, because their actions are not in an isolated system, but in a place with multiple interactions. Therefore, it is the government's choice to anticipate unintended outcomes by identifying them and creating alternatives (Sherrill, 1984).

According to Sherrill, governments should put efforts not only to measure their intentions but to verify if any not intended effect is occurring related to that policy. In the Danish case, it seems that the goal was to restrict unskilled labour and to avoid them to take extra jobs without informing the authorities. However, such restriction generated consequences for high-skilled labour, which appears to not be intended. Hence, an alternative would be to verify how policies affect the population and, if there is a negative situation, how to create new paths in the programme to overcome these issues.

Morell follows Sherril's rationale but he stretches the expands the field by adding to the discussion unforeseen and unforeseeable outcomes. The first is given as a failure to capture experiences of previous researches and programmes, while the second are outcomes that one cannot predict or capture from previous experiences. For that matter, a weak application of analytical frameworks for policy evaluation can generate unforeseen consequences, while unforeseeable consequences cannot be predicted (Morell, 2005).

Unforeseeable consequences are related to the change of environment; hence, other-non-related factors could appear in the equation, producing outcomes that could not have been foreseen, due to unlikeliness. Thus, programmes are developed considering one scenario and excluding others, which can affect easily by external factors. As Merton highlighted, social

actions are immersed in different interactions that may affect in multiple ways their results (Merton, 1936; Morell, 2005).

When Merton began the discussion of unintended consequences, social interactions were less complex. We live in a more complex system now: there are multiple interconnections, dimensions, and unpredictabilities that were not here before. To Morell, factors as the size of actions and programmes, the stability of the environment where they are implemented, innovation, and knowledge are some of the risks contributing to the presence of unintended outcomes. Thus, this is all part of an integrated system and, so, it is even harder to predict all aspects of a social action nowadays if compared to when the subject started to be debated in the academia (Koch and Schulpen, 2018; Morell, 2005).

According to Morell, some consequences are not foreseen, therefore the policy-makers cannot create designs to avoid them. Hence, it can be hard to predict an extensive migration wave while all the facts and situations do not translate to this, so politicians cannot create programmes to overcome issues of an event before this event happens. In the Danish case, it may be that politicians did not comprehend that the policies elaborated could affect others than their target. Hence, if they did not consider it in their discussions or if the topic was never brought into the debate, it is impossible to create mechanisms to overcome that. However, in case they could foresee, or at least bring it a parliamentary discussion, the second step is to evaluate how worth it is to create mechanisms or counter-policies to avoid the outcome.

de Zwart (2015) used Merton's theory to provide an in-depth discussion of unintended consequences, distinguishing them in levels of intention and anticipation. Frank de Zwart argues Merton used unintended and unanticipated consequences likewise, obscuring a “real and interesting category of phenomena: consequences that are both unintended and anticipated”. Therefore, he proposes a distinction and contributes by presenting other arguments and conceptualisations to the field of unintended consequences.

Since the beginning of history, the act of policy-making is susceptible to unintended and unanticipated consequences. These two concepts are being used interchangeably for the academics, and de Zwart suggests that it obscures an interesting phenomenon: consequences that are unintended but also anticipated. In other words, consequences that are unintended – i.e. policy-makers do not want to achieve specific results – but are anticipated or, at least, considered before putting in practice for the society (de Zwart, 2015; Perri 6, 2014).

de Zwart argues that unintended consequences are a preoccupation in the social sciences fields because of the increasing amount in “unwelcome side effects of policy-making”. In this

regard, even with a rising concern about this topic in the humanities field, it may be confusing to analyse the outcomes of social action because of a misuse of terms. Therefore he develops his theory by presenting the concepts of (un)anticipated and (un)intended consequences (de Zwart, 2015).

Unanticipated consequences can only be unintended, but unintended consequences can be either anticipated or unanticipated. Therefore, if policy-makers aim at a determined policy, it is likely to anticipate the outcomes, otherwise, they would not be discussing means to produce and to execute it. Simultaneously, if a determined consequence is not to be aimed, the actors can choose to anticipate it or not. This decision process depends on the degree of importance of that consequence for society and the social action, so a consequence that has a minimum chance to happen is not worth to anticipate and discuss, while one with a higher chance would be ideal to bring to the debate. Anticipating an unintended consequence, therefore, requires to elaborate mechanisms to avoid achieving these unwanted side-effects. If they do not anticipate, these effects still might appear as outcomes, even though it was not intended to have them, because they are all part of social interactions (de Zwart, 2015, p. 286; Merton, 1936).

Through history, unintended consequences tend to be unanticipated. However, they are hardly surprising, because there is a range of documents, measures, and academic literature to help to document these effects and how policy-makers and evaluators overcame them (McDaniel Jr et al., 2003).

de Zwart explains that unintended but anticipated consequences became more common because foreseen unwelcome effects increase the efficiency of the programmes. Hence, we understand that a detailed look in the past is a great tool to overcome unintended consequences, by anticipating them. However, the failure to anticipate unwelcome consequences is not the exception, but it can occur frequently as it is impossible to anticipate all side-effects when doing a policy (de Zwart, 2015).

Table 2. Variances of consequences in social actions

	ANTICIPATED	**UNANTICIPATED**
UNINTENDED	I	II
INTENDED	III	∄ (IV)

Table 2 draws the possible consequences of social action, following the conceptualisation established by de Zwart (2015). The anticipation and intention levels change accordingly to the origins and mechanisms involved. Hence, there are four variances of

consequences in purposive social action. The case number IV indicates an intended outcome, but unanticipated. This is an inexistent situation. If there is an intention to reach a particular consequence, it is expected to have it anticipated. Thus, the symbol of inexistence in the case IV. To the literature in unintended outcomes, it is unlikely that an intended policy is not anticipated by policy-makers.

Contrary, case III is the most likely case. This case indicates intended and anticipated consequences of social actions, which means that, if there is the intention to reach a target, policies that corroborate to achieve this goal will be anticipated. For that matter, policy-makers design projects aiming to reach certain outcomes, as well as measures to evaluate how, when and if these results will be achieved. Case III represents the rational ideal – a purposive action realising intentions, accomplishing its goals.

Cases I and II represent unintended consequences. So far, we learned in this chapter that unintended consequences are not always outcomes that have not been taken into account. Contrarily, it can be anticipated, therefore avoiding unwanted side-effects, interfering in the goals of the purposive social action. In case I, there are consequences policy-makers do not aim to obtain and, so, policies are designed taking these outcomes into account, with mechanisms to avoid their presence as a result of the social action. Hence, policy-makers could foresee these unintended consequences and create mechanisms within the design to avoid them. This mostly happens when there are learning effects from other cases and rules, so politicians look back into their actions, analyse, and understand what were the faults and the accomplishments, to later on apply in the new programmes and rules.

Case II, on the other hand, happens when unintended consequences are not anticipated by policy-makers. In other words, either the outcome was not foreseen or the amount of effort to create a mechanism to avoid it was too high. Baert (1991), for instance, uses the trade-off theory to explain unforeseen consequences and worthiness. According to him, if an unintended consequence was foreseen but not anticipated, this means in a trade-off between let it happen and create mechanisms to avoid it, policy-makers preferred the first option. This can be explained by the transaction costs or the expected size of the side-effects. However, unanticipated and unintended outcomes can also be unforeseen, therefore unpredictable, a surprise, an unexpected result.

Through the literature overview, we can understand the outcomes of a purposive social action regarding the degrees of intention and anticipation. Merton established the concept but was not able to differentiate the cases of social action. Further, Jabeen (2016) highlights that

such outcomes are not only a result of the error or ignorance, but by interventions of a larger system, involving humans, society, economy, and politics. Moreover, this system is becoming more complex every day, so humans are not able to cope with all the changes and to control for all the side-effects. According to Jabeen, experience, knowledge, and a well-designed project are ways we have to minimise unintended consequences. However, it may not even be enough because there are other variables into account, e.g. clash of interests.

c. Learnings from unintended consequences

The lack of discussion and evaluation of migration policies is an interesting phenomenon. I can address two possible explanations for the case: (i) international programmes comprehend an extensive group of stakeholders, governments, companies and people; which increase its complexity, price and effects in the society; whereas migration policies have a larger target in the domestic side, reducing, relatively, the number of actors affected by it; (ii) the concern on the migration issue is recent and mostly focused in western countries, therefore, as it is an infant matter, policies are still being implemented and results are still liable to change.

From Merton, we learned that unintended consequences are given by a human intelligence failure, ignorance and lack of knowledge. Hence, in an ideal world, it is crucial to learn with other similar policies in diverse contexts, aiming to predict potential side-effects and design new policies with a reduced margin for errors and unintended consequences. However, Sherrill observed in his studies that the practice is far different from the theory: unintended outcomes are likely to be ignored by policy evaluators because the aim is to measure the expected results instead. In this sense, evaluators are so concerned with the goals of the programmes that they ignore other side-effects (Merton, 1936; Sherrill, 1984).

The findings of Sherril and Merton helps us to understand why there are negative side-effects in the Danish migration policies. As follows, as older and more established the field and/or the programmes, easier to predict the outcomes because we can learn from the past. The tightening of migration policies, nonetheless, is relatively recent, observed after 2002.

Recognising this, to analyse and to predict unintended outcomes in an infant area is a hard task because it needs a lot more information and development before assigning any specific conclusions to the causes we observe. Hence, there has been less than twenty years of restrictive migration policies in Denmark, whereas in the last five years became even harsher; which is a not long enough period to evaluate the causes and effects in Danish society.

Awareness, prediction, and learning are ways to overcome side-effects. Thus, the historical records of parliamentary debates, academic publications, and newspaper articles are some tools used to gain knowledge about previous and similar policies. In this sense, ignoring these tools may help mitigate unintended outcomes (Jabeen, 2016). In the Danish case, although the history of tighter policies is relatively recent, these tools could help minimises the unintended consequences in migration policies.

Learning from other contexts may be a way to overcome side-effects. For instance, Massey and Pren (2012) studied the unintended consequences of U.S Immigration Policies. They present the changes in migration policies in the post-1965 U.S. and how this affected the popular opinion, the media, and the number of migration flows. They inform that, despite the population and the media support, there was no real increase of illegal migration in the same period the policies were created and applied. However, as a result of policies from the past, during the 2000s, the number of illegal immigrants increased significantly, resulting in unintended consequences to the American government.

What we can learn from Massey and Pren is that unintended consequences do not necessarily appear right after implementing policies. The time is an important variable and, as the policy matures, it becomes easier to identify problems. Moreover, public debate and the media are variables that can affect policy-making and unintended consequences. This means that the result of the tightening of policies in Denmark may have consequences in society later, not necessarily at the moment it has been implemented. Therefore, to keep track and analyse the past and the current policies are good strategies to avoid undesired outcomes.

Keijzer and Lundsgaarde (2018) write about the dichotomy of unintended consequences: to elaborate and to put in practice an action, the actors involved may have common interests, otherwise, it is not rational to join a purposive action. These interests, however, are not the goals of the action, so it is not clear to all actors. Thus, a consequence could be unintended from one point of view and intended to another.

The “mutual interests” are not always positive or the same to all parts of society. For instance, at the parliament level, politicians could adhere and approve a political proposal to simply remain in power, others could do to represent those who elected them, and some because they believed the proposal is necessary to society. Thus, what we consider an unintended consequence can be a hidden-intention from the policy-makers or just a lack of anticipation. But we cannot know for sure whether there were hidden mutual interests or lack of anticipation and debate. Alternatively, we could look into parliamentary debates, and newspapers

publications, for instance, to observe speeches and reports about the process of making these laws, to make conclusions about the anticipation or not of unintended consequences.

To sum up, the way to overcome unintended consequences is to anticipate them, either by debates, observing the way media reports, or how is the public opinion. This does not mean the exclusion of unintended consequences, because their presence is not only a lack of anticipation. For that matter, side-effects may happen if there are hidden-intentions of mutual interests: reasons behind the implementation of these policies that are not fully known by others than the policy-makers. Hence, what we learned from unintended consequences is applicable to help us understand how there are unwanted effects in the migration policies in Denmark. It could be a lack of anticipation, as well as hidden-intentions. By looking at newspapers' articles we can observe if there was an anticipation of these issues in the media.

This chapter brought a review of the unintended consequences theory. Even though the literature focuses on international programmes for development and aid, we can still learn from the findings and apply to the context of Danish politics. The differentiation of unintended, unanticipated, and unforeseen is crucial for understanding how and side-effects were generated, and how to overcome them. Furthermore, hidden interests play a major role when evaluating the outcomes, as it is hard for us, outside the political arena, to judge what is precisely the intentions of the politicians. Hence, the findings of other authors will contribute to a better evaluation of the Danish case, because of the developed mechanisms and attention points.

Aiming at understanding the aspects of anticipation and intention, a solution would be to analyse the approach of these side-effects and the rules behind by the media, authors and parliamentary debates. For that matter, we can observe if politicians anticipate or not cases like Brooke Harrington's. Moreover, we may be aware of their intentions when doing restrictive policies, for instance. Hence, in the next chapters, I will go through Danish newspapers' articles to see how they addressed the issues about restrictive migration policies.

3 Methods and Data Collection

a. The Case Selection

This study seeks to investigate the relation between policies and their effects in society. For that matter, I try to find out if politicians are aware of the outcomes when they approve a policy or a law. Moreover, I aim to understand if it is possible to classify results as unintended, unanticipated, or unforeseen outcomes from public actions.

To Merton (1936), unintended consequences are diverse in context and variety and it can bring diverse interpretations, not only one definite consideration about the topic. Therefore, expanding the known mechanisms into a case study allows an in-depth knowledge about how social actions are arranged in a way to produce side-effects. To illustrate this research I used Denmark as a case study, focusing on the case of the penalties for non-EU foreigner researchers working outside their prime contract without a side-job permission.

Denmark is a good case to be analysed for a few reasons. Denmark is an old and established model of the universal welfare state, carrying traditional policies, universal public provisions, and homogeneous society. Contrarily to what was expected from the Danish model, selective social investments, restrictive policies, and difficulties in the access to the labour market by foreigners reflect system's current situation. Denmark is passing through a process of de-universalisation of the welfare, characterised by the creation of policies distinguishing natives and foreigners, e.g. the access to public benefits. This differentiation of public policies is resulted from the intensive immigration wave in the past decades, in which the amount of non-natives increased, leading to a rise in the beneficiaries of the universal system. Consequently, the adaptations to the new scenario increased the unintended consequences in society derived from these changes to maintain the welfare system.

Another reason is that migration in Denmark has been highly politicised, more than in other Scandinavian countries. The main-stream right-wing parties in Denmark incentivise the debate on migration and integration in the labour market by foreigners, influencing the discussions and the creation of laws under migrants. Policies targeting migration and foreigners are more liable to generate unintended consequences because the issue is high politicised in Denmark (Green-Pedersen and Krogstrup, 2008). Hence, when policies are approved without a great and extensive debate, not all aspects will be considered, generating more side-effects.

Not only labour market rules, but also integration and the use of benefits became stricter. However, Denmark has always maintained a welcoming tone towards high-skilled workers, because of their contributions to development and economic growth to the country. To work in Denmark, a non-EU citizen must apply for a work permit and, for each separate activity not in the primarily contract, the foreigner have to ask for a separate authorization. This was to avoid low-skilled foreigners to do other jobs, but we see that has been affecting specialised workforce.

Brooke Harrington's case is one of the most well-known cases of foreigners affected negatively, without a clear intention to that, by the immigration laws. Her situation was known worldwide and many countries and media vehicles started to debate about how far laws can go to ban high-skilled foreigners from the country. Her case not only opened the discussion about unintended consequences but also gave space to other foreigners in the same situation to bring to our attention their cases, showing that it is a more generic issue than expected.

Tight immigration policies are elaborated to avoid the "welfare magnet effect". This means that low qualified and foreigners without a reason to not work are not welcome in society because they would use the welfare system without contributing. However, the policies are not expected to affect who contributes to the country – i.e. high-skilled workers. Hence, it is necessary and relevant to investigate why these policies are reaching specialised workers, why these side-effects are happening, and what and when politicians can work to overcome it.

Denmark is a most-likely case to investigate the existence of unintended consequences in domestic policies, namely the immigration policies. Danish politicians have always kept a positive and welcoming tone to high-skilled workers, whilst a negative and tightening position towards low-skilled foreigners attracted by the "welfare magnet" phenomenon. This seems not the case, as a specialised was affected by it. Hence, after what happened with Harrington, I expect to find evidence of unintended and unanticipated consequences.

To understand the Danish case is to be able to collect information and insights about the process responsible for the generation of unintended consequences. A deep-knowledge in this process can be useful to comprehend less-likely cases, other policy fields, and to enrich the knowledge the academy has about unintended consequences. Thus, to study about Denmark is to expand the use of the concept of unintended consequences to other fields, contributing to the scholars with the use of the known mechanism of analysis to observe new phenomena and results in other environments.

To sum up, Denmark is an interesting and most-likely case given the trajectory of migration policies in the country. The high-politicised condition of the topic also reinforces the

expectation for unintended consequences. Moreover, the case of Brooke Harrington opened this debate in the media and, as far as we can observe in Danish politics, it has also opened the issue in the government. Hence, by understanding this case we can use what we learn to apply in less-likely cases and other fields of the social sciences.

b. The Sources and Mechanisms: Media in Denmark and R Programme

To conduct this research and to answer the question *To what extent Danish politicians anticipated unintended consequences in immigration policies*, I will analyse media articles. The evolution of immigration policies and the social perception towards foreigners combined the political game, the influence of the media, and the public opinion. Negative stories about immigrants were published by several media vehicles, driving the population and political parties' attention and negative perception.

The case of Brooke Harrington was unique in many forms, but the crucial aspect was the visibility gained in the media, not only nationally but also internationally. This fostered the debate in Denmark, politicians were questioned and asked to real solutions in the field. Moreover, other similar situations of high-skilled workers were reported leaving Denmark because of side jobs came to the common knowledge, assuring that something was wrong in the policy-making environment.

In this thesis, I will use two channels of media: DR and Politiken. The first, is a state-financed media, with free access, known by a neutral political position. The second, *Politiken*, is a paid newspaper, mostly known by a centre-left position. I asked authorisation from *Politiken* to use their content as research data, because it is a private and paid journal.

According to Schrøder and Ørsten (2018), DR is the most accessed weekly media by the Danish population, both online and in TV, Radio, and printed versions. Politiken is largely accessed, mainly when only paid vehicles in the country are considered. This newspaper holds 8% of the shares of TV, Radio and Print; and 16% of the shares in the online version of weekly usage. Regarding the printed media, DR is the most used and Politiken is the most used considering only paid means.

The goal of this thesis is to analyse the changes in speech and story-telling of the variables related to high-skilled immigrants. After that, it will be possible to map cases, concerns, and statements relating to these foreigners and Danish politics. Thus, results are expected to clarify if politicians anticipated or discussed any of these consequences.

The period of the last two national governments – from 2011 to 2019 – will be used for the analysis. The reason for this choice is previously known changes in the government leadership and the clear tightening process of immigration policies. Because of this known situation and the recent cases involving foreign researchers, Denmark is the most likely case to study, map and explain unintended consequences in the immigration policy field. The time frame from the collected data is from 15.09.2011 to 20.03.2019 because the scraping process was done during March and the beginning of April.

To collect the data I used the R Programme – a language and free software for statistical computing and graphics. With R I can analyse, calculate, obtain information online, and create plots. It is a versatile programme and, in my case, I wrote codes to have an automated collection of data, as well as an analysis of the texts as data (R Core Team, 2014).

i. Data Collection: DR – Scope and Challenges

DR – Danmarks Radio – is a Danish Broadcasting Corporation. Denmark's oldest and largest electronic media enterprise. It was founded in 1925 as a public service organisation and, nowadays, it is an independent license-financed public institution that runs not only newspapers but also television, radio, and online services. The Corporation is founded by a media license, charged to all Danish households, and delivers news about Denmark and the world. Hence, DR is a public and free website, where we can get free access to daily news, as well as to their archive (DR, 2019b).

The choice for using DR as a data source had two reasons: (1) it is a free source, therefore all the population can have access, facilitating the outreach to the Danish population; (2) it is a State related corporation, therefore we expect not having a biased political perspective, as it represents the State as a body. Hence, before collecting the data and running the analysis, it was planned for having a low-biased source with good coverage of the Danish events. The goal was to see how an "official" governmental media would cover the debate on unintended consequences of restrictive migration policies. Thus, I opted to collect sources from DR.

The format of the website – https://www.dr.dk/ – is very intuitive and facilitates the scraping of the news using the R programme. It is divided into the news sections – *Politik* (Politics), *Sport*, *Viden* (Science), *Kultur* (Culture), *Musik* (Music) and *Mit Liv* (Lifestyle) – and it is also divided into topics, as domestic and foreigner, money, and regional news. For this research, I focused on the news under the rubric "Politics" because I wanted to look into news

about laws and political conflicts regarding migration. For that reason, it was clear from the beginning that the focus was to collect political news. The scope of the research is from 15.09.2011 to 20.03.2019, covering almost entirely the two last governments, so that was the time frame used to capture articles in DR.

To collect the data I went from the main page of the website to the political section and, after, to the page with all articles published under "Politics", as the first page just contained the main latest released articles. Hence, by using the R programme, I was able to select news within my date range.

The scraping process presented some issues and challenges. For instance, in the archive page, DR makes available not only news from a specific day, but also others related. Hence, I trained R to identify the needs for this research and, instead of collecting all articles from each page, the programme collected only the ones released in each specific date. If the time-range was shorter, this should not be an issue, considering the amount of observations. But, because I am working with a scope of almost eight years, it was necessary to make R scrape in the most efficient way, to avoid spending time to collect useless information.

In this first section of scraping, I collected titles, URLs, and dates. For some reason, I noticed that the programme included articles besides my data frame, probably because of the URL's styles. A mechanism was created to remove this problem. After, I created a data frame with the scraped articles and applied the *unique* function, excluding duplicated news. I ended this phase with 42,383 observations.

After a quick check, I could see that not all the news were relevant, which was expected. However, filtering the data only with titles could mean the exclusion of important data. Hence, an alternative was to also scrape the summaries – the short articles' description.

For the summaries, R accessed the URL of each article and collected the text. This was an automated, but long, process because of the range of observations. The *grepl* function deleted from my data all the articles without a summary. These articles were images or videos, without text, so it would be unfeasible to analyse them. I ended with 41,761 observations.

The last part of the scraping process was to collect the full texts of the articles from DR. Before that the observations were filtered using words that should be present in news about migration laws. The decision to filter and to use these words in the process was crucial, because collecting more than 40,000 articles would take a too long time and space, even in an automated process. Moreover, it was very likely that some of the data was not relevant, so the filters were used to obtain relevant information and exclude articles not related to the topic. Hence, I applied

a filter in both title and summaries. After that, I united all the articles containing any of the selected words into a separate data frame and I used the *unique* function to remove duplicated articles. The words used to filter the news are in Table 3.

Table 3. Words used as a filter to select relevant news

integration	arbejdslovgivning	migration	immigrant	Støjberg
flytning	udlænding	udvisning	tilladelse	opholdstilladelse
udlændingelov	udlændingestyrelsen	hjemsendelse	nydansker	bibeskæftigelse
højtuddannet	Brooke Harrington	ulovligt arbejde	udenlandske forskere	udenlandske bijobbere
bijob	bijobbe			

Before deciding for these words, I accessed the website and checked articles that I knew should be in my dataset. In that way, I was able to understand how the media writes about the cases of unintended consequences in migration laws and which kind of words are used. After this closed observation, I ranked other words that should bring some necessary information on the debate of unintended consequences of tight immigration policies. R can recognize parts of a word so, for instance, by typing *immigrant* I could also find *immigranter* (immigrants).

The filtering process ended with 859 observations with the filtering words in the titles and 1,076 observations in the summaries. I added these two observations together in a new data frame and applied the *unique* function to remove duplicates from the dataset. This proved my assumption that filtering only titles would mask relevant information. The final number of observations from DR was 1,431.

When checking my dataset, I noticed some crucial articles missing, because they were not published in the political section of DR. The original dataset missed 9 articles about Brooke Harrington and other foreign researchers with a similar case from November 2017 to January 2018. The articles were not in the dataset because they were under "Penge" rubric – the financial news. I attribute this reason to the fact that Brooke Harrington works specifically with taxation, so the economy section was responsible to report this type of news. Thus, articles talking about cases similar to hers were also under the same rubric.

I created a new scraping file where I collected all these 9 articles and, then, I added into my final dataset. I do not believe it was a problem to not scrape "*Penge*" or other rubrics because very likely the majority of articles were covered under "Politics". Ideally, it would be

interesting to scrape all the articles from all the news – as I did in *Politiken.* But, in terms of sample percentage, the political sections is the one suited to these articles, so the findings in others should not be outcome changing. Thus, the time spent to collect articles from other sections is not worth considering the way the news are organised within the newspaper. In the end, the last phase of scraping contained 1,440 observations.

ii. Data Collection: Politiken – Scope and Challenges

Politiken is a daily Danish newspaper, published by JP/Politikens Hus in Copenhagen. Since 1970, the newspaper has been independent – not attached to any party – but it maintains a liberal, centre-left position. Contrarily to DR, *Politiken* is a paid newspaper, also in its online version. Hence, it is expected that only people interested in daily news and the scope of the newspaper are willing to pay for its membership. Therefore, its outreach is more limited, if compared to a free newspaper (DR). *Politiken*, however, is still an important media for the Danish public, as it holds a consistent amount of shares of the private media in Denmark.

The choice for using *Politiken* was due two reasons: (1) I wanted to see if there is any difference between a paid and not paid newspaper, if the access and the way the information is communicated is different; (2) The newspaper has been known as centre-left, and I would like to see if it could bring any different perspective compared to the other one that is expected to be neutral.

As centre-left, the expectation before running the analysis was that the newspaper could publish more articles related to the unintended consequences of migration policies, covering the side of the affected foreigners. I did not expect to have any difference in quality of information related to paid and not paid, but I expected a more independent production, as *Politiken* is one of the only two newspaper groups able to boost profit without relying on state subsidy (Schrøder and Ørsten, 2018).

The format of the website – https://politiken.dk/ – is also well-organized and divided into sections. It is possible to search for the main themes – *Danmark* (Denmark), *Kultur* (Culture), *Debat* (Debate), *Klima* (Climate), *Internationalt* (International), *Sport* (Sport), *Forbrug og Liv* (Consumption and Life Style) – but it is also possible to go through the menu and find more specialized sections. In my case, I was interested in looking at political news, so I went to *Danmark* (Denmark) and, later, to *Politik* (Politics). However, this does not bring any interesting results, because it only appears the newest productions, not the archive. For that,

they have a link to a daily archive: all news published on each day. Hence, I focused on getting news from that page.

To obtain news from all publications was positive and negative at the same time: positive because I did not miss any news through the scraping process, as all publications were in the archive; and bad because it, of course, would give me many results that were not relevant to this research, like Sports and Life Style. To get access to the newspaper, I had to have a subscription, as it is a paid website. However, to get only titles, URLs and dates I did not have to provide my login, as the access to titles are free from subscription. The data range scraped from *Politiken* was the same as DR. After cleaning for duplicates, I obtained 326,917 observations.

As I anticipated, there are much more articles than what is relevant for the thesis, but that was the only way possible to obtain the archive from this newspaper. From this point, I was required to have a subscription to access the summaries and full texts, so I developed a code that recognized the login requirement and added my credentials before accessing the content, otherwise, it would not work.

Before accessing the summaries, a major problem was that *Politiken* had too many articles, most of them not relevant, because of the way I collected the titles. Hence, I observed that the URLs were divided according to the sections – Politics, Sports, Climate, for instance – and I decided to filter relevant sections and only scrape them from now on. I decided to use *Debate, Indland* (Domestic News), and *Udland* (International News), from all the 21 different subsections present on the URLs. Contrarily to DR that had a section specific to Politics, this newspaper did not have and, so, I had to use more rubrics to be able to cover all the possibilities to have political articles. After filtering, I ended this part with 145,548 articles.

It was still a robust amount of articles, but I decided to cover all of them so as not to miss any relevant news. After this part, I collected the summaries from the news. It was interesting to observe that the website uses, in its HTML code, two different nodes[2] to get the summaries from the news. Hence, I ran my code twice, using the two different nodes, so I would not miss any relevant news. After the cleaning process, I ended this phase with 134,706 observations.

[2] Nodes are parts that form the HTML code. Each feature in a website is composed of one type of node. For instance, if I wish to scrape all the dates in a website, I must search in the HTML code for the node that brings the date information. In general, the websites have one single node for each feature, as it is much easier to identify if there is any problem with the website. We can also get the nodes by using a Google Chrome extension called "Selector Gadget". It is a programme that gives me the node I wish by clicking on a specific part of a website's page. This facilitates access, as sometimes can be difficult to get the nodes through the HTML code only.

As in DR, the next step was filtering of summaries and titles with the selected words. I used the same words, as I intend to get the same kind of data. I got 1,491 observations by filtering titles and 2,184 observations for summaries. After applying the unique function, I ended the phase with 2,931 observations.

Later, in the scrapping process of *Politiken,* I designed another code responsible for getting the entire articles, as this will be the main use of the research. After scrapping the full articles, I applied once again the *grepl* function to remove articles without text (images or videos). This was done exactly in the same way as I did in DR. I ended the scrapping process with 2,906 observations ready to be analysed.

iii. Limitations in data collection

There were certain limitations through the data selection and collection process. Ideally, this research would approach four sources – three newspapers and the parliament debates. Regarding the newspapers, I considered using *DR, Politiken* and *Jyllands Posten.*

Jyllands Posten is also an important media vehicle in the Danish context, holding 14% of the weekly usage shares in the online field (Schrøder and Ørsten, 2018). Ideally, it would be interesting to add *Jyllands Posten*, mainly because it could bring a more centre-right perspective to the research, as this is the positioning of the newspaper, allowing us to compare if the different political positions could affect in the way unintended consequences are anticipated. However, some major barriers led us to exclude this media from the research.

For being a paid website, it is necessary to have a subscription to access *Jyllands Posten* – https://jyllands-posten.dk – and I did not have it and could not find sources to provide it. Besides, the major challenge was to scrape the newspaper, as it was in a different format the way the files were stored. *Jyllands Posten* does not have an archive like DR or Politiken. Instead, the newspaper has a search mechanism where I can type my word of interest and articles related are returned on a page. Hence, for that matter, selecting news should be by typing possible words in the research form. This could bias my process or exclude crucial articles, depending on my choice for the typed word.

To avoid bias, I would need more time to go through the newspaper manually and understand what were the limitations I could encounter by searching through keywords. Later I would have to create alternatives for that and it would be impossible to cover a specific section or the entire archive. Even by doing this, I could create a bias by selecting only what is important

for the research, masking the numbers and the results, or I could also exclude important information by typing "the wrong word".

Lastly, as it is a paid newspaper, I asked authorization to use the content for this research and, their answer, despite positive, reached me late in time. I believe it could bring an interesting perspective to the research to have one media vehicle from each side of the political spectrum but, unfortunately, *Jyllands Posten* was not included by the issue of subscription and the format of the website, that limited the outreach of the research.

Regarding the Parliament debates, I intended to go through all the discussions during the scope of time. Thus, I would aim to see what politicians had been approaching in their sections about migration laws. It would be interesting, from a research point of view, to understand if policy-makers are considering possible unintended consequences while producing laws. For instance, if they debated the possibility to happen what we have been seeing. Hence, we would be able to understand not only from the media perspective but also from the political debate perspective, how is the relationship between politicians, policies and unintended consequences. However, this was not possible for this thesis due to time restrictions.

The Danish Parliament website – https://www.ft.dk/ – has all the open sections transcribed as text in an open-source, as well as some videos from the meetings. However, the amount of detailed data – specific questions and debates, for instance – is extensive and finding only the discussions about immigration is difficult and time-consuming, even using R. This means that, if choosing to use this source, this research could lack important debates simply because it would be impracticable to collect this data during the required time for it. Instead, I used through this research a few speeches and samples from the Parliament debates as anecdotes to illustrate the cases and the theory.

The scraping of DR and *Politiken* have also some limitations. As we used a filter to select the news, it could be I missed some article. However, this will always happen when doing the automatized collection of data. Less problematic in *Politiken*, but in DR the selection of only the section "*Politik"* could exclude other articles. As I showed with the articles of Brooke Harrington, this can happen and through the scraping process, I tried the best alternatives to avoid at maximum any kind of bias.

To sum up, *Jyllands Posten* and the Danish Parliament are sources that could bring an interesting perspective to this research but, by different reasons, were not included in the analysis. However, it does not mean that DR and *Politiken* are not sufficient. Contrarily, these

two newspapers have a great outreach of readers and, therefore, it is expected that, if any, the information is clear and present there.

4 Combining theory and practice: an analysis of Danish newspapers' articles about immigration policies from 2011 to 2019

Unintended consequences is an old phenomenon observed within purposive social actions and it is diverse in terms, contexts, and forms. From the first conceptualisation by Merton, in 1936, to the current studies on the topic, the effects of social actions evolved to a classification based on levels of intention and anticipation. While Merton replaced indistinguishably the terms unintended and unanticipated, de Zwart differentiated them and explained the latter can only be unintended, but the first can either be anticipated or unanticipated (de Zwart, 2015; Merton, 1936). This clarification contributes to the interpretation of outcomes in society, applying the concept of unintended consequences to multiple fields within the social sciences. Based on that, are politicians capable to anticipate unintended consequences?

The differentiation within the levels of anticipation and intention is crucial to understand how tight immigration policies led to a negative effect on high-skilled workers. Intention relates to the willingness of the act, whereas anticipation concerns to foresee issues. In the past years, Denmark has had a welcoming tone to those who contribute, integrate to the society, and help to increase the levels of economic growth and development. In other words, the country has a "door open" tone to high-skilled foreigners coming as a specialised workforce in the industry and academia. This situation seems to be solid, but a quick read in a Danish newspaper is all it needs to see how immigration policies hurt these foreigners, making them leave the country.

The situation is unintended. However, could or was it anticipated? This chapter brings an analysis of eight-years of Danish media published articles about immigration policies. The goal is to raise debates, speeches, and cases to contribute with an explanation of why non-European high-skilled workers are banned from the country. Hence, by looking at the articles I expect to understand which policies are intended, anticipated, unintended, and unanticipated.

The analysis was performed in two levels: (1) text as data, an automated evaluation of words and sentences, as well as their relations, using R programme; (2) in-depth analysis of texts through reading, dividing them by topics, tapered from a broad dataset to relevant articles for possible explanations. The first uses R as an evaluation tool and it brings a general perspective about the observations, how the words relate among each other, what are the most

typed features, and how are the frequency of published articles. The latter is in-depth research in which, after a careful reading of all the articles they were divided into topics, and the most relevant were collected for assessment using de Zwart's variants of unintended consequences.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section – *Text as data: the information behind the articles collected* – brings an automated analysis of the scraped texts as data. In the second section – *Unintended or unanticipated: the theory applied to the case of Denmark* – I entail a detailed analysis of the articles, a division of them according to themes and an application of the unintended and unanticipated theory into the articles related to the issue of foreign high-skilled workers. The automated and the in-depth analysis complement each other, providing to this research with a comprehension about the stretching of the concept of the unintended consequences to other social sciences' areas.

a. Text as data: the information behind the collected articles

i. The process of analysis

Exploratory data analysis provides inductive learning about the structure and the underlying patterns of a set of observations. For that matter, to observe and to evaluate words, phrases, and articles using only non-technological methods means the loss of identification of interesting phenomena, considering the number of observations collected for this study. Thus, the variety and the volume of texts allowed me to transform text as data, using the R programme, to investigate and to learn about the texts collected, achieving results impossible to obtain through human reading (Imai, 2017).

The text as data analysis was conducted in three parts: (1) an analysis of the frequency of published articles; (2) an analysis of the most typed words (feature-occurrence); and (3) an analysis of the relation among the most typed words, a co-occurrence evaluation.

For the first part, the data visualisation used a plotting system in R. I observed the monthly amount of articles separately in DR and Politiken, to see if there were any differences among the level and the time in which the news were published.

For the second part, I conducted a text analysis for each media, because it is important to understand the differences in terms of content and the relation of words in DR and *Politiken*. I used the *quanteda* package to manage and analyse the textual data. This package was designed for users *"needing to apply natural language processing of texts, from documents to final*

analysis". *Quanteda* starts its processing by organising and formatting the text for analysis: stemming the articles' language, tokenizing and removing symbols, punctuation, URLs, and all other features that may disturb the meaning of the collected observations (Benoit et al., 2018).

The data analysis consisted of a top features evaluation on texts and word network. I created a document feature matrix with the tokenised articles, which means that all typed words, excluding the cleaned items, were placed into a matrix for analysis according to parameters of frequency and relations. The *quanteda* package was responsible for this process.

The third process was a network analysis: the words form a network of relations, from the one with the highest occurrence to the lower, considering the proportion for the co-occurrence of observations. In other words, it shows not only the features with high-presence in the articles but also how they relate to each other. For this part, I selected the features by importance in a document, using the statistic called *term frequency-inverse document frequency* (tf-idf). This statistic calculation represents the *"relative frequency of the term inversely weighted by the number of documents in which the term appears"*, thus, it shows the importance of a word given its uniqueness (Imai, 2017).

ii. The results

The analysis of articles from DR and Politiken was conducted separately to see if there were any major differences, in terms of frequency of publication and subject areas, between the two media. From September 2011 to March 2019, the data frame of this research, there were 91 months of published articles from Politiken, whereas from DR only 90, because there were no filtered articles in September 2011. Despite this difference, the frequency of published articles follows a similar pattern in both newspapers, observable in Figures 1 and 2.

Figure 1. Published articles per month in DR

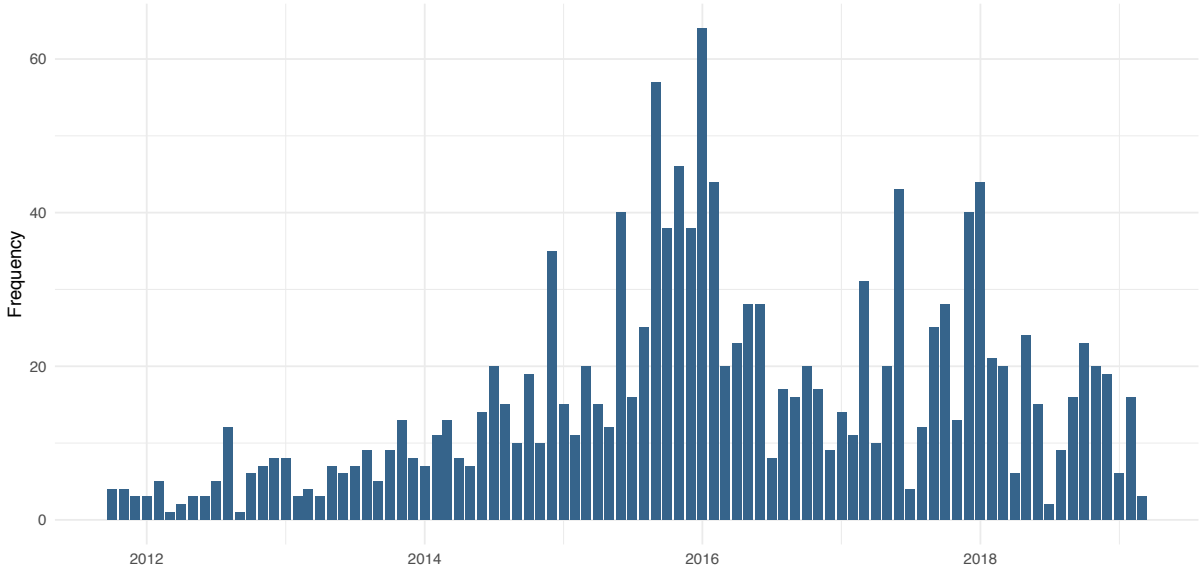
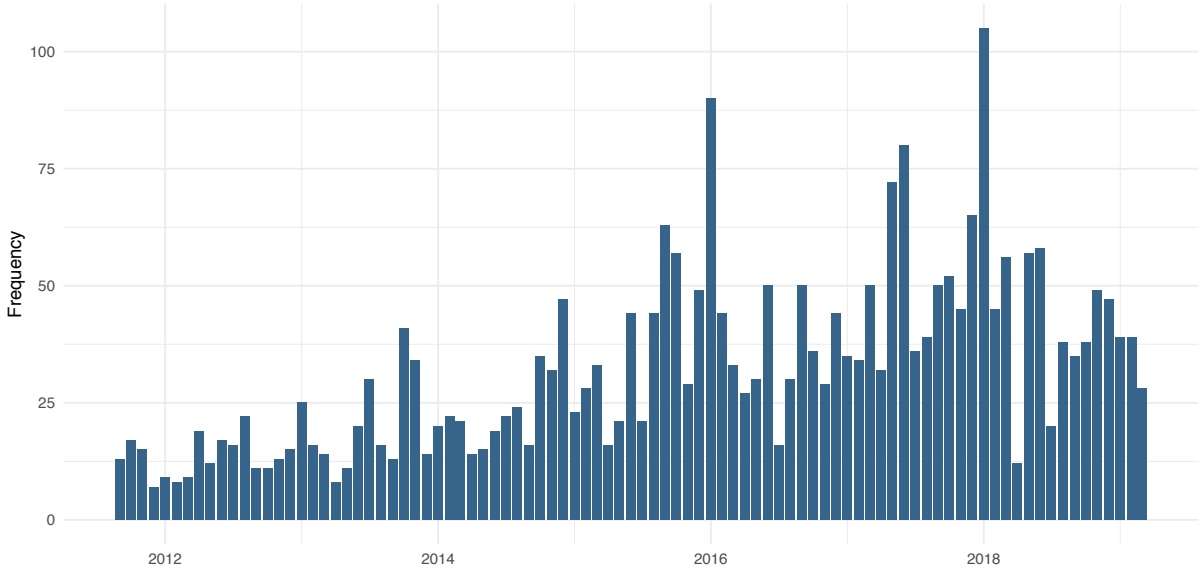


Figure 2. Published articles per month in Politiken



It is interesting to observe that in both Politiken and DR there was a peak in the publications in January 2016: DR 64 published articles while Politiken 90. After a look at this period, the majority of the news was related to asylum seekers and refugee policies. For instance, topics as the Jewellery Law, the Danish border dynamics, government, and asylum seekers were the most recurrent in both media. The second highest peak in DR was in September 2015 with 57 published articles, in which more than 20% were related to the process

of Danish Citizenship. Meanwhile, Politiken highest peak was in January 2018, with 105 publications about the international scenario and the Danish government.

The analysis of frequency provides an understanding of the publications dynamic on the relevant themes for this research, so it is possible to observe what and when was relevant to the debate. Hence, considering that learning is a key factor for the anticipation of unintended consequences, an intense public debate is expected to provide mechanisms and backgrounds for a better policy-making. However, the frequency itself does not tell the entire story behind the publications, so it is necessary to look into themes and words used for a better comprehension of the articles.

The word analysis was divided into two phases: a general look at the highest occurrence words, and a look at the highest occurrence words after a filtering process. Through the tokenisation process, the programme removed generic ending of words – as "ing", in English – , individual letters, hyperlinks, and other typos that won't tell anything important to the reader. Although the programme is efficient, it cannot remove all unnecessary parts, so I optimised the code by using a function to remove unwanted words. Figures 3 and 4 show the top features before the cleaning process.

Figure 3. Top features before cleaning in DR articles

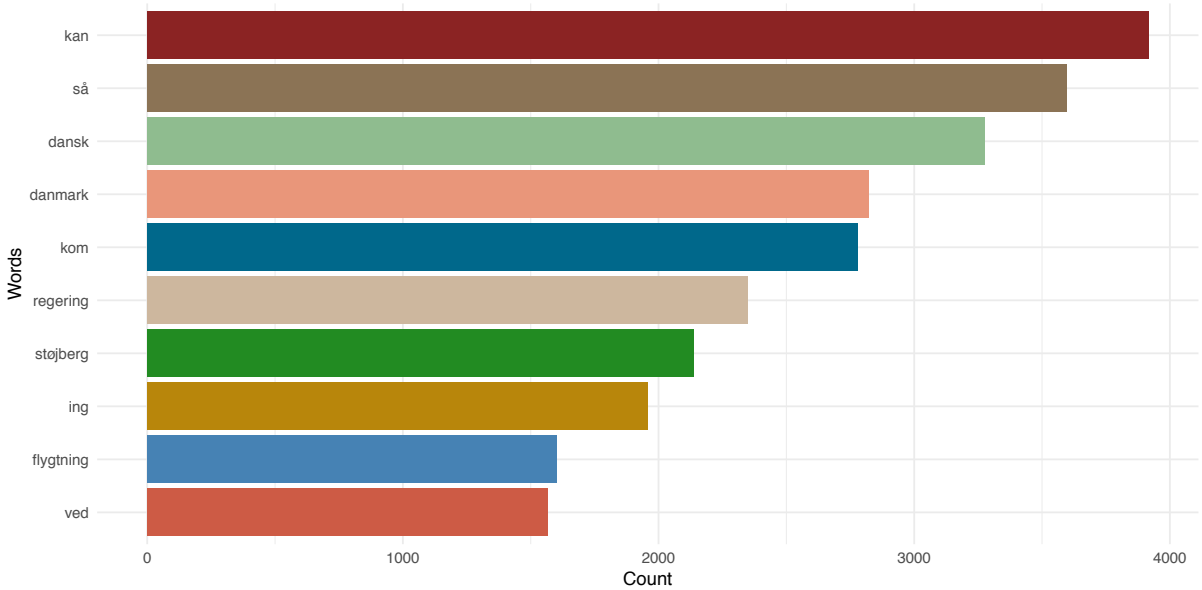
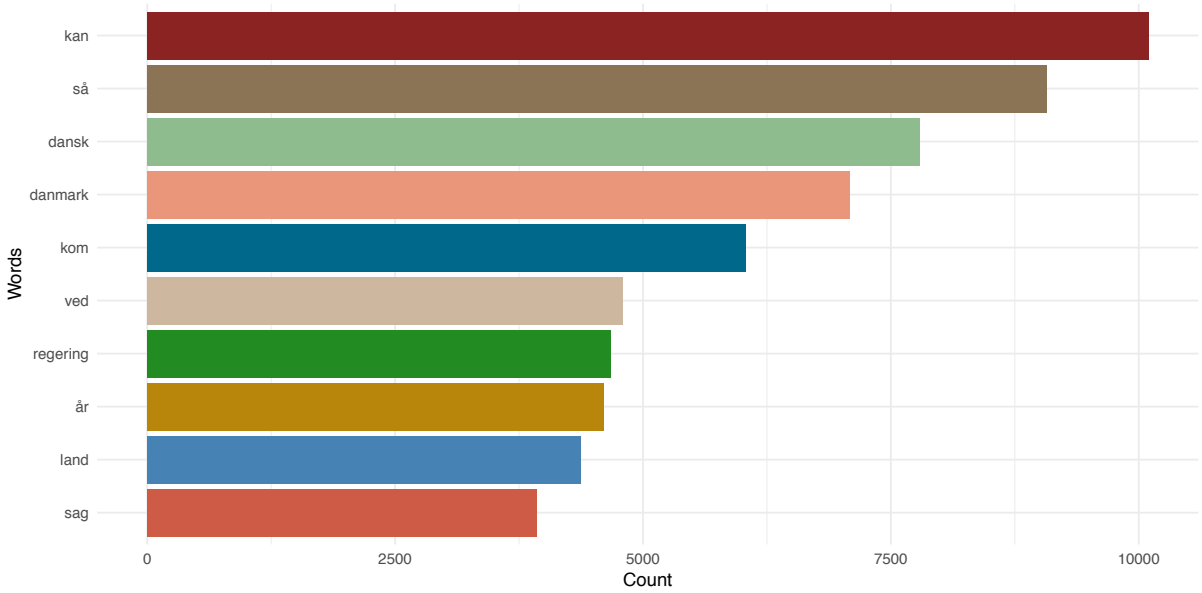


Figure 4. Top features before cleaning in Politiken articles



Figures 3 and 4 show the 10 most typed words in the articles. First, there is a 60% similarity between DR and *Politiken*, but this does not say anything after an observation of which words are these. *Danmark* (Denmark) and *dansk* (Danish) are expected because the observations are articles about the country. *Kan* (can) and *så* (so, then, saw) appear in first and second places for both media but are assistant words, with high frequency in any text. Therefore, most of these words are not relevant to understand what the articles are about and how they are related to each other.

To find the relevant words I used the tool *words to remove* in R, to exclude the top features that were not relevant. After the elimination process, it was expected to obtain a panorama of the most common themes according to the words with a higher count. The removal process was gradual and simultaneous, thus I could monitor the obtained results in DR and *Politiken*.

Table 4. Features for removal

kan	så	dansk	danmark	kom	ved	år	land	sag	støjberg	ing
få	tag	fler	dag	gør	tid	sid	sam	andr	mer	udlænding
tal	hel	and	giv	to	fordi	v	får	bland	mul	derfor
helt	nye	person	lig	send	ifølg	må	først	stor	kun	del

Table 4 contains the removed words from the dataset. They either refer to short forms of other words or to already expected expressions and terms, as Denmark and Støjberg. The latter was used as a filter, so its presence in top features would not tell anything relevant to the analysis. Thus, the filter words appearing in the process of checking the top features were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 5. Filtered top features from DR

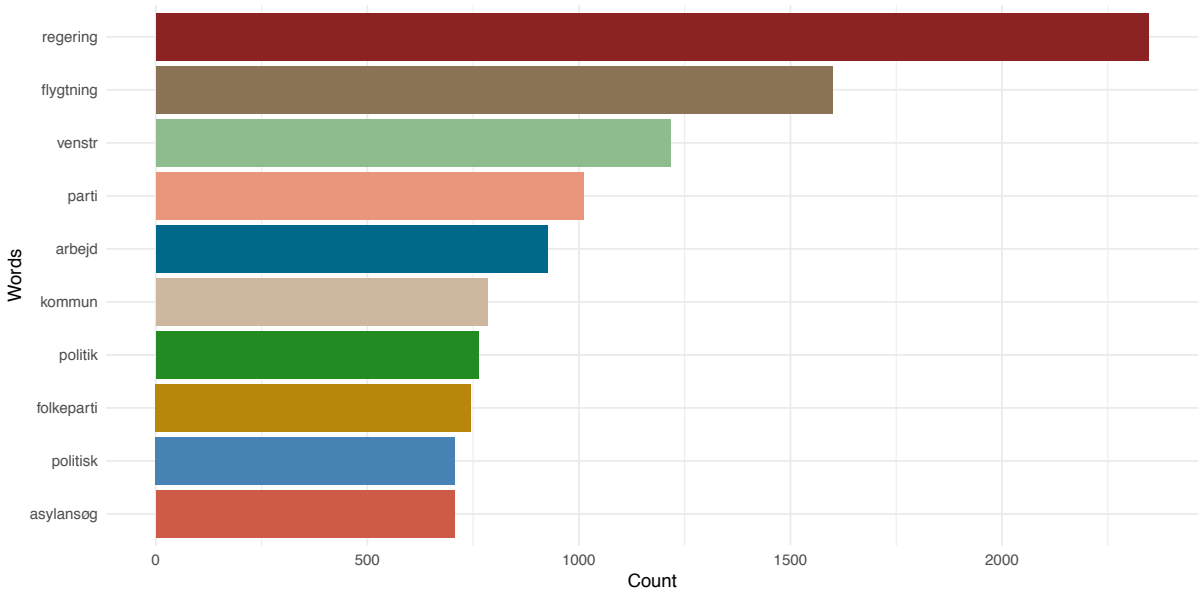
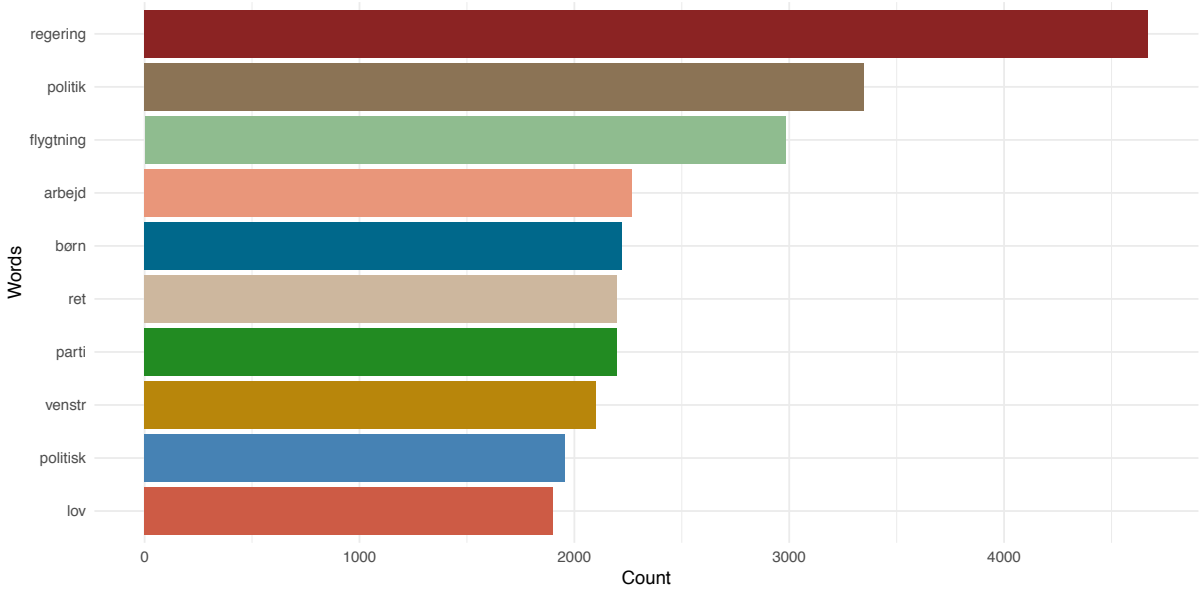


Figure 6. Filtered top features from Politiken



After excluding the unwanted words, a clear and interesting panorama of words is released. There is a similarity of 70% on the most typed words, which proves a resemblance regarding the collected data in DR and *Politiken*. This process is essential for the research because it was used different automated scraping methods due to the uniqueness of each website. Thus, checking the similarities of filtered top features confirms the authenticity of the path to collect the data.

The goal of this research is to observe if and how politicians anticipate unintended consequences. The automated method is not optimal, but it allows for a general knowledge about the scraped data. In DR and *Politiken*, the most common feature is *regering* (government), so I infer the majority of articles relate to governmental propositions, decisions or issues. Giving that the filter is related to government, this is another expected result.

Two names related to the Danish right-wing appeared: folkeparti (people's party) and Venstre. After a look into the history of immigration policies, it is possible to understand why these parties appeared as the most common features in a dataset about migration. First, Venstre is the party with Inger Støjberg and I used her name as a filter, so I expected this result. Folkeparti, on the other hand, was an interesting outcome: the party has an extensive record in suggesting tighter migration rules and, even though it was not a filtering word, it still prevailed in DR. Meanwhile, in *Politiken, folkeparti* did not appear in the top features, which can be explained on how the newspaper refers to it (use of abbreviations, for instance).

The appearance of *asylansøg* (asylum seekers) and *flygtning* (refugee) is curious but predictable, after learning about the history of immigration policies. In the last two governments, policies regarding refugees played an important role in the Danish political scenario, with controversial rules, relations with other European countries, and the acceptance process of asylum seekers in Denmark. When filtering, I did not expect to have considerable weight in this theme, because the goal was not to research about asylum seekers. However, it turns out to be impossible to separate asylum seekers from other foreigners, because these are two themes very much connected that affected intensively the transformation of immigration policies in Denmark.

The last part of this automated analysis is to acknowledge how the relation among the words are. Figures 7 and 8 present a network text plot from DR and *Politiken*.

Figure 7. Network text plot from DR

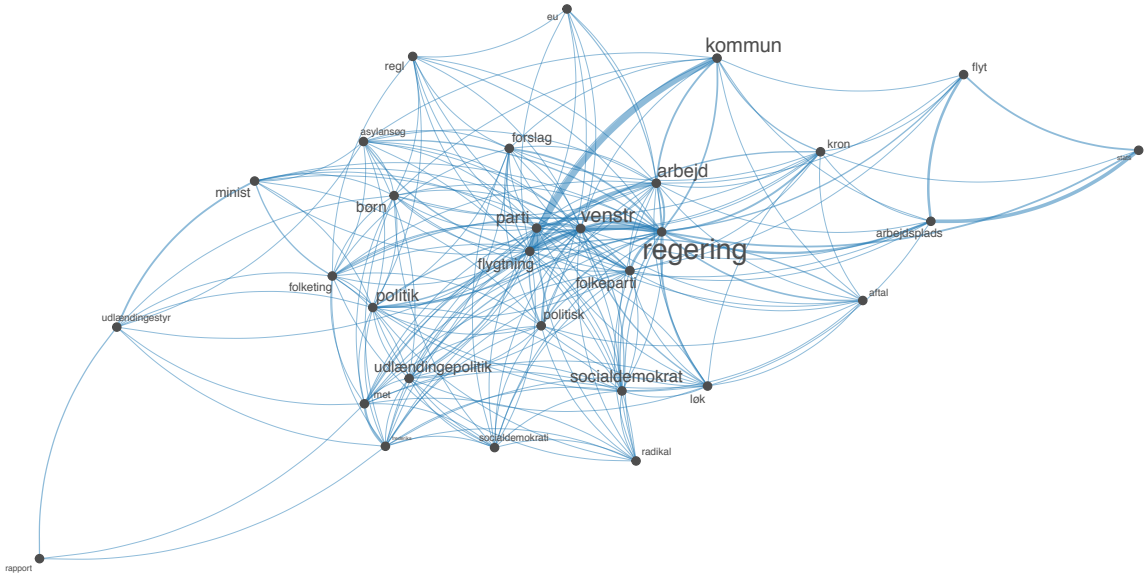
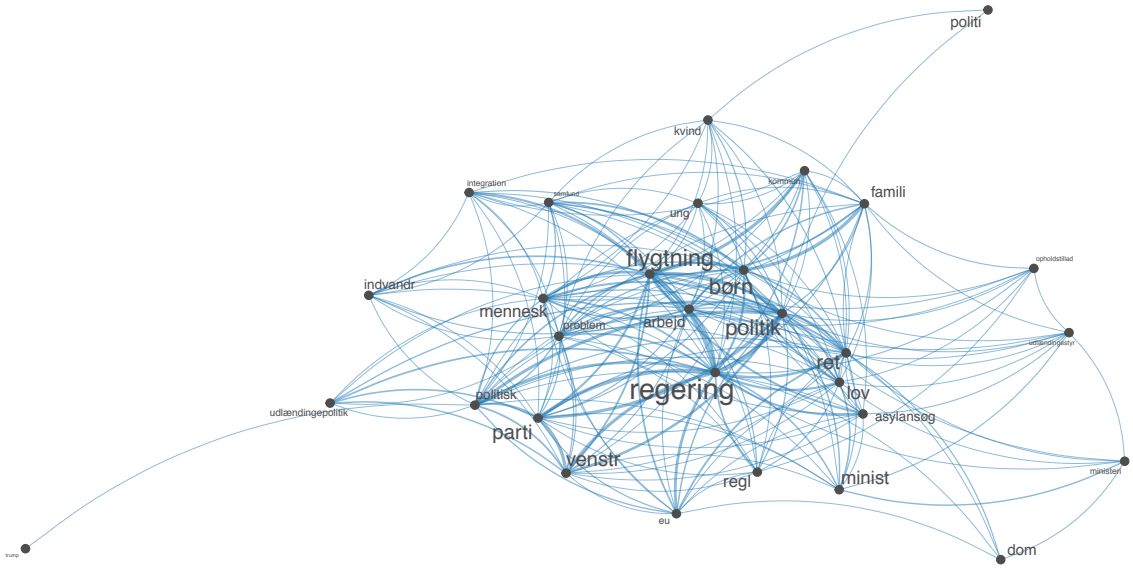


Figure 8. Network text plot from Politiken



The blue lines in Figures 7 and 8 show the relationships among the most common words, whereas the thickness of the traces demonstrates how strong the relationship is. In DR, *kommun* (municipality), *parti* (party), *flygtning* (refugee), *venstr* (Venstre, the political party), *arbejd* (work), and *regering* (government) have a strong connection. Meanwhile, in *Politiken*, the stronger relations are among *regering, politik* (politics, but can also be the name of the

newspaper), *flygtning*, *børn* (children), *ret* (right). Through this network analysis it seems that while DR reports a relation among political parties and the government, *Politiken* is reporting the government as a place for refugee, children, and rights discussions[3].

Løk, in Figure 7, probably refers to Lars Løkke Rasmussen, the former party leader of Venstre and former Prime Minister of Denmark. In the network, Løk has a strong relation to regering and to *Venstre*, corroborating to the idea that the connections have a purpose and a justification within the Danish politics. Thus, it makes sense that the person strongly related to the Danish government and a political party has also the same strong connections in the text plot. Thus, the newspapers likely addressed these topics at the same time and in the same article.

This section provided an extensive automated analysis combined with an interpretation of the text as data. To evaluate the quality of the collected data and its usefulness, it was necessary to observe the trends of frequency, how the newspapers report their news through their word choice, and their connection among each other. Although crucial, the research would be incomplete if I could not directly access the articles and search for speeches, debates, and quotes. By accessing that, I can analyse the levels of anticipation and intention of consequences in the Danish policy-making. Thus, the next section will bring an extensive analysis of the articles and an application of them in the theory.

b. Unintended or unanticipated: the theory applied to the case of Denmark

i. The process of analysis

The second part consists of an in-depth analysis of the data, providing unique learning about the content and the dynamics among speech, reports, and cases within the collected articles. The articles from DR and *Politiken* were evaluated separately, so I could monitor if there were any differences in the way the media portrayed the situations and if there were references to unique cases in each of them. For that matter, even though there was an expressive range of observations, I opted for a personal approach, investigating all the articles myself, reading them carefully, to transform the texts into inputs to the unintended consequences theory.

[3] During the reading process of the articles, I noticed a major difference between DR and Politiken, that could also explain the contrast in the results. While DR has a more formal journalistic writing, reporting the facts as they are, *Politiken* is characterized by articles with multiple perspectives, bringing always the version of those affected, instead of only reporting the facts as they are. In other words, I interpreted the articles as DR reporting the facts and *Politiken* reporting the people. This does not diminish the relevance of any media, it just brings different perspectives to report the events and to debate. Hence, it was common to have articles with "two sides of the story" in *Politiken,* whereas DR brought a systematic report of the facts.

Alternatively, I could use the R programme to divide the articles into similar topics. R offers the topic models package, which provides an interface for correlation and latent allocation through machine learning (Grün and Hornik, 2011). Yet using a machine learning procedure of allocation is a good solution, for this research it would not be optimal because the focus is to find in which sentences there were signs of anticipation and intention in policy-making. Moreover, this package allocates the articles according to the similarity of words, but the real goal of dividing into topics is to search for relevant observations to the debate of unintended consequences, not the topics itself. Thus, the choice of personal in-depth analysis.

The in-depth analysis was conducted into four parts: (1) reading and cataloguing all articles from both newspapers; (2) transcription to another document those referring to the relevant themes to this research; (3) sorting of quotes, debates, and situations that could illustrate the theory; (4) division of the relevant articles into the 3 possibilities of the unintended consequences theory (the fourth variation is inexistent). The first three phases were steps to facilitate the identification of the levels of anticipation and intention of migration policies in Danish politics.

In the first part of the analysis, I carefully analysed all the articles and separated them into main topics. Some covered more than one topic, so I allocated them according to their central issue. Concurrently, I marked the articles relevant to the future phases, a total of 95 in DR and 95 in *Politiken*.

The second phase evaluated the remaining 190 observations. Again, I analysed them carefully to assess which would bring relevant information to the analysis. Hence, I ended this part with a total of 60 articles from DR and 46 articles from *Politiken* for further analysis.

The process of sorting quotes, debates, and situations – the third part of this analysis – it was necessary to identify which aspects of the collected observations could generate knowledge for the unintended consequences theory. I sorted statements from politicians, quotes from high-skilled workers that suffered from the tight immigration laws, and counterarguments.

The final process was to allocate the final selected articles into the 3 possibilities of the unintended consequences theory, and an extra field for the ones with inputs to the research, but without the presence of consequences. For that, I used the Table 2 and the levels of intention and anticipation in the sorted cases to assign them into one of the four perspectives of the theory.

ii. The results

The articles from DR and *Politiken* were read separately, in case there were publications with different situations to be reported. After Phase 1, I divided the articles into 29 main categories. Table 5 presents the topics and their percentage of presence in the total dataset of their media.

Table 5. Article's Topic Division

	DR	% DR	POLITIKEN	% POLITIKEN
Asylum Seekers	109	7,57%	360	12,39%
Benefits	46	3,19%	43	1,48%
Border	41	2,85%	13	0,45%
Cases	35	2,43%	18	0,62%
Child Immigration	29	2,01%	45	1,55%
Criminal Foreigners	52	3,61%	152	5,23%
Danish Citizenship	46	3,19%	60	2,06%
Denmark	63	4,38%	328	11,29%
Deportation	9	0,63%	28	0,96%
Economics	25	1,74%	49	1,69%
Education	20	1,39%	40	1,38%
Ethnic Backgrounds	23	1,60%	44	1,51%
EU	47	3,26%	106	3,65%
Family Reunification	24	1,67%	55	1,89%
Foreign Policy	19	1,32%	26	0,89%
Government	238	16,53%	279	9,60%
High-Skilled Labour	36	2,50%	61	2,10%
Human Rights	12	0,83%	35	1,20%
Immigration Policy	143	9,93%	182	6,26%
Integration	87	6,04%	137	4,71%
International	142	9,86%	447	15,38%
Labour	94	6,53%	92	3,17%
Newspapers	12	0,83%	20	0,69%

Politics	22	1,53%	16	0,55%
Refugee Quota	14	0,97%	12	0,41%
Terrorism	6	0,42%	44	1,51%
Tightening	36	2,50%	173	5,95%
UN	8	0,56%	41	1,41%
Unintended Consequences	2	0,14%	0	0,00%
Total	1440		2906	

The assessment of this table together with the observed top features in the last section provides better clarification about the significance of the scraped content. *Governmen*t was the most typed word in the filtered top features, which is confirmed with the topic being one of the most popular in both media. DR and Politiken have the same 4 out of 5 most common topics, differing only in the order of occurrence. The high amount of international articles, mainly in Politiken, can be justified for using *udlænding* (foreigner), immigrant and migration as filters. Filtering unimportant articles is an unavoidable situation because it is impossible to control every observation included and excluded from the dataset. Hence, I likely missed some articles and added some not relevant, which does not diminish the quality of the data.

In phases two and three I separated the observations according to their relevance until the dataset contained only articles about immigration policies, and high-skilled immigrants or other themes with a direct connection to this topic. After a careful assessment of the remaining observations, I classified the articles according to the presence and the levels of intention and anticipation. Table 6 is a panorama of the classification according to the variances in anticipation and intention of consequences in Danish migration policies.

Table 6. Number of articles classified according to levels of anticipation and intention

		ANTICIPATED	←	UNANTICIPATED
UNINTENDED	**DR**	9	7	13
	POLITIKEN	5	4	13
INTENDED	**DR**	14	-	∄ (IV)
	POLITIKEN	10	-	∄ (IV)
DEBATE	**DR**	15		
	POLITIKEN	11		

Table 6 uses the conceptualisation of unintended consequences established by de Zwart and applies it to the selected articles from DR and Politiken. The anticipation and intention levels change according to the speech of politicians and the results of policies reported in the news. In this research, some articles neither are placed in the anticipated nor the unanticipated, but in a changing zone (marked by the articles in the section of the arrow). They lay in a transition zone between the two options because they refer to situations of learning: an unintended consequence that generated knowledge to create a policy to anticipate it. The part of debate are articles that bring neither of the options but carries a debate on the immigration policies.

The Case Number IV: Intended and Unanticipated Consequences

The case number IV indicates an intended outcome, but unanticipated. It is natural that, if politicians intended a consequence, they will make laws and policies to anticipate the results. Hence, it does not make sense to have an intended outcome that is not anticipated. This is an inexistent situation and, as expected, I could not find any examples of it in the articles. Therefore, case IV is marked as inexistent in Table 6.

The Case Number III: Intended and Anticipated Consequences

The case number III – intended and anticipated consequences – is the most common case when studying the process of policy-making and the consequences in society. Politicians intend a certain outcome and, therefore, anticipate it through the implementation of new

policies, developed from debates, alignment of interests, and research. In other words, governments execute rules to achieve specific and wanted results.

The dataset of this research concerns to immigration policies, so it was expected an extensive sample of articles reporting the intention to create rules, laws, and mechanisms aiming at foreigners, labour, and residency.

Many countries have been challenged by the migration waves in the past decades. Migratory control became problematic, leading to a political backlash against foreigners. Meanwhile, the countries needed to stay open to high-skilled workers, those who are entitled to contribute to the economic growth and development of the country. In Denmark, this was not different. By the end of the first migration wave in Denmark, the perspective towards non-natives became more critical, whereas the policies grew into tighter grounds. Concurrently, Danes have reinforced the discourse in favour of receiving high-skilled foreigners, with schemes to benefit them to the detriment of other immigrants (Jørgensen and Thomsen, 2018).

In 2011, *Radikale* and *Konservative* proposed a change in the law to facilitate Danish companies to recruit foreign employees from all over the world. The plan, supported by the Social Democrats and the Social People's Party, aimed at a reduction of DKK 125,000 in the requirements of the paycheck. At their perspective,

> *"Lack of qualified manpower from outside actually costs jobs in Denmark and this means that we are missing out on growth and prosperity. We cannot afford this at all in the current situation"* (Nadeem Farooq cited by Politiken, 2011b).

It was important for these parties to increase the amount of skilled labour in Denmark. By attracting specialised foreigners, the country would improve the rates of development and economic growth, increasing demand for other types of labour and reducing unemployment rates. Hence, the politicians intended to decrease the inactive workforce and increase specialised labour. For that, Denmark elaborated a Point System Scheme: to immigrate, foreigners had to pass through an assessment of their education, qualifications, finances, and language skills. Thus, the higher the qualifications, higher the points, allowing an inbound of better educated people to Denmark.

> *"The intention was that we should get foreigners to Denmark who could and would contribute to Danish society, and the figures clearly show that many foreigners have not met those requirements"* (Inger Støjberg cited by Politiken, 2011a).

The Point System was created to attract qualified foreigners and block the entrance of those coming for the "welfare magnet effect", hence a policy to award more points to those with better qualifications. Because all political decisions are immersed in a larger set of social interactions, it is impossible to guarantee and to anticipate every outcome and, this was no different with the Point System. Despite being intended, it also generated unintended consequences that will be further discussed in this section.

Tightening measures on migration policies increased over the last decades. As with other social interactions, the tightening can generate intended and unintended outcomes. *Venstre* declared that tighter immigration policy was needed in Denmark, whereas it was also crucial to relax requirements for some people. To them, the key point was to welcome those "who can and will"[4] contribute to the Danish society (DR, 2014).

> *"We would like to have an open country for those who can and will contribute, but in return, we would like to have a canned close country for those who do not want to contribute (...) We think it is fair that when you come to Denmark voluntarily, then you must be able to contribute"* (Inger Støjberg cited by Klarskov, 2014).

Based on the intention of welcoming those who can contribute to Danish society, i.e. high-skilled workers, in 2014 the government opened the discussion to have more international schools in Denmark. To a *Radikale* member, talented foreigners needed to have the opportunity to send their children to school, because international recruitment is not only about bringing the minds to Denmark but also to bring their family. Hence, by increasing the offer of international schools, the government can attract skilled people to Denmark, instead of another country (Munksgaard, 2014).

[4] Denmark for those who can and will (*Danmark for dem der kan og vil)* was a slogan from a set of policies from the Danish Government to welcome skilled foreigners and difficult the entrance of other migrants.

The government proposed a reduction in the tax to attract international researchers. By lowering the tax to 32%, the required salary to obtain a work permit in Denmark would reduce in DKK 10,000, increasing the possibilities to hire other researchers. By doing that, universities would be able to fully cover the costs to bring more specialised workforce, whereas this reduction would not affect Danish economy because of more people contributing. However, Venstre refused to vote to this research scheme and declared to Politiken that *"it is more beneficial to lower the tax on work generally, than to selected foreigners"* (Politiken, 2014). In the same year, DF and Venstre discussed bringing back the point system (previously extinguished due to intensively side-effects), in a remodelled version, limiting undesired immigration and attract foreigners willing to contribute (Rehn, 2014).

In 2017 the government discussed lowering the taxes once again: highly educated foreigners should be allowed to pay lower taxes for seven years, instead of the five originally. According to the Ministry of Taxation, this change would not have a major impact on the Danish finances, because companies would be able to hire more foreigners, produce, and develop more, generating a positive impact in the country's economy (DR, 2017).

"We all lose out if Danish companies cannot easily obtain foreign labour" said Inger Støjberg, when commenting about lower thresholds of foreigners' salary from 418,000 to 330,000 per year. According to her, the salary levels to obtain a residence permit limits companies to hire qualified foreign labour (Larsen, 2018). Accordingly, to comply with the countries' prospects of economic growth and development, fewer requirements to hire foreign labour seems to be a compatible policy – a case of intended and anticipated outcome.

The development of immigration policies in Denmark is marked by the intentions to attract high-skilled foreigners, aiming at improving the country's indexes. Comparing the speeches from the first government to the second, there does not appear to be clear differences regarding the way Denmark attempts to attract specialised labour. The articles report what the literature review tells about the way migration policies develop in Denmark: a welcoming approach to skilled labour, while simultaneously narrowing and restricting general rules to foreigners. While upholding a desire to keep those who can contribute, the country has tightened the general migration rules, leading to an increase of unintended and unanticipated consequences reported in the last years.

The Case Number II: Unintended and Unanticipated Consequences

Case Number II pictures the situation where consequences from a social action are unintended and unanticipated. This means that laws are enforced with a set of goals, but sometimes other outcomes rather than the one predicted occur, even though they were not intended. Unintended and unanticipated consequences happen not because politicians elaborated a bad law, but probably also because rules are immersed in an extensive network of social actions and it is impossible to predict and foresee all outcomes from a policy. Meanwhile, it is impractical to control all the possible outcomes by anticipating them, so it is not uncommon to have unintended and unanticipated consequences in society.

This research was no different: Danish immigration policies also produced unexpected outcomes. Besides the cases of fined foreign researchers at the end of 2017, other similar stories appeared under the last two governments. Cases of deporting foreign researchers or musicians enter in the unintended and unanticipated consequences framework because, considering the welcoming tone to high-skilled workers, this situation does not match with the reality the country projects in speeches, debates, and some programmes. Hence, policies aim to attract those who want and will contribute to the country, whereas alternatives to tight rules for other migrants are carried out, harming unintentionally those who are not aimed to be affected.

The first case of an unintended and unanticipated consequence in the dataset was, curiously, related to a high-skilled foreigner. A 28-year-old Albanian, whose residence permit expired and was not renewed, was asked to leave the country in 2011. Reported by *Politiken*, the Albanian completed high school and university in Denmark and planned to finish his Master's degree. According to the rules, he could apply for a 12-month extension of his residence permit, to hand in the thesis in the following year, because he had a part-time job. After the termination of the studies, he was entitled to a six-month extension to seek for jobs in Denmark, which is part of the programme to maintain graduated foreigner students in the country. However, the immigration service refused his request for extension and determined his exit within 30 days (Politiken, 2011c).

The Albanian student case touched various politicians. A member of *Radikale* commented:

> *"It is appalling that a foreigner system cannot find out about individual considerations and that highly educated academics cannot be allowed to finish. It is precisely this kind of person that we are working to attract and retain because in a few years we will be missing a highly-skilled workforce like him"* (Anne Mee Allerslev cited by Politiken, 2011c).

The member continues *"I will do everything to change the rules so that we can put an end to Denmark continuing to send people out of the country, whom everyone with their common sense can realize that we need to keep"* (Politiken, 2011c). Hence, due to a specific tight migration rule, a foreigner who is welcome in the society was forbidden to stay and to contribute to the country. This was not the only case of unintended and unanticipated consequence.

The first government was marked by policies in which foreigners who could and would contribute to the Danish society were welcome. In other words, those who did not want to contribute and used the "welfare magnet" to come to Denmark were no longer welcome in society. Meanwhile, the *Point system* was created to reinforce this strategy, yet also generated unintended consequences because of its rules when assessing foreign couples (DR, 2014).

The point system policy sent a clear message to immigrants and the world: those with better education, who can integrate and contribute to the society are welcome. Mike Legarth, from the *Konservative* Party, commented that the point system was not optimal and it needed adjustments. His statement regards the fact that accompanying spouses must also pass through the system to get permission to stay in the country. Hence,

> *"When the business demands competent labour from outside, a person who is employed in a Danish company cannot get a residence permit for his/her spouse if she also does not have a full-time job"* (Mike Legarth cited by Brandstrup and Skærbæk, 2012).

The Point System generated unintended consequences not because it required the couple to score some points, but because it will make foreigners reconsider before accepting to move to Denmark. Afraid their companions will be marginalised or blocked from society because of his/her employment and education situation, specialised workers would not consider Denmark as an option. Hence, if a skilled worker sees there are major difficulties to bring his/her family,

this person will not come to Denmark. In other words, the system that benefits high-skilled workers to have easier access to the country also holds back their migration because of requirements to the family (Brandstrup and Skærbæk, 2012).

While Denmark wants to attract foreign labour, the country also invests in the discourse on learning the language and integrate. The governments understand that by attracting high-skilled – mostly western – foreigners, these people will contribute and integrate into society, including learning the language. There are several examples of policies for tight language requirements. Meanwhile, it caught my attention to the situation discussed by Pia Kjærsgaard, from *DF*, in 2013. To her, foreigners should not be forced to speak Danish on the streets. She recognizes that the proposals obligating non-natives to learn and to speak Danish in their daily lives can lead to unintended consequences for the country. In response, she comments:

> *"Does the Danish People's Party imagine that an American married couple who have come to Denmark to work at Novo Nordisk should stand and discuss what they should have for dinner down in Netto in Danish rather than in English? It seems almost hollow in the head"* (Pia Kjærsgaard cited by Nielsen, 2013).

To her, it does not make sense that a high-skilled foreigner is obligated to learn the language while they will use English in their working environment. This would send the wrong message to foreigners coming here. To her, it is important to protect the Danish language and to make sure that the ethnic minorities are learning the language to integrate into society. However, these requirements can generate unintended consequences, if high-skilled workers decide not to accept a job because of the language requirements.

The point system was not the only programme sending the wrong message to high-skilled foreigners coming to Denmark and generating unintended and unanticipated consequences for the country. In 2013, Denmark invested in a project to attract researchers to the Øresund region, to work in a research station in Lund, Sweden. However, because of Danish immigration rules, non-EU researchers cannot settle in Denmark, because their workplace is in another country, even though they are hired through the Danish government. The head of the department at the University of Copenhagen commented that this situation costs knowledge and growth. Hence, because of previous rules on border barriers and workforce, Denmark was not entitled to receive the benefits from its investments in research (DR, 2013).

In 2013, *Politiken* reported two cases of high-skilled foreigners not accepted in Danish society due to tight rules. Flavia Oregon, a Peruvian with a masters' degree from Aalborg University had the extension of her residence permit rejected because she could not document her connection to the labour market. The foreigner was on maternity leave, which was not recognised by SIRI, and found a job in the Embassy of Cuba. Another high-skilled couple had their family reunification visa denied due to their apartment lease (Navne, 2013; Westh, 2012).

Unintended consequences are not only present in the relations between foreigners and Denmark, but in the connection between Danes and their own country. As a welfare state, Denmark has countless social benefits, e.g. for education, retirement, and health. However, to avoid the "welfare magnet effect", the government stipulates requirements, as the time living abroad and in the country, and income levels. What seems to not be anticipated, was the fact that these requirements hurt also Danes living abroad.

Stine Jacobsen, a Dane who did her Masters' Degree in London, was hit by one of these requirements. Because she spent a longer period abroad, she was not entitled to receive unemployment benefits by her return to Denmark, as the other students in the country do after the completion of their education. To her, *"Danish citizens are encouraged to take education abroad and go abroad, and then it seems strange to be treated that way when you come back"* (Jørgensen, 2015). The contradiction, which leads to an interpretation of this case as an unintended and unanticipated consequence, is that the government has a welcoming tone to high-skilled labour, but it punishes those going abroad to improve their skills.

When a non-European comes to Denmark to study, part-time work is allowed, as a complementary task to the studies. Concurrently, the labour rules are very strict, and violations of the law are entitled to penalties, being considered a criminal, subject to fines and deportation. The combination of these two facts has affected many foreigners who were invited to study here but were deported because they had worked a few hours more than allowed. One of these situations happened in 2016. Marius Youbi, a super-student from Cameroon, living in Denmark for 12 years was deported because he worked more than 15 hours a week during a few months. His case gained increased visibility in the national and international media because he had a life and a family in Denmark, was contributing to Denmark with his studies but was asked to leave (Tjørnholm, 2016).

Cases like Youbi are curious and problematic not because he should be allowed to work more hours without a consequence. Contrarily, it is about the level of punishment giving the transgression. Working extra hours for a foreign student in Denmark is considered a crime

subject to deportation, as well as if they commit any other more serious crimes. Hence, the discussion is not about stopping the punishment, but about the degree of the punishment. Therefore, a person who was inserted in society and was contributing must leave due to policies not aimed to hurt them – another unintended and unanticipated consequence.

2017 marked the year in which the most emblematic case of unintended and unanticipated consequence happened in Denmark: the case of Brooke Harrington and other foreign researchers fined by giving lectures outside their primary contract scope. The researchers' claim is based on the time spent to apply for a specific extension for each side-job that is part of life as a researcher, it is a bureaucratic procedure. However, not complying with these rules not only triggers a fine, but also a criminal record and, in some cases, deportation. Besides, according to the laws, if a foreigner is labelled as a criminal, he or she goes into a quarantine period, which forbids him or her to apply for permanent residence in Denmark for the following 14 years. The CBS rector commented:

> *"The rules are foolish and need to be changed. It may not be right for foreign scientists to be penalised for advising the Parliament or giving lectures at another university. Siri says the rules have always been this way, but then we can't understand why all these cases come first now"* (Per Holten-Andersen cited by Kjeldtoft, 2017c).

For the government, these rules are to be enforced and the researchers should follow them if they want to continue living and working in Denmark. What calls the attention, is the fact that other similar cases happened in the past and it seems there were no changes in the regulations to avoid such unintended consequence. From the literature, I infer that learnings from previous actions are important and necessary to overcome side-effects, even anticipating them if needed. Yet, foreign researchers are still being affected by these laws, expelling from the country those who will contribute.

Unintended consequences in the Danish migration policies are a recurrent issue. Yet common but undesired, it is normal to have these side-effects because it is impossible to control overall outcomes when implementing a policy. However, for that, there is the possibility to learn from unintended issues by anticipating them. Thus, attention to past decisions and learning with previous situations are important tool for policy-making if it is desired to minimise the non-wanted effects in society.

The Case Number I: Unintended and Anticipated Consequences

The Case Number I is a special case: unintended and anticipated consequences of social action. It is special because it involves two different situations: (1) politicians can predict, foresee, and anticipate outcomes by means of deliberation, historical analysis, and interpretation, and media debate; (2) politicians can anticipate by learning from previous actions that generated unintended and unanticipated consequences, therefore is a process of experiencing what works and what does not work to create future rules based on what they learned and achieved.

In this section, I will include both situations because it can be difficult to separate them in a system where policies are developed and changed constantly. Moreover, when looking at the articles, I noticed that many of them were somewhat related to previous situations and cases, so distinguishing what was only foreseen and what was a response to unintended outcomes is an unpracticable task. However, it is easier to identify the anticipation of consequences that once were unanticipated, because politicians refer to previous cases to justify their choices of improvements in the rules.

The Green Card scheme was a contentious policy in the first governmental mandate I analysed. In general lines, the scheme focused on attracting high-skilled non-EU workers to Denmark to work in the fields with specific demand. Hence, the Green Card applied to specific non-Western countries and, the holders receive a certain amount of years to stay in Denmark and look for a job. Although a good initiative, the first version of the project seemed not to work, as many foreigners could not find a job in their areas, ending in low-skilled jobs with a very low wage. Nadeem Farooq, from *Radikale*, recognised the need to change the system:

> *"What has happened so far is that they have been given a Green Card, and then they have otherwise been told to get started. But some have just been missing the last push to understand the Danish labour market and the Danish model. (...) So, we want to clean up the whole area, review it and see if we can make some positive adjustments, so that more Green Card holders get jobs that require qualifications that match their education"* (Nadeem Farooq cited by Gudmundsson and Bøttcher, 2013).

The government recognised the primary structure of the Green Card scheme was not ideal: the majority of the foreigners coming with the scheme did not get jobs matching their education. Through the debate exposed in the media, it seems that politicians learned how the programme was an important tool to bring more qualified people to the country, but other side-policies were necessary to match jobs and workers. Inger Støjberg commented that the scheme should continue because the need for more people in the Danish labour market, but changes were crucial to continue with the Green Card scheme (Glerup, 2014).

The Danish government acknowledged the need to change the Green Card Scheme, after learning about the unintended consequences generated by the old programme format. To that, they anticipated what was unwanted through the process of learning. Certainly, information and research were crucial to improving it, yet difficult to control for other unintended outcomes.

The cases of Flavia Oregon and other high-skilled foreigners brought once again the discussion to anticipated but unintended consequences. Mette Frederiksen, former Minister of Employment, declared intentions to anticipate side-effects in later policies. In a written comment to Politiken, Frederiksen said the government would look at the rules, and she admitted the need to change some of them, including the Green Card Scheme. Meanwhile, Danish politicians showed concern on how the existing policies could hurt those already living and contributing to the country (Westh, 2012).

Two milestones in unintended consequences were the results from the investments of the Danish government in bringing foreign researchers to the Øresund region, and the rejection of permission to family reunified researchers. Esben Lunde Larsen, from *Venstre*, recognised that, together, these issues were extensive and a change was demanded on the residence permits' rules for researchers:

> *"If the universities and other parties can prove that the case has become more cumbersome over the last few years, then it is easy to submit it to the minister and ask him to take it up with his fellow ministers, so that the rules are removed or changed. (...) We need a reform of confidence in how to get top international researchers to Denmark"* (Esben Lunde Larsen cited by Navne, 2013).

Pernille Skipper, from *Enhedslisten*, attributed the situation to the strict Aliens Act. However, she pointed out that the rules applied to foreign and Danish researchers, but did not

affect them, but their spouses. To that, she confirmed the necessity to look at the rules and practices, to find a better way to handle the situation. To her, it is not enough to allow universities to handle the permission for researchers, because the Aliens Act is a broader issue, affecting also those who come together with them in other stages (Navne, 2013).

Not only the government, but also Danish companies anticipate the situation towards foreign workers. The CEO of ISS, Martin Gaarn Thomsen, declared to DR that Denmark will lack foreign labour in the future and he suggested to create an environment in which the country is open and welcoming. Arla's vice president, Jais Valeur, warned politicians:

> *"It is important to talk about foreigners in a good tone. As a company, we depend on the country to be able to attract these people. Both today and tomorrow. And if we can't, these jobs are moving out of Denmark"* (Jais Valeur cited by Christensen, 2015).

This article published by DR presents a sample of how the media and the society can take part in the political debate and contribute by anticipating likely unintended consequences. Politicians are only aware of the impact of their policies through feedbacks, societal observations, and analysis of statistics and reports. Sometimes it can be difficult to control and to anticipate unintended consequences without the knowledge, hence when the society brings this awareness, it becomes easier to anticipate unintended consequences. Therefore, the community also plays a decisive role in the process of anticipation through learning.

Deportation of foreign students became frequent around 2015 and 2016. Not only Marius Youbi, but other students were deported because they had worked too many hours per week. The former Minister of Integration and Immigration, Inger Støjberg, announced that she would change the rules. Per Holten-Andersen, head of CBS, commented:

> *"It seems unreasonable that such small violation of a very complicated set of rules must have such dramatic consequences. The Minister has announced that the rules will be changed. It must, therefore, be possible to find a solution immediately for people who have been caught"* (Per Holte-Andersen cited by Hergel, 2016).

Even though it seems a constant that a few cases may occur before politicians learn and anticipate, Martin Henriksen, from DF, does not believe in that. To the party, there are people from other countries coming to study in Denmark and, instead of complying to that, they work full-time. Therefore, the deportation of foreign students would not be an unintended event, but an intended consequence of rules fighting against social dumping and illegal labour (Hergel, 2016).

"In the future, we will distinguish between serious offences and those where you can say that it is not serious", said Inger Støjberg in response to the deportation of foreign students. In the new rules, she proposed verification of the violations and different degrees of punishment: from a warning to an expulsion later on. Following the Minister, Dan Jørgensen, from Social Democrats, it is a need to attract skilled foreigners, so throwing people out due to a few hours of work is not a reason. Hence, already in 2016, it was possible to observe anticipation of unintended consequences to high-skilled foreigners, regarding labour. Evidentially, these changes were made after the acknowledgement on other unanticipated and unintended consequences, which does not mean the correction of past cases, but the avoidance of similar situations in the future (Beim and Skærbæk, 2016).

Even with the changes in 2016 to high-skilled foreigners and international students, many cases of unintended consequences related to them occurred in 2017 and 2018. The case of Brooke Harrington brought to the international and national medias a discussion on how far the tightening of policies will go. To that, the head of CBS brought to the debate the need to change the rules. Moreover, he was surprised by the cases because, at his perspective, these situations never happened before. Meanwhile, DF and *Radikale* signed an agreement aiming to strengthen the Danish research institutions' ability to attract and to retain highly qualified researchers. Inger Støjberg commented:

> *"It makes good sense to have professors giving lectures, be censors or anything else relevant to their work. (...) I also think the time has come to look at whether the rules are contemporary, I would like to seek that support from the Danish parliament. (...) These rules are to make sure that you are here to work and not to commit crime"* (Kjeldtoft, 2017c).

The rules were finally changed in 2018: foreigner researchers employed at Danish universities will, in the future, not have to apply for a separate permit if they want to give a

lecture in another university or company. Once again, these consequences were anticipated through the process of learning and debate in society. Although a change, other categories claiming similar shifts in the law were not benefited, as the case of foreign musicians. Similar to researchers, musicians are also invited to play in other orchestras and events and, some of them, suffered deportations because did not apply for an extension with SIRI. Hence, it seems that other alterations in the rules are still necessary, so the learnings and anticipations are still in process (Politiken, 2018).

This chapter brought an extensive application of the unintended consequences theory in the articles collected about Danish migration policies. Denmark has an extensive history of migration policies, with controversial measures and discussions, as well as unexpected consequences to foreigners. The published articles in DR and *Politiken* allowed to apply the analytical tools of the theory into dataset of eight-years, to obtain answers on the to what extent politicians anticipate unintended consequences. The analysis allowed to a clear illustration and understanding of how the policies are hurting those who politicians do not want to hurt and what they do in response to that. For that, this chapter went from a broad and quantitative analysis of the texts as data, to an in-depth observation of the phenomena classified as side-effects of immigration policies.

The first part presented the information behind the collected articles: an use of the R programme as a tool to interpret the articles as data. Even with different methods of collection because of the websites' design, I reached the same articles and this is proved with the similarities in the automated exploratory analysis. This was one major concern, because the two websites had different formats and it was essential to find similar contents.

By observing the frequency and the word-occurrence, I could see that, even though each media has a different way to report the facts, and they have distinct focus, the data was consistent. From the analysis of frequency I cannot guarantee that the articles reported in one media are the same of the other. However, the peaks means that there were generalised periods of attention to immigration policies, because both DR and *Politiken* showed consistency in the variations in the amount of publications.

From the word-occurrence and text network I observed that DR had a higher word count in terms related to the government per se, whereas *Politiken* reported terms concerning rights

and rules. This observation does not exclude the fact that both reported articles about what happened with Denmark and immigration policies, but it can say something about the style of story-telling. After reading the reports for the second part, I confirmed this finding: there were more cases *Politiken* reported, compared to DR. Besides, when doing so, they focus on telling the person's history, not only reporting what happened. Therefore, it brings more debate, whereas DR provides a reportage of the facts.

The second part allowed me to know more about the cases of immigrants and how the government respond to them. By narrowing to articles with inputs to the unintended consequences theory, I understood how the changes in policy-making affected immigrants. The observations brought diverse examples of situations within the last eight-years of government, in all spectra of the theory. A curious fact was that unintended consequences affecting high-skilled workers are not something new, from 2017 onwards. In fact, since 2011 diverse cases happened, whereas politicians always seemed surprised with the occurrences.

Regarding the situations, I observed that intention does not cause anticipation. Many responses to cases told affirmed a need to look into the rules and make changes, while unintended consequences kept happening. Therefore, either these changes generate other side-effects, or the intentions are not transformed into anticipations. As a way to solve this impasse, one could look at parliamentary debates and/or talk to politicians, to trace other paths that are not visible in these articles.

The political speech and debate are other attention points: politicians have always had a welcoming tone to specialised foreign workforce, because they acknowledge the necessity to have them in the country. Although fundamental, tight migration policies has always affected them in diverse levels, the rhetoric diminishes the intentions of other skilled foreigners to move to Denmark, whereas there are still some willing to move here. Hence, there is a contradictory reality: how can politicians not be aware of the side-effects of their policies, when cases of affected high-skilled workers are happening yearly since 2011, at least?

During the case of Brooke Harrington, in 2017, it was mentioned that it was not known that policies could possibly hurt foreign researchers. Despite this positioning, other researchers were hurt by these laws in the years before. At that time, politicians also demonstrated willingness to change the rules. Thereupon I can recognise that unintended consequences are immersed in a network of social actions in which it is impossible to differentiate causes and consequences. In fact, factors and effects are tangled, so it is complicated to separate them into fixed boxes, because they are all part of multiple purposive social actions.

To conclude, distinguishing among the levels of intention and anticipation is not an easy task, but it is necessary to avoid future side-effects. From the theory, learning is considered the key to transfer unintended and unanticipated consequences, to the unintended and anticipated field. For that, it is necessary to maintain a track of previous situations, policies, and rules in order to serve as a consulting material when elaborating new rules. Thus, the published articles bring not only the history about how migration policies perform in Denmark, but also a record of what has been done, in a way to help overcome unintended consequences in the future.

Conclusion

This thesis brought an analysis of Danish media articles in the light of the unintended consequences theory. By joining these two variables, I contribute to extending and applying the conceptualisation of unintended consequences to a field where there has been little research on alternative outcomes: immigration policies. Hence, I could analyse to what extent the politicians are aware of unintended consequences and what they do in order to overcome them.

To obtain the answer for my question, I analysed the Danish context in terms of history and policy. I used the contributions of the welfare state studies to understand the paths Denmark took that led to the main problem of this research: the unintended consequences.

The first chapter presented a panorama of the Danish society and universal welfare state and its deployments with the shifts in the international environment. The universalistic format of society influenced extensively how the State responded to the migration waves and economic crisis, leading to an observation of welfare chauvinistic resentments in the rhetoric and policies aimed at immigrants. In other words, this scenario was responsible for tighter immigration rules which is observable by the historical analysis. From that, not only difficulties to immigrate emerged, but to work, study, and contribute to the country as a foreigner, which is given as an unintended consequence.

The second chapter discussed the unintended consequences theory, giving inputs to the later translation of the findings in immigration policies field. The differentiation of unintended, unanticipated, and unforeseen is crucial for understanding how these side outcomes are generated. To achieve that, learning from the past is an crucial tool to overcome unintended results, but it is not the only feature to be considered. Hidden interests and a highly politicised arena play a major role when evaluating the possibilities and the resulting outcomes.

The third chapter explains the methodology and data collection. Automated methods were crucial for this thesis due to the amount of data available. However, artificial intelligence mechanisms have limitations: the programme could not answer more complex questions. In other words, the programme could interpret and divide the articles into topics but applying the theory and finding a proper tone of debate in the articles is a personalised task. Hence, the procedure I choose to follow was time-consuming and it is not expected from the scholars of the social sciences to follow the same methodology of my choice.

The fourth chapter brings theory, history, and politics into an analysis of articles about migration policies. This task required strict objectivity, because the goal was not to talk about political party decisions, but to understand, based on the theory, the awareness of side-effects by policy makers. I found a synchronism between the cases of unintended consequences and suggestions to change rules, which is an anticipation of outcomes through the learning process.

Every decision, policy, and rule are subject to an unintended consequence and, it is for the policy-makers and evaluators to create mechanisms to overcome a negative outcome. Denmark is a universal welfare state, in which homogeneity, egalitarianism, and solidarity have always performed a central role to maintain low levels of commodification and stratification. In other words, all residents must have access to the country's social provisions equally. However, the migration waves from the 1960s onwards changed the dynamics of the welfare state as it is, leading to welfare chauvinistic resentments due to the increase in multiculturalism. This impacted the migration policies, from an open and liberal character, to a closed one, based on harsher requirements.

Lately, tight migration policies are affecting residents that Denmark does not want to hurt: high-skilled foreigners and Danes abroad. This is understood as an unintended consequence, based on the welcoming tone the country always had maintained to attract those who can contribute to economic development and growth. Hence, *have politicians anticipated these unintended consequences or is this an unknown phenomenon? Do they take for granted that the policies will only affect those who are not welcome to the country? Are they aware that tighter policies can generate side-effects and do they elaborate any policy to encounter these situations?*

The consequences reported by the Danish media demonstrate that politicians did not produce any mechanisms to avoid side-effects. In fact, even though there have been several cases where policies affect negatively those who are not intended to be affected, there is always a surprised attitude when questioned by the media. Although surprised, policy-makers respond to these cases with awareness, suggesting changes in the laws, as a mechanism to avoid further unwanted outcomes.

The theory demonstrated that learning is a powerful tool to overcome unintended consequences. For that, it is necessary that policy-makers look back in their parliamentary debates, news, and for the public to understand what has been done to cause these situations, and what can be improved for future social actions. For that matter, learning from the past does

not mean extinguishing the possibilities to generate unintended consequences, but it is a way to anticipate some of them in the creation of supporting measures.

The analysis of migration policies in the light of unintended consequences provides not only a contribution to the field of migration studies, but also to the theory of unintended consequences. By extending the concept, I advance the field into other relevant topics, providing inputs to minimise the side-effects into governmental decisions. To continue the process, a suggestion is to look into parliamentary debates, because newspapers, although an efficient and reliable source, are not able to report every political discussion. Hence, looking at parliamentary debates would help to go deeper into the case, to evaluate to what extent politicians are aware of the effects of their policies.

The analysis of migration policies in the light of unintended consequences theory, therefore, provides better knowledge to what extent the politicians are aware of their policies and an extension of the theory. Clearly, policy-makers became aware of unintended consequences during the last two Danish governments and have responded to them, in an attempt to adjust policies to deal with unintended and unanticipated, but also to anticipate better unintended consequences in future policy-making. However, even though I found clear evidence for learning, learning through feedback is apparently not so strongly built into the policy-making system that it can anticipate or even prevent better the occurrence of unintended consequences. Therefore, I suggest that future research looks closely at parliamentary debates as well as other cases in other policy areas to trace if there are other underlying patterns and alternative actions that can help policy-makers to anticipate unintended consequences.

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APPENDIX

Pages 91 to 93 presents a sample of the code used to collect and filter the articles used in this research. I provided, as an open-source, all the codes and steps in my GitHub page: https://github.com/lopesmf/Master-Thesis.

Appendix 1. Collection of articles from Politiken

```
# Collect complete articles from Politiken
# Maria Fernanda Del Ducca
# au516257 201400917

# Clean list
rm(list = ls())

# Set as working directory
setwd("~/Documents/Masters'/1.2019/R Files/Politiken")

# Install necessary packages
library(dplyr)
library(rvest)

# Load RData file
load("~/Documents/Masters'/1.2019/R Files/Politiken/2. Summaries_Politiken.RData")

####

# Filtering summaries according to the needs

# Filtering with wanted themes
politiken.themes1 <- politiken.summaries %>% #1491 observations
  filter(grepl("(integration)|(arbejdslovgivning)|(migration)|(immigrant)|(Støjberg)|(flytning)|(udlænding)|
               (udlændingelov)|(udlændingestyrelsen)|(opholdstilladelse)|(tilladelse)|(udvisning)|
               (hjemsendelse)|(nydansker)|(bibeskæftigelse)|(højtuddannet)|(Brooke Harrington)|(ulovligt
arbejde)|(udenlandske forskere)|
               (bijob)|(udenlandske bijobbere)|(bijobbe)", titles, ignore.case = TRUE))

politiken.themes2 <- politiken.summaries %>% #2184 observations
  filter(grepl("(integration)|(arbejdslovgivning)|(migration)|(immigrant)|(Støjberg)|(flytning)|(udlænding)|
               (udlændingelov)|(udlændingestyrelsen)|(opholdstilladelse)|(tilladelse)|(udvisning)|
               (hjemsendelse)|(nydansker)|(bibeskæftigelse)|(højtuddannet)|(Brooke Harrington)|(ulovligt
arbejde)|(udenlandske forskere)|
               (bijob)|(udenlandske bijobbere)|(bijobbe)", summary, ignore.case = TRUE))

politiken.filter <- rbind(politiken.themes1,politiken.themes2) ##3675 observations
politiken.filter <- unique(politiken.filter) ##2931 observations

##### Collecting Full Texts #####

# Login in the website
login <- "https://medielogin.dk/politiken/login?
redirect=%2Fopenid%2Fendpoint%3Fopenid.ns%3Dhttp%3A%252F%252Fspecs.openid.net%252Fauth%252F2.0%26openid.claimed_id


pgsession <- html_session(login)
pgform <-html_form(pgsession)[[1]]

filled_form <- set_values(pgform, Username="EMAIL", Password = "PASSWORD")
submit_form(pgsession, filled_form)

# Collect full texts
article <- rep("",nrow(politiken.filter))

for(i in 1:nrow(politiken.filter)){
  url <- as.character(politiken.filter$urls[i])
  final <- jump_to(pgsession, url)

  try({
    text <- read_html(final) %>%
      html_nodes(".body__h3 , .body__p") %>%
      html_text(trim = T)
    article[i] = paste(text, collapse = " ")
  })
}

# Creating new row with full text
politiken.filter$article <- article # 2931 observations

# Removing rows without entire articles
politiken <- politiken.filter %>%
  filter(grepl(" ", article, ignore.case = TRUE)) #2906 observations

# Output full articles
save(politiken, file="3. Articles.RData")

# 2906 observations
```

Appendix 2. Automated Text Analysis - DR

```
# Generic Text Analysis - DR
# Maria Fernanda L F Del Ducca
# au516257  201400917

# Clean list
rm(list = ls())

# Set as working directory
setwd("~/Documents/Masters'/1.2019/R Files/DR")

# Install necessary packages
library(quanteda)
library(ggplot2)
library(topicmodels)

# Load data
load("~/Documents/Masters'/1.2019/R Files/DR/4. Complete_DR.RData")

#

        ### Text Organization and Formatting ###

# Extract from my dataframe, as a value, only the texts from DR
quanteda_options("language_stemmer" = "danish")
articles.dr <- gsub(":", " ", dr.complete$article, fixed = T)

# Using tokens to remove symbols, punctuation, separators, urls from
the words in the texts
articles.dr <- tokens(articles.dr, what = "word",
                              remove_punct = T,
                              remove_symbols = T,
                              remove_separators = T,
                              remove_url = T,
                              remove_hyphens = T,
                              verbose = T,
                              remove_twitter = T,
                              remove_numbers = T)

# Transforming all words to lower case
articles.dr <- tokens_tolower(articles.dr)

# Removing danish stopwords
## Stopwords are words that do not bring any kind of information. For
instance, "and", "for", are stopwords because we cannot infer anything
from them
articles.dr <- tokens_remove(articles.dr, stopwords("danish"))

# Stem words
articles.dr <- tokens_wordstem(articles.dr)

# Remove stopwords after stem the text
articles.dr <- tokens_remove(articles.dr, stopwords("danish"))

# Creating a dfm (document feature matrix) with the tokenized articles
```

```
dr.dfm <- dfm(articles.dr)

#####
                                    ##### 1st Analysis #####

#### Activity: Analyse the text from the entire data set from DR
#### Goal: To observe what are the most typed words in the articles I
found

## Top Features Observation

# Check the top features in the document feature matrix
# This is to observe if there is any other non-wanted object in the to
be analysed dataframe
topfeatures(dr.dfm) #The most frequent words are not important, so we
need to remove them (i.e. kan, så, dansk, ved, ing)

# Create dataframe with most typed words
df <- data.frame(word = names(topfeatures(dr.dfm)), count =
topfeatures(dr.dfm))

# Ggplot about the word count
ggplot(df,
       aes(x = reorder(df$word, df$count), y = df$count)) +
  geom_col(stat = "identity", fill = c("coral3", "steelblue",
"darkgoldenrod", "forestgreen", "bisque3", "deepskyblue4",
"darksalmon", "darkseagreen", "burlywood4", "brown4")) +
  coord_flip() +
  xlab("Words") + ylab("Count") +
  theme_minimal()


# Obs.: None of these words are relevant, because it means nothing to
the research, so we have to exclude them
# Obs.: The exclusion process will go until we get some nice results

# Keep in the dfm only words that appear in more than 2 articles
dr.dfm <- dfm_trim(dr.dfm, min_termfreq = 2)

# Check top features
topfeatures(dr.dfm) #Same result as above

# Removing words that does not mean anything to the research
# Selecting specific words (words that are not useful for my analysis)
to be removed from my dataframe matrix
wordstoremove <- c("kan", "så", "dansk", "danmark", "kom", "ved",
"år", "land", "sag",
                   "støjberg", "ing", "ved", "få", "tag", "fler",
"dag", "gør", "tid",
                   "sid", "sam", "andr", "mer", "udlænding", "tal",
"hel", "and", "giv", "to",
                   "fordi", "v", "får", "bland", "mul", "derfor",
"helt", "nye", "person", "lig",
                   "send", "ifølg", "må", "først", "stor", "kun",
"del")
```

```
# Removing words
dr.dfm <- dfm_remove(dr.dfm, wordstoremove)


# Checking the top features after removing non-wanted words
topfeatures(dr.dfm)

# Create dataframe with most typed words after removing unwanted words
df2 <- data.frame(word = names(topfeatures(dr.dfm)), count =
topfeatures(dr.dfm))

# Ggplot about the world count
ggplot(df2,
       aes(x = reorder(df2$word, df2$count), y = df2$count)) +
  geom_col(stat = "identity", fill = c("coral3", "steelblue",
"darkgoldenrod", "forestgreen", "bisque3", "deepskyblue4",
"darksalmon", "darkseagreen", "burlywood4", "brown4")) +
  coord_flip() +
  xlab("Words") + ylab("Count") +
  theme_minimal()

##

## Selecting features by importance in a document ##

# Create tf_idf-weighted dfm
# (The Tf-idf is the frequency of a term adjusted for how rarely it is
used)
dr.tfidf <- dfm_tfidf(dr.dfm)

# Select from main dfm using its top features
dr.dfm <- dfm_keep(dr.dfm, names(topfeatures(dr.tfidf, n = 30)))

######

# Constructing feature-occurence matrix
dr.fcm <- fcm(dr.dfm)
top_dr.fcm <- fcm_select(dr.fcm, pattern = dr.dfm)
textplot_network(top_dr.fcm, min_freq = 0.5, edge_alpha = 0.5,
edge_size = 1,
                 vertex_labelsize = 1.5 *
rowSums(top_dr.fcm/min(rowSums(top_dr.fcm))))

# Creat wordcloud
textplot_wordcloud(dr.dfm, min_size = 0.2, max_size = 4, min_count =
5,
                   max_words = 100, color = "black", font = NULL,
                   adjust = 0, rotation = 0.1, random_order = FALSE,
                   random_color = FALSE, ordered_color = FALSE)
```

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