Swedish Integration Policy -

What’s the problem represented to be?

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze a Swedish Integration Policy Bill (2009/10:60) for refugees and humanitarian immigrants. The aim of the thesis is to investigate how integration process in Sweden is governed through ‘problem’ representations it holds. Research is conducted by using a method introduced by Carol Lee Bacchi (2009) known as ‘What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?’. It finds answers to four of the six questions mentioned in the method, through the perspective of Foucault’s triangle of rule (i.e. governmentality, sovereign and disciplinary powers) along with the concepts of power and knowledge. State uses the knowledges produced by dichotomies, such as educated/uneducated and motivated/unmotivated immigrant, and categories, such as ‘welfare-dependent’ and ‘economic burden’, to form norms to control the behaviors and thoughts of the immigrants. Norms such as ‘active participation’ and ‘to increase their efforts’ for integration are formed, which is an example of disciplinary power exercised by government to regulate integration.

Keywords: Integration policy, WPR, Governmentality, Power, Immigrants
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1. Introduction

“There is the only country which, according to MIPEX received the highest rating (100 percent) in the case of new arrivals access to the labor market.”

(Prop 2009/10:60: 32)

The excerpt is taken from a bill for “Newly arrived immigrants' labor market establishment - self-responsibility with professional support” (2009/10:60). The discourse in the bill is about integration policy for a certain group of immigrants, consisting of refugees and immigrants in need of protection. The success of Swedish integration system is clearly visible from the excerpt. Integration is defined by Penninx (2003) as “the process by which immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups”. This definition is open-ended and without definite limits because, of the fact that, reception and acceptance of the immigrants vary between different host countries. Secondly, the responsible actors in integration, other than immigrants themselves, includes the government, institutions, society and community (Penninx, 2003).

Sweden is well known for its liberal immigration and citizenship policies (Howard, 2009). As a matter of fact, Sweden is one of the few host countries who first identified the emphasis of integration of immigrants. Long before the introduction of integration policies, the integration measures were already part of the immigration policy. (Wiesbrock, 2011: 50) In addition to it, Sweden stood at the top of the list for integration policies, measured by Migration Policy Group of 2006 (Wiesbrock, 2011: 48). Until the Bill (2009/10:60) passed, integration policies in other European Union (EU) countries were becoming restrictive, whereas in Sweden, participating in integration policies was not obligatory and did not affect the process of citizenship. Participation in society orientation course or language course was voluntary (Wiesbrock, 2011: 48). Furthermore, the Swedish integration policy is labor market oriented and the integration measures are specific to increase integration in the labor market sector (ibid). In Sweden more, emphasis is placed on multiculturalism and ethnic diversity. Therefore, the main purpose of integration policies is to bolster the ‘socio-economic inclusion’ of immigrants. (Wiesbrock, 2011: 49-50)
The significance of immigrant integration has not only been accepted at national level but also at the EU level. EU actors have comprehended that through proper integration, immigrants’ skills, experience and education can be taken as human capital and consequently, it will result in the socio-economic development of the country (Wiesbrock, 2011: 48-49). The preference of establishing integration policy for immigrants was pinpointed in the Hague (2005-9) and the Stockholm (2010-14) programs (ibid). Most of the EU member states have adopted restrictive approach towards integration of immigrants and have implemented mandatory requirements in integration, such as citizenship and language tests, for obtaining citizenship (Wiesbrock, 2011: 49-51; Carrera and Wiesbrock, 2009). Sweden, on the other hand, has been moving towards liberal conditions, until the bill (2009/10:60) was passed, when it comes to integration of immigrants (Wiesbrock, 2011: 50).

Governments spread their intentions to solve problems, through a specific and defined way; through policy texts. Policies carry not only decisions made for the migration and immigration but also about the integration in the society. Emilsson (2016) explains the immediate effect of introducing a policy as “Policy shapes the context within which potential migrants decide whether or not to move, where to go, and for how long” (Goldin et al., 2012: 116; Emilsson, 2016: 10). He further clarifies this with the example of “generous” Swedish integration policy. Due to its generosity, Sweden received the highest influx of asylum-seeker and unaccompanied children in EU in the year 2015 but their numbers dropped immediately when Sweden introduced border controls. Even though the influx of these migrants has drastically reduced, integration and protection of the existing migrants have become a challenge for Sweden (Emilsson, 2016). Sweden has experienced several such influxes of immigrants in the past few decades and to cope with the challenge of facilitating integration of immigrants, numerous procedures have been implemented and specific goal-oriented integration policies have been introduced. This takes us to the goal of this thesis, which is to analyze Swedish integration policy bill “Newly arrived immigrants' labor market establishment - self-responsibility with professional support” (2009/10:60). (All translations in the thesis are authors own translations).
1.1 Purpose and aim

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze the relation between policy bill discourse and governmentality. This is mainly to understand how government uses policy as a tool to govern integration. Thesis approaches the policy to critically study the discourse present in the Swedish integration policy context. The approach uses discourse analysis to understand the discursive representations given in the policy instructions and the other available discourses such as the law text. The analysis will not only represent the immigrants taken for granted perspective but also how the government and institutions exercise their power over them to maintain security and order. One way to do this is to examine closely how concepts of immigrant, integration and power are constructed in the integration policy. A historical background will also be represented to understand the transition from immigration policy to integration policy and the way how the concept of governing the integration of immigrants is developed during this transition. The ambition of the thesis is to critically analyze the Swedish governmental discourse related to the immigrant integration through policy analysis. The purpose of the ambition is to find out what is the hidden problematic concern in the integration policy, using “What’s the problem represented to be?” method introduced by Carol Lee Bacchi (2009). This method will be presented in the fifth chapter of this thesis.

In the light of the purpose mentioned above, the aim of the thesis is to:

*Investigate how integration process in Sweden is governed through ‘problem’ representations it holds.*

1.2 Research questions

Interested in scrutinizing the underlying issues in the problem presentations of the integration of immigrants in Sweden, some questions are formulated from the Bacchi’s (2009) methodology of policy analysis. These questions are as follows:

- What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in the Swedish integration policy?
- On what assumptions are problem representations based?
- What is left unproblematic in this problem representation?
1.3 Material

In order to answer the research questions and reach to the aim of the thesis, the research material for analysis is gathered. The WPR approach analysis is not limited to the governmental documents but it can also be applied to other institutions and audit reports. Data from different sources have been collected. Some will be used as primary data and others will be used as supporting data. After reading through different governmental documents related to the integration policy, the following bill for integration policy have been selected as primary document:

Bill (2009/10:60) “Nyanlända invandrarens arbetsmarknadsetablering - egenansvar med professionellt stöd” (Newly arrived immigrants’ labor market establishment - self-responsibility with professional support).

The bill will be analyzed thoroughly to understand the ‘problem’ representations it contains. Then the focus in the material will be on assumptions, presuppositions and silences in the ‘problem’ representations. Last, but not least, the effects and consequences of the assumptions, presuppositions and silences will be discussed in the light of the key theoretical terms, mentioned in chapter 4. The articles described in the chapter 3 i.e. Previous research, and some other articles and books will be used as supporting data.

It is worth mentioning here that the recent integration bill is “Ett nytt regelverk för nyanlända invandrarens etablering i arbets- och samhällslivet” (A new regulatory framework for newly arrived immigrants' establishment in working and community life) (2016/17:175) and its law came into force in January 2018. But the bill that is interrogated here is Bill (2009/10:60). The reason behind the selection of the older bill is that the primary investigation of immigrants and the importance of their integration into the Swedish society was first proposed by the government in the older bill. The new bill deals only with further changes in the existing law. The difference between these two bills and laws is explained in the chapter 2 i.e. Historical background.
1.4 Delimitations

The delimitation of this research area is that its discourse is limited to Sweden. The integration policies are affected by EU policies but in this case, for this particular group of immigrants, thesis will not consider the EU’s involvement or influence, as this research is limited to national perspective. Other delimitation of this research area is that it is limited to immigrants who are refugees and immigrants who are in need of protection.

1.5 Disposition

This thesis consists of eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic of the thesis. The purpose, aim, research questions and material related to the thesis are also described in the same chapter. The following second chapter takes the thesis into the historical phase to understand the creation and development of the present topic. There are many researchers who have conducted their researches on the same topic and these previous researches are presented in chapter three. Chapter four is the theoretical framework and explains the key theoretical terms. Methodological framework is introduced in chapter five, which explains the method to be used in the thesis. Analysis of the topic based on the selected method and theoretical terms is mentioned in chapter six. Following it is the chapter seven, where all the major findings of the research, through analysis, is summarized. The last, eighth chapter is a list of references used in this thesis.

2. Historical background

The thesis deals with ‘problem’ representations, assumptions and silences underlying the integration policy, as seen in the research questions. To understand them fully, it is necessary to know Integration Policy’s history and its construction with the passage of time. Therefore, a brief history of integration policy from 1975 to the present is highlighted here in this chapter. This
chapter will serve as support and background for the chapter 6 i.e. analysis, as the Bill (2009/10:60) will be analyzed there.

2.1 1975 (Bill 1975:26)
In 1975 (Bill 1975:26) the first bill was passed for the immigration and minorities in Sweden. The policy objective was to achieve three goals and the first goal was to implement equality in Sweden between the immigrants and Swedish citizens. The idea was to provide immigrants with residence permits, with the same living opportunities as available for Swedes. Second goal was that immigrants and minorities should have freedom to choose if they want to blend in Swedish culture and society or if they want to maintain their own culture and identity. The third goal was to increase interaction between Swedish citizens and immigrants. (Prop 1975:26: 1; Emilsson, 2016: 22) The immigrants were considered as national minorities; therefore, they were provided with the facility of teaching children in their mother-tongue, along with the Swedish education, in the schools (Emilsson, 2016: 22). State subsidy and funds were allocated to national organizations and municipalities to encourage immigrants’ culture and social activities (Prop 1975:26: 1).

2.2 1986 (Bill 1985/86:98)
In 1986 another immigrant policy was introduced which presented a few changes in the 1975 (Bill 1975:26) immigration policy. Immigrant minority groups were no more considered as ethnic minorities and the term ‘minority’ was used only for certain groups of people who inhabited in Sweden for a very long time. (Prop 1985/86:98; Emilsson, 2016: 23) The freedom to choose to follow Swedish culture or to develop their own culture was now changed and it became obligatory to comply to the regulations and norms. Therefore, the policy known as ‘immigrant and minority policy’ was now known as ‘immigrant policy’. Furthermore, to meet the pressure of influx of migrants in need of protection, the responsibility of integration was decentralized and delegated to municipalities and Immigration Board. (Emilsson, 2016: 23) Act against discrimination was passed and a designation for Ombudsman for Ethnic Discrimination was created. (ibid: 25)

2.3 1998 (Bill 1997/98:16)
The approval of this bill transformed Immigrant Policy to Integration Policy. The objectives of the policy, based on the acknowledgement of cultural and ethnic diversity in the society, was to
provide equal rights, opportunities and share equal responsibilities to every individual in the society, regardless of their backgrounds. (Prop 1997/98:16; Emilsson, 2016: 23) The policy had two more objectives, ‘mutual respect and tolerance’ and ‘a community based on diversity’ which were removed from the policy later. (Emilsson, 2016: 24) Swedish Integration Board was also established. The purpose of this board was to assist municipalities to achieve the objectives of the integration policy and to assist in creating introduction programs, such as teaching of Swedish language, for proper integration of migrants in need of protection. (ibid: 23)

2.4 2010 (Bill 2009/10:60)
The focus of this Bill (2009/10:60) was to ‘facilitate’ and ‘accelerate’ the labor market and social integration of refugees and the immigrants who are in need of protection. The responsibility for ‘active participation’ in integration was bestowed on the individual immigrants him/herself. (Prop 2009/10:609) Furthermore, the responsibility of immigrants’ integration, which was delegated to municipalities, was taken over by the state and redistributed to Swedish Employment Service. (Prop 2009/10:60; Emilsson, 2016: 27) This policy focuses on long-term goals to achieve the future demands of the labor market, such as through education and vocational training. (Prop 2009/10:609) The main objective of the policy was also to improve the skills and competitiveness of the immigrants so that they get hired by the employers. (Emilsson, 2016: 27)

2.5 2018 (Bill 2016/17:175)
This integration policy came into force on the 1st January 2018 and replaced the 2010 Policy (Bill 2009/10:60). The aim of the policy was the same as before i.e. to ‘accelerate’ and ‘facilitate’ the integration of immigrants in to the labor market and social life. However, a new regulatory framework was established which would harmonize the regulations for certain newly arrived immigrants, that is refugees and immigrants in need of protection, to the regulations for regular job seekers. This will make the process easy, especially when the immigrant’s status changes, for example from welfare dependent or job seeker to student or paid employees. Harmonizing frameworks means that some decision in the bill will be moved to regulation level and some will be moved to law level. That will ease the process of changing and taking decisions, as change in decision at the level of law takes a considerable long amount of time. (Prop 2016/17:175)
3. Previous research

There are numerous articles and policy analysis available which are discussing the Swedish Integration Policy but mostly all of them are using different approaches. The articles and researches which I have found have not used the method of policy analysis by Carol Lee Bacchi (2009), that is “What’s the problem represented to be?”. Therefore, I have selected the articles which are closely related to my research study and which studies similar elements as covered in my study. That means the following articles will discuss the integration of immigrants in Sweden, however, there method and approach will vary from each other. This literature review guided me to narrow down my research. Moreover, the data highlighted in the literature review provided the knowledge of that the other researchers have conducted similar studies, but the results or conclusions may be different from my findings or may show the same results.

The first article that captured my attention is a dissertation: Paper Planes: Labor Migration, Integration Policy and the State (2016) written by Henrik Emilsson. The book revolves around three key concepts immigration, integration and the state. He discusses the role of the state in regulating migration and expediting integration (Emilsson, 2016: 11). Comparing four articles related to the subject matter, the dissertation is divided into two parts. The first part discusses relationship between labor migration and the labor migration policy implemented by the government to understand the outcome of policy. In the previous labor migration policy, the control was in the hands of the state, strictly scrutinizing the inflow of labor migrants through ‘labor market tests’, while in the new policy the power is in the hands of employers, though both are demand-driven labor migration policies (Emilsson, 2016: 47). This policy is beneficial for high skilled labor immigrants from non-EU countries as there is a shortage of highly-skilled occupation (ibid: 52). For some of these occupations Swedish language is a requirement. Emilsson (2016) states that a state like Sweden which does not have an international language, creates language barrier for the demand-driven labor immigrants (ibid: 53). This also results in the failure of labor migrants’ integration in the society. He further adds that the policy is developed in a way that it exploits and abuses the labor immigrant (ibid: 54).
The second part of the dissertation discusses the integration policy and the role of the state. It focuses on how the integration policies are governed and who has the policy making and implementing power, the state or the cities. The ‘local turn’ is the term used when most of the responsibility for integration policies is taken by cities and the ‘civic turn’ is used when the state decides the requirements of integration for immigrants (Emilsson, 2016: 59). He further discusses both ‘turns’ and problematizes them.

In the academic article *The Integration of Immigrants in Sweden: A Model for the European Union?* (2011), the author Anja Wiesbrock stresses on the importance of integration of immigrants as it is beneficial for a country’s socio-economic development (Wiesbrock, 2011: 49). Sweden topped the list when Migration Policy Group measured integration policies of some EU countries. Wiesbrock (2011) raises the question if Swedish integration policy can be taken as a model for the rest of the EU countries, and therefore she measures the Swedish Integration Policy using different indicators and studies. (Wiesbrock, 2011: 51) She highlights some parts of the policy and mentions that newly arrived immigrants are free to participate in the introductory programs. These programs are aligned towards the integration in the job market which includes language and society-oriented courses. In addition, employment-related schemes are also provided to the newly arrived immigrants. Further, as compared to the other EU countries, it is far easier to acquire the Swedish nationality. *(ibid: 53-56)* While mentioning the measurement results, she states that these can be interpreted in several ways. From the analysis of Swedish Integration Board, it showed that more than fifty percent of the immigrants who took part in introductory programs, left them uncompleted. The results also revealed that by taking part in these programs immigrants had less chances to get employment as compared to the ones who did not participate in the programs. *(ibid: 57-58)*

*When the State Takes Over: Civic Integration Programs and the Role of Cities in Immigrant Integration* (2015) by Dirk Gebhardt analyzed the role of cities and the state in civic integration programs (henceforth CIP). The analysis is carried out for CIP in three EU countries: Sweden, Netherlands and Germany. Gebhardt (2015) challenges and claims that the integration at the local level, that is cities, plays an important role in policy-making and implementation (Gebhardt, 2015). EU integration Ministers stated while demonstrating the importance of managing CIP by cities
that ‘local governments should obtain capacities to better manage diversity and combat
found that immigrants are more in contact with cities than states and that cities are more involved
with the organizations related to immigrants. However, contrary research shows that cities with
CIP at local level and with anti-immigrant parties have confined immigrant’s rights. (Gebhardt,
2015: 744). States are using CIP as an instrument to get involved or interfere in the integration
policy and to exercise control over the governance of integration (ibid: 745). As a result,
involvement of cities in integration policies has become limited (ibid: 749).

The next article that I am going to present is: The Integration of Immigrants in Northern Sweden:
A Case Study of the Municipality of Strömsund (2009) written by Anita Cvetkovic. She examines
the integration process of immigrants residing in the segregated outskirts of Stockholm. This is a
project executed from 2000 to 2003 and it offers the immigrants to re-settle in the rural areas where
the municipality will offer them basic integration opportunities such as housing, school and job
opportunities, as there was lack of these facilities in the urban areas (Cvetkovic, 2009). The
integration opportunities were provided with the available resources of municipalities (ibid). The
project was successful as the immigrants were integrated in the rural areas within the limited
resources of municipalities and the resources which immigrants carried with them to Sweden, such
as their professional experiences, skills and education (Cvetkovic, 2009: 117). Cvetkovic (2009)
concludes by mentioning that due to the personal resources carried by immigrants they have made
conscious investment by moving to Sweden, and that immigrants and the state have contributed in
the integration process to make it successful for both parties (Cvetkovic, 2009: 127).

The last article that I will mention here is written by Pieter Bevelander, Integrating refugees into
labor markets (2016). It discusses the issue of integration of refugees in the host country. The
economic integration of refugees, that is employment rate and income level, in the first few years
in the host country, is very low. It increases gradually to the employment rate of family unification
migrants, but it never becomes equal to labor migrants (Bevelander, 2016: 1). Bevelander (2016)
concludes that rapid integration of refugees will be a win-win situation for them and the host
country (Bevelander, 2016: 1).
Previous researches, mentioned above, deals with immigrant integration but through different perspectives. This thesis will, however, focus on immigrant integration, primarily, through the lens of Foucault’s triangle of rule, which are governmentality, sovereignty and discipline. Thesis will also discuss the role of power and knowledge in governmentality. These theoretical terms, discussed in chapter 4, will be embedded in the methodological framework, in chapter 5, introduced by Bacchi (2009), known as “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?” Bacchi’s (2009) six questions, some of them are also the research questions of this thesis, will guide us with the help of key theoretical terms to reach the aim of the thesis. The approach to immigrant integration through the blend of “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?” approach and key theoretical terms makes this thesis different from other researches.

4. Theoretical framework

This policy analysis is based on Lee Bacchi’s (2009) “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?” approach (henceforth WPR). This approach servers as a theoretical and methodological framework. This chapter will discuss the theoretical part based on ‘key theoretical terms’ introduced by Bacchi. These terms will then be applied on the research material to conduct analysis with the help of six questions, explained in the methodology. The scope of WPR is broader than other conventional approaches to policy analysis. It mainly focuses on ‘how rules take place’ and ‘how we are governed’. (Bacchi, 2009: 25) The term ‘rule’ is not only limited to state but it also takes into consideration other influences which could affect governing (ibid).
4.1 Governmentality, sovereignty, discipline: Foucault's triangle of rule:

Bacchi (2009) introduced the concept of ‘governmentality’ from the definition set by the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926-1984) as Governmentality (govern-mentalities) are different ways to think or understand how government works and rules (Bacchi, 2009: 26). Governmentalities are ruled through different rationalities or mentalities (ibid). Governmentality is a form of rule which is ‘population-focused’ and policies, such as social and economic, are used in this form of rule to maintain order (Bacchi, 2009: 26-27). It is also known as ‘biopower’ or ‘biopolitics’ (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 109). The ‘population-focused’ power or governmentality is used to organize, monitor, control and categorize humans by collecting knowledge such as about their life, death, health and, illness (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 110). This categorization becomes part of their identity and everyday life (ibid). Governmentality exists close together with sovereign power (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 110). Sovereign power is the other form of rule and the third one is disciplinary power (Bacchi, 2009: 26-27).

Sovereign power is a rule of governing, applied when the aim of governance is to have sovereign power over a particular territory and the governance is maintained through the instruments such as law and regulations for punishment which is demonstrated in public (Bacchi, 2009: 26-27). Disciplinary power, on the other hand, is described by Andersson and Guo as “‘Governmentality’ is understood as an indirect way of governing through potential but invisible surveillance and encouragement, or ‘technologies of the self’” (Andersson & Guo, 2009: 429). The tools used above along with technique of normalization are used to transform individuals into desirable and useful subjects (Bacchi, 2009: 27). Discipline and desirable behaviors, as a result, are produced and maintained through self-surveillance (ibid: 29). Disciplinary power defines natural rule that is a norm, and this rule of normalization does not extend to legislation, law or rule (Foucault, 1994b: 44; Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 109). Foucault refers to governmentality, sovereignty and discipline as triangle of rule (Bacchi, 2009: 28). All three elements of triangle, i.e. governmentality, sovereignty and discipline can function separately as a rule and can also produce ‘hybrid forms of rule’ (ibid: 28). To interpret the rationale behind forms of rule, it is required to analyze the problematized issues (ibid: 30).
4.2 Knowledge and power:

The concepts of knowledge and power in Bacchi’s (2009) WPR approach are influenced by Foucault’s work. These concepts are used in Foucault’s work in parallel to ‘governmentality’. It is therefore necessary to study all of them together to understand them properly (Andersson, 2012: 9). Knowledge plays a crucial role in how governing is done. It is obtained through discourses which are detailed in problem representation. (Bacchi, 2009: 35) In ‘population-focused’ governmentality knowledge about the population is obtained through statistical measurement to govern effectively. From this information the government maintain the economy and provide health and security to the population. (ibid: 27) The government utilizes experts and professionals such as doctors and social scientist to set norms and standards to govern. These professional groups produce and spread their knowledge containing the standards fixed by government (ibid: 29). Here the focal point of Bacchi (2009) in WPR approach is on the “knowledge through which rule takes place” (ibid: 26). The focus is also, not only on the impact on knowledge by the professional groups, but also on the impact on the population through these knowledges (ibid: 26).

Power, in reference to, Foucault, is a ‘positive force’ (Bacchi, 2009: 37). It forms our concepts about ourselves and about the world around us. In other words, power effects us and forms us to ‘who we are’, making us the ‘products of power’. As a result, power is productive but not possessable. (Bacchi, 2009: 37-38) Furthermore, Luke’s dimension of power can be highlighted here as it shares Foucault’s point of view that the government exercises its power over individuals to control and shape their wants, desires, perceptions and cognitions which will result in self-discipline. (Bacchi, 2009: 38-39) The relation of power and knowledge, as explained by Foucault (1994a), is that ‘truth’ “has the power to make itself true” (Foucault, 1994b; Lilja and Vinthagen, 2014: 108). Therefore, it can be concluded, the government uses knowledge (truth) to know about people and how to rule them, that is exercise its power over them (Bacchi, 2009: 26).

The analysis of the Integration policy (2009/10:60) through the governmentality perspective will be carried out with Bacchi’s method of “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?”, mentioned
below. It is essential to highlight that researchers working on this material using this type of analysis may produce different analysis and draw different conclusion (Bacchi, 2009: 21).

5. Methodological framework

This chapter introduces Carol Lee Bacchi’s (2009) methodological framework. It uses the method of “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be?” approach as tool to analyze the policy document. (Bacchi, 2009) The method of WPR approach starts by ‘reading off’ the policy document and identifying the problems mentioned in it. Then by ‘working backwards’ the ‘problem’ representations underlying these problems are identified. (Bacchi, 2009: 21) This is followed by identification of assumption, silences and effects of these ‘problem’ representations. Each question of this method will be discussed in detail in the chapter 6, i.e. Analysis.

5.1 Method of policy analysis: What’s the ‘problem’ representation to be?

‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ or WPR is a post-structural approach introduced by Carol Lee Bacchi (1999: vi). Policy analysis through this approach is carried out through a new dimension. It draws away attention from “primitive” way of ‘problem’ solving in policy analysis and focuses on ‘problem’ questioning. (Bacchi, 2009: vii) It questions the problem represented in the policy and policy proposals rather than silently accepting the problem designated to any issue or ‘social problem’. This analysis of problem presentation is done to study problematizations. (ibid: xiii)

WPR is an unconventional way to policy analysis and it does not aim to measure outcome of policy. It rather digs deep into the problem representation and investigates what is taken for granted and what are the hidden assumptions along with presuppositions which actually forms the policy. (Bacchi, 2009: xiv) WPR approach critically analysis policies or governmental documents by investigating the underlying assumptions that are taken for granted and exposes them. (ibid: xv)
Foucault (1994a) explains this concept as ‘A critique does not consist in saying that things aren’t
good the way they are. It consists in seeing on what type of assumptions, of familiar notion, of
established, unexamined ways of thinking the accepted practices are based’ (Foucault, 1994a: 456;

The aim of WPR approach is neither to identify the goals of the policies as met nor to find out the
intention of the policy. Its aim is to investigate the assumptions and presuppositions that lies behind
the creation and development of the particular policy. (Bacchi, 2009: xix) In short, the aim is not
to study the existing problem rather to investigate how the ‘problem’ is represented in the policy
(ibid: xxi).

A WPR approach uses a set of following questions to investigate ‘what’s the problem represented
to be?’:

1. “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presupposition or assumptions underlie the representation of the
   ‘problem’?
3. How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the
   silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?
6. How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced,
   disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and
   replaced?”

   (Bacchi, 2009: xii)

The research material or the policy document will be analyzed through the lens of WPR approach
to answer the above-mentioned questions in the WPR method. Question number three and six will
be exempted and will not be used due to the limitation of time and space in this thesis and due to
the assessment of historical in-depth demanded by these questions.
6. Analysis

WPR method is the base of this chapter. The policy bill is analyzed here to find answers to the questions from WPR method. Each question is answered in detail, along with quotes from the policy bill to support my arguments, though quotes are not used for all the arguments due to the limited space in the thesis. While answering the questions, the key theoretical terms were applied, as and when required, to fully understand the concepts in this thesis and to analyze the policy bill through governmentality perspective. After reading the policy bill thoroughly several times, ‘problem’ representations, assumptions and unproblematized areas could be seen clearly. Chapter four and five in the policy bill got most of the attention due to their context.

6.1 “What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in the Swedish Integration policy?”

The aim of this question is to find the problem representation in the integration policy. By analyzing the text in the policy bill problem representation of immigrants’ integration will be studied. It will reveal the construction and formation of immigrants’ integration problem and other factors associated with it such as labor market.

6.1.1 Slow integration in the labor market

The first problem representation lies in the aim of the new law which suggests the introduction of some changes that are meant to increase the rate of integration of certain newly arrived immigrants (newly arrived refugees and person in need for protection) in the Swedish labor market and society. The problem presentation is very clearly noticeable, that for certain group of newly arrived immigrants the integration process is very slow. This slow process is related to labor market and societal integration in the bill.

“The new law on establishment efforts for some newly arrived immigrants is proposed to contain rules on responsibilities and efforts aimed at facilitating and
accelerating the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants in working and community life.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 1)

The solution is proposed by taking certain measures such as increasing duties and responsibilities which will accelerate the integration process. The focus is mainly on slow establishment of newly arrived immigrants in the society and labor market which has eventually resulted in high unemployment rate and as a result the change in law is proposed to strengthen the immigrants so that they can join labor market and support themselves as soon as possible.

“The purpose of the establishment efforts is to provide the newly arrived conditions for self-sufficiency and strengthen their active participation in working and community life.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 1)

The problem representation, mentioned above, can also be understood as the main actor in the integration is the immigrant himself as s/he integrates slowly. So, the problem lies at the immigrant’s end.

6.1.2 Marginalization

A great amount of emphasis is laid on to reduce exclusion in the society. Exclusion is not only considered socially but also in the labor market. The problem representation over here is that newly arrived immigrants faces exclusion.

“To reducing exclusion is one of the government's most prioritized tasks.”

(Prop 2009/10:60: 24)

The problem representations mentioned above have created discourses. The knowledge produced in these discourses about the slow integration and exclusion of immigrants have problematized the integration and the immigrant. These knowledges are used by government to carve its way towards legitimizing its control. This is a typical example of governments exercising its control through the governing based on knowledges.
6.1.3 Vague link
Another problem representation that can be highlighted here is that the link between the previous integration policy and the introduction of immigrants was very vague. This is especially concerned with the labor market goals in the introduction program. Establishment efforts were not linked to the goal to achieve labor market integration which resulted in an increase in unemployment. This is brought up several times in the bill such as:

“Despite high ambitions in municipal and governmental target documents, the connection to the labor market is too weak during the introduction.”

(Prop. 2009/10:60:35)

6.1.4 Labor market supply and demand
“A well-functioning labor market with an effective matching between supply and demand of labor is the key prerequisite for even newly arrived immigrants (new arrivals) to quickly get a job.”

(Prop 2009/10:60: 24)

Several problem representation can be derived from the above statement. The first one is that the current labor market is not efficient, as mentioned earlier. The other one is that there is imbalance of supply and demand in the current labor market. The third one is that newly arrived immigrants do not get jobs easily and quickly.

“Both the newly arrived and state actors will increase their efforts to improve the establishment of the labor market. The compensation for the individual, both for women and men, is linked to active participation.”

(Prop 2009/10:60: 35)

As a solution, a discipline of active participation, from the individuals and the state actors, is formed. Government exercises its disciplinary power to form a norm of ‘active participation’ and ‘increase their efforts’ to achieve the desired behavior from the state actors and the newly arrived immigrants in particular.
6.1.5 Delegation of responsibilities

Municipalities, responsible for introduction of newly arrived immigrants, do not have clearly defined roles and duties. In fact, they implement the introductory program in their own way which is different from one municipality to another. Therefore, newly arrived immigrants have not received enough information about the labor market and other efforts to achieve integration goal. (Prop 2009/10:60: 38 - 40) The problem representation over here is the unclear and ambiguous delegation of responsibilities between different municipalities and other actors. It can be said here that not only an immigrant is to be blamed for slow integration into the labor market, but municipalities are also equally guilty. This knowledge gives the state lead to exercise its sovereign power and take over the responsibility of immigrant integration from the cities.

6.2 What presupposition or assumptions underlie the representation of the ‘problem’?

This question goes deeper into the problem presentations to find out the assumptions and presuppositions that are the cause of the problem presentation. This is done by analyzing the epistemology of the problem presentation which examines the knowledge that is taken for granted, that sits deeply in the cultural values and plays an important role in the presentation of a problem. (Bacchi, 2009: 5) This question also covers how the problem representation is described through dichotomies, key concepts and categories. Bacchi (2009) clarifies dichotomies as “simplify complex relationships. Hence, we need to watch where they appear and how they function to shape the understanding of the issue.” (Bacchi, 2009: 7).

6.2.1 Problematizing immigrant

There are many assumptions related to the refugee and immigrants in need of protection. One of them is unemployment. Reducing unemployment and facilitating the process of integration in the labor market is the major theme of the bill and the aim of integration policy.
Other assumption with immigrants, as refugees and in need of protection, is that they are highly dependent on welfare and support of the state. They are considered as economic burden, as a result: “Through the establishment efforts, the state makes a major investment in the new arrivals.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 40) Consequently, they are categorized as ‘welfare dependents’. This categorization of immigrants will assist to decide the way in which governing over them will take place and in addition, the people and their behaviors in this category will be organized (Bacchi, 2009: 9). The effects of category ‘welfare dependents’ will be discussed in the fourth question of analytical framework.

Another assumption which can be interpreted from the bill is that immigrants are motivated to participate in the integration process. This is not always true, especially for the group of immigrants discussed in this thesis, who are refugees and in need of protection (Bevelander, 2016: 4-5). The immigrants who have suffered physically and mentally before immigration are not as motivated as expected (ibid). This assumption results in a dichotomy of motivated and unmotivated immigrants. This is an important dichotomy as in understanding the right side of dichotomy will shape the approach of governmentality towards immigrant integration. It will also help in selecting right measures to be taken for accelerating the integration in the labor market and in the society.

6.2.2 Creating capable immigrant

The assumption, which is also one of the main themes in the policy bill, is to create a capable immigrant. The key concepts used in the bill in relation to immigrant, to produce a desirable immigrant, are ‘self-sufficiency’ and ‘self-responsibility with professional support’. Interpreting its meaning, immigrant is not ‘self-sufficient’ and ‘self-responsible’ and that means immigrant is incapable to integrate on his own and needs professional support, resulting in slow integration process. The whole point with the integration policy is to create a desirable capable immigrant. Once again dichotomoy is created as incapable and capable immigrant.
6.2.3 Taking over from municipalities

The state will take over the responsibility of immigrant integration and municipalities will have coordinating role. The presupposition here is that the state taking over the immigrant integration will facilitate and accelerate the integration process (Prop 2009/10:60: 1) But research shows that municipality is the first level of government which recognizes the presence of newly arrived immigrants, deals with immigrant issues like their residency and works very close with immigrants and the organizations related to them. (Gebhardt, 2015: 744)

6.3 What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently?

The aim of this question is to find out which issue is silenced behind the dominant problem presentation. The policy text is critically analyzed, and limits of the problem representations are studied.

6.3.1 Immigrant women

The pace of immigrant women in integration process is shown as slow in the bill.

“Women generally settle down more slowly in the labor market than men. Already after a year, the difference is high, and after three years, usually 50 percent fewer women than men are employed.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 28)

The reason behind this has not been discussed in the bill. The integration process becomes naturally slow if the immigrant women has been housewife all her life before immigration and that if she is not willing to learn Swedish language and interact socially in the society (Mc Glinn, 2018: 13). The immigrant women are facing subjectification here by portraying her image as she is the reason for slow integration. The reason behind this phenomenon is well described in Mc Glinn’s (2018) dissertation:
“Many women sit at home because they can’t make themselves understood in Swedish. They also face cultural, social, and economic obstacles that stem from the family tradition that they carry with them. Their cultural codes often contradict the codes of Swedish society. They find it difficult to embody the routines and rules that apply in Swedish society and in the labor market.” (Mc Glinn, 2018: 83).

6.3.2 Two-way process
Successful integration is a two-way process and interplay between not only immigrants and the state but also between immigrants and the society (Carrera and Atger, 2011). The role of society in integration and its duties to facilitate and smooth integration is left unproblematic in the bill. Society’s role in the integration of immigrants, clearly mentioned in the bill or law will make the society aware of their duties and responsibility, resulting in better integration process from both sides.

6.3.3 An effective system or Perfectionism
Other silenced areas are behind the notion of having perfect integration system by having long term goals for immigrant integration rather than short term goals. This especially applies to the selection of education rather than selecting temporary or low skilled jobs. The immigrants, as shown in the quote below, might have different opinion than that what the state have selected for them. They might want to continue the low skilled job that they have carried out for several years. In addition to it, by not addressing this issue, the perfect integration system exerts pressure on the newly arrived immigrants.

“Among adult newcomers who take part in the municipal introduction has more than 90 percent participated in the teaching of Swedish in its first year in Sweden. However, only 27 per cent have been approved at any grade level in Swedish, 12 months after public registration.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 29)
But in some way, they are forced to do what the state have decided for them. If they are not willing to participate in the introductory program, then they might face consequences in the form of less incentives. Citizenship is also related to their performance and incentives.

“...The incentives for integration are often regulated by law by relating integration criteria with residence permits or citizenship. New arrivals must participate in introductory programs, learn language and sometimes be self-sufficient to get a more permanent residence permit. Economic incentives also occur more and more often.” (Prop 2009/10:60: 33)

Further, the assumption that the perfect system for educating everyone will meet the future demands of the labor market (SOU 2008:58: 62). The thing which is not discussed in the bill is that the highly educated integrated immigrants in the society will result more in quantity than the low skilled immigrants or population in the society. That will lead to more supply and less demand of the skills, education and experience that highly educated immigrants will have i.e. human capital. The imbalanced supply and demand in the labor market is not discussed. This process will create an educated immigrant and an uneducated immigrant, dichotomy is created once again. By exerting such pressure and creating high standards for integration many effects are produced. These effects will be discussed later in the fourth question.

6.4 What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

This last question further critically analyses the policy bill text and highlights the effects generated from the problem representation. These are the consequences of things taken for granted and silenced, also the things which are assumed. This is undertaken by observing discursive, subjectification and lived effects. (Bacchi, 2009: 15-18) Discursive effects are produced when the problem representation and its discourse limit the opportunity to think and to analyze the problem representation differently (ibid: 16). Subjectification effects emerges when people are targeted, and they face subjectification, as a part of the problem representation (ibid: 41) Lived effect is the
direct impact of problem representation on people’s lives (*ibid*: 43). It is not necessary to highlight all the effects here but what is important here is to discuss how this problem representation can be linked to other discourse, in this case governmentality.

### 6.4.1 Integration policy - State takeover - as a mean to govern

The state taking over the main responsibility of immigrants and their integration is a way to exercise its sovereign and disciplinary powers on regulating integration (Gebhardt, 2015: 745). By introducing and passing integration bills and laws and taking it further to creating ministries of integration, state has institutionalized integration and that also means that integration is prevailed by state sovereignty (Gebhardt, 2015: 745). The state further exercises its disciplinary power on immigrants by developing introductory programs and establishment efforts based on the incentives. Even though participation in these programs is voluntary, non-participation comes at a cost of reduced or no incentives at all, leaving newly arrived immigrant economically on their own (Wiesbrock, 2011: 53). Thus, immigrants, that is, in this case refugees and the immigrants in need of protection, are dependent on support from state, such as for living allowances and housing support, this scenario converts the integration programs and policies into an ‘offer that cannot be refused’ (Gebhardt, 2015: 746). Other than economic incentives, the citizenship is also an incentive which has to be earned with full participation in the introductory programs decided by the state (Prop 2009/10:60: 33). In this way, state led introductory programs and establishment efforts intervene immigrants’ everyday life and controls integration into the Swedish society and labor market.

### 6.4.2 Integration policy - immigrant life - as a mean to govern

In struggling to create a perfect integration system state has focused on very expensive integration programs and establishment efforts. It is also mentioned in the bill that “Establishment efforts for new arrivals is a long-term investment by society” (Prop 2009/10:60: 44). The effects and consequences of this expensive system is, however, borne by other members of the state (Gebhardt, 2015: 753), as the cost is paid from tax-money. The society and the local population, in particular, is bearing this lived effect as a consequence. As discussed earlier, that the immigrant is not always willing to educate himself further and neither is s/he as motivated as expected, in this scenario,
when the immigrant cannot cope with the perfect system the only way out is to segregate himself from the society and become part of his own ethnic community. As a result, pressure exerted due to the perfectionist system would eventually result in the lived effects of segregation and exclusion of the immigrants. Furthermore, immigrants face subjectification, as a result, when they are blamed for low labor market integration, unemployment and segregation as the reasons for slow integration in the society. Immigrant women, in particular, face subjectification when they are blamed for the same, without knowing or investigating their background, for example, if she has ever worked or if she was housewife all her life. In addition, in order to, create a capable immigrant, state intervenes in immigrant’s life and regulates some parts of his life through, policies, bills and introduction programs to make him ‘self-sufficient’ and ‘self-responsible’. Immigrants being regulated and their reliance on state welfare system affects immigrants in a way that they become familiar to “learned helplessness” which reduces the immigrants own efforts to integrate into the labor market. (Wiesbrock, 2011: 62) This lived effect on immigrant’s life also reduces integration into the society and labor market. Governmentality takes place through the knowledges created by categories, dichotomies and key concepts. These knowledges help to organize people in different categories and groups, which in turn makes it easy to form norms and self-discipline. Thus, the government exercises its disciplinary power over immigrants to regulate immigrant integration in the society and in the labor market.

7. Conclusion

To sum up from the analysis, we can conclude that immigrant integration is problematized in the integration policy bill context as slow integration in the labor market, inefficient labor market, newly arrived immigrant does not easily get job and failure to evenly delegate responsibilities among different municipalities. Assumptions that underlie these ‘problem’ representations are identified as immigrants are unemployed, dependent on the state welfare and support, economic burden and unmotivated to participate in the integration process. In addition to it, other assumptions are that the immigrant is incapable, therefore, state want to create immigrant who is capable to integrate in the labor market and the Swedish society, and the assumption that integration process will accelerate if the state will take over the responsibility of integration
process of immigrants. These assumptions generate dichotomies such as motivated and unmotivated, capable and incapable, educated and uneducated immigrant and responsible and irresponsible municipalities. Assumptions also divide immigrants in categories such as ‘welfare dependent’ and ‘economic burden’.

Knowledges are generated through dichotomies and categories, as mentioned above. People divided in categories, such as ‘welfare dependent’ and ‘economic burden’, affect the decision of the government about how to govern people belonging to these categories. As shown earlier, the decision made for this policy is to create ‘self-sufficient’ and ‘self-responsible’ immigrants. Dichotomies, just like categories, are of great importance and adds a great value in forming norms. Dichotomies create two groups, which are opposite to each other, such as motivated/unmotivated, capable/incapable and educated/uneducated immigrant. This knowledge affects the thinking of people, as one category of people is always superior to the other. State, then, create norms from this knowledge to achieve the other desired category such as educated, capable and motivated immigrant. Through implementation of these norms, an immigrant with desired behaviors is formed and thoughts of the people are controlled. Governmentality through disciplinary power is exercised here to from norms and to control people and their behaviors. The final product, that is newly formed immigrant is then a ‘product of power’, as a result. Discipline power is used to control people and things and teach them desired behaviors thorough self-discipline and self-surveillance. Governmentality through sovereign power is exercised when the state takes over the responsibility of newly arrived immigrants from municipalities. Knowledges accumulated from ‘problem’ representations in the Swedish integration policy bill are used in relation to powers, that is ‘population-focused’, sovereign and disciplinary powers, to govern the integration process.

The thesis has some results which are similar to the previous researches carried out. But my contribution in this field is that I have used a new approach known as “What’s the problem represented to be?” in the methodology in this particular area of integration. This research is a small portion of a larger research and the premises and effects of the problem representations it holds needs to be analyzed through a larger lens.
8. References


Prop 1975:26 *Regeringens proposition om riktlinjer för invandrar- och minoritetspolitiken m. m.*. Retrieved April 18, 2018 from http://www.riksdagen.se


