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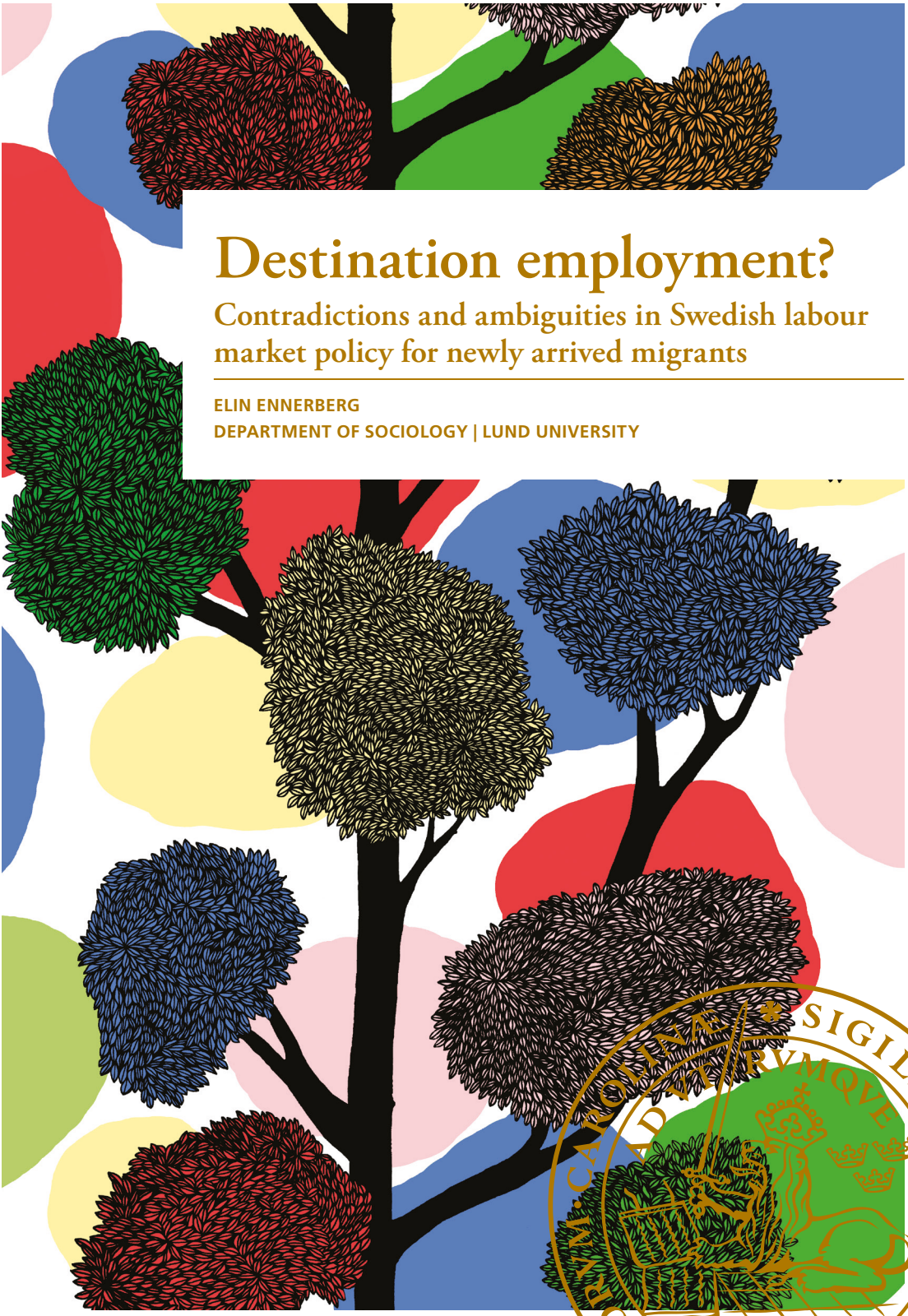

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Sweden's "establishment reform" was introduced in 2010 with the ambition to increase the labour market participation of newly arrived migrants. It was in line with other labour market policies of the centre-right Alliance government, elected in 2006, which aimed to increase work incentives particularly for groups seen as "vulnerable" in, or excluded from, the labour market.

By considering the history of ALMP and policies of migration linked to the labour market, the establishment reform can be seen as building both on earlier initiatives targeting certain groups, as well as the investment ambitions of labour market training programmes. At the same time, the integration approach to migration, developed by successive Social Democratic governments, has also largely been integrated through this reform. Thus, the establishment reform combines both social and labour market goals, leading to contradictions and ambiguities at the policy level and in practice.

In this thesis I consider how the establishment reform combined workfare and social investment elements, including social support ambitions, through a qualitative study of its policy ambitions, organisational challenges and practical consequences, using documentary analysis, interviews and close to 200 individual cases from the Public Employment Service.

It is argued that the ambiguities of the policy are present in the twin goals of workfare and social investment: above all, how to combine the disciplinary elements of active participation – positive and negative economic incentives to enter the labour market quickly – with the long-term goals of upskilling to improve the quality of employment, particularly in combination with the ambition to provide "individualised" support and to empower individuals.

At the organisational level, these contradictions are played out in practice through the interactions between the individual participants and employment officers at the Public Employment Service, as well as private sector "establishment guides". Here, the social needs of the participants achieve prominence, making it more difficult to focus on the reform's work-first principles. This prioritisation on the ground can be defended by the policy's stated goal to focus on the individual.

A closer analysis at how the measures fit the group of newly arrived migrants is achieved through the construction of five "types" within the group. The trajectories of each type are explored, showing the different opportunities and difficulties they encounter through the establishment period, and how the measures are more suitable to some types than others.

Key words labour market policy, newly arrived migrants, establishment reform, social investment, workfare

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For Gavyn

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Chapter 1

Introduction

During the 2006 Swedish general election, the centre-right Alliance political coalition called for a new direction for labour market policy, citing the worryingly high number of individuals "excluded"[1] from the labour market due to various reasons such as sick leave or early retirement. After 12 years of Social Democratic minority governments, the Alliance coalition, comprising the Moderate Party, the Centre Party, the Liberal Party and the Christian Democratic Party, gained parliamentary power and formed a government. Their political programme focused heavily on labour market inclusion by targeting certain groups and reforming parts of the labour market with the intention to increase work incentives.

In his Statement of Government Policy in 2006, Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt stated:

> More than a million individuals are today outside of the labour market. Despite strong economic growth, we are facing mass unemployment… The exclusion challenge is reinforced by the demographic development. Sweden is in need of a powerful program to [create] more jobs in the whole of Sweden; that aims to make it more financially beneficial to work; and easier to employ individuals. The labour market thresholds must be lowered and increased work effort or greater responsibility must be awarded (Reinfeldt, 2006: 2).

A central tool of the Alliance government's political programme was the use of income tax reductions, with the aim to increase work incentives for individuals. Relatedly, the re-strengthening of the "work line"[2] included restrictions related to unemployment benefits and sickness insurance. Arguing for increased efficiency

[1] Swedish: *in utanförskap*.

[2] While this term is translated in certain policy documents as the "work-first principle", I will use the direct translation of *arbetslinjen*, "work line", as this has a long history in Swedish labour market policy and debates (Junestav, 2004; Ohlsson & Olofsson, 1998; Olofsson, 1996).

and increased freedom of choice the Alliance government announced that the Public Employment Service (*Arbetsförmedlingen*) would be reorganised to make it more efficient, and more private actors would be involved in the provision of unemployment services. The ambition to increase choice, and thereby private provision, was also a goal for other welfare services such as health care. The reorganisation of the Public Employment Service was followed by the recruitment of a new director-general from the private sector, Angeles Bermudez-Svankvist, in 2008. Finally, the Alliance aimed to lower entry levels into the labour market, first by creating a new job subsidy, "new start jobs"; second by lowering employers' costs for hiring some groups; and third by reducing tax on certain household services through the RUT tax rebate (Allians för Sverige, 2006; Reinfeldt, 2006).

Despite the strong Swedish economy in 2006, the unemployment rate of 7.1% was portrayed as "mass unemployment" (Allians för Sverige, 2006) and the Alliance's joint political manifesto was portrayed as a break from past policies that would lead to a new work line. In particular, this new work line focused on targeting certain groups in the labour market. This policy was motivated by an earlier debate on whether or not the entry of individuals into other social insurance programmes actually amounted to a "hidden/disguised" unemployed population (see for example Edling, 2005; Hetzler, Melén, & Bjerstedt, 2005; Johnson, 2010). The number of those outside the labour market has increased rapidly since the economic crisis in the 1990s and numbered more than a million individuals in 2004 (SOU 2007:2, p 78).

The emphasis on vulnerable groups in the labour market can be seen as a reflection of an increasingly "dualised" (Emmenegger, 2012) labour market, with insiders, i.e. "people in standard employment" and outsiders, i.e. "people in atypical and precarious employment" (Häusermann & Schwander, 2012: 29-30) where the general population has benefitted from high employment rates and good job prospects. On the other hand, "vulnerable groups" including those born outside Europe, those with disabilities, youth without an Upper Secondary education and women with shorter educational backgrounds (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2006, 2007; Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2007)[3] are expected to make up as much as 75% of all registered unemployed in 2017 (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015b). Moreover, of the individuals belonging to the

[3] I use the term "vulnerable groups" (*utsatta grupper*) as this is the term used by the Public Employment Service; see for example (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2013f: 93). This term can also be found in other literature on labour market issues (Berg, 2015: 31; Marx, 2007: 201; OECD, 2012: 148). The group may be constituted as vulnerable as individuals are considered at risk of long-term unemployment. It does not imply any value judgement regarding the individuals belonging to the group.

category of vulnerable groups who were registered in the Public Employment Service in 2013, nearly half did not have an Upper Secondary education. At the same time, jobs that required less education have fallen by 150,000 since 2000. Thus, there is a marked imbalance in the labour market where demands for qualifications increase at the same time as a large number of individuals with shorter educational backgrounds are looking for work (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2013f: 3-4).

Groups singled out as in need of specific measures by the Alliance government were youth, long-term unemployed and individuals on long-term sick leave. Another group singled out as in need of extra support in the labour market comprised so-called "newly arrived migrants", mainly those given refugee status or reunification migrants.[4] For these groups, the government introduced a new reform, the so-called establishment reform in 2010. Previously, this group had been covered by the integration policy whereby social support combined with labour market participation was managed by municipalities in cooperation with state authorities. The Alliance government announced the closure of the state authority, the Integration Board, in 2007 and identified the need to increase labour market participation among migrants. Hence, as Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeltdt stated in his Statement of Government Policy in 2010, "the government's workline is also integration policy" (Reinfeldt, 2010: 18).

The establishment reform was portrayed at the time as a "paradigm shift" by Minister for Equality and Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, and a departure from previous integration policy (Sabuni, 2009) through its clear labour market focus and individualised support. However, as can be seen from the quote from the government bill below, the establishment reform also contained certain social investment ambitions, such as measures focusing on further education, labour market training programmes and social support in terms of rehabilitation and health, that could be seen as building on previous integration ambitions.

> An important prerequisite for finding employment and participating in society is Swedish language skills. Individuals should be given good opportunities for Swedish language learning, complementing earlier education and in other ways improving their competencies during the first period after acquiring residence

[4] When using the term "newly arrived migrants" or "newly arrived" in the text, I refer to the group covered by the measures in the establishment reform, that is, those between the ages of 20 and 64 who have been granted residency on the basis of being classified as a refugee or in need of protection. Individuals granted residence status as reunification migrants in connection with another individual who received residence status as a refugee or in need of protection are also included. For further discussion see chapter 5.

> permit. It is important to start from each individual's abilities, both for the interest of the individual and for society at large. Consequently, there should be ample opportunities to evaluate, validate and complement previous work experience, education and vocational skills. Through the establishment measures, the state makes a great investment in the newly arrived individual (Prop. 2009/10:60, p 40).

This emphasis on human capital investment was thus clearly expressed as an important part of the establishment reform, while it was also seen as part of the Alliance government's work line policies.

The emphasis on including vulnerable groups in the labour market follows a long tradition of Swedish active labour market policy (ALMP) whereby emphasis has been on both upskilling and training, but also on highlighting individuals' work obligation, as well as targeting vulnerable groups in the labour market (Lindvert, 2006; Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009).

In contemporary debates, when unemployment itself is supposed to be the main problem, workfare or social investment measures are both presented as new solutions, with the assumption that stronger work incentives and/or control of individuals on the one hand, or educational measures on the other, will lead to labour market integration. However, for some individuals who experience additional or more complex problems than unemployment, traditional social support measures may also be needed. I will consider this issue by analysing how these different policy goals and perspectives are combined in order to fit vulnerable groups in the contemporary Swedish labour market.

In this thesis, I will analyse the establishment reform in order to discuss recent labour market policy changes and ambitions to include vulnerable groups in the labour market, with a particular focus on the complex and sometimes contradictory relationship between workfare and social investment policy ideas. This study uses policy documents and debate articles to consider the political goals of the establishment reform and how it built on previous labour market and integration policies. Second, I use interview data to examine how employment officers in the Public Employment Service and the private sector establishment guiding companies managed the contradictions of the policy. Third, I construct five types using case material from the Public Employment Service and establishment guides and consider how this group fit into the establishment measures.

The establishment reform

The establishment reform was launched in December 2010 with the main aim to increase labour market participation among newly arrived migrants. The reform is described in detail in chapter 5, but I provide here a short summary of some of its key aspects. First, I briefly consider the labour market situation for migrants as a group prior to the establishment reform.

While unemployment from the 1950s to the 1980s remained at 1.5–4%, following the economic crisis in the 1990s, the number of employed individuals fell by more than 500,000 between 1991 and 1993 (Lundborg, 2001: 16) and unemployment hit 10% in 1995 and remained at around 8% until 1997.

The persistence of high unemployment particularly affected certain groups in the labour market, including migrants born outside Europe (Lundborg, 2001). In 1996, unemployment rates for foreign-born nationals reached 17.5%, and although unemployment has declined for the general population, the difference with rates within the foreign-born population has since increased. In 2006, the employment rate for individuals born in Sweden was close to 82%, whereas for foreign-born individuals it was close to 66% (Integrationsverket, 2007b: 14-29). Concerns over past failures to integrate this group better in the labour market played an important role in policy debates preceding the introduction of the establishment measures.

The establishment reform comprised a package of measures including fulltime activities for a maximum period of 24 months. The activities were adjusted to individuals' needs and aims regarding work and included Swedish language training in parallel with labour market training and work experience. The individual received financial compensation (establishment benefit) for participating and could combine the activities with paid work.

The political goal of the reform was to increase the focus on work in integration measures, but aspects such as language learning and civic education were also emphasised. There was also a strong ambition to enhance individualisation and empower individuals.

Previously, municipalities had been responsible for integrating newly arrived migrants, but the Public Employment Service was given main responsibility for managing and coordinating the new reform nationally. While municipalities remain responsible for providing Swedish for immigrants courses for newly arrived migrants, the Public Employment Service uses "complementary actors" to provide different labour market activities targeted to this group, including labour market training programmes and more basic upskilling courses. In the original

conception of the establishment measures, individual participants could choose private establishment guides (*etableringslots)* to help with extra labour market focus and social support through regular meetings. This measure was eventually discontinued due to serious problems with the establishment guidance system, discussed in chapter 6.

During the first year of the programme, approximately 600 individuals entered the programme per month, but, as immigration increased, the number grew and had more than doubled by 2013. In September 2014, almost 39,000 individuals were covered by the programme (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011b, 2013a, 2014a).[5]

In the policy documents, the reorganisation of responsibility for this group is argued as important for actually delivering the desired policy changes. Recentralisation and privatisation of services – though the latter was subsequently discontinued – was seen as important for achieving the political goals of the establishment reform. Thus, considering these specific forms of organisation is important for analysing the changes that have taken place, not least in relation to the highly publicised breakdown of the establishment guidance system.

Previous studies

The establishment reform was highly promoted when it was introduced and has been closely followed through internal and external reports and evaluations. The Public Employment Service is responsible for producing regular written reports including statistical and other information. Through these reports, it is possible to gain a comprehensive picture of how the establishment measures have been implemented, what results have been achieved and what areas the Public Employment Service considers as needing improvement. The Swedish Agency for Public Management also produced two evaluations of the introduction phase, while the Swedish National Audit Office produced four audit reports on the establishment measures (Riksrevisionen, 2013, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Researchers at Stockholm University published three reports evaluating the establishment reform (Andersson Joona, Wennemo Lanninger, & Sundström, 2015, 2016; Wennemo Lanninger, 2016) while researchers at the Institute for Evaluation of Labour Market and Education Policy (IFAU) published their

[5] In this thesis I primarily focus on establishment measures up to 2014. Some changes to the legislative framework after 2014 are discussed in chapter 5, but my main focus is on the establishment reform as part of the Alliance government's work line policies. Moreover, the data from my cases and interviews were gathered during this period, and subsequent legislative changes are less relevant to my empirical material.

findings on the marketisation of the establishment guides system (Sibbmark, Söderström, & Åslund, 2016). Qvist (2016) has studied the collaboration practices of different agencies involved in implementing the reform and steering of the establishment reform. Finally, Jennie K Larsson (2015) has written a thesis on the employment officers working with the establishment reform.

In the early years of the establishment measures, the large majority of individuals participated in both labour market training programmes and Swedish language courses. By 2014 this has fallen slightly, reflecting the higher entry rate of individuals into the establishment measures (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a: 30-31). The increased burden on the Public Employment Service reportedly led to fewer meetings with individuals, and thereby lesser opportunities to provide them with suitable activities that matched their skills or goals (ibid).

In 2012, out of the individuals that had left the programme, 24% were working or participating in higher studies, rising only slightly to 26% in 2014[6] (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014b), indicating that outcomes had not been greatly affected by the increased number of participants, although participants' own backgrounds and the situation of the labour market should also be taken into account.[7]

Certain issues recur in both external evaluations and internal reports. One problem raised was the unclear division of responsibility between authorities, in particular the municipalities and the Public Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2012e). Another was the housing situation. Lack of housing put a strain on many receiving municipalities and led to longer waiting periods for those in housing provided by the Migration Board, thereby delaying the integration process and increasing the risk of passivity for individuals (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2012d, 2013c).

The evaluations also raised the issue of the difficulty of finding individualised activities and activities suitable for the target group, especially whilst in the early stages of the establishment measures, before their Swedish language skills had improved (Riksrevisionen, 2014c; Statskontoret, 2012). Similarly, many individuals failed to get their previous education and vocational skills validated

[6] While new rules regarding migration and the asylum process were introduced in Sweden in 2016, the period I study in this thesis, and that considered in previous evaluations and studies of the reform, is 2006–2014. I will therefore not consider any potential changes resulting from these new rules.

[7] The problems in the broader economy negatively affected vulnerable groups in the labour market, and the proportion of long-term unemployed also increased (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2012f: 4; 2012g, 2013f).

whilst in the establishment period, and may thus be unable to use their previous skills for future work or studies (Riksrevisionen, 2014a).

The focus on social support in the early stages of the programme was also brought up. Difficulties in terms of health, lack of housing, economic problems due to delayed payments could all serve as obstacles to a clear work focus from the beginning of the establishment period (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011c; Statskontoret, 2011). There were also differences for men and women and the extent to which they participated in work-related activities. Men were more likely to take part in work experience, labour market training programmes and to have a job during the establishment period (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). However, a recent report also shows that compared to the municipality introduction programmes, both men and women did better in terms of employment rates after taking part in the establishment measures. These results were, however, not valid for women with small children and with lower education (Wennemo Lanninger, 2016).

The establishment guidance system, an expensive and highly publicised part of the reform, was heavily criticised by the Swedish National Audit Office in its 2014 report. First, its broad scope, in practice, led to lower focus on job seeking or job-related activities. Instead, social support was the main focus of the establishment guides. This finding was echoed in the Public Employment Service's own report that found that the most common activities performed by establishment guides were coaching talks, civic guidance talks, assessments of participants' training and experience *(kartläggande samtal)* and practical support (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2013b, 2014b). Furthermore, the steering system in terms of freedom of choice and the results model was criticised by the Swedish National Audit Office. The freedom of choice system was seen as unsuitable for this group due to their lack of knowledge of available alternatives. Moreover, rather than leading to quality competition, the system led to newly arrived migrants receiving gifts and loans to tempt them to change establishment guides. The Public Employment Service was not seen to have sufficient control over the system (Riksrevisionen, 2014b). In the report published on marketisation through the establishment guidance system, researchers found that the different steering tools used to increase quality of the system did not actually have a significant effect on the chances that individuals would find jobs (Sibbmark et al., 2016).

In its 2014 report, the Public Employment Service acknowledged the problems identified by the Swedish National Audit Office and initiated a review of the establishment guidance system (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014a). Due to signals from the new Social Democratic Party-Green Party coalition government that the system was to be abolished, however, this review was put on hold. In February

2015, the new director-general,[8] Mikael Sjöberg, of the Public Employment Service announced that the establishment guidance system would be stopped following a three month termination period due to serious threats received from establishment guides against Public Employment Service staff and suspicions of criminal activities including fraud and recruitment to the Islamic State terrorist organisation (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015c).

Despite these problems, the final evaluation from Stockholm University found that participants in the establishment reform had a higher probability of finding a job than the control group of participants that entered municipality introduction programmes in 2009. Moreover, they had a higher average income than the control group, but were less likely to participate in fulltime studies (Andersson Joona et al., 2016).

Larsson's (2015) thesis on the topic uses theories of street level bureaucrats and post-colonialism when researching the practices of establishment guides in the private sector and employment officers at the Public Employment Service. She finds that the marketisation, i.e. the introduction of the establishment guides, led to the prioritisation of immediate results leading to fast labour market establishment over long-term goals more suitable for the individuals themselves. Moreover, Larsson argues that employment officers used a construction of "Swedishness", particularly in terms of gender equality, when working with clients in order to implement workfare practices. Qvist (2016) considers the establishment reform from a perspective of coordination and cooperation between state, local and market actors, and argues that institutional tensions were prevalent and hampered more successful collaboration.

During the first few years of the establishment reform, there were thus changes in immigration numbers, the labour market and its composition, and the reform measures themselves. While many aspects have been pointed out as problematic, there is also evidence of some success in results when compared to municipalities' introduction programmes.

To sum up, previous studies have focused on problems in terms of implementing the reform measures, outcomes of the reform and the emphasis on individuals from a workfare perspective. My contribution will provide an added focus on the combination of workfare goals and social investment ambitions

[8] Angeles Bermudez-Svanqvist, who had been recruited as director-general by the Alliance government, was forced to leave her position in 2013 after the board of the Public Employment Service had declared that they lacked confidence in her leadership. Bermudez-Svanqvist had been criticized for failed measures such as job coaching, internal staff criticisms and revelations of high telephone bills on her work phone contracts (see for example Dagens Nyheter, 2013).

present in the establishment reform, and is an empirical study of how these perspectives are used in practice in relation to labour market measures directed at vulnerable groups in the labour market. This study reveals some of the difficulties of present day labour market policy and contributes to discussions of how ideals of "active participation" are combined (and resisted or contradicted) in workfare and social investment strategies directed towards groups at risk of labour market exclusion.

Aim and research questions

As noted earlier, the establishment reform was an attempt to achieve higher labour market participation for a specific and vulnerable group of the unemployed: newly arrived migrants. This reform can be seen as an example of the challenges of introducing groups considered far from the labour market into general labour market policy.

Some authors (see for example Dahlstedt, 2009) argue that traditional ALMP has been replaced by workfare policies, placing particularly hard demands on certain groups. On the other hand, the establishment reform can also be seen as demonstrating a social investment ambition, as it aims to move individuals closer to the labour market through participation in various measures.

While newly arrived migrants face very specific challenges in the labour market, particularly in terms of language learning and potential discrimination, I would argue that, this group also mirrors the problems faced by the unemployed population at large: some individuals enter the labour market rapidly, whilst those most at risk of long-term unemployment often require more guidance and support. In these instances, ambitions of integration can be seen as largely reflecting the more general social policy ambitions of supporting the participation of individuals in society and work.

This thesis aims to explore how Swedish ALMP has been developed to manage current socioeconomic challenges, particularly in relation to individuals considered further from the labour market, and how different policy goals in the area are combined.

The Swedish labour market is presently characterised by a changed economic climate and a greater influx into unemployment of individuals who may require extra support in finding work. At the same time, many employment measures remain and labour market policy itself can be seen as having survived the crisis of the 1990s. In this thesis I will consider the new challenges surrounding labour

market policy directed at vulnerable groups by considering one particular reform. The inclusion of individuals with perceived additional needs into general unemployment programmes highlights the close relationship between social and labour market policy and the difficulties in defining appropriate activities and support for vulnerable groups in the labour market.

To explore these issues, I will consider the roles of workfare and social investment in contemporary labour market policy in Sweden. More specifically, I am interested in exploring the contradictions in the workfare and social investment perspectives, which come to the forefront when applied to groups further from the labour market. These contradictions can be seen as reflecting different assumptions about participation in activities for unemployed individuals. When these perspectives are combined in practice, we also perceive some of the difficulties in combining workfare with other social investment and social policy ambitions. On the one hand, active participation and control measures are emphasised, while on the other, human capital investment in the long term is promoted with an emphasis on upskilling. Furthermore, the expressed social needs of participants can serve to challenge the workfare emphasis of the policy. By using the group of newly arrived migrants that have participated in the establishment reform as an example, I discuss how a particular vulnerable group of unemployed is characterised and how the diverse types within this group fit into the policy ideals and measures related to the ambitions of the establishment reform.

Thus, the main research question of the thesis is:

How has recent Swedish labour market policy been formulated, organised and managed to integrate "vulnerable groups" in the labour market?

I consider these issues in relation to newly arrived migrants and the establishment reform, and how social investment and workfare goals are combined with the aim of integrating excluded groups in the labour market.

My analysis covers three different levels of this policy reform: the policy's goals, its organisation and its actual measures. Three sub-questions cover each of these levels.

1. *What are the central political goals of the establishment reform and how are these goals combined?*

This question is answered by a documentary analysis. First, I analyse related debates and policy documents: newspaper debate articles, the government white

paper (*Statens offentliga utredningar* or SOU), committee reports and related parliamentary debates. This will allow me to examine the political purpose of the reform, the reasons for its introduction and consider the combination of different goals within the reform measures. By discussing these issues I will relate the reform to other changes in the labour market in order to examine the ambitions of the Swedish state in the area of labour market policy and the challenges faced.

2. *How is the establishment reform carried out in practice and experienced by employees in the organisations working with the migrants?*

This question is answered using qualitiative data consisting of background material regarding the organisational framework relevant to the practical work with the group. I also use interviews with employment officers from the Public Employment Service and private establishment guide companies. Through these interviews I analyse the challenges involved in working with a vulnerable group, especially regarding the contradictions of social support measures and workfare measures due to the transfer of this group to the Public Employment Service and private providers.

3. *How is a "vulnerable" group in the labour market characterised and managed by employment officers at the Public Employment Service?*

To answer this question I draw on close to 200 individual empirical cases from the Public Employment Service and establishment guides, combined with qualitiative interview data. For each of the individual cases, a range of establishment measures, contacts with the Public Employment Service and monthly reports from establishment guides are documented. Using these cases, I construct the types of the individuals that go through the reform. This is used as an illustration of the differences between individuals within this group, and provides a complementary perspective on the challenges experienced by employment officers when working with individuals trying to enter the labour market. I also analyse difficulties in using measures for individuals with different needs and abilities. The different labour market measures connected to the establishment reform reflect various policy goals.

These contradictions are explored in relation to the different groups, as characterised by employment officers, taking part in the measures. The development of types reveals a heterogeneous set of vulnerable groups which can be seen as mirroring the general group of unemployed and serve as an example of the complexities involved in adding different goals into the area of labour market policy.

Background

Historically, Swedish social policy has been closely linked with labour market policy, being essentially "productive" and emphasising the link between individual labour market participation and the economy at large (Andersson, 2003; Åmark, 2005). Active labour market policy (ALMP) was an essential part of the development of the Swedish welfare state in the post-war period. During that period of strong economic growth, ALMP was closely connected to economic policy and the goal of full employment (Lindvert, 2006; Meidner, 1998; Ohlsson & Olofsson, 1998; Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009), articulated through the Rehn-Meidner model (see for example Erixon, 1994; Meidner, 1998; Meidner, Niklasson, & Andersson, 1970). Policy tools such as labour market training programmes and relocation assistance were used to provide employers with labour and individuals with jobs in expanding sectors (Lindvert, 2006; Meidner, 1998; Ohlsson & Olofsson, 1998; Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009).

ALMP was implemented through Public Employment Offices. These had a great influence over the policy area, as did the main authority the Swedish National Labour Market Board (*Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen* or *AMS*) (Rothstein, 2010a). Moreover, the Swedish social security system of unemployment insurance, as well as access to other social security benefits, was largely based on prior labour market participation (Edebalk, 1996; Åmark, 2005), with additional social assistance benefits provided as a last resort for those outside general programmes (Johansson, 2001).

Throughout the ALMP period, however, different groups received special attention with efforts directed towards facilitating their entry into the labour market (Lundqvist, 2015; Montan, 1988) or providing individuals with alternatives to paid employment. To an extent, shifting individuals into other social insurance programmes such as early retirement (Hetzler et al., 2005; Stattin, 1997) or supporting employment opportunities such as work through the publically owned company Samhall Ltd (SOU 1997:64), can also be seen as related to labour market policy.[9] The integration of targeted groups in the labour market also follows in the long tradition of ALMP in Sweden.

[9] While this is not discussed further in this thesis, it is worth noting that one of the issues of contemporary debates regarding unemployment levels concern the way politicians and debaters use concepts such as "unemployment", "employment" and "sick leave", particularly when comparing numbers with those of other European Union countries (Ljungqvist & Sargent, 2006: 116; Statistiska Centralbyrån).

In this sense, the combination of supportive and coercive measures to increase labour market inclusion is by no means a new phenomenon. The dilemma of how to manage the situation for those struggling in the labour market can be seen as particularly sensitive as it is entangled with different viewpoints on individual behaviour and the role of the state in solving social and economic problems. The social policy elements of labour market policy can be particularly salient for vulnerable groups, particularly concerning issues such as the ability to work or need for extra social support.

Organisation

Finally, certain general issues regarding the organisation of welfare services in Sweden are worth highlighting. First, this organisation has changed substantially since the 1980s towards increasing decentralisation and privatisation. The division of responsibility for various areas of services is complex due to the different levels of local and national responsibilities. Thus, while Swedish social policy is formulated by central government, and gives general goals and guidelines, local municipalities and county councils are responsible for different welfare areas and have both the power of taxation and the responsibility to organise certain welfare services (Hort, 2014a: 115) . Local municipalities are also the agencies of last resort with responsibility for individual social assistance for those who require help from social services or are not covered by national insurance programmes. While policy goals set by central government should be met, the local organisations can decide how to reach those goals, for example by using a mix of private and public providers in a freedom of choice system or by outsourcing service delivery to a limited number of private providers (Hort, 2014b: 52-54). In recent years, however, various policy areas, such as social security and police, have been recentralised to increase state control over important policy areas. The centralisation of powers to the Public Employment Service for newly arrived migrants and the creation of a more streamlined organisation, as well as a privatisation of some service delivery, is in line with these recent trends.

The recentralisation and privatisation of responsibility was, however, also brought about with the ambition to increase work focus through the Public Employment Service. The Alliance government's arguments to increase work incentives for individuals outside the labour market in order to increase labour market participation also reflected the ambitions of "making work pay", in line with international workfare rhetoric (see E. Brodkin & Larsen, 2013; Dahlstedt, 2009; Jessop, 2002), combining "recalibration" and "recommodification" measures that arguably resulted in significant changes to the welfare state (Henman & Fenger, 2006; P. Pierson, 2001).

At present, when vulnerable groups make up such an extensive proportion of the unemployed, the emphasis on including groups with "additional problems" other than unemployment into the general labour market policy area deserves closer attention. A consideration of the different policy ambitions and management of the establishment reform can serve as an important example of potentially transformative changes in Swedish labour market policy.

Points of departure

The organisation of this thesis into three analytical levels follows Seeleib-Kaiser's division of policy research into discourse, institutions and outcomes (Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011: 12). Seeleib-Kaiser suggests that change can occur at different policy levels at various points in time. For example, changes at the policy level may not necessarily lead to significant changes at the institutional or outcome level, at least not immediately, whereas changes at the outcome level may not necessarily be related to changes at the policy or institutional levels. I summarise below the perspectives used in this thesis; a more comprehensive review can be found in chapter 2.

As noted above, ALMP has historically been an important part of Swedish labour market policy, with the ambition of integrating vulnerable groups into the labour market through a combination of measures. When considering the contradictions in current labour market policy, it is important to show how its functions and goals have been adapted over time to lead to present ambiguities. The current attempts to integrate excluded groups into labour market policy may be discussed in relation to earlier initiatives that also included social policy ambitions. The shifts in Swedish ALMP can be placed within an international context of liberalisation, encompassing economic liberalisation, privatisation and, individual responsibility and workfare measures. However, social policy ambitions can also be seen in both past and present initiatives.

To consider these issues further, the perspective of historical institutionalism will be used. This focuses on processes of change, and how institutions constrain and structure actors' behaviour, emphasizing the ongoing struggles and ambiguities within institutions. While historical institutionalism emphasises the gradual nature of change (Thelen 2004), incremental changes can also lead to far-reaching transformation. In particular, some authors point towards various transformative effects resulting in either liberalisation or dualisation (Palier & Thelen, 2012) in contemporary societies. Processes of change include "layering",

the "grafting of new elements onto an otherwise stable framework" (Thelen, 2004: 35), as well as "conversion", meaning that institutions are redirected to new goals, functions and purposes. By considering some of the historical developments of goals, functions and actors of ALMP, I attempt to contextualise recent policy initiatives. This examination serves as a way to consider present policy ambiguities and contradictions, and how different policy areas have influenced the establishment reform. This perspective helps understand the complexities involved in introducing new goals and measures in an established policy area.

More specifically, historical institutionalism can be used to contextualise current efforts in describing the development of labour market policy and its various goals, actors and functions. What are described as "new goals" and identified as the "work line" and "individualisation", emphasising freedom of choice and active responsibility, are in fact both built on past policies and mixed with concerns about integration into society and more traditional social policy goals. In the present situation of a mix of workfare and social investment policies, these changes can be analysed as a potential "conversion" of the goals and functions of labour market policy, but the increased focus on social investment and social policy elements can also be seen as minor adjustment to the institutional framework in the form of "layering". I also consider whether the different contradictions within social investment and workfare policies can be seen as an ongoing struggle to liberalise labour market policy or whether social ambitions serve as an obstacle to more far-reaching workfare measures.

To consider the actual policy at hand more directly, I thus use the perspectives of workfare and social investment, where the development of these different approaches and the arguments behind the measures can be made more explicit.

As we will see in chapter 2, shifting individuals from "passive" to "active" programmes has also been the subject of international political discussions since the 1990s, particularly related to groups that are defined as vulnerable by governments. These discussions thus follow the earlier Swedish labour market tradition, but have been reformulated and reconceptualised into new more or less strict policy designs depending on the national policy mix (Bonoli, 2012; E. Brodkin & Larsen, 2013; Kvist & Greve, 2011; J. E. Larsen, 2005).

Workfare can be seen as an American or British emphasis on promoting work for the unemployed through sanctions and requiring individuals to take up low-paid unemployment rather than benefits (E. Brodkin & Larsen, 2013; Elm Larsen, 2005), thus focusing on their obligations or responsibilities to actively look for work (Giddens, 1998).

In recent years, the question of how to increase labour market participation has emerged as crucial in terms of managing the future of the welfare state, particularly

in the face of an ageing population and the challenges posed by a changing economy and labour market (see for example Esping-Andersen, 2002; Henman & Fenger, 2006; C. Pierson, 2007; P. Pierson, 2001). In the European Union, this was formulated through the European Employment Strategy in 1997, the Lisbon Strategy and Europe 2020, with a focus on both growth and social inclusion (European Commission, 2005, 2010). With the onset of the global financial crisis in 2008, rising unemployment figures and concerns about economic recovery can be seen as threatening these visions of a "social Europe", although some commentators also see the crisis as an opportunity to promote an agenda geared towards social justice (Hemerijck, 2011)[10].

The European Union's solution to increasing employment has been formulated in terms of increasing the flexibility of the labour market, but another important aim is to integrate more people into the labour market. Different policy initiatives have therefore been directed towards groups, such as women, immigrants and low-educated, identified as being further from the labour market (European Commission, 2003). Activation or social investment policies have been promoted at the EU level through "soft regulation" strategies (de la Porte & Jacobsson, 2012; Hemerijck, 2015; Hvinden, Heikkila, & Kankare, 2001; Johansson & Hornemann Møller, 2009; Kvist, 2015). Social investment perspectives focus particularly on investment in human capital as a "social bridge" for individuals in need of assistance to (re)enter employment in different stages of life, but can also contain wider social policy goals of income protection (Hemerijck, 2015).

These perspectives have entered Swedish debates in different ways since the 1990s. One of the main challenges perceived is to find work for individuals far from the labour market where the changing economic climate and restructuring leads employers to look for more highly skilled labour at the same time as the growing informal sector increases risks of exploitation (see Likic-Brboric, Slavnic, & Woolfson, 2012).

The difficulties in finding suitable measures for all unemployed individuals in the establishment reform can be discussed in relation to the ambiguity of the policy goals, and reflect wider questions related to labour market policy and its inclusion of different and sometimes contradictory goals.

The political intentions of the establishment reform can also be considered in relation to the reorganisation, such as increasing, on the one hand, control and,

[10] The Swedish economy was also affected by rising unemployment figures at the outset of the crisis, but a relatively swift recovery of the Swedish economy meant that unemployment rates in 2011–2013 remained between 7.5 and 8% (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2010, 2011, 2012). As noted previously, in this thesis I am mainly focusing on the period of 2006–2014 when analysing labour market policy.

on the other, diversity, of services. Related to these organisational goals, I consider the practical challenges to organizing the new policy initiatives as employees encounter sometimes contradictory policy goals. I also consider the marketisation of unemployment services and the political goal of privatisation of welfare services, which is closely connected to the workfare perspective. Also related to the organisation of welfare services is the development of new public management (NPM) and its successor administrative paradigm, post-NPM (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007; Christensen, Lie, & Laegreid, 2007; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999), which are considered in relation to changes and the development of the labour market policy area, as well as the specific organisation of the establishment reform.

Disposition

Chapter 2, the theoretical chapter, is divided into three parts. In the first, I discuss the perspective of historical institutionalism. I see this approach as useful for understanding the complexities in attempting to change established institutions such as the area of labour market policy. These insights will be part of the analysis throughout the thesis. I then examine the perspectives of workfare and social investment in order to situate current policy ideas related to labour market policy. I point at similarities between the different perspectives and identify contradictions within the different approaches. Related to the workfare perspective is the introduction of private providers in unemployment services that can be seen as a part of a marketisation trend, but also potentially leading to increased bureaucratisation.

In chapter 3 I discuss the combination of documentary analysis, interviews and the construction of types that serve as my main empirical material. In particular, I discuss the documentation received from the Public Employment Service and how this material was used to establish five types to present a picture of the individuals taking part in the establishment reform as constructed by the employment officers and establishment guides.

The fourth chapter provides a historical and political contextualisation of the labour market policy area. First, I examine the policies introduced by the Alliance government in the area. Second, using the Swedish post-war welfare state as a starting point, I examine 1) the development of economic and labour market ambitions; 2) actors in the area 3) labour market measures. After considering these areas, I briefly introduce the policy area of migration and integration, focusing mainly on aspects related to labour market policy. Finally, I consider these changes

in relation to the historical and political continuities and changes in the area of labour market policy.

Chapter 5 comprises a documentary analysis of the policy documents and political debates related to the establishment reform as well as a more detailed description of the establishment reform. I also use previous policy initiatives to contextualise the reform. My analysis here focuses on the arguments and counter-arguments relating to the introduction of the reform. I discuss how aspects of workfare and social investment have been expressed through the policy goals and the actual measures. I examine the three themes of the policy aims: work focus, social investment/social support and individualisation. Similar to these perspectives, these policy ambitions contain various contradictions, particularly around individualised support. The topic of individualisation is considered through the issues of active participation, individualised support and choice. Moreover, following ideas of historical institutionalism, I show the "grafting" involved in the policy area, where the establishment measures build on historical continuities of labour market policy and integration policy combined with new elements, particularly economic incentives.

In chapter 6, some of the contradictions in the policy goals are explored at the organisational level through an analysis of the organisational framework of the Public Employment Service and the establishment guidance system, combined with interview data. Here, the assumptions related to the organisation of welfare services, such as the aim to achieve more control through recentralisation, and to build a diverse and individualised service through private actors are analysed. Policy contradictions reappear at the organisational level, particularly in relation to the difficulties of separating work and social support measures. In the Public Employment Service, the importance of a social perspective is integrated into the work with participants, and the focus on providing an individualised service can be contrasted with the emphasis on increased control over the process. In the private establishment guidance companies, the demands of providing social support rather than work-focused activities can be seen as reinforced by the regulations of their work, particularly in relation to the freedom of choice system.

Chapter 7 introduces the five types used to discuss individual trajectories in the establishment programme, particularly in relation to establishment measures. After describing the different groups, I analyse establishment measures focusing first on work-related measures such as work subsidies and job matching. Second, social investment measures, particularly those relating to upskilling, are considered. These two focus areas are seen as mainly beneficial to groups closest to the labour market, reflecting some of the problems with using workfare and social investment measures in practice. On the other hand, some groups that

experience different types of problems related to health or social situation, seem less able to take part in work-related activities. In this sense, the difficulties of reaching the groups furthest from the labour market mirrors the problems of labour market inclusion, and can thus be seen as reflecting more general and historical difficulties in integrating vulnerable individuals into the labour market.

In chapter 8 I conclude by drawing together the findings from the empirical chapters.

Chapter 2

Theoretical perspectives

In recent years, the question of how to increase labour market participation has been brought up as crucial to managing the future of the welfare state, particularly in the face of an ageing population and the challenges posed by a changing economy and labour market (see for example Esping-Andersen, 2002; Henman & Fenger, 2006; C. Pierson, 2007). These wider social changes have been framed as "cost containment", or "retrenchment", i.e. reducing welfare costs or welfare programmes, "recommodification", i.e. making individuals increasingly reliant on the market and "recalibration", i.e. "updating" social policies to new goals (P. Pierson, 2001), often with an argument that these changes nonetheless support a continued commitment to the welfare state (Kuhnle, 2000; P. Pierson, 2001) or a concern that these more far-reaching changes challenge the all-encompassing capacity of the welfare state (Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Taylor-Gooby, 2015, 2016).

While many of these discussions focus in particular on the generosity and composition of social insurance programmes, debates about unemployment have accompanied the build-up of modern welfare states and social policies (see Edebalk, 1996; Thane, 1982; Richard Morris Titmuss, Abel-Smith, & Titmuss, 1986; Åmark, 2005). In essence, these debates are often centred on whether the state and society should take responsibility for the consequences of a market failure that leaves people without employment, or whether individuals should be left with a minimum level of compensation as the rule of the market prevails.[11]

[11] Titmuss (1963) referred to these different approaches as the "residual" and the "institutional" models, where the former provides minimal, often means-tested, support to individuals, and the latter emphasises the responsibility of state and social institutions to provide for the unemployed. Esping-Andersen's (1990) much cited work on the social democratic, corporativist and Anglo-Saxon models builds on this to discuss the extent to which citizens are "de-commodified" and covered by "universal" principles (see also for example Arts & Gelissen, 2002; Ferragina & Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011; Gough, Wood, & Barrientos, 2008; Korpi & Palme, 2003; Kuhnle & Kildal, 2005a; Powell & Barrientos, 2004; Sainsbury, 1999; Wood & Gough, 2006).

The emphasis on either stronger support for individuals or stronger demands of participation has varied historically, reflecting the political ideas of the time (Hjort, 2006; Junestav, 2004; Olofsson, 1996).

In particular, labour market policy directed at vulnerable groups can be linked to historical debates of "deservedness" and touches upon two issues. First, to what extent should unemployed individuals be granted economic assistance? Second, how should economic assistance for the unemployed be linked to individual participation in different types of activities? The first issue invites further questions of eligibility criteria as well as the division of responsibility between state, municipalities, individuals and other actors for the financing and organisation of economic support for the unemployed. The second issue also relates to the question of availability and quality of services for the unemployed, as well as moral and ethical dilemmas linked to participation.

Several aspects of these questions are linked to social policy ambitions as well as to labour market policy for the unemployed. In the development of modern welfare states, social policy ambitions were often linked to the introduction of social insurance programmes intended to give individuals economic assistance in the case of illness or accidents or the advent of old age (see Hort, 2014a, 2014b; Åmark, 2005), while more recent policy debate sometimes framed these issues in a lifecycle perspective (see for example Bovenberg; Guillemard, 2005). With the expansion of the welfare state, new "social risks" were often characterised as "matters of public responsibility", expanding the role of the state (Kuhnle & Kildal, 2005b: 16). Furthermore, targeted initiatives focused on supporting individuals at the margins of society in need of more specific assistance complemented the "universal" social insurance programmes (Johansson, 2001). More recent Swedish social policy legislation also shows an ambition to help individuals become active and autonomous citizens, that can be interpreted as in line with a capabilities approach (Bonvin & Orton, 2009), thus at least rhetorically expanding the scope and ambition of social policy (Elmér, 2000; Johansson, 2001; SFS 1980:620; SFS 2001:453).

Helping individuals towards work can thus be seen in the light of enabling them to fulfil their potential to participate in economic, social and political life, in line with Marshall's citizenship ambitions (Jensen & Pfau-Effinger, 2005), or Sen's capabilities approach, particularly if policies are constructed so as to "enhance the capabilities of their beneficiaries… and allow them to lead the life and perform the job they have reason to value" (Bonvin & Orton, 2009: 567). For individuals in need of additional support, however, economic assistance through other welfare programmes such as sickness insurance, early retirement or

social assistance can justify exemptions from the participation requirement and can thus be seen as "de-commodifying" (cf Saurama, 2005; Stattin, 1997).

This distinction between which individuals should be de-commodified and which individuals should be encouraged to participate is both a political and practical issue. First, as we will see, defining the appropriate social insurance category for individuals, e.g. unemployment, early retirement and social assistance, is a political issue subject to shifting ideals or policy "recalibration", exemplifying the close relationship between labour market policy and social policy. Second, considering how different ideas of participation, responsibility and choice are formulated and used at the empirical level becomes essential for considering ethical and moral obligations related to labour market policy for the unemployed.

If unemployment is seen as an individual responsibility, participation in activities can be regarded as essential in itself, legitimating economic support to the individual and serving as a deterrence to unemployment. If the state is seen as bearing some responsibility for employment, participating in activities can be seen as legitimate to the extent that these activities contribute towards helping individuals gain employment or alternatively, providing a meaningful occupation through upskilling or re-skilling. Demands of active participation in labour market measures for the unemployed can thus be seen as either "enabling citizens to work" or serving as re-commodifying in terms of "privatizing the risk of unemployment" (Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011: 6-7); or put differently, to either empower or discipline individuals (Jensen & Pfau-Effinger, 2005: 6; J. Newman & Tonkens, 2011: 10), depending on the particular policy mix.

As we will see, the establishment reform introduced by the Alliance government can be used as a case to consider some of these issues in practice, with the specific aim to further explore these issues in the light of contemporary labour market policy for vulnerable groups. First, I consider the debates relating to historical institutionalism in order to examine the historical development of the policy at hand. Second, I examine the perspectives of workfare and social investment which can be seen as reflecting different views on participation for the unemployed and thus provide shifting responses to the issues set out above. This review also includes a discussion of marketisation in unemployment services, which can be linked to the workfare trend. Finally, I discuss how the different perspectives will inform subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Policy change and stability

The historical institutionalism approach follows a tradition in social sciences of studying political institutions and their role in structuring behaviour, but its development as a clearly defined approach goes back to the early 1990s (Steinmo, 2008: 150). Defining features include a focus on "real world empirical questions [a] historical orientation and [an] attention to the ways in which institutions structure and shape political behaviour and outcomes" (Steinmo, 2008: 150; see also Hall and Taylor, 1996; Immergut, 1998). History is seen as important for understanding the particular context in which political events take place, but also due to the fact that actors learn from experience, and subsequently, that their expectations are shaped by past experience (Steinmo, 2008: 164). Importantly, this limits possibilities to compare different variables without taking account of the historical and political context. Historical institutionalism thus tends to focus on more detailed case study analysis.

Institutions can be defined as "formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy" (Hall & Taylor, 1996: 938). Streeck and Thelen also argue that a particular policy can be defined as an institution to the extent that policies "constitute rules for actors other than for the policymakers themselves", as long as these rules can be implemented and enforced (Streeck & Thelen, 2005: 12). Following this definition, labour market policy will, for the purposes of this thesis, be considered an institution, as it encompasses various routines, norms and conventions that can be implemented and enforced by actors, e.g. rules governing the expectations of participation and compensation in labour market measures.

Another key proposition is that institutions are seen as restraining individuals' choices as well as facilitating some policy choices and outcomes over others. In particular, changes in established policies or programmes can be difficult to achieve due to the institutional path already ventured on, where vested interests have formed and agents have an interest in maintaining the status quo (Rothstein & Steinmo, 2002: 2). An initial policy formation, or a significantly new policy direction, is seen as taking place at critical junctures, where different interests come together at a specific time to produce a specific outcome (Hall and Taylor, 1996: 942). Subsequently, "policy feedbacks" can constrain future policy choices and political mobilisation by reproduction once the institutional framework is in place (Béland, 2010: 618).

Later work challenges this focus on critical junctures to emphasise the gradual development of policy and organisations and incremental changes over a long period of time (Beland, 2007; Hacker, 2004; Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Streeck & Thelen, 2005). Here, the setup of a new institution is seen as part of an ongoing struggle, where different power interests are forced to deal with both past traditions and ongoing conflicts, in terms of both organisation and function. The establishment of a new institution can, on the one hand, set the scene for future changes, but, on the other, institutions also carry multiple political interests forward. In many cases, the transformation of institutions often involves an incorporation of new groups and the realignment of political interests, and can lead either to institutions adapting to changing political and societal needs or to the continued stability of the existing order. Thus, institutional reproduction or survival "often involves active political renegotiation and…institutional adaption" (Thelen 2004: 8).

An important question is whether incremental changes, seen as bringing institutional stability in Thelen's 2004 study, can lead to more transformational changes (Streeck & Thelen, 2005: 2). Streeck and Thelen emphasise particularly the policy changes associated with liberalisation, defined as an "expansion of market relations" in national political-economic systems from the 1980s. These liberalisation policies include an abandonment of policies promoting full employment, emphasis on public budgets and low public debt, and ideological support for "privatisation, deregulation and self-reliance" (Streeck and Thelen, 2005: 4) – all policies important in understanding the background to this thesis. Here, piecemeal changes are seen as a potential explanation for the disagreement among welfare state scholars as to whether "real" change has actually taken place. As different authors have shown, more radical changes can indeed take place if updates to existing policies are neglected (see Hacker, 2004, 2008), or the functions and goals of institutions are re-interpreted (Palier, 2005). Often, the resulting changes negatively affect citizens or welfare recipients.

The extent to which these changes have far-reaching consequences for core institutions and actors, thereby affecting all citizens or residents, can be debated, as changes of the welfare states could also be considered more appropriately as dualisation, where policies have been enacted "maintaining wherever possible traditional protections for labour market insiders while accepting inferior status and protections for a growing number of labour market outsiders" (Palier & Thelen, 2012: 203). Debates about welfare state changes can also be considered through this lens, both in terms of the extent to which the changes are indeed transformative, and to the extent to which the changes impact general institutions and citizens or are far-reaching for vulnerable groups.

Thelen and others discuss different types of incremental change. First is institutional layering, which consists of the "grafting of new elements onto an otherwise stable framework" (Thelen, 2004: 35). Such changes can alter the direction of an institution in the long term but start with a combination of different policy changes to an existing structure. Conversion, on the other hand, is an "adoption of new policy goals or the incorporation of new groups" (Thelen 2004: 36). In this case, new elements more significantly alter the role or main function of an institution. In this way institutions can, to an extent, be "updated" and brought in line with contemporary political goals and cultural expectations (Thelen, 2004: 37). By making use of the different ambiguities in the institutional framework, different actors can thus attempt to pursue their own goals.

Other types of policy change have subsequently been defined. For example, Hacker (2004) adds the concept of "policy drift" to describe circumstances where the formal policy framework remains the same but transformative changes occur due to other external circumstances such as a changed economic climate. He gives the example of social security benefits in the United States, where political inaction leads to a hollowing out of benefits without political debate or changes in legal frameworks. Streeck and Thelen (2005) introduce the concept of "displacement", in which earlier policies are simply replaced by new ones.

While these concepts have been adopted in many studies, there is ongoing discussion of the extent to which they are properly conceptualised and contain the same meaning for different researchers (Van der Heijden, 2011). For the purpose of this thesis, the concept of layering is perhaps most suitable when considering how new elements enter labour market policy. However, I also consider some of the overlap between layering and conversion, particularly through a discussion of how the changing goals and functions of labour market policy can be seen as falling in either category.

Historical institutionalism has been criticised for failing to specify the situations in which changes can be predicted (Peters, Pierre, & King, 2005) and whether the different concepts actually explain or merely describe change (see Béland & Powell, 2016). In a later study, Mahoney and Thelen comment on the possibilities of developing "causal propositions that locate the sources of institutional change" (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010) as one of the aims of historical institutionalism and to more clearly specify the different prerequisites for when certain type of changes can be achieved. However, for the purpose of this thesis, I will not attempt to participate in these debates, but instead agree with those scholars who argue that the social sciences do not necessarily need to be predictive or lawlike, but a

strength of the perspective is the ability to take account of complexities and a variety of interactions (Rothstein & Steinmo, 2002).

Other criticisms concern what is seen as a failure to properly take account of agency or why certain policies are adopted (Peters et al., 2005: 1284). However, different historical institutionalists have attempted to point to the importance of actors. For example, in their study of the development of social insurance and pension systems in Britain and the United States, Orloff and Skocpol (1984) point out the importance of officials and politicians, and the preferences of interest groups, in driving policy change. The resistance to a wide-ranging social insurance system in the United States between the 1870s and 1920s can, for instance, be partly explained by a federal administrative structure dependent on political patronage and the absence of a strong state bureaucracy. This led to fears of increased corruption if considerable economic resources were directed towards social insurance policies (Orloff & Skocpol, 1984; Skocpol, 2008). By comparison, in the British case, public officials and politicians were able to use their positions to put forward social policies. Thus, the state can be seen as a result of historical processes, but also as an actor able to shape subsequent policy choices (Adams, Clemens, & Orloff, 2005: 35) and influence the agendas of other political actors (Skocpol 2008: 110). As noted above, the importance of identifying actors as central in political renegotiations and struggles over how institutions are adapted is one of the benefits of using historical institutionalism.

As noted earlier, labour market policy for vulnerable groups often combines economic and social policy ambitions. Historical institutionalism is a particularly useful perspective for pointing out the developments, and contradictions, within differing policy ambitions and how the different policy traditions become amalgamated. In the next section, I will turn to some of the perspectives important for understanding labour market policy and the introduction of the establishment reform.

Labour market policy for the unemployed

Labour market policy directed towards the unemployed is one of the most contentious areas of the welfare state, particularly when aimed towards groups that are struggling to enter the labour market. As argued above, historical and contemporary debates in this area have often focused on the responsibility of the state vis-à-vis the individual for the latter's condition of unemployment. At times where the individual's responsibility for finding employment has been

emphasised, more controlling mechanisms have often been in place, such as the use of workhouses in which individuals laboured in return for housing and upkeep, and the conditions were meant to serve as a deterrent to those considered able to work (Ohlsson & Olofsson, 1998; Thane, 1982; Richard Morris Titmuss et al., 1986). In periods where the state's responsibility for job creation has been emphasised, labour market policy has been seen as a tool to *provide* jobs; unemployment has thus been seen as a societal problem (Beveridge, 1960; Keynes, 1967; Meidner & Modigliani, 1999). Even at such times, however, the suspicion that not all individuals are in fact willing to work often leads to the individual's obligations when receiving unemployment compensation from the state being incorporated into labour market policy regulations (Hjort, 2006; Johansson, 2001; Junestav, 2004).

As we will see in the following review, the tension between a focus on the responsibility of the state or the individual continues to play an important role in ideas surrounding labour market policy, and are exemplified in the debates surrounding workfare and social investment.

These perspectives can be viewed as different ways to understand the development of labour market policy for unemployed individuals internationally. While the perspectives are inherently different, Morel et al (2012c) note that there is some overlap. The social investment perspective contains an ambiguity between the workfare emphasis promoted by, for example, Giddens (1998) in his Third Way policies emphasising the obligations of individuals, on the one hand, and the Scandinavian social investment strategy promoted by, for example, Esping-Andersen (2002), where the inclusion of individuals in the labour market is emphasised, on the other. This ambiguity can be seen in relation to the different assumptions of participation in labour market activities that accompany the two perspectives, but I use this difference as a starting point to further examine how the perspectives diverge. Nevertheless, as the empirical chapters will show, this important ambiguity continues to play a role when considering both policy documents and actual measures related to the establishment reform.

Workfare

The immediate concern in contemporary debates is the growing number of individuals outside the labour market who are excluded from the social and economic benefits of work and also constitute an economic and social dilemma for governments, particularly due to concerns of an ageing population and the continued financial viability of the welfare state (P. Pierson, 2001). As noted

above, responses of recommodification and retrenchment measures have also led to discussions relating to individuals' rights and responsibilities.

The topic of activation was already present in Swedish policymaking in the 1950s and 1960s, as labour market policy was influenced by the so-called Rehn-Meidner model. ALMP was an important component in economic policy-making, thus emphasising the state's responsibility to create jobs.[12] While Swedish governments continued to focus on the goal of full employment until the early 1990s, in international debates the issue of rising unemployment became widely debated from the 1980s and onwards. Here, orthodox economic theories focused on labour market deregulation, including more flexible wage structures, ability of firms to fire individuals, and reduced minimum wages, to increase employment (see Blanchard & Wolfers, 2000; Nickell, 1997; Nickell, Nunziata, & Ochel, 2005)[13].

Other economic theories on the causes of and solutions to unemployment focused on the individual's willingness to take up work (Besley & Coate, 1992). Here, the welfare state in general, and unemployment benefits in particular, are seen as potentially damaging to willingness to take up work, as basic economic security is held to increase the individual's demands in finding a well-paid job (P. Fredriksson & Holmlund, 2006). Similarly, high taxes on personal incomes can be seen as a deterrent to work as individuals keep less of their earnings. This discussion is particularly pertinent in regards to those moving from unemployment to low-paid employment, where the costs of leaving the social security system can have great marginal effects on earnings, especially as earning related benefits may decrease with employment (Barr, 2012; Stiglitz, 2000; see also Howell, 2007 for a critique).

These basic propositions of economic theory can also be found in the workfare and activation perspectives that influenced the direction of social policy from the 1990s. These policies can be seen as sharing the assumptions of a particular individual rationality (see Taylor-Gooby, 2008 for a discussion) that stipulates that individuals are mainly driven by economic or self-maximising motives and, as a result, require sanctions and incentives to take up work rather than entering or remaining in unemployment. After the financial crisis in the 1990s, some of these concepts also entered Swedish debates and actual labour market policy measures, although at the European Union level policy mostly follows "soft

[12] Discussed further in chapter 4.

[13] Labour market deregulation has been a common policy recommendation from international organisations such as the IMF and the OECD (see Howell, Baker, Glyn, & Schmitt, 2007; Vergeer & Kleinknecht, 2010).

regulation" techniques such as country comparisons and recommendations (see Kerstin Jacobsson, 2004).

The concepts of activation and workfare describe different international trends that can be related to Sweden's ALMP, though they also differ from Nordic policies in certain aspects. While mindful of the distinctions discussed below, in the subsequent chapters of the thesis I will primarily use workfare as a broader concept to separate these debates from more social investment orientated policies.

In the American debate, workfare or work-first policies were introduced in response to the idea of a passive or passivised underclass where some individuals relied on welfare benefits on a long-term basis. Workfare strategies were a moral response to these perceived trends and aimed to introduce a component whereby recipients were expected to fulfil an obligation, in the form of labour market activities, in return for their benefits (Daguerre, 2008; Stryker & Wald, 2009). Often, these policies required individuals to take up work at the low-paid end of the labour market (Peck in Elm Larsen, 2005: 113), combined with a time limit on benefits (Considine & O'Sullivan, 2014). Such policies were, to a certain extent, also introduced in other Anglo-Saxon countries, such as the New Deal policies in the United Kingdom promoted by the Labour governments from 1997 (Evans & Millar, 2006; Levitas, 2005) and more recent welfare reforms introduced by the Conservative-Liberal coalition between 2010 and 2015 (see Dwyer & Wright, 2014).

In the European Union, activation was emphasised through the Lisbon strategy that aimed to create better employment and increase the number of people in work (European Commission, 2005), particularly emphasising the inclusion of groups of unemployed seen as "harder to reach" (Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009). In other European countries than the United Kingdom, activation policies with a slightly different focus were introduced. Barbier (2005: 114) defines activation as "the introduction (or reinforcement) of an explicit linkage between, on the one hand, social protection and, on the other hand, labour-market participation." These policies were given more positive connotations than workfare policies. In particular, the Danish labour market reforms in the mid-1990s, commonly labelled "flexicurity" (Kvist & Pedersen, 2007; J. E. Larsen, 2005), in which lax employment protections were combined with generous unemployment benefits and access to labour market programmes, could be seen as having influenced European Union policy on unemployment (Kvist & Pedersen, 2007), thus combining a need for flexible labour markets with support for – and control of – unemployed individuals.

While the individual's own skills can be used and developed in the employment arena, it could be argued that more recent workfare policies and focus on the

individual means that a failure to find a job or reskill becomes highly individualised (Andersson, 2003; Dahlstedt, 2009). This creates a different understanding of individual failure and success, where individuals cannot as easily be separated from how they perform in the labour market (Sennett, 2006). Workfare policies thus mainly emphasise the responsibility of individuals to participate, with disciplining mechanisms related to participation, but place less emphasis on the quality or effectiveness of measures (Dostal, 2007; I. Newman, 2011).

However, in a study of introduction programmes for migrants to Norway, similar to the Swedish establishment reform, Hagelund and Kavli (2009) found that when immigrants failed to enter the labour market as a result of the job programmes, caseworkers increasingly focused on the other "social" aims of the introduction programmes in order to legitimise individuals' participation. Similarly, in a study of municipal integration programmes preceding the establishment reform in Sweden, (Qvist, 2012) finds that social issues in certain instances became a prominent focus for municipality caseworkers. Thus, while different control mechanisms are emphasised at the policy level, caseworker discretion[14] can also lead to increased focus on individual needs and ambitions, more in line with the social policy ambitions discussed above, and suggesting practical limits to the workfare perspective. Thus, different groups are treated differently, or fit more or less easily with overriding policy ambitions.

While this tendency to support different groups through social policy support can be seen in relation to the policies above, there is also a more general element in terms of providing support to the unemployed. For example, Rothstein, following Blankenburg argues that a "negotiation" rather than bureaucratic steering can be seen as particularly important in employment services where the focus is on *providing* jobs, rather than controlling clients' participation, as the unemployed need to gain confidence for the intentions of the employment officer (Rothstein, 2010a: 174). In regards to more recent working practices in the Public Employment Service, Walter (2015)considers the "double role" of employment officers as having to combine guidance and support in terms of finding jobs with the control over individuals' job search, particularly at later stages of individuals' unemployment period.

The Nordic countries have a long tradition of combining a strong welfare state with "strong work societies" (Kuhnle & Kildal, 2005b: 28). While shifts towards a strengthened work line can be discerned, at least partly due to the economic pressures since the 1990s, more egalitarian principles in welfare provision also

[14] See Lipsky (1980) for discussions of street level bureaucracy and the discretion of caseworkers.

remain (Eitrheim & Kuhnle, 2000: 55). Nonetheless, Kananen (2012, 2014) notes that even in the Nordic context, ALMP has shifted towards more control rather than positive citizenship. While the emphasis on disciplining the unemployed seems stronger in Denmark and Finland than in Sweden, Kananen nonetheless sees these changes as part of a shift whereby economic goals such as price stability and growth are developed at the expense of the collectivism and citizen rights that characterised the post-war welfare state (2014).

Furthermore, some authors consider increased marketisation as a second wave of workfare reforms, as private actors increasingly participate in service delivery, but also through the introduction of various positive and/or negative incentives to encourage individual labour market participation. The negative incentives are predominantly sanctions linked to participation, whereas positive incentives include tax rebates or a combination of benefits and paid work up to a certain income level (Lødemel & Moreira, 2014).

In this collection of workfare and activation policies we can see a particular emphasis on control and rules to ensure participation in labour market programmes. These "recommodifying" elements can thus be related to the assumption that participation as such is necessary in order to either lead individuals to increase their efforts to find work, or to deter them from entering into unemployment. This assumption can be framed as: a) that individuals are not sufficiently active in their job search, and are therefore unemployed, or b) that labour market measures for the unemployed should serve as a deterrent for the employed population. The (re-)entry of vulnerable groups into unemployment and the perceived additional needs of some individuals within these groups can be seen as problematic in relation to these workfare assumptions as they neglect some of the additional needs and support such individuals may require.

Privatisation of unemployment services

At least for some authors, workfare ideas are intimately connected with a marketisation perspective, where traditional modes of delivering labour market policy in the public sector are complemented or replaced by private providers (Considine & O'Sullivan, 2014). As noted above, Lødemel and Moreira (2014) consider this increased marketisation of unemployment services as part of a second wave of activation reform.

The introduction of private actors into this area can be related to a more general trend towards the privatisation of welfare service provision. This shift has often been portrayed as a solution to high spending and inefficiency in the public sector, and it is assumed that private provision can lead to greater innovation, entrepreneurship and flexibility Osborne and Gaebler (1992: 350). Arguments in

favour also focus on citizen involvement and empowerment, increased choice and individualised and tailored services. A slightly different reasoning points towards the "active responsibility" of individuals in relation to finding work (Borghi & Van Berkel, 2007).

The marketisation of unemployment services can be found in many different countries, of which some of the most thoroughly researched are the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Denmark and the Netherlands (see for example Berkel, Graaf, & Sirovátka, 2011; Struyven, 2014), although the way the systems are set up varies greatly and is often influenced by local traditions (Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009).

One of the key issues often identified in the general literature on privatisation is the specification of welfare services. The complexity of these services makes them particularly difficult to specify in contracts between contractors and providers (Donahue, 1989: 384; Hart, 2003: 904). One example is the difficulty in identifying the appropriate payment model where choices such as performance-based payments or payments per clients invite different types of issues (Anell, 2010; Forssell & Norén, 2007). In the area of unemployment services, the difficulty of specifying services can be seen as particularly challenging, as the "right" measure for the client often involves a certain amount of negotiation between the unemployed individual and the caseworker.

A related issue is the measurement of quality and outcomes to ensure that services live up to expectations, as well as to evaluate whether privatisation has in fact led to improved service provision (Hartman, 2011). A recurring dilemma is the use of different variables to measure quality.[15] While some studies point out the importance of separating the measurement of structures, process and outcomes (Amirkhanyan, Kim, & Lambright, 2007: 714) it is often difficult to compare private and public service delivery comprehensively. Similarly, monitoring of private providers represents a new regulatory function for public agencies that may need to develop a "capacity to manage contracts", requiring well-developed and continuous administrative and monitoring functions (Amirkhanyan et al., 2007: 704; Forssell & Norén, 2007; Kastberg, 2005) Finding adequate ways to monitor service providers in the private sector entails more significant challenges than public welfare services due to the relative lack of internal control (Greve, 2009) . Moreover, the expectation of increased flexibility

[15] For example, some studies point towards higher user satisfaction and flexibility in private welfare services (Stolt, Blomqvist, & Winblad, 2011). On the other hand, private service providers in the health care sector sometimes have lower staff/user ratios and employees with lower educational or vocational qualifications (Harrington, Olney, Carrillo, & Kang, 2012).

and innovation can be hindered by regulation models that emphasise control of service provision (Landelius, 2005).

For example, in a study of private providers of employment services in Denmark, the Netherlands and Australia, Bredgaard and Larsen (2007) found built-in conflicts between having a free and competitive market model whilst also controlling service providers, particularly to safeguard the interests of weaker groups. A more relaxed approach to monitoring may instead lead to risk selection through "cream-skimming" the clientele, i.e. only choosing the most profitable service users (Greve, 2009: 551), or "parking" clients who are seen as more difficult to work with (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2007)

On the other hand, more specified contracts and stricter regulation lead to higher costs for monitoring agencies and limits the space for innovative solutions, and thus lead to standardised employment services (Considine & O'Sullivan, 2014; Lindsay & McQuaid, 2009). The attempts to safeguard weaker clients' interests and to achieve accountability through regulation can effectively lead to "re-bureaucratisation" (Benish, 2010), particularly when regulatory agencies start to focus on the process as well as the outcomes of service delivery (Benish, 2014).

An important argument for introducing private alternatives in unemployment services is to empower individuals by providing them with more choice of providers. The "modern" individual is seen as having higher demands for flexibility, responsiveness and access. These are considered to be prevalent in the private service market, and welfare services are thus seen to be in need of "updating" (J. Clarke, 2005). Empowerment is seen as particularly powerful if individuals themselves are actively involved in making decisions about welfare services (Winkler cited in Fotaki, 2007: 1062) and can be connected to discourses on active responsibility and individualisation similar to the workfare debates (Taylor-Gooby, 2008).

Le Grand sees the increased benefits of choice as particularly important for the disadvantaged (2007). Moreover, following Hirschman (2004) the mechanisms of "choice" and "voice" enable citizens to put pressure on organisations to provide higher quality services (Wilson, 2009: 571). In this way, a choice model can be seen as complementing, or potentially reducing, the need for monitoring by authorities.

However, the conditions for making free and informed choices have been questioned, for example due to the asymmetry of information between users and providers (Arrow, 1963). The individuals most likely to make informed choices tend to be those with higher education and economic resources (Wilson, 2009). Choice can thus lead to increased economic and social inequality (Anell, 2010; Richard Morris Titmuss, Oakley, & Barker, 2004), particularly if unaccompanied

by measures to increase autonomy such as support and advocacy services for more vulnerable users (Burchardt, Evans, & Holder, 2015; Eika, 2009). Studies of choice in unemployment services show that individuals often do not have all the information available to make an informed choice. Choices are often made on grounds such as geographical proximity, even if the opportunity to choose is appreciated by the individual (Bredgaard and Larsen, 2007).[16]

Moreover, as Fotaki (2007) notes, the two values of choice and efficiency can be contradictory, as actual choice for customers usually assumes a certain amount of over-capacity of welfare services. In order to fulfil their legal obligation to provide services, public authorities may require costly contingency plans in the event of, for example, private companies exiting the quasi-market or failing to meet their obligations, creating additional costs in pressured service areas (Hanspers & Mörk, 2011).

Bredgaard and Larsen find that the availability of choice also establishes a customer-business relationship between the individual and the service provider. Interestingly, this can be seen as negatively influencing service providers' willingness to sanction individuals, due to the need to build up trust and keep "customers" (Bredgaard and Larsen 2007: 296), as successful results largely depend on cooperation with clients (Borghi & Van Berkel, 2007). In this way, service providers can experience conflicting demands between clients and regulatory agencies. Similarly, service providers may experience conflicts in relation to potential employers who want the best person for the job on the one hand, and the need to provide jobs to the most disadvantaged clients (F. Larsen & Wright, 2014: 463) on the other.

Social investment

Theories of social investment focus mainly on the productive aspects of social policy and the importance of state intervention in creating employable individuals. They share with the workfare perspective discussed above the emphasis on including individuals in the labour market. This perspective can be seen as a compromise between the economic focus on individuals adjusting to the labour market and a more progressive perspective that puts individuals' needs

[16] Increased choice in childcare facilities, including private alternatives, has not altered the tendency of parents to choose a preschool close to home (Brennan, Cass, Himmelweit, & Szebehely, 2012; Hanspers & Mörk, 2011). Similarly, in health care, many patients are positive towards the idea of choosing, but do not often make an active choice in practice, even when dissatisfied with the care they are provided (Anell, 2010).

before those of employers. The focus of social investment is instead to create a skilled, employable workforce, minimising the need for low-skilled, low-paid jobs. Moreover, social policy becomes a tool for investing both in the economy and the individual, rather than an "expense" for the welfare state. In this sense, it can be argued that the social investment perspective, to a larger extent than the workfare perspective, focuses on the importance of state responsibility as a response to unemployment, but also as a complement to broader social policy ideals.

The social investment perspective covers a broad range of perspectives that can be seen as reactions against the neoliberal attack on the welfare state in the 1980s and early 1990s. As noted above, in the United Kingdom, Anthony Giddens' writings on a Third Way, that inspired much of New Labour policy, emphasised rights and responsibilities in an attempt to bring about activation policies in a British context (Giddens, 1998). This perspective was seen as too narrow by, for example, Esping-Andersen (2002), who argued instead for social investment over the life course, with a special focus on investment in children in order to build human capital for all citizens. The emphasis on children and family-friendly policies was also argued for in terms of modernising social policy and taking into account the increased participation of women in the labour market.

Jenson summarises the goals of social investment initiatives as being to: "increase social inclusion and minimise the intergenerational transfer of poverty as well as to ensure that the population is well-prepared for the likely employment conditions (less job security; more precarious forms of contracts) of contemporary economies" (2012: 61). Hemerijck (2015: 249) distinguishes between three types of social investment policies: firstly, "flow" policies facilitating transitions for individuals into paid work, for example by supporting individuals to re-enter employment as well as ensuring that individuals may temporarily leave the labour market for example due to parental leave. Secondly, "stock" measures aiming to enhance individuals' human capital, through investments in education and upskilling throughout the life-course. Finally, "buffer" policies functioning as economic support in the form of minimum income protection for those "in between jobs". In the light of these functions, social investment can be seen as covering both recommodifying aims to enhance labour market participation and encompassing social policy ambitions that focus on individual protection.

As Morel et al point out, the emphasis on "productive social policy" can be found historically in the writings of Alva and Gunnar Myrdal who emphasised the importance of social policy to help create a future workforce, but also to aid families in terms of economic and social risks. From an economic perspective, Keynesian policymaking emphasised the importance of social policy to maintain consumption in periods of economic downturns where decreased spending would

have worsened the national economic situation (2012a). Similarly, early attempts to introduce basic social policy in the United Kingdom could be seen as a way to improve the health of future soldiers who were found to be so unfit that as to have had a negative impact on British war efforts (Richard Morris Titmuss et al., 1986).

In other words, while productive social policy is not a new invention, the social investment perspective seeks to update social policy to fit a contemporary language of investment in order to argue for a break from the neoliberal perspective of social policy as a cost or burden on the welfare state. For Jenson, the social investment perspective shares with neoliberalism an orientation towards the future. This can, in particular, be seen through a commitment to policies for early intervention in childhood; a focus on creating a sustainable future for the young in order to break intergenerational cycles of poverty, and the aim to improve communities' futures through contemporary investment (2012: 62). Moreover, the social investment perspective can be seen as more inclusive and as a way to modernise the welfare state in terms of new risks (Morel et al., 2012a: 9), rather than solely focusing on the male breadwinner model of the traditional welfare state (Jenson, 2012: 73).

Hemerijck (2011, 2013) argues that the financial crisis and its effects in 2008 can confirm the need for a greater "embeddedness" of the economy through social policy measures. From this perspective, following Polanyi (2001 [1944]), the state's role in providing effective social policy is both a way to counteract market forces and to make citizens more resilient to economic crises through social policy measures. Hemerijck expresses this aim as a way to "build 'social bridges' across volatile transitions between jobs" (2015: 248), emphasising the need to provide periods of support throughout the individual's life to maintain a high stock of workers in the labour market. In the social investment perspective, the role of the market is widely accepted; the market needs to be fettered and controlled to see to individuals' needs as well as to bring about long-term growth (Jenson, 2010). This perspective is also gaining ground in international organisations such as the OECD (Hemerijck, 2012). At the same time, some scholars (Bengtsson, Porte, & Jacobsson, 2017; de la Porte & Jacobsson, 2012: 143) find that while the financial situation in Europe does indeed point towards the importance of social policy investment, the acute financial situation of many European governments effectively serves as an obstacle to the type of long-term thinking needed for proper investment policies. However, social investment strategies have been included in European Union policy, such as country recommendations, since 2014, and the social investment perspective was presented as a unitary reform strategy for the first time in 2013 (see European Commission, 2013; Kvist, 2015).

Bonoli discusses ALMP and its relation to the social investment perspective. While some ALMP, such as labour market training programmes and specific job training, fits directly with social investment ideas on human capital, other aspects, such as job subsidies, job creation or counselling, are not as clearly linked to investment in human skills. He argues that the social investment perspective was stronger in the 1950s and 1960s, when labour market training programmes served a real need, particularly in Sweden, whereas in recent decades they have diminished in favour of less expensive activation policies (Bonoli, 2012). While activation policies can be seen as part of neoliberal policy development, exemplified by work-first strategies, the social investment policies related to activation have a stronger emphasis on "making work pay", accepting the role of the state to ensure that jobs are sustainable for individuals (Jenson, 2012: 70). Moreover, Nelson and Stephens (2012) argue that there is indeed a link between "better jobs" and higher national investments in training and human capital development.

The social investment perspective can be seen as partly informed by feminist theory, although many social investment policies have subsequently had a more watered down gender focus (Orloff & Palier, 2009). For example, Jenson critiques the social investment discussion from the perspective of gender equality, arguing that the focus on investing in children ignores the situation of women in the present (Jenson, 2009). Saraceno sees the emphasis on employment as focusing too strongly on the male breadwinner model in trying to integrate women into the labour market rather than on changing men's responsibilities, and finds that domestic/unpaid care work becomes devalued in the social investment perspective (Saraceno, 2015). Other authors argue that the social investment perspective is "too positive" (Pintelon, Cantillon, Van Den Bosch, & Whelan, 2013: 62) in its aim to provide equal opportunities through investing in children, as social class stratification often proves to be very persistent despite educational investments. In their view, focusing on individual responsibility for managing education and life chances can instead lead to further marginalisation due to tighter eligibility rules for benefits (ibid p 63). Other scholars, such as Kvist (2015), are more positive about the benefits the social investment perspective can bring for women and children over the life course, including better education for children and young adults and shared responsibility for work and care between men and women, followed by a decrease in poverty and ill health in old age which often results from joblessness earlier in life. While Kvist (2013) mentions intra-EU migration in relation to social investment, most of the work in the area has a general focus, rather than specific discussion of social investment policies targeted towards migrants.

The problems inherent in social investment strategies can be reformulated as, first of all, whether governments prioritise long-term policies where the effects will not be seen until many years ahead. Put differently, as noted by Nelson and Sandberg, it is unclear whether human capital investments can be clearly linked to economic outcomes, particularly considering the link between the concepts of stock, flow and buffer, with their inherently different ambitions (see Nelson & Sandberg, 2016). This issue is particularly salient in the current demand for quick solutions to policy problems. Second, the social investment perspective does not fully answer the question of what happens to those individuals who are not seen as worth investing in when it is implicit in this perspective is that investment will pay back in the form of increased labour market participation, hopefully in high-quality jobs.

The assumptions of social investment measures can be seen as: a) providing labour market measures that enable individuals to find employment, or b) providing individuals with upskilling that is gainful for the individual. Contrasted with the workfare perspective there is thus an increased emphasis on the quality of measures and the agreement with individuals on providing useful skills development, which can be seen as in line with general social policy ambitions. However, it is less clear whether general upskilling actually contributes to work, and whether it is suitable for all unemployed individuals. Individuals with additional problems, who may struggle to participate in more advanced upskilling, may be directed instead to the type of individual skills development that is often associated with workfare initiatives and provide less clear routes to work.

Conclusion

The main aim of this thesis is to consider how ALMP in Sweden has been developed to manage current socioeconomic challenges, particularly for individuals considered to be further from the labour market, and how different policy goals in the area are combined. In the introduction to this chapter I considered some ways to frame the issue of participation as a way to explore these debates.

The establishment reform can be seen as particularly suitable in reflecting on the contradictions related to liberalisation, with the emphasis on privatisation and workfare, but also to consider some of the limitations of liberal reform. These

include both contradictions within the perspective itself, and alternative policy ideas such as social investment and social support.

In order to explore some of these contradictions, the historical institutionalism perspective, which encourages a complex view of historical events is useful. In chapter 4 I consider the development of the different goals, actors and functions and tools leading up to the current labour market policy. Here, aspects of what can be seen as layering are discussed in relation to the "new" situation within labour market policy.

The two major approaches of workfare and social investment provide different ways of understanding labour market inclusion. While the workfare perspective focuses on active participation, economic incentives and emphasis on quick labour market entry, the social investment perspective makes a more ambitious commitment to human capital investment and, to some extent, a more traditional social policy ambition to protect individuals and enable them to participate in society. In this thesis, I use social investment to discuss the more traditional human capital investment, exemplified here as labour market measures, used in the establishment reform. I also discuss the more "enabling" social support measures that can be seen as included in the broader social investment definition, for example through Hemerijck's concept of "buffer". How these different policy elements are combined becomes important in the empirical chapters and helps to disentangle some of the contradictions discussed above, particularly in relation to the goals of the establishment reform, employment officers' application of the goals and individuals' participation in the establishment measures.

While neither perspective has a clear focus on the particular problems faced by vulnerable groups in the labour market, aspects of both are present in the establishment reform. The application of these perspectives in practice may thus pose further questions as to the extent they can be used to inspire contemporary labour market policy where vulnerable groups make up such a large proportion of the unemployed.

It is clear that ideas from both perspectives have influenced some of the policy rhetoric and measures of the establishment reform. I will use these perspectives to show how elements of both workfare and social investment can be seen in the establishment reform and how they are combined as a policy for a vulnerable group in the labour market. Moreover, the ambiguity of participation and responsibility as disciplining or empowering will be further considered empirically. Analysing the policy rhetoric we will see both a commitment to social investment ideas, and to the more controlling ideas similar to workfare. On the organisational level, the ideas of providing social support and social investment measures for the individual can be seen as clashing with the ideals of controlling

individuals and sanctioning individuals' behaviour. In particular, some of the contradictions at the policy level are here strengthened by organisational contradictions within marketised unemployment services. These issues are further analysed when considering the different measures of the establishment reform, and how some individuals fit in easily with the ideals of the social investment perspective, while for others the measures become more similar to the workfare ambition of keeping them active.

Chapter 3

Methods

In this chapter I discuss my methods and choices in this study of the establishment reform as an example of how excluded groups are integrated into labour market policy in Sweden.[17] In the introduction I set out three sub-questions and analyse each using different materials. In this chapter I explain what methods I have used and the limitations of the research.

Case studies

The advantage of case studies is that they can provide deeper knowledge about a certain phenomenon, adding complexity through details that cannot easily be achieved by studying several cases (Denscombe, 2014: 55). The choice of a case may be made on various grounds, such as the potential to generalise or, at the other end of the spectrum, its extreme characteristics. One of the problems with case studies that have been pointed out is the limited possibility to generalise findings from a single case (Denscombe, 2014: 61). Others such as Flyvbjerg (2001, 2006) consider this less of a problem, arguing for the importance of "context-dependent knowledge", which the case study can provide. I chose to analyse the establishment reform as it allowed the consideration of how policies towards vulnerable group in the labour market policy has been developed and more recently been influenced by workfare and social investment perspectives. I consider this a typical or exemplifying case that can be used to analyse some of the contradictions in contemporary efforts to include vulnerable groups in the labour market.

[17] See Jacobsson (2008) for a discussion of the importance of discussing and reflecting on choices when conducting qualitative research.

Another advantage of the case study is that the researcher can achieve a holistic view of the case, particularly by using multiple methods to gain different perspectives (Denscombe, 2014: 56). My empirical material consists of, first, documents from official sources concerning the establishment reform including the government white paper, consultation responses (*remissvar*), parliamentary debates, as well as other public documents and newspaper debate articles. Second, I use interview data with employees from the Public Employment Service and establishment guides. Third, I use the Public Employment Service's public documents on regulations for employment officers and establishment guides, as well as internal documents in which information about participants in the reform measures and establishment guides is registered. I use this material to create five types of participants based on the documentation of employment officers and establishment guides.

Documentary analysis

Documentary analysis can be defined as a "systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents" (Bowen, 2009: 27). Documents can refer to a wide variety of sources, but can be defined as text written by individuals or groups for a specific need (Monageng, 2009: 45). Prior argues that it is essential to consider the function of the documents and how they are manufactured, rather than only focusing on the content (Prior, 2003: 5). Put differently, documents are always produced in a specific social setting and often with a particular audience in mind (Bowen, 2009: 30).

Thus, it is important to point out that political documents are written with a specific purpose and by a specific agent, often trying to convey a particular message (Denscombe, 2014: 226). The same may be said for parliamentary debates, where ideological differences are often highlighted, at least between political opponents. Beckman uses the concept of idea analysis to discuss the description and interpretation of political messages. He argues that descriptions of political messages presuppose a comparison, either over time or with competing messages (Beckman, 2005).

The texts I have analysed primarily comprise of political documents relating to the introduction of the establishment reform. They include the government directive commissioning a review, the review itself and responses from different agencies and authorities, the government bill, parliamentary debates and committee work leading up to the establishment reform being enacted in

parliament. Also analysed are subsequent changes to the establishment law and political texts and legislation prior to the introduction of the establishment reform. Other important texts include government texts that concern aspects of the establishment measures, such as general economic or labour market policy documents. These documents have been used to provide context to arguments surrounding the establishment measures. I have also used newspaper debate articles[18] by key stakeholders such as government ministers to provide a fuller description of the arguments made. Furthermore, I have used public and internal documents from the Public Employment Service detailing how individual employment officers and establishment guides are expected to work, and service specifications detailing how payments and other issues surrounding establishment guides' services should be regulated.

As Bowen comments on textual analysis, data in documents is organised into major themes, categories and case examples. I have used a thematic analysis, where a careful reading, rereading and interpretation of the text leads to the identification of major themes (2009).

In the documentary analysis, I have first examined the texts chronologically to provide an understanding of how the ideas of the establishment reform were introduced, criticised and subsequently reformulated into what became the bill enacted by parliament. In the main part of the analysis I have categorised into three themes what I consider the main political aims of the reform based on several readings. The aim of this analysis is to highlight the labour market and social policy goals that are merged in this policy. Categorising or thematically analysing the written material is a standard procedure in qualitative research in general, where sorting and returning to the material is an important part of the research process (Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2015).

Interview data

I also use primary material in the form of interview data, from semi-structured interviews with eight employment officers at the Public Employment Service in two major Swedish cities and 11 establishment guides in one of these two cities. I

[18] In Sweden, it is common for government representatives to present new policy initiatives in the debates section of daily newspaper. I have therefore chosen to use the term "debate articles" rather than op-eds or opinion pieces.

also interviewed two officials higher in the hierarchy but this data was not used in the final analysis.[19]

Whilst researching this reform, I participated in informal meetings at the Public Employment Service but have not used these directly in this thesis. I do occasionally refer to interview materials and observations from 2010, made for my masters thesis (Ennerberg, 2011), for which I followed the preparations for the establishment reform in a large Swedish city. Following these preparations and the discussions preceding the establishment reform gave me insights into some of the practical dilemmas in transferring responsibility of vulnerable groups from one authority to another, and the different issues facing employment officers involved in working with such groups.

Interviewing is one of the most common qualitative research methods and the process has been discussed by many authors (Flick, 2009; Kvale, 2007; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Silverman, 2010). Semi-structured interviews are appropriate for exploring a topic area with different themes (Arksey & Knight, 1999), where the researcher has the flexibility to develop certain themes or change the order of the questions during the interview (Denscombe, 2014). Kvale defines the research interview as one "where knowledge is constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee" (Kvale, 2007: 1). However, the "success" of the interview also depends on the intentions of both researcher and interviewee (Widerberg, 2002), where the latter responds to questions differently depending on how the interviewee perceives the interviewer and the purpose of the interview (Denscombe, 2014: 189).

I recruited interviewees at the Public Employment Service through contacts at two offices. In one case, the manager forwarded my request for interviews and a description of my PhD project to employees at the office, who could contact me if they were interested in participating. In the other office, the manager cited time pressures as limiting participation in the research, but eventually asked certain individuals if they were willing to participate. Through these individuals I gained access to others.

Recruiting interviewees through their managers can be seen as problematic in different ways. Perhaps the managers recommended certain individuals knowing that they would provide a less critical view of the organisation. Moreover, as Alvesson (2011: 48) notes, when researching organisations and workplaces, there is always a risk that employees face sanctions if they speak too openly, especially if the data is not sufficiently anonymised.

[19] See appendix for a list of interviewees.

Once the interviews were arranged, my impression was that the employment officers were very willing to share their opinions and experiences of the establishment reform. On the other hand, I also experienced what can be seen as a risk in expert interviews, that some interviewees tried to provide too much information, assuming that I had little prior knowledge about the topic (see Flick, 2009: 165).

Alvesson and Torhell (2011: 39) reflect on the fact that interviewees can be politically motivated actors with their own agendas. This is something I encountered, especially when interviewing two officials which were eventually not used in the analysis. Due to their higher positions in the hierarchy, their answers reflected official standpoints, and I did not manage to get any additional information from what was already available in the official sources.

The interviews with the establishment guides were arranged using a public list published on the Public Employment Service website which provided contact details for all guidance companies, sorted by geographical location. My aim was to include different sized companies with different backgrounds, but some companies turned out to be difficult to get hold of, cancelled meetings repeatedly or had stopped working as establishment guides stating that they had received no clients or found the financial reimbursement too meagre. The failure to reach some companies and obtain agreement to be interviewed should be seen as a weakness in the material, as it may be that companies that did not want to participate had special reasons for their refusal, thus denying me a more varied perspective.

I met all the establishment guides in their offices and found most very willing to talk to me about what they considered worked well and less well in the establishment reform. In many cases, the guides were more informal than the employment officers and were keen to show me what they were proud of in their own companies. Other guides were more reserved, and declined to allow me to record the interview. The refusal to be recorded is quite common in qualitative research and Bryman (2012: 483) sees this as a personal fear of the microphone. Here, an additional reason may be the dependence on continued contracts from the Public Employment Service, and thus relates to interviewees' fear of being identified and risking sanctions. Similarly, as with the employment officers of the Public Employment Service, the guides were themselves political actors that perhaps did want to point out their own problems in relation to the establishment measures, in order to, for example, argue that their financial reimbursements were perceived as inadequate, or to point out improper conduct by market competitors, hoping that there would be more beneficial regulations in the future.

When analysing these transcribed interviews, I thematised the different aspects I saw as important and that would help me answer my research question, particularly in regards to the organisation. One problem I experienced is that much of my data concerned practical problems that had already been brought up through evaluations and government reports. Moreover, these practical problems although important, were not always theoretically interesting in relation to my research. Going back and forth between my research questions and the empirical material thus became an important part of the research process. (see for example Rennstam & Wästerfors, 2015; Wästerfors, 2008).

Cases – typology

The other type of primary material I draw on in this thesis is documentary material from the Public Employment Service. This consists of 181 cases with three different types of documents. First, I had access to establishment plans for each individual. These were used by employment officers to document the activities that the individual took part in in order to receive their establishment benefit. The second type comprises monthly reports written by the establishment guides in which they recorded the number of meetings with the individual and specified the types of activities completed from a list on the reporting form. The establishment guides also had the opportunity to include written comments describing in further detail the work done during the month. Finally, a printout from the Public Employment Service's internal documentation system recorded details about the individual, including documentation of meetings with the participants, changes in the establishment plan, and contacts with employers, external providers of activities and establishment guides. From these, it is possible to see whether the monthly benefit the individual received through the programme had been reduced due to missing any activities. The reason for absence (e.g. illness, approved absence due to meeting with other authority, job interview etc) was sometimes commented on, but most often only a note was made of a reduction in benefits. In most cases it was not clear how many days' reduction occurred, only whether or not there had been a reduction in a given month. These cases made it possible for me to follow individuals from the time they began participating in establishment measures to the end of the establishment period.

The cases came from two larger cities and one smaller city in Sweden. From the cases coming from the larger cities, there were some where individual participants

started their establishment period in a different municipality but thereafter, on their own initiative, moved to one of these larger cities.

The documents contained some material of a personal nature, such as information on health or social situation, and was designated confidential by the Public Employment Service. In order to access this material and ensure that this research project followed ethical guidelines (see Vetenskapsrådet, 2011) I applied to the Ethical Review Board (EPN) in Lund. I also held extensive conversations with the Public Employment Service including a meeting at their head office. EPN granted me permission on the condition that I did not refer to specific cases that could reveal individual identities. In order to gain approval from the EPN and to follow the guidelines set out by the Swedish Research Council on protecting individuals' integrity (ibid). I also committed to writing letters to individuals in the study to inform them that they could withdraw consent to participate or to request more information about it. Other aspects taken into consideration include secure storage of data and the creation of a coding key only available in hard copy and stored in a secure location. I have followed these instructions and thereby tried to ensure anonymity for all individuals in the project. The data was coded so as to ensure that identities are not revealed, but are used to construct the five types described in the next section.

From coding to types

The process of gaining access to documents from the Public Employment Service proved more time consuming than originally expected. Due to the type of data I was interested in, the Public Employment Service was concerned about protecting the anonymity of individuals, which delayed approval. Moreover, obtaining the data proved to be a time-consuming process as it was stored in different data systems at the Public Employment Service. My original aim was to study 600 cases. After meeting with representatives from the Public Employment Service national division of integration, this number was reduced to 300. Due to the number of cases available in the different offices, this was further reduced to 200, and in the end I received 197 cases. After some individuals contacted me and asked not to be included in the project, and a few cases were removed as they contained too little data to be coded, the final number in the database was 181 cases.

After receiving the documents from the Public Employment Service, I read through a few cases and tried to see what type of information I could collect from the data. Thereafter, I constructed a coding protocol in SPSS that I used to

structure and systematise the material. After coding around 20 cases I found new variables that I felt needed to be included. These variables included, for example, information on the activities individuals participated in, employment officers' use of absence reports and their judgements on the individuals' ability to find work, health status, and individuals' own goals in terms of finding work. After coding these cases again, I took a break for an extended period of leave. When I returned to the data, I felt a need to again add and remove variables to arrive at a coding scheme that better fit into my research purpose. The process of coding the material was thus a process of going back and forth to understand how to make the best use of the data and how to systematise it.

The information I could get from the data was necessarily limited in terms of how the documents were organised at the Public Employment Service. For example, one of the aims of my research was to collect data from a smaller municipality where individuals were placed in housing provided by the Migration Board (*anläggningsboenden*) and see how these individuals progressed through the two years as a comparison group. In the end however, it turned out to be impossible to trace individuals who had moved from Migration Board housing placements to being placed in other municipalities through the Public Employment Service computer system. Instead, the remaining cases were those who stayed in the same municipality as the placement location. Thus a smaller sample than the original research plan was gathered, and with a different focus.[20] Instead of focusing on how this group of migrants managed in the reform, I used the group of individuals starting their establishment period in smaller municipalities to get some more information about how these individuals managed. Another important issue that should be noted relates to the choices I made in the coding process. Some of the information I was aiming to record, such as educational level, was not always registered in a clear way in the cases I received. In some cases, I thus had to leave this information out, and in other cases I was able to find information through recorded discussions of previous studies which was not always very detailed in regards to the individuals' education. While I have attempted to be careful in the coding, some unintentional errors regarding categorisations such as this may have entered the database.

When I first received and coded the material, I had intended to use the database to conduct quantitative analysis, for example to understand how the administrative process influenced the outcome of individuals' establishment

[20] During data collection the law was changed so that the establishment period does not commence until individuals have left Migration Board housing placements and are placed in a municipality.

periods or how the establishment guides and individual participants were regulated. Whilst coding, however, I noticed certain patterns in the material. These patterns led to a preliminary analysis whereby I wrote down different ideas and formed my first ideas of how to thematise the empirical chapters. Constructing the database helped me gain an overview of my material and test the patterns I noticed whilst coding the documents.

Reading further into the cases, however, I found that many of the nuances found in coding the variables and preliminary analyses obscured the nuances of the cases as I read them. Of course, summarising material and coding selected variables is necessary in order to be able to say anything general – detailed descriptions of close to 200 different cases would be meaningless for my research purpose. On the other hand, I struggled with the extent to which the material could be simplified and still maintain accuracy and meaning. While other researchers with greater quantitative inclination would probably have been able to make use of the material in the database, my solution was to try to capture what I found interesting using different means, although the database materials were useful in providing the descriptive background in chapter 7.

In this way, coding and entering the files into a database became a way for me to sort through and categorise the different cases before deciding to construct types of the data.

Typologies or types can be used to "identify, simplify, and order data" (McKinney, 1969: 1). The use of a typology to categorise my data into five different types is a way to underline certain typical elements without using characteristics that can reveal the identity of individuals (Widerberg, 2002: 142). Due to the sensitivity of the data I want to stress that the types do not refer to any specific individual, but are based on data from several different cases.

After coding the material and starting preliminary analysis, I took notes on the more general patterns that I saw in the data. These included shorter notes on each case file, i.e. for each participant, and more general impressions that I had captured continuously whilst coding. After a while, I noticed certain patterns in terms of how participants took part in reform measures, and started to formulate these different patterns into writing. After going back and forth between the coding and my descriptions I ended with five groups that I consider covered most of my material. I also sorted through my original short descriptions, in order to compare them to these five types, and to see whether any important aspects were missing or if there were alternative ways to describe or categorise the different groups. In the end, the descriptions from the coding were used to develop types that I found represented different trajectories through the reform.

It should be noted that these types are based on how I interpreted the data provided by employment officers and establishment guides.[21] I do not have any way to check how well this material actually matches the real-life experiences of individual participants, and it cannot be seen as a complete picture of what actually happened during the establishment period. Nevertheless I have chosen to use these descriptions, first because I believe that these types provide a richer and more nuanced image of the establishment measures and process than a statistical analysis of the data. Second, I see the descriptions based on the employment officers' documentation as examples of the challenges experienced by the Public Employment Service that can complement interview data and provide a fuller description of the complexities involved in providing labour market measures for vulnerable groups.

The aim is thus that these types will provide a richer description of the difficulties involved in combining labour market policy and social policy goals, particularly when the group of newly arrived migrants participating in the measures is very heterogeneous. The use of types is also a way to maintain the anonymity of the individuals in the cases.

(De-)Limitations of the study

In this study I focus on the establishment reform from the perspective of labour market policy. The individuals identified as "newly arrived migrants" are migrants from various countries entering Sweden, though not primarily as jobseekers. While their experiences are connected with their status as migrants, it should be noted that my thesis does not aim to discuss the establishment reform from the perspective of migration or integration.[22] Instead my main interest is in the area of labour market policy, the historical tradition of this institution and recent changes in this area. In one way, as we will see, aspects relating to the process of integrating individuals into Swedish society are obviously linked with the goals of the establishment reform. The discussion of these issues are however mainly linked to how they relate to individuals' inclusion in the labour market, rather than considered through the lens of the participants' difficulties in terms of their

[21] The documents could also have been used for a semantic analysis with the purpose of analysing the ways employment officers and/or establishment guides discuss or motivate their decisions regarding individuals' participation in the measures.

[22] This perspective is used, for example, in Larsson's (2015) PhD thesis.

status as migrants. For example, while relevant for understanding the wider issues of integration of migrants, I do not in this thesis focus on structural discrimination in the labour market.

The discussion in chapter 5 of the political intentions behind the establishment reform is based on documentary sources. An important limitation is that I have not interviewed any of the key stakeholders involved in the policy process. However, debate articles by key stakeholders from the time provide a great deal of secondary data, with arguments posed by important actors such as government ministers.

Another limitation is the missing perspective of the individuals taking part in the establishment measures, whom I have not interviewed. I only have access to data about individuals through documents produced by establishment guides and employment officers. This limitation is important to note, particularly when reading the types, which are based on these documents and the perspectives of their writers. However, what I seek to analyse in this thesis is not individual experiences of participating in the reform, but the policy, organisational issues and labour market measures involved in the introduction of a new policy in this area.

Conclusion

The use of documentary analysis, interview data and documentary cases from which I have built up the types provide different perspectives on the case of the establishment reform. The use of the different data sources is divided into three empirical chapters: political documents and debate articles are covered in chapter 5, interview data is the main source in chapter 6, and the interviews are in chapter 7 complemented by typologies constructed from the documentary cases. The policy documents and newspaper articles help explicate the political intentions of the establishment reform. The contradictions found in these intentions and the setup of the reform reflect ambitions relating to labour market policy on the one hand and social policy on the other. The organisation of the establishment reform and, in particular, how two of the organisations involved managed these measures in practice, is discussed using interview data in chapter 6, while also referring to some of the points raised in chapter 5. Here, the different political aims reappear through the dilemmas faced by employment officers within the organisation. Similarly, the typology in chapter 7 complement the interview data and political intentions discussed in the preceding chapters. Here, the group of newly arrived migrants is presented in five types showing the diversity within the group subject

to this policy. Furthermore, the way various social policy and labour market goals play out through different measures, and the ways these measures more or less fit different types is discussed. In this way, the analysis builds on three different types of sources and is deepened with the development of the thesis.

Chapter 4

Contextualising the Establishment Reform

The Swedish labour market in the early 2000s was subject to various political measures aiming to integrate groups that were not in work. Similar efforts could be seen in many other welfare states from the mid-1990s, with workfare or activation policies focusing on support measures as well as sanctions to shift individuals into the labour market. The case of Sweden is interesting due to its early commitment to achieving full employment through an ALMP which, early on, focused on targeting certain groups.

Indeed, ALMP was an important component in the creation of the Swedish welfare state in the post-war period. In that period, it was linked to economic policymaking and seen as an important policy tool to maintain full employment. Between 2006 and 2014, however, unemployment was much higher than in the post-war period and employment issues remained high on the political agenda in the midst of the global economic crisis. Of particular concern was the increase of unemployment among certain groups.

While the unemployment situation, policy measures and ambitions in recent years differ from those in the post-war decades, the institutional legacy from that period continues to influence labour market measures. The main aim of this thesis is to explore how one recent policy, the establishment reform, has combined workfare and social investment goals for a group considered vulnerable in the labour market in order to address current socioeconomic challenges. This chapter contextualises different policy areas, with labour market policy as the main focus, in order to situate the establishment reform both historically and politically. By considering its historical development, I attempt to show how different areas such as activation, social investment and freedom of choice have been developed and how they were subsequently integrated into the "new" area of establishment. As we will see, ideas of helping vulnerable groups in the labour market, investing in human capital, and privatisation, are not new. They have long been important

aspects of the development of this policy area and are linked to different ideas of social support for individuals struggling in the labour market. On the other hand, contemporary ALMP is marked by different economic and social challenges.

There have been many studies of Swedish ALMP and its specific character (for an introduction see, for example, Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009). In this chapter I do not attempt to give a full overview of these policy areas, but focus on the elements I see as important for understanding the background to the establishment reform. This chapter is organised into three parts. I first discuss the changes introduced by the centre-right Alliance government in 2006. Thereafter, I turn to a historical review considering some of the developments of ALMP, the ambitions of full employment it was meant to fulfil, and the economic climate wherein it was implemented, as well as the organisation of labour market policy and the actual labour market measures. I then briefly introduce migration policy and its relation to labour market policy and consider how these efforts have influenced migrants in the labour market.

Labour market policy 2006–2014

When the four Alliance parties, the Moderate Party, the Liberal Party, the Centre Party and the Christian Democrats, presented their joint manifesto for the general election campaign in 2006, their main focus was employment, in particular to end exclusion of groups outside the labour market, thus emphasizing the importance of paid work. In this section, I will focus on their claim of attempting to create a new work agenda, and then turn to the general economic policy goals, labour market measures and organisation, and individual protections in the labour market.

The creation of the Alliance was, apart from the ambition to create a single credible alternative to the Social Democratic minority government that preceded it, part of a significant transformation of the Moderate Party. While the "new" Moderates also labelled themselves the "new labour/workers party",[23] this rebranding implied a labour party was one for those *in* work, rather than one for the working class. Top party representatives dubbed previous Moderate policies as financially unsustainable and geared towards the wealthy (Reinfeldt, Odenberg,

[23] In Swedish, the Moderate Party, *Moderaterna*, re-labelled themselves *det nya arbetarpartiet* removing the letter *e* in *arbetare* from the official name of the Social Democratic Party – *Sveriges socialdemokratiska arbetareparti*.

& Borg, 2004). The party moved towards the political centre, abandoning previous policy aims such as deregulations in the labour market through reforming laws of employment protection (*Lagen om anställningsskydd* - LAS).

The new communication strategy developed by communication director Per Schlingmann, was a way to co-opt Social Democratic rhetoric whilst questioning the success of its policies (Julén, 2015), particularly by referring to the increasing proportion of excluded[24] individuals outside the labour market (including those registered unemployed as well as those on sick leave and early retirement). This debate gained momentum when the Swedish Trade Union Confederation (*Landsorganisationen i Sverige* or LO) refused to publish an internally commissioned report highlighting the number of individuals in exclusion (Edling, 2005).

The shared Alliance manifesto singles out the importance of work for the welfare state, emphasising "the basic relation that companies create jobs and that jobs create welfare" (Allians för Sverige, 2006: 4). Increasing labour supply was seen as the key to increased economic growth, and the proposed changes related to the labour market were argued for in light of this proposition.

The joint manifesto argued for the importance of the work line as follows:

> Work should pay, and more individuals should be given the opportunity to support themselves financially through work. The single most important task for a new government is to create opportunities for more jobs, so that more individuals can move from benefits to work. The work line, and the value of work is to be re-established (Allians för Sverige, 2006: 4).[25]

The different policy changes can be summarised in relation to policies to increase demand, labour market measures, and changes in social security benefit structures.

First, the Alliance government argued for the importance of increasing incentives to work in order to bring more individuals into the labour force. An

[24] The Swedish term *utanförskap* can be translated as "excluded" (see Alm, 2011 for a discussion of how the concept has been used in Swedish debates). While the term "social exclusion" is used in various European countries, it often refers to broader forms of exclusion than from the labour market alone (Byrne, 2005; Levitas, 2005; O'Brien & Penna, 2007; Percy-Smith, 2000). This broader conceptualisation can be seen at least partly reflected in material produced by the Liberal Party (Folkpartiet, 2004), but definitions following, for example, the Alliance government's Minister of Finance, Anders Borg, focus above all on exclusion from the labour market (see Borg in Riksdagens protokoll 2007/08:134). I have therefore chosen to use the term exclusion rather than social exclusion to refer to the Alliance government's policies.

[25] Throughout the text, when English translations of quoted materials are unavailable, the author has provided a translation from Swedish to English.

essential reform was the reduction of income tax on work.[26] This was not matched by lower tax levels on social security benefits and pensions and thus increased financial incentives to enter work or to increase working hours. Also implemented were tax reductions for household services to create a larger white market for such services, increasing the number of low-paid jobs (Platzer, 2007), as well as the removal of employer contributions for certain jobs in the service sector. Moreover, a new job subsidy, "new start jobs" aimed to make it more attractive for employers to hire individuals far from the labour market.

A second way to achieve increased labour market participation can be seen through proposed changes in labour market measures and the reorganisation of the Public Employment Service.

Measures aimed at vulnerable groups in the labour market included the introduction of a Job and Development Programme (*Jobb och Utvecklingsgarantin*) (SFS 2007:414) to replace the Activity Guarantee Programme *(Aktivitetsgarantin)*. This introduced restrictions on individual participation in labour market programmes, dividing the unemployment period into three phases: the first including search activities and coaching; the second adding work placements and labour market training, and the third involving fulltime placement with an employer for an indefinite time period. Another labour market programme, the Youth Job Programme (*Jobbgaranti för ungdomar*) (SFS 2007:813), aimed to offer young people aged 16–24 years with individual work measures. Other changes indirectly related to the labour market includes a closer integration of the sickness insurance system with unemployment measures and a time limit for receiving sick benefit, whereby after 2.5 years on sickness benefit individuals were to be transferred from the Social Security Agency to the Public Employment Service for a workplace introduction *(arbetslivsintroduktion)* to encourage them to re-enter the labour market.

Along with these measures, the Public Employment Service was reorganised. The county labour boards *(länsarbetsnämnd)* were closed in 2008 and the Public Employment Service became the unitary central authority (Lundin and Thelander 2012: 29-30). With the introduction of the Youth Job Programme in 2007 responsibility for unemployed youth aged 16–24 was also recentralised to the Public Employment Service (Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009: 58). The Job and Development Programme relied heavily on private actors to provide job coaching

[26] According to Fredrik Reinfeldt, the Alliance Prime Minister (2006–2014), these tax reductions were inspired by the "income tax credits"/"working tax credits" introduced by Bill Clinton in the United States and Tony Blair in the United Kingdom with the intention of lowering marginal tax effects (Reinfeldt, 2015: 154).

to individuals. These coaching measures were organised through the Public Employment Service, who procured contracts with private organisations (Lundin, 2011).

The centre-right coalition government thus reduced the municipalities' influence over labour market policy, emphasising the role of a more central and unitary organisation, the Public Employment Service, coupled with increasing the role of private actors (Lundin and Thelander, 2012: 31). This reorganisation had the aim of increasing efficiency and introducing centrally steered goals and can thus be seen as a shift towards increased (re-)centralisation of services with the aim to increase control and coordination (Christensen & Lægreid, 2007; M. Fredriksson, Blomqvist, & Winblad, 2014; Minas, 2010, 2011), following international trends towards whole-of-government (post-NPM) reforms, in response to some of the problems of earlier NPM reforms.[27]

Efforts to achieve greater coordination in important policy areas can be seen as a way for central government to regain control and reduce inequalities in local service delivery. On the other hand, the increased importance of private actors, such as establishment guides, can be seen to be in line with the more general government intention of promoting freedom of choice in welfare services (see Allians för Sverige, 2006), following a commitment to private service delivery that emphasises both the empowerment of the individual through choice and the perceived higher quality of private welfare service delivery.

In terms of unemployment insurance, the Alliance government's reduction in income tax widened the gap between real wages and social insurance payments. From 2005 to 2010 compensation was reduced by 13%, leaving Sweden below the OECD average (Ferrarini, Nelson, Sjöberg, & Palme, 2012: 36). As of 2012, the highest compensation level of 80% was only comparable to 55% of the average wage after tax for an industrial worker (ibid). Effectively, this meant that the principle of income loss compensation had been replaced by a basic security benefit, more in line with the emphasis on making work pay and strengthening the work line.[28] These changes aligned with the Alliance government's aim to create stronger incentives to exit unemployment or other social insurance systems and enter paid work.

The emphasis on positive incentives aiming to increase participation in work by making it more attractive are in line with the European workfare trends discussed in chapter 2 (see Lødemel & Moreira, 2014), and was, as we will see,

[27] NPM reforms will be further discussed below.

[28] The Social Democratic–Green Party minority government coalition raised top levels for unemployment insurance in 2015 (see Prop 2014/15:99).

further strengthened through establishment measures that introduced certain negative incentives.

A brief history of ALMP

The ambitions of Swedish ALMP in the post-war era should be understood in relation to more general economic goals and conditions. ALMP was developed as an essential part of the post-war welfare state, where full employment was identified as a central goal for the Swedish government (Eitrheim & Kuhnle, 2000: 56).

Elements of the ideas of an ALMP had been present prior to the Second World War, as the Social Democratic government in the 1930s started using relief work (*beredskapsarbeten*), i.e. publicly financed employment with relatively high wages to perform work beneficial to society (Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009: 35; Schön, 2010). After the war, a period of economic fluctuation was expected, therefore a continued use of fiscal instruments was seen as necessary in the Social Democrats' post-war programme. The emphasis later shifted towards a long-term stabilisation policy emphasising structural rationalisation of the economy (Schön, 2010: 311-312).

During the late 1940s and 1950s, the Rehn-Meidner model was formulated by two LO-economists (Erixon, 1994; Meidner, 1998; Meidner & Modigliani, 1999). The model was an attempt to handle the dilemma of maintaining low inflation as well as low unemployment and was based on three principles. First, by using the principle of "equal work, equal pay", competition between different groups of workers could be reduced. Second, a restrictive economic policy would be used to avoid strong inflation. Third, the use of ALMP would be used to reduce the risk of high unemployment, which otherwise could follow from a solidarity wage policy and a low inflation policy. In practice, ALMP would focus on helping individuals to enter available positions, for example by retraining. A second solution was to direct available positions to the unemployed. In other words, improved "matching" of unemployed individuals and available jobs was key to the success of the model (Erixon, 1994; Meidner, 1998; Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009). Importantly, the solidarity wage policy with an agreement of a relatively generous low level wage limit can be seen as fulfilling an important social ambition that emphasised general quality of living conditions, rather than a guaranteed minimum wage level (see Furniss & Tilton, 1977 for a discussion).

This model was accepted by the Social Democratic government in the mid-1950s, and led to a strong expansion of ALMP. Support for new policies to increase geographic mobility and training was combined with an expansion of public relief employment. These policies continued in the 1960s, where the individual's right to employment was emphasised, however this right was not unconditional, but associated with demands on flexibility in terms of relocating geographically and in terms of the specific employment sector (R. Axelsson, Löfgren, & Nilsson, 1987: 85). As we will see, labour market measures during this period were above all geared towards fulfilling the demand for workers by employers.

The high growth and demand for labour came to a halt at the end of the 1960s when Sweden was affected by changes in the world economy, and furthermore in relation to the oil crises in 1973 and 1979. In order to keep unemployment low, measures included industrial policy with orders to industries to maintain production and thus keep individuals employed (Ettarp, 1976; Magnusson, 1996). In the early 1980s, the centre-right government shifted focus towards market liberal policies aiming to reduce the budget deficit and maintain low inflation (Benner, 1997: 132-3; Jonung, 1999; Lindvall, 2006: 262). Support to companies was redirected towards increasing competitiveness through policies focusing on research, development and innovation (R. Axelsson et al., 1987; Benner, 1997; Jonung, 1999). Despite these changes, the emphasis on full employment continued, while the sustainability of social policy spending and the expansion of the public sector were questioned by conservative debaters, often from the Moderate Party (Löwdin, 1998; Wiklund, 2006: 338).

The fall of the full employment ideology

In the mid-1980s, the Social Democratic government attempted to achieve low inflation by deregulating and liberalising the financial markets, effectively moving towards a more market-based monetary policy (Jonung, 1999: 188). However, this attempt to deal with the overheating economy did not succeed in restraining it after the deregulation of the financial markets. Instead, lending by the banks, as well as the inflation rate, increased. Meanwhile, unemployment remained low (Jonung, 1999: 203). Debt in the private sector led to irresponsible lending by the banks and to a financial bubble. The export sector suffered from low competitiveness and the real GDP growth was lower in Sweden than in other countries (Jonung 1999: 206-207).

In February 1990, the Social Democratic government proposed a two-year freeze on wages and municipal taxes to manage the overheated economy. The measures were not accepted by parliament, and Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson resigned. However, avoiding a new general election, Carlsson shortly after formed a new government, with a new Minister of Finance. In 1991, the economic boom turned into a deep economic recession (Magnusson, 1996: 481).

The economic crisis of the 1990s was deep and drawn out, affecting different sectors in the economy at different times. The Social Democratic government and subsequently the centre-right alliance government responded by introducing cuts in welfare spending. In 1991, the Swedish Central Bank pegged the Krona to the European Currency Unit in order to be able to join the European Union and achieve price stabilisation (Schön, 2010: 436). The overvaluation of the Krona against the European Monetary System currencies led to reduced competitiveness in terms of exports and intense speculation resulted in extremely high interest rates. In 1992, the conservative Prime Minister Carl Bildt made the decision to let the Swedish currency float, effectively leading to a 25% devaluation (Magnusson, 1996: 482). In 1993, the inflation target of 2% was set by the Swedish Central Bank, and low inflation became the overarching economic policy goal instead. As a result of the economic crisis, the Swedish government in effect abandoned the goal of full employment (Lindvall, 2006).

During the crisis years, 1.6 million individuals in Sweden were unemployed at some stage and between 1990 and 1993 open unemployment increased from 1.7% to 8.3% (Å. Bergmark & Palme, 2003: 108-110). ALMP in the Rehn-Meidner model was built on the assumption that unemployment in one part of the economy could be handled by shifting workers elsewhere. While the policy of full employment continued from the decades of high growth into the 1990s, the deep problems in the economy meant that there were no jobs available. The ambitious employment policy was thus abandoned. Moreover, there was a reorientation in economic policy due to government debt, including for example privatisation of services, cuts and reduced compensation levels in social insurance schemes (Schön, 2010: 436-347).

Due to the changed economic prioritisation and high unemployment, ALMP became a policy tool used primarily to avoid social exclusion of large groups, rather than to match individuals to available jobs (Lindvert, 2006). This significant shift can be seen as an abandonment of ALMP as a major economic tool for full employment, while broadening the use of labour market policy to achieve social policy goals.

After the crisis

After the crisis in the 1990s unemployment gradually fell but remained higher than prior to the crisis. Sweden's entry into the European Union in 1995 also in effect reduced the government's ability to formulate independent economic policy, with the acceptance of low inflation as a policy goal prioritised over full employment.

The average unemployment rate in Sweden following the economic crisis has been more generally similar to that in the European Union averaging 6–8%[29] (Eurostat, 2017b). Meanwhile, Sweden's expenditure on ALMP as a percentage of GDP has fallen since the early 1990s, particularly in relation to labour market training programmes and supported employment and rehabilitation (Lindvall, 2011: 39).

The Social Democratic governments in power from 1994 to 2006 did not introduce any radical reforms in labour market policy. In the late 1990s, most changes served to increase decentralisation of labour market policy, reduce the number of ALMP measures, strengthen matching, increase demands on unemployed individuals to actively look for work, and prioritise those furthest from the labour market (Lindvert, 2006: 79).

ALMP was originally developed as a tool to maintain full employment, but also to ensure individuals remained in employment and that employers were able to recruit individuals with the right skills. When the goal of full employment was finally abandoned and the Swedish economy went into a severe crisis, ALMP remained, albeit in changed form. The importance of this change and its consequences for subsequent labour market policy is essential for analysing contemporary issues in labour market policy, not least in relation to how policy is developed and managed for vulnerable groups.

With the fall of the full employment ideology, the right to work was effectively abandoned. In the 1990s, focus also shifted towards the high proportion of the labour force in social insurance programmes such as early retirement, to which generous benefits had attracted an estimated 10% of the labour force (Stattin, 1997). This was portrayed as a growing problem (see for example Hetzler et al., 2005; Johnson, 2010; Wesser, 1998). Similarly, there was a debate on prolonged sick leave. Traditionally, individuals' ability to work had been tested against previous employment, but during this period the debate shifted to questioning the legitimacy of paying out social security benefits to this extent. Sweden seemed

[29] Although in recent years, particularly following the financial crisis in 2008, Sweden has had higher employment rates than the EU average (Eurostat, 2017a, 2017b).

to stand out internationally in terms of having a large "sick" population. These debates can be seen both as a political (re-) negotiation over how to categorise vulnerable groups in the labour market and as reflecting a situation where many of these individuals faced a complex situation where different issues such as unemployment and sickness might be connected (Försäkringskassan, 2009; Saurama, 2005; Stattin, 1997).

Organisation of labour market policy

Support for individuals outside the labour market was originally managed by local municipalities which established the first public employment offices in 1902. The Swedish National Labour Market Board, (*Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen or AMS*), was founded in 1948, centralising labour market policy but with the creation of county labour boards (Lundin & Thelander, 2012).

During the early 1940s, the number of local offices expanded and new staff members were recruited. The number of tasks managed by the organisation also increased. Under the Rehn-Meidner model, AMS played a crucial role in implementing labour market policy, particularly from the 1950s (Rehnberg, 1999). In the 1950s, ALMP mainly aimed to prepare job applicants for the needs of employers. An important part of the organisation's work was therefore conducted in cooperation with the Employers' Confederation, (*Svenska arbetsgivareföreningen or SAF*[30]), in order to find suitable jobs and fill positions needed by employers (Lindvert, 2006; Nycander, 2008) – an example of the corporative state, where business interest organisations, labour organisations and the state were in close cooperation, for example through representation in different boards of public agencies (Rothstein, 1992: 90-92).

The 1950s to the 1970s was a time of great flexibility at the Public Employment Service, despite extensive and detailed regulations at the local level (Lindvert, 2006: 45). During this period, unemployed individuals did not have a right to demand to be placed in specific labour market measures, instead decisions were made on a case-by-case basis. In the late 1950s and 1960s the organisation was guided by the "golden rule": to ensure that employers received the best possible workers and that the unemployed received the work they were best suited for. Hence, individual jobseekers could not independently find out about available

[3030] Now Confederation of Swedish Enterprise *(Svenskt Näringsliv).*

positions registered at the Public Employment Service, but relied on information and job matching from the employment officers (Ettarp, 1976: 79).

From 1967, the Public Employment Service started implementing "open offices" (*Öppen förmedling*), where increased service to individual unemployed would be prioritised. This meant that lists of available jobs were published and individual support could be offered. In 1974, the golden rule was replaced by a commitment to give services and information (Ettarp, 1976: 80). A side-effect was that the Public Employment Service lost some of its contacts with employers.

In the 1970s, more centralised steering of the organisation was introduced in order to provide a unitary service to both employers and employees. In other ways, however, there was a measure of decentralisation as decision-making on individual cases was shifted from the central authority to individual employment officers (Delander, Wadensjö, & Thoursie, 1991).

In the 1980s, responsibility for labour market training programmes, which had previously belonged to AMS and the National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*), was shifted to a new authority, AMU (Lindvert, 2006 45). In the 1980s, decentralisation continued with the introduction of "management by objectives and results", which reduced the central guidelines and focused on outcomes. The local offices were also given budgetary responsibility.

In 1995, responsibility for unemployed individuals under the age of 25 was decentralised to municipalities who were compensated for managing youth unemployment programmes. These programmes mainly focused on activities such as work placements. In 1998, a youth guarantee programme was introduced in municipalities that wished to take part. Participating municipalities agreed to offer unemployed individuals aged 20–24 fulltime activities within 90 days of registering as unemployed (Sibbmark & Forslund, 2005: 3-4).

These changes in authority shifted responsibility to municipalities and can be related to more general changes regarding the delivery of welfare services, whereby national delivery through the public sector was perceived as being inefficient and overly bureaucratic (Mellbourn, 1986; Wiklund, 2006). Calls for a new public management (see for example Agevall, 2005; Almqvist & Högberg, 2005; Hood, 1991; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999; Walther, 2015) that would emphasise cost-effectiveness, customer focus and other values led the Social Democratic governments in the 1980s to decentralise a variety of welfare services, increased management by objectives and results, with more autonomy for local municipalities (Pierre, 2001; Smoke, 2015).

Among the difficulties inherent in such decentralisation efforts is in achieving equal public services nationally, as well for the central government in controlling implementation (Minas, 2010, 2011; Rothstein & Vahlne Westerhäll, 2005;

Saltman, 2008) and the risk of creating "perverse effects" (Munro, 2004). A related consequence of NPM is a more fragmentised public sector, in which coordination was problematic even in areas where collaboration is needed (Christensen, Lie, et al., 2007). Another possible consequence is unclear accountability: citizens who are unhappy with services provided are directed to the local municipality that, in turn, blames the state for underfinancing the policy area (SOU 1996 cited in Å. Bergmark, & Szebehely, Marta, 2001: 45). In this "problem of different hands" it is unclear who is responsible for the results (Hondeghem, 1998).While attempting to increase accountability and service delivery, the emphasis on various control mechanisms as appropriate for steering and regulating welfare services was also questioned. For example, one of the key principles in NPM is the introduction of standards and measures of performance and output controls (Hood, 1991; Pollitt & Bouckaert, 1999). Instead of focusing on a bureaucratic administration in terms of rule-following, clear standards and outcomes are both argued for in terms of increased customer focus and flexibility in the implementation process, and of the importance of reaching certain goals. For employees, values such as rule-following, professional competence and the bureaucratic ethos of working for the public good are replaced by values of results, incentives to do well and customer focus (J. Clarke, 2007). The emphasis thus shifts from focus on the process of work, following correct procedures, to achieving certain results that are seen as desirable.

In the early 2000s, increased focus on auditing and result-based management was promoted due to perceived weaknesses in the organisation of the Public Employment Service, resulting in efforts to strengthen the head authority AMS (Lindvert, 2015: 33), thus precluding later aims to create a more unitary organisation.

The use of "complementary actors", i.e. external providers selling different labour market programmes or services to the Public Employment Service was introduced in the 1980s. Here, labour market training programmes were to be outsourced to the best provider. The state organisation AMU remained the largest provider until the early 1990s. In 1993 it became a stock company with state ownership and was renamed Lernia. Private providers became progressively more involved, selling specialised or general programmes to the Public Employment Service (Lundin, 2011).

Private employment agencies in Sweden were technically prohibited in 1935 and then phased out in a transition period until the late 1960s. However, in the early 1990s, the market was deregulated to allow for temporary work agencies to enter the market. This has led to a plethora of recruitment agencies hiring out workers on temporary contracts and/or providing labour matching services

(Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009), complementing the Public Employment Service's provision of work for individuals.

Efforts to decentralise welfare services were thus followed by privatisation under the conservative government in the early 1990s and followed through by Social Democratic governments, as a way to both cut costs and provide citizens with more choice (see Blomqvist, 2004; Blomqvist & Rothstein, 2000). As noted in chapter 2, the ideological debates regarding privatisation have continued (Hartman, 2011), and are particularly sensitive in areas of the welfare state where the services provided are difficult to specify (Donahue, 1989; Rothstein, 2010b). Relatedly, as also noted in chapter 2 the issue of how to regulate private companies becomes of particular importance as it creates new issues for local governments or public authorities that need to set up, control and follow up contracts and performance in new ways (see Amirkhanyan et al., 2007; Brown, Potoski, & Van Slyke, 2007; Hart, 2003; Smith, 2010).

Labour market measures

Various measures played an important part in fulfilling labour market policy goals. These included both general measures and those targeting groups in need of extra help in the labour market.

As noted earlier, labour market measures and the resources available to AMS increased quickly from the end of the 1950s (Olofsson and Wadensjö, 2009: 45). In the late 1950s and 1960s general measures such as labour market training programmes and relief work were the most commonly used measures (Ettarp, 1976: 78). Others were aimed at supporting individuals and families that moved location to take up work, thus encouraging rationalisation and restructuring of the labour market (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, 1998: 14).

The restructuring of the labour market often led to a demand for retraining of individuals who could take up the new jobs. Labour market training programmes aimed to fill the needs of workers in expanding companies and sectors but could also be used for general upskilling. As the aim was primarily to fulfil a labour market need, individuals could not freely choose courses. Training could be offered both to the unemployed and to those at risk of unemployment if the training filled a need (Ettarp 1976: 148-149). As noted in chapter 2, some authors saw these measures as a successful social investment strategy, citing in particular the link between reskilling and future employment (Bonoli, 2012).

Relief work was intended to provide employment during recessions or aimed at individuals with difficulty entering the regular labour market, such as youth without experience, those with disabilities or older workers. The work was organised in different sectors, such as infrastructure, forestry, buildings or, later, public services, with wages in line with collective agreements (SOU 1985.8).

Before labour market training programmes were extended to cover the unemployed more generally, this measure aimed to activate and retrain migrants and the disabled (Ettarp, 1980: 165). Targeted relief work programmes existed for the unemployed who had a reduced working capability, in practice often including those with problems such as substance abuse or a criminal record. Such targeted measures were often located at special work facilities (*förläggningar*) where individuals paid a small amount for food and housing and participated in a mix of work training, work activities and some social support (SOU 1985.8).

In the 1960s, many women entered the Swedish labour market. Women as a group were targeted for various activation measures; the county labour boards even hired "activity inspectors" to encourage women to enter the labour market (Lundqvist, 2015). This change corresponded to radical debates on gender equality that emphasised the importance of men and women sharing both paid employment and responsibility for household chores. These arguments were particularly salient in a period with economic growth and a strong demand for labour (C. Axelsson, 1992: 6). The trend of women entering the labour market continued in the 1970s, particularly as the public sector expanded (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, 1998: 15).

In the 1970s, labour market training programmes continued to expand, often focusing on more general upskilling to provide secondary school education within the general educational system (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, 1998: 16). The traditional male-orientated relief work was complemented by relief work within other parts of the economy such as the healthcare sector (Olofsson & Wadensjö, 2009: 52). Emphasis on protecting vulnerable groups from the risk of unemployment also led to demands for protection in the workplace, leading to the labour law legislation (*LAS*) in 1974, regulating employers' right to fire workers (see Ettarp, 1980; Nycander, 2010; 2013) and also temporary industrial support with the aim of avoiding redundancies due to temporary economic difficulties (Magnusson, 1996).

Protected work had previously been provided by regions and municipalities, but this responsibility was centralised in 1980 with the creation of a state foundation, *Samhällsföretag,* where individuals could be employed with certain support and guidance available in the workplace. The aim was to provide more employment opportunities for disabled groups. In 1992, the foundation became

a registered company under the name *Samhall Ltd* (SOU 1997:64). Moreover, individuals with special needs could avail measures such as labour market assistance in the workplace or employment with wage support (*Anställning med lönebidrag*) where employers received benefits to facilitate the employment of this group (R. Axelsson et al., 1987: 168).

In the beginning of the 1980s, youth unemployment reached high levels and measures such as youth placements were also targeted towards this group. Moreover, Swedish language education for migrants became a part of labour market measures and expanded during the 1980s (Olofsson and Wadensjö, 2009: 52-53). Labour market training programmes were also further aimed towards fulfilling employers' demands in certain occupational areas (Lindvert, 2015: 28).

As noted earlier, the crisis in the 1990s led to changes in ALMP to adjust to the growing number of jobseekers. Prior to the crisis, active labour market measures focused mainly on labour market training programmes, public relief work and supported employment (Regnér, 2001: 94). In an initial response to the crisis, these traditional measures expanded, but had to be significantly adapted to reduce costs. The new volume goal required local Public Employment Service offices to keep a certain number of individuals in labour market measures with the goal to prevent long-term unemployment and reduce open unemployment. Measures such as placements for unemployed with higher educational skills and migrants, youth introduction and financial support for start-ups were introduced. These large-scale measures carried a low cost per participant and previous quality goals were abandoned (Lindvert, 2006: 62-64). The public relief works were replaced by less costly public employment with lower compensation. Other new measures included workplace introductions and the previously mentioned municipal programmes for young people (Olofsson and Wadensjö, 2009: 56).

Another measure was the increase of individual guidance services during the 1990s (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, 1998: 110). Overall, measures tended towards decentralisation and individual adjustment (Å. Bergmark & Palme, 2003: 111), with increased focus on employability. These individual guidance services can be seen as more general skill attainment and job seeking techniques, more closely related to the individualised workfare measures discussed in chapter 2.

Many of the labour market programmes in this period were later seen as inefficient, as the activities they promoted were not always deemed as suited to the needs of the market, and hence did not necessarily improve individuals' chances of getting a job after taking part in the measure (Ackum Agell, 2000). More recent research has, however, shown that ALMP was successful in terms of labour market retention. In particular, ALMP training has been found to have positive effects for continued labour market participation (Nordlund, 2010: 33).

Nonetheless, despite this positive re-evaluation in recent years, faith in the effectiveness of labour market programmes declined following the unemployment crisis in the 1990s. On the other hand, by extending the programmes to keep unemployed individuals active, the primary goal for employment officers can be seen as shifted towards preventing long-term social exclusion due to unemployment (Lindvert, 2006).

The most comprehensive labour market reform under the Social Democratic governments was the activity guarantee programme e in 2000. This was aimed at the long-term unemployed who had been moving between "open unemployment" and participation in unemployment programmes. As part of the activity guarantee programme, individuals over the age of 20 who were long-term unemployed or identified as being at risk of long-term unemployment received individually tailored support and more frequent contact with Public Employment Service support workers (Prop. 1999/2000:98; Riksrevisionen, 2005).

From the 1990s, there has also been a marked growth in individuals identified as occupationally disabled by the Public Employment Service (Kerstin Jacobsson & Seing, 2013), thus being eligible for rehabilitation measures or sheltered employment. While the ambitions of sheltered employment, for example through Samhall is to enable individuals to (re-)enter the general labour market, Holmqvist (2010) argues that there is a risk that individuals participating in these measures are instead through their participation labelled as "unemployable" and remain in the sheltered employment schemes.

Some important points can be made in regards to social policy for vulnerable groups. First, the targeting of different groups such as migrants and the disabled was part of early ALMP initiatives and included labour market training programmes as well as protected employment. Second, despite these ambitions, the rationalisation of the labour market led to the side-effect of more or less permanent exclusion from the labour market for some individuals, particularly disabled and older workers. This situation led to demands from the Swedish Trade Union Confederation of more generous rights to early retirement on the grounds of labour market reasons, which were implemented in 1970 and availed by many workers until this right was removed in 1991 (Stattin, 1997: 27). Concerns about these measures being used to compensate for the failure to offer all individuals a job, and leading to labour market exclusion, can be connected to the demands in the 1970s of increased rights for the individual to remain employed (see for example SOU 1975:90). In these discussions, not only the right to work and to free choice of employment, but strengthened rights of individuals to keep their current job, were emphasised (Nycander, 2008). The inclusion of different groups in the labour market was another political demand, leading to an increase in

measures such as protected work in the 1970s and the 1980s. We can thus see different social policy ambitions connected to the labour market, alternatively emphasising inclusion through participation in paid work or different measures, strengthened individual rights vis-à-vis employers and, finally, the right to exit unemployment and be covered by alternative social insurance.

ALMP – concluding remarks

In considering the goals of labour market policy, it is important to note its close relationship with economic policy: the Rehn-Meidner model was a means to reach certain overriding economic goals. Social and labour market policy are also closely linked, not least because the essential idea behind Swedish social policy is productive rather than passive: the social security net is intended to enable the individual to work. In this sense, economic security for individuals through social policy has, in social democratic ideology, been connected to an emphasis on the efficient use of human resources to enable stability and production (Andersson, 2003: 12).

Different policy tools to manage those of the unemployed who are seen as unproductive can thus be found both in efforts to move these individuals out of unemployment to other social policy programmes such as early retirement, and through targeted efforts to create special solutions for certain groups including extra support and/or economic subsidies.

A key debate in which social policy and unemployment goals are intermingled involves differing views of what measures are appropriate for individuals who are struggling in the labour market. In the 1970s, early retirement was initially put forward as a solution to older workers' problems in finding jobs. Other authors have pointed at sickness insurance being used to remove individuals from the unemployment system. The idea that individuals should re-enter unemployment is thus an argument against this type of exclusion from the labour market.

The acceptance of higher unemployment figures in practice leads to a redirection to new goals. As the economic goals of price stability and low inflation replaced the full employment goal, the resulting shift in social policy led to a new emphasis on labour market retention. This shift can be seen as more closely integrating social policy goals into labour market policy for those groups that were unable to find employment during the crisis years. This is a qualitatively different situation for constructing ALMP, as the acceptance of higher unemployment leads

to new questions of how to manage the situation for larger groups outside employment.

Following the development of general employment and economic policies, the labour market measures in the post-war period, as we have seen, focused on fulfilling employers' needs for workers by delivering general labour market measures. The emphasis on targeted groups was a shift towards a labour market policy that was increasingly used to reach social policy goals rather than long term economic policy measures such as structural rationalisation or increased flexibility (Nycander 2008: 405-407). Instead, selective labour market policies aimed to fulfil individuals' right to work and freely choose their employment (Ettarp, 1976: 14). The development of specific targeted subsidies for employers to hire certain types of individuals can be seen as part of this development.

In a review of the labour market measures and functions of labour market policy, many activation tendencies can be observed in early ALMP, not least in relation to targeting certain groups, such as women, but also in the pressures on individuals to relocate or take up new types of work.

The focus on activating unemployed individuals outside the general labour market, or those who were not in permanent employment, after the 1990s crisis has been interpreted as a shift towards a stricter workfare regime that is qualitatively different from ALMP (Dahlstedt, 2009). While the same tendencies can be found in earlier policy initiatives as in workfare/social investment perspectives, the particular dilemma of the labour market measures after the 1990s is perhaps the looser connection between the labour market measures and of individuals acquiring employment, particularly in the light of the dualisation of the labour market, where groups such as migrants, youth and single mothers struggled to (re-)enter employment and labour market policy thus failed to protect the most vulnerable groups (Å. Bergmark & Palme, 2003). Combined with the tightening of benefit rules, and subsequent income gaps can be seen as strengthening the divisions between insiders and outsiders (Obinger, Starke, & Kaasch, 2012: 193). Moreover, the perceived re-entry of individuals into different types of labour market measures was portrayed as increasingly problematic in the late 1990s, and can be seen as leading to the debates preceding labour market changes proposed by the Alliance government.

The targeting of different groups can thus be seen in the early periods of ALMP, with different workfare tendencies. In particular, measures such as targeted relief work were mainly directed towards the participation of individuals in labour market measures, rather than leading to participation in the general labour market. As we have seen, discussions of how individuals fit into different social insurance programmes, such as sickness insurance, early retirement (later re-

named "sickness and activity compensation") or unemployment can be seen as leading up to the debates around exclusion prior to the 2006 general election. Here, current unemployment figures were seen as an inadequate representation of the "real" excluded population, where unemployed individuals who were thought to be fit to work were wrongly included in other social insurance programmes.

While the measures are similar to ALMP measures, the comparative lack of job opportunities in the present day can be seen as having led to a mix of more or less effective labour market measures. Moreover, individual responsibility for finding work can be emphasised, as opposed to the explicit state responsibility for providing work under the Rehn-Meidner model. In the light of these changes, considering the practical consequences for individuals when participating in measures for the unemployed becomes particularly important.

Ideas similar to social investment are evident in labour market training programmes aiming to reskill individuals, and are seen by some as having been particularly strong in the 1950s and 1960s (Bonoli, 2012), although the emphasis on upskilling at the time was, above all, connected to the needs of employers. When the shortage of labour power was less acute, more general educational upskilling also took place in the 1970s. From the late 1960s, individual support was offered, and in the 1970s, the individual's right to work was emphasised both in public debate and through the implementation of labour law legislation in favour of individual job security (SOU 1975:90). Thus, the main historical trend in regards to social investment may be interpreted as increasingly focusing on unemployed individuals. This individual focus shifted towards further individual guidance in the 1990s, but also a stronger emphasis on individual skills development (often framed as social investment), and of job seeking capabilities or employability (often interpreted as being in line with workfare measures).

Social investment ambitions can also be seen both through general efforts to upskill individuals with low educational qualifications, and through retraining. It should be noted however, that retraining through labour market training programmes primarily aimed to fill needed positions in the labour market and could not be entered upon request by individuals. A greater focus on individuals in the labour market can be seen through both the increased choice in terms of participating in different measures and in the reduced role of the Public Employment Service as the main link with employers. These changes were, however, also accompanied by an increased responsibility placed on individuals for finding work and a reduced state responsibility for providing work. As we will see in subsequent chapters, this individualised focus is also important for considering the use of workfare and social investment inspired measures in practice.

The importance of AMS for the implementation and development of ALMP has been widely documented (Delander et al., 1991; Rothstein, 2010a), particularly its focus on providing individuals with jobs or employers with labour. The dispersal of responsibilities to municipalities and private providers from the 1980s is among the main changes in the area. The involvement of different actors was also accompanied by changes to the organisational structure and management, such as the introduction of NPM techniques. Both developments can be seen as related to the increase of different policy goals related to unemployment. For example, municipalities were seen as suitable for managing the diverse needs (aside from unemployment) assumed to be found in certain groups such as youth and newly arrived migrants. Similarly, a choice of actors was evidently in line with goals of "individualised" support and guidance, as was the emphasis on "customer focus" that accompanied certain NPM ideals. The inclusion of different actors into the area of labour market policy can also be seen as leading to potential power struggles over which was best suited to provide labour market activities and support. In particular, the relationship between the municipal and state level, and the perceived failure of labour market measures has been an important point of contention, particularly with fewer individuals covered by general unemployment insurance. In these instances, the municipalities' responsibility of providing social assistance to individuals as a last means of resort have in effect led to a financial burden in those instances where the Public Employment Service's measures can be seen as unsuccessful and the proportion of individuals on social assistance increase. The privatisation of unemployment services also entails the establishment of a system relying on external actors, leading to continued monitoring of external programmes and a system of providers who in turn are reliant on continued contracts for providing labour market measures.

Migrants[31] in the labour market

Traditionally, Social Democratic policies on migration and the labour market tended to be closely linked in the post-war period, and the establishment reform follows in this tradition.

The labour market policy for newly arrived migrants was centralised in 2010 by the Alliance government with the Public Employment Service taking over responsibility from the municipalities. During their first two years in Sweden, after receiving residence permits, certain migrants entered a programme specifically targeted towards them, with the aim of achieving faster labour market entry.

Labour market and migration in post-war Sweden

After the Second World War, Swedish industry was booming and in need of labour, while other European countries affected by the war had high unemployment rates. In order to facilitate labour market migration, three policies were enacted. In 1954, an agreement allowing free labour market migration between the Nordic countries was introduced. Collective transfer of workers from, for example, Italy, West Germany and Hungary had been enacted through sector-specific bilateral agreements in the 1940s, and in the 1950s AMS actively organised collective recruitment on the request of employers in need of labour. After approval from local labour market boards and the labour unions, AMS would recruit workers with the help of national labour market authorities, in, for example, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Austria (Lundh, 2005: 27-28). Third, the

[31] Concepts such as immigrants, refugees, asylum seekers and migrants can be seen as problematic in different ways, as categorisations vary over time and different categories often overlap (see Moloney & Schrover, 2013). Moreover, the different categorisations can often relate to types of victimisation or "othering", and bring stereotypical connotations, often referring to the perceived acceptability of claiming a particular sets of rights under a particular migration status (see for example Nyers, 2006; Perruchoud, 1992). For the purpose of this thesis, I will use the concept of "newly arrived migrants" to refer to the particular group covered by the establishment reform as defined in legal documents. However, the following review will consider migration and integration policies more broadly. It should also be noted that the definitions and categorisations of refugees, labour market migrants and other groups has shifted depending on the domestic political situation and needs of the labour market (see Thor, Lundberg, & Platzer, 2008). While I am aware of this dilemma, for the purpose of this review I will nonetheless use the terms as they are cited in the literature to sketch a picture of the development of the policy area.

strong visa regulations were successively liberalised, effectively meaning that individuals were easily able to travel to Sweden and apply for work. If successful, a work permit was granted by AMS or the local labour market boards after consultation with labour unions (ibid).

In this way, many individuals were recruited to the industrial sector. While research has often focused on male industrial workers, between 1945 and 1955 more women than men entered Sweden to find work (De los Reyes, 2012: 36), for example from the other Nordic countries and Germany. While women found jobs both in the industrial and service sectors, many were also hired as housekeepers in private families (De los Reyes, 2002, 2012; Strollo, 2013), sometimes with help from AMS (Rahut, 2011) .

Many European refugees were in refugee camps across the continent up until the 1960s (Lundh, 2005: 15). From 1950, the responsibility for all foreigners, including refugees, was given to AMS. Refugees were to be collectively transferred under a special quota. In practice, a selection committee that included one or two AMS representatives, a doctor and a representative from the Foreign Commission (SUK) would travel to refugee camps to interview and select suitable individuals (Lundberg & Platzer, 2008; Thor et al., 2008). Under this quota, just over 15,500 individuals were collectively transferred to Sweden between 1950 and 1965. Collectively transferred workers already had accommodation and employment when entering Sweden, organised by AMS (Lundh, 2005: 53).

Thor has analysed the motives behind the selection process of quota refugees in this period. Men of working age, with specific labour market skills, single or with small families, were generally preferred. In selecting children, the working status of their family members was taken into consideration (Thor, 2008). AMS was thus a central actor in shaping the Swedish migration policy (see also Frank, 2005).

Following a downturn in manufacturing in the mid-1960s, labour unions began demanding restrictions in the more generous labour market migration policies. In consultations with the Swedish government, the Swedish Trade Union Confederation and AMS argued for an end to free entry without a visa, while the Employers' Association opposed restrictions to the rules. In 1969, new regulations were introduced requiring individuals from non-Nordic countries to obtain a work permit before entering Sweden (Lundh, 2005: 30). After the recession in the early 1970s, labour market migration was sharply reduced and the number of work permits granted dropped. In effect, with a few exceptions, labour market migration was discontinued until Sweden joined the EES agreement in 1994 and entered the joint European labour market (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 1999: 27) (Lundh, 2005: 32-33). As part of the Alliance policies, labour market migration

was facilitated in 2008 with an emphasis on employers' needs for labour power (see Prop. 2007/08:147).

Sweden had ratified the Geneva Convention in 1954 and national legislation with the same definition of "refugee" and "asylum" was introduced the same year. The legal precedence was in practice liberalised in the 1960s, and 1980 legislation (SFS 1980:376) further expanded the grounds for receiving asylum. From the beginning of the 1970s, the influx of refugees increased markedly, with the majority travelling to Sweden of their own accord, introducing global migration flows rather than European migrants alone (Nilsson, 2004: 24). In practice, residence permits have frequently been granted to individuals who do not fulfil the Geneva Convention definition of refugees but who have been allowed to remain for humanitarian reasons. In 1989, this was also acknowledged by law (Lundh, 2005: 41-42). Following the expansion of residence permits granted to individuals in need of protection was an increase in those receiving residence permits on the grounds of family reunification. Such permits have regularly been granted to married partners and under-age children and, after special individual examination, often to ageing parents and occasionally other single elderly relatives (Lundh, 2005: 49; Nilsson, 2004).

Thus, as labour market migration was effectively discontinued in the 1970s, the makeup of migrants entering Sweden shifted towards those arriving on humanitarian grounds, with no labour market connection. While after the Second World War the Swedish migration policy was closely connected to the needs of the labour market and migrants were directed to specific employers and sectors in need of workers, the changes since the 1970s changed the focus from employment for migrants.

The labour market participation of migrants changed in line with the economic climate and the increase in refugees. As we have seen, labour market migrants arriving in the 1950s and 1960s entered an environment with a great need for workers and their labour market participation was equal to or higher than that of the Swedish population. The economic climate changed in the 1970s at the same time as refugees began to comprise a higher proportion of migrants. There was no work waiting for this group upon arrival. As a result, migrants arriving in the 1970s and 1980s had lower labour market participation rates than the general population (Bevelander, 1995: 149). At the end of the 1980s, the employment rate for foreign-born workers was 76%, compared to 87% for individuals born in Sweden (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2009: 54). The changing labour market in terms of a decline in manufacturing and increase of service sector work has by some scholars been seen as the major reason for declining employment for migrants, as the demands connected to the new economy can be seen as requesting

more specific skulls and informal human capital (Wadensjö cited in Edin & Åslund, 2001; Rosholm, Scott, & Husted, 2006; Scott, 1999), whereas other scholars argue that structural discrimination at least partly can explain this gap in labour market participation between foreign-born and Swedish groups (Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; De los Reyes, 2006; Kamali & De los Reyes, 2005; Rooth, 2001; Rooth & Åslund, 2006).

Migrants were particularly affected by the economic crisis in the early 1990s with the employment rate gap growing to 22% between them and individuals born in Sweden (ibid). At the same time, with the war in the Balkans, the number of migrants entering Sweden increased (Hjerm, 2002). Since then, labour market participation for this group has remained lower than for the general population and was 16% in 2008 (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2009: 55). Migrants from non-European countries, particularly from Asia and Africa, have fared worse than Nordic and European migrants (Eriksson, 2011: 261).

Newly arrived migrants with refugee status and those who arrived under family reunification laws have especially high unemployment figures. In this group, employment figures seem particularly sensitive to the economic situation, as cohorts that arrive in years of high economic growth do better in the labour market. As many working migrants are employed under temporary contracts, they are at higher risk of unemployment due to economic downturns (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2009). The employment rate for foreign-born individuals does increase with time spent in Sweden but even after 10 or 20 years in the country remains lower than that of the general population (Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2014; Åslund, 2006).

Toward integration policy

As the economic climate and migrant population changed, so did the debates, policies and organisation of migration. Until the 1960s, there were few policies directed exclusively towards migrants. Debates regarding more specific policies started in the mid-1960s, led by labour unions, to discussing the risk of wage dumping, the threat to the Swedish labour market and to emphasise the equal rights of migrants (Borevi, 2002; Gür, 1996; Schierup, 2006). New guidelines for a multicultural migration policy with a focus on preserving cultural traditions of minority groups were adopted by the Swedish government in 1975 (Borevi, 2002; Schierup, 2006; Södergran, 2000). These goals were partly questioned in the mid-1980s due to reported issues with social, economic and political segregation. The

debate continued in the 1990s, heightened by the economic crisis and the rise of anti-immigration sentiments (Borevi, 2002; Schierup, 2006; Södergran, 2000).

There were calls to reorganise responsibility for refugees in the 1980s due to a perceived lack of understanding and respect for refugees' individual social, cultural and educational backgrounds. The AGFA group (*Arbetsgruppen för flyktingansvaret*) was tasked with producing a government white paper for a policy on changed reception of refugees. This aimed to change focus to the needs of refugees, thus offering "good care in the local community"[32] (Sarstrand Markovic, p 167-169). These initiatives largely followed mainstream social policy initiatives with the newly adopted social services bill (SFS 1980:620) as a model. Under these, reception of refugees aimed to include housing; curative, psychological and social support; health care; Swedish language courses; schooling for children; childcare during participation in Swedish education; family pedagogy activities; and social/cultural activities. This can be seen as a departure from linking migration policy with the labour market towards a new connection with social policy. As we will see, this debate continued, and was re-actualised through the establishment reform.

We can thus see an institutional shift due to the changing economic climate, with increasing unemployment and a growing proportion of migrants arriving on humanitarian grounds. Their lack of connection to the labour market provided the Public Employment Service with less control over who entered Sweden. The connection between labour market policy and migration was discontinued and organisational responsibility for newly arrived migrants shifted away from the Public Employment Service. Instead, as the next section will show, integration became the key term for broader issues concerning migrants.

Organisational responsibility

AMS was the authority in charge of migration from the 1950s, although a new authority, *Statens Invandrarverk* (SIV), took responsibility for citizenship and residence issues in 1969. Local migration bureaus run by municipalities, labour unions or adult education associations (*studieförbund*) provided information and social support from the mid-1960s. The increased entry of refugees from the 1970s led to debates regarding additional support being needed for this group of

[32] The Swedish term *omhändertagande* refers to the act of taking care of/supporting individuals. Later, under the Alliance government, this was given less positive implications, as leading to dependency rather than enabling individuals to stand on their own feet.

migrants and the need for a local introduction that emphasised not only the labour market situation but wider integration into society. As a result, the main responsibility for asylum seekers and quota refugees was transferred to SIV in 1984. Municipalities were to offer refugees housing after a few weeks in SIV housing and to agree with SIV about the number of refugees that could be received. Specified tasks for municipalities included provision of housing; psychological and social support; health care; Swedish language courses; information about Swedish society; and education for children of school-going age (Sarstrand Marekovic, 2011). However, in 1985, the number of asylum seekers tripled, making many of these proposals difficult to carry out. Due to the need to house individuals, access to areas with good labour market prospects had to be deprioritised. Instead, from the mid-1980s to the early 1990s, SIV initiated an "All-of-Sweden" strategy to spread refugees nationally and engage as many municipalities as possible (Sarstrand Marekovic, 2011: 179).

In 1991, refugee reception was again reformed, this time to help ensure that "refugees as soon as possible will be able to support themselves financially and be integrated into Swedish society" (prop. 1989/90:105 cited in Sarstrand Marekovic, 2011: 202). This reform aimed for a more active introduction system with increased cooperation among local actors. The emphasis on the work line within social policy was introduced, with the aim to prioritise active measures over "passive benefit dependency" (Sarstrand Marekovic, 2011: 264). An example was the use of individualised introduction plans with contracts between individual refugees and municipalities (Sarstrand Marekovic, 2011: 268). The aim of these integration policies was to increase labour market participation and to achieve local cooperation with the Public Employment Service; instead, many municipalities developed local labour market programmes.

In 1997, the government integration policy bill relabelled the immigration policy area as "integration" and focused on equality and general policies, with the exception of measures aimed at newly arrived migrants who might require additional help (Borevi, 2002: 127). After this proposition (Prop. 1997/98: 16), the new authority, the Integration Board initiated a clarification of the national goals for the introduction process. Municipalities were to provide introduction programmes consisting of Swedish language courses, work placements and information about Swedish working life and society (prop 1997/98:16 p 82). One goal was to make the introduction more flexible and individualised, and clarify individuals' responsibility to create a good life in Sweden (p 78-80). Moreover it was stated that "work is central from both a social and economic perspective. Through work, the individual participates in a societal and social context, becomes a part of the production and contributes to economic growth" (prop

1997/98:16 p 45). Thus, these goals aimed to suit individual participants' needs with the introduction plan as a document for cooperation between the actors involved (Integrationsverket, 2007a). However, various Integration Board reports pointed at great local differences in how the introduction period was managed and found, in many cases, a weak labour market connection (Integrationsverket, 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2007a). To summarise, policies directed towards migrants changed in the post-war period from an emphasis on labour market migration managed by AMS towards locally-managed policies that tried to encompass the needs of refugees and other migrants. These integration policies aimed to cover more complex needs, but, especially from the mid-1990s, aimed to strengthen labour market integration through individualised plans.

With the establishment reform, this development came full circle: responsibility for newly arrived migrants was recentralised to the Public Employment Service and a stronger labour market focus was argued for. As we will see, however, the incorporation of this new group into the general labour market policy was accompanied by associated policies emphasising integration.

Concluding remarks – migration policy

When considering labour market policy for migrants, certain important developments are evident, partly in line with the changes discussed above. In the early years, the lack of domestic labour power played an important part in migration policy, but as the economic climate changed, migration policy shifted to fulfil humanitarian goals. The inclusion of various social policy goals, social investment and individualisation efforts can all be seen in the development of integration as a separate policy area, where the connection to, especially the social services bill in the 1980s, played an important role.

The shift from AMS as the authority in charge of supporting migrants to the municipalities can also be interpreted as connected to the increased emphasis on social policy ambitions for this group, but also followed organisational trends towards localised responsibility in the 1980s and 1990s. The criticisms of varied quality and low accountability levelled at decentralisation are also similar to those that often accompany more loosely steered policies. In the case of migration policy, there were various points of contention between state and municipalities, particularly in those municipalities which did not receive sufficient compensation for the costs of integration policies and connected social services. This is revealing of the often unclear division of responsibility between state and municipal levels and the interconnectedness of different policy areas.

Conclusion

In the chapter I have considered certain chosen historical and recent developments in areas related to labour market policy. This historical background is important to better understand and contextualise contemporary efforts to solve similar issues.

Indeed, the policy developments between 2006 and 2014 can be seen as a response to some of the issues presented above. The integration of vulnerable groups, including newly arrived migrants, was an explicit goal of labour market policy. Related to this ambition was the use of economic incentives to achieve higher labour market participation. Social policy priorities were deprioritised or, rather, solved through labour market participation. From an organisational perspective, the recentralisation of municipal responsibilities in labour market policy can be seen as a response to some of the challenges posed by decentralisation. But, rather than returning to the old organisational order with the Public Employment Service as a unitary actor, a freedom of choice system was instituted, with private actors incorporated into the process.

New policy?

In chapter 1, I argued that in order to consider the contradictions in the current trends of workfare, social investment and social support in labour market policy, an examination of the historical development of ALMP would be beneficial. In this chapter I have tried to trace some of the goals, policy tools and actors in the area to show how they have been adapted over time to lead to the current situation with present ambiguities. The processes described above were incremental changes, where the main pillars of the labour market policy, such as the Public Employment Service, the different ambitions of activation, social investment and targeted support, as well as many other measures, remain. At the same time, however, we have seen that goals, actors and the policy tools themselves have changed significantly.

As chapter 2 has shown, there are several different categories of institutional change. In this chapter we have seen that the development of labour market policy has been layered, with additions and adaptions made to the institution. However, it could also be argued that the institution has been "redirected to new functions and purposes", particularly through the abandonment of full employment as a goal, which is closely related what Thelen and others term "conversion". As Van der Heijden (2011) notes however, the definitions of these concepts vary and are

not clearly demarcated. While "conversion" has been defined slightly differently (Mahoney & Thelen, 2010; Streeck & Thelen, 2005; Thelen, 2004), the concept generally points towards a more complete redirection of the institution's goals and functions, which is not observed in the changes to labour market policy where the primary goal, of shifting unemployed individuals into employment, remains central. At the same time, the addition of new elements into the institution of labour market policy also includes the introduction of certain new functions of social policy, most notably labour market retention in the context of a different economic climate.

A similar case, Palier's (2005) analysis of changes to French social policy, is described by Streeck and Thelen (2005: 24-26) in terms of both layering and conversion. The addition of new elements (layering) can also be seen as the addition of "new functions or goals", showing that there is some overlap between these types of change.

More importantly, however, for the purpose of my thesis, is to note on the one hand a continuous combination of economic and social goals within the area of labour market policy, which have, on the other hand, been negotiated and adapted, particularly to suit the changing economic climate.

While similar ideas can be found in traditional ALMP as well as in contemporary workfare, social investment and social support in contemporary labour market policy, it is nevertheless possible to see a general trend in the latter towards increased liberalisation, considering the changes in economic ambitions away from full employment, the introduction of private actors into the area and attempts to recalibrate policy and recommodify individuals in the labour market. Aside from these general liberalising policy changes, the dualisation of the labour market since the 1990s crisis can be seen as particularly affecting the labour market situation for outsiders, and might be a more useful description than liberalisation, even though some of the liberalisation policies have been adopted. While the Alliance government's ambitions can be seen as an attempt to introduce further workfare policies with increased emphasis on paid work through tightened eligibility rules, income tax reductions and income tax credits; the efforts to focus on excluded groups can also be interpreted as a way to focus policy efforts on labour market outsiders (Obinger et al., 2012: 194). As we will see in subsequent chapters, there are also significant contradictions within these liberalisation measures and issues related to combining social support, social investment and workfare ambitions remain. Unsurprisingly, for example, different actors make use of the ambiguities to promote their own agendas.

Identifying the right place for unemployed individuals, i.e. in labour market programmes, social insurance or municipal social assistance has long been a

recurring debate, often reflecting the ideological commitments of the time. As we will see, these points of contention, which can be expected in an institution with multiple goals and contradictory demands, continue to play an important role in Swedish labour market policy.

Chapter 5

Purpose and goals of the establishment reform

The previous chapter explored the historical and political context of the establishment reform in Sweden. In this chapter, I will consider the changes proposed under the establishment reform more closely, and examine how concerns for its target group of unemployed individuals are taken into account. The purpose of this chapter is to answer the question: What are the central political goals of the establishment reform and how are these goals combined?

I focus in particular on the contradictions in the policy proposals, and the combination of different policy ideals connected to workfare and social investment. The following chapters look more closely at the intricacies of putting these policy ambitions into practice.

As noted in chapter 4, a priority of the Alliance government was to change labour market policy to bring more individuals into the labour market. When it came to power in 2006, the employment rates for newly arrived migrants who had resided in Sweden for up to four years were 39% for women and 64% for men (Integrationsverket, 2007b). Thus, the establishment reform's focus on newly arrived migrants was central to the government's labour market policy ambitions.

While the Alliance government's policies to help migrants integrate were seen as part of a more general aim to "break exclusion" and "make work pay" (see for example Borg & Sabuni, 2008), Nyamko Sabuni, Minister for Equality and Integration, labelled the establishment reform, in particular, a "paradigm shift", moving from "care[33] to empowerment, from benefit dependency to self-sufficiency, from social exclusion to participation" (Sabuni, 2009).

[33] As noted in chapter 4, the Swedish word omhändertagande, which implies 'caring' was here given the implication of 'coddling' or creating dependency.

In this chapter I will analyse the political goals of the establishment reform, drawing on contemporary debate articles, policy documents and parliamentary debates. By following the political debate and the themes arising from the policy documents, I will attempt to show how many of the new ideas presented were incorporated into an old policy area and where other, older, ideas were retained in what became the establishment reform. Second, I provide a summary of the most important elements of the establishment reform. Finally, I will discuss how the perspectives of workfare and social investment, combined with a focus on individualisation, can be seen through the different policy goals and measures of the reform.

Policy debates

Debate articles

At the time of its introduction the establishment reform received considerable media attention. At the time (2006–2010 and 2010–2014) the integration policy area was mainly managed by the Liberal Party, a member of the Alliance coalition, through the Ministry of Integration under Nyamko Sabuni and in the second government period under Erik Ullenhag. Government ministers from the Liberal Party thus played a central role in these debates, though those from the Moderate Party also participated.

Different stakeholders argued for the connection between integration policy and labour market policy in the lead up to the government review that underpinned the establishment reform. For example, in 2007, two different debate articles were published, presenting some of the ideas that later appeared in the establishment reform. Anders Borg, Minister of Finance and Nyamko Sabuni wrote: "In order to enter society as a newly arrived migrant, early labour market entry is essential – in this regard, Sweden has failed" (Borg & Sabuni, 2007). The reason for this failure, they argued, were the high labour market thresholds and shortcomings in the introduction measures. Other government ministers argued that earlier measures for newly arrived migrants led to "passivity", and that "economic independence as soon as possible is the goal for the new politics" (Leijonborg, Billström, & Sabuni, 2007). Work subsidies, "new start jobs" and

"entry recruitment incentives"[34] were put forward as important reforms (Borg & Sabuni, 2007), as well as early introduction talks. They argued that new policies "should be clear in terms of the individual responsibility and to encourage individuals' own initiatives that further integration" (Leijonborg et al., 2007). In 2008, the lack of success for the "entry recruitment incentive" job subsidy led to an extended time period wherein individuals would qualify for the subsidy. Here, Prime Minister Fredrik Reinfeldt, Nyamko Sabuni, and Labour Market Minister Sven-Otto Littorin also placed the integration measures within the broader narrative of their politics, focusing on social exclusion and measures to increase labour market participation.

> By re-establishing the work line and the value of work, we will give more individuals the opportunity to participate in building Sweden. In the long term, these policies reduce the gaps and fight exclusion… Swedish integration policy was for a long time about passive reception, now we focus instead on an active work for employment and a full participation in Swedish society (Reinfeldt, Littorin, & Sabuni, 2008).

The central tenets of the establishment measures, as which we will later see in the policy documents, were here already present, even before the presentation of the government white paper on the subject. Throughout the process, government representatives continued to place the establishment measures in a context of new integration policy with the overriding focus on labour market establishment.

The new measures were presented as aiming to "give individuals an increased responsibility and stronger incentives for a quick establishment in the labour market" (Borg & Sabuni, 2008). A year later, Sabuni (2009) pointed out "freedom of choice, new actors and improved coordination of different actors" as important aspects of achieving a more individualised introduction. The use of the Public Employment Service as main actor was also argued for in terms of "strengthening the work line". Sabuni's successor Erik Ullenhag , who was Minister of Integration at the time of the introduction of the reform, saw the establishment measures as "the greatest change in Swedish integration policy in 25 years", where individual choice, individualisation and a greater number of actors involved were seen as important components in efforts to achieve greater labour market participation.

[34] Further explained in the appendix.

Such arguments closely aligned with those presented in the government white paper and can be placed in the context of the Alliance government's thrust towards fighting exclusion by moving new groups into the labour market.

Policy documents

Policy directive

In 2007, the Alliance government commissioned a review of the existing introduction system for "newly arrived refugees" which was, at the time, the responsibility of municipalities. The review was tasked to propose changes that would precipitate and facilitate labour market entry by focusing on how responsibilities should be divided between state authorities, municipalities and other actors; changes in state financing and regulation of reimbursement for refugee reception; and economic support for individuals during the first period in Sweden. It was specified in the directive that individual empowerment through freedom of choice, clear incentives and personal responsibility would be central to the proposals. The proposal should aim to include individuals in the general political system, rather than creating a completely separate system for newly arrived migrants and avoid a reliance on social services. Moreover, the Labour Market Board (*Arbetsmarknadsverket*) was to have a prominent role in the future integration process (Dir. 2007:52).

These points of departure clearly signalled the changes that were proposed and subsequently implemented, and were in line with the government's focus on increasing incentives to work and to strengthen the work line.

Government White Paper (SOU) "Individual responsibility – with professional support"[35]

Monica Werenfels Röttorp was given the task to review the municipal introduction system and make proposals in line with the government directives. Before the review, Werenfels Röttorp had worked on competitiveness and relations between companies and the public sector within the General Group of the Swedish Employers' Confederation (SAF) and run a foundation (*Stiftelsen Mångfalden)* that aimed to support public sector employees in starting their own businesses. She had also been a board member of the Liberal Party. In the early 1990s, Werenfels Röttorp had carried out another government review of the

[35] *Egenansvar – med professionellt stöd.*

reception of refugees (SOU 1992:133), in which she had recommended partial privatisation and that benefits for refugees should be replaced by loans. These recommendations had not been implemented.

In the 2008 white paper (SOU 2008:58) that emerged from the review, Werenfels Röttorp proposed a new introduction system whereby responsibility would be transferred from municipalities to the state in order to create a unitary national system, ensuring equal services to individual newly arrived migrants. The aim was also to clarify different agencies' responsibilities related to integration. She proposed two possible solutions, with the state responsible through either the Public Employment Service or the Migration Board. The main task of actually carrying out the introduction would be given to a new private actor, the "introduction pilot". The introduction pilot would consider the entirety of the individual's life situation, and have the role of giving advice, providing new contacts related to work, cooperate with other agencies regarding the individual's needs and help the individuals with various contacts in society. Introduction pilots would be chosen by individuals through a freedom of choice system. Economic incentives were proposed, with the aim of encouraging the introduction pilots to find jobs for individuals quickly.

Individuals between 18 and 64 years of age who participated in the programme would have the right to receive an introduction benefit independent of household income. In order to receive the introduction benefit, individuals would be required to participate in activities enhancing labour market participation. Separate additional benefits for housing and families with children were also proposed.

Werenfels Röttorp proposed that individuals would follow this programme for up to three years, but that the time period could be extended to five years under certain circumstances. During this time they would be required to create a development plan with their introduction pilot which would have to be approved by the coordinating state authority. This plan would include a fulltime programme lasting at least one year, including Swedish language courses, civic orientation *(samhällsorientering)* and work preparation measures. Their choice of residence would be considered in relation to municipalities' labour market prospects, and municipalities that did not voluntarily agree to receive migrants might be required to do so.

Consultation responses

The government white paper was sent out for consultation to 136 agencies. Of these, 103 sent responses; further responses were received from 12 other bodies. Many municipalities, county administrative boards, central authorities such as the

Public Employment Service, the Social Security Agency, the Migration Board, the Board of Higher Education, were consulted, as well as some higher education institutes, third sector organisations, labour unions and business organisations.

Many of the consulted agencies, including some municipalities, the Public Employment Service, and other state authorities and higher education providers were positive towards centralising responsibility, mainly with the motivation that the introduction of refugees should be a state responsibility. Other municipalities, however, argued that important local knowledge would be lost if organisations built up over the years were to disappear. Moreover, many municipalities felt that the role of the introduction pilot was not sufficiently described and that the reviewer had underestimated the complexity of the integration process and the different tasks performed by the municipalities.

Certain respondents, for example the Swedish ESF-council and Jönköping University, also questioned the ideological motivations of the introduction pilot, arguing that it did not present sufficient evidence that a private actor would perform better than municipalities. Other municipalities, such as Täby, found the suggestion of a new private actor "exciting", and business organisations such as the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise and Almega responded positively (Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet, 2009). In general, the municipality responses fell along party lines, with municipalities with centre-right majorities being generally positive to the reform proposals whereas Social Democratic controlled municipalities expressed doubts.

Government bill

Many of the proposals of the review were actualised in Government Bill 2009/10:60 *Newly arrived immigrants labour market establishment – personal responsibility with professional support* proposed new establishment measures for newly arrived migrants (Prop. 2009/10:60).

The Public Employment Service became the coordinating authority and a new kind of private actor, the "establishment guide",[36] was introduced. The role of the establishment guide, as described in the bill, was more limited than that proposed for the "introduction pilot" in the government white paper, and the Public Employment Service had the main responsibility for setting up individual plans,

[36] This actor is referred to as "introduction guide" in English translations by the Public Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011d). However, as earlier municipality programmes were also referred to as "introduction programmes", I use "establishment guide" in order to more easily distinguish the new measures. For the same reason I use "establishment" instead of "introduction" when referring to various aspects related to the reform (e.g. establishment benefit –*etableringsersättnin*g)

together with the individuals themselves, that the establishment guide would subsequently help implement. Thus, while the privatisation suggested in the white paper remained in the final government bill, the responsibilities of the private actors were reduced.

The bill did not impose an obligation on municipalities to receive newly arrived migrants as the reviewer had proposed, citing objections raised by municipalities including the importance of municipal independence (*självstyre*), limited possibilities to impose sanctions and increased costs in terms of having a stock of available housing (Prop. 2009/10:60, p 131).

The government bill made the following argument for the need for the policy:

> One great problem is that many newly arrived migrants never enter the labour market. Extensive periods of establishment are destructive and passivizing with the risk of leading to benefit dependency. There is a great consensus between researchers and practitioners of the importance of early measures with a clear labour market focus in order to improve the situation. A better and more efficient establishment for newly arrived migrants is therefore an important aspect of the government's policies aiming towards reducing exclusion.

The difficulty of entering the labour market at all, and the risk of passivation and benefit dependency following extended periods without work, were quoted as particularly urgent problems (Prop. 2009/10:60, p 25).

The government presented six goals for the policy:

1. Faster labour market establishment (integration)
2. Stronger economic incentives
3. Increased empowerment and freedom of choice for the individual
4. Clear division of responsibility
5. Greater equality (in the integration process)
6. Better use of individuals' competencies

In practice, these goals were to be fulfilled through active fulltime participation in a programme for up to 24 months (instead of the 36 months recommended in

the white paper) (Prop. 2009/10:60, p 35). The individual would receive an establishment benefit that was not means-tested in relation to household income. The individual would have the right to an individualised plan set up by the Public Employment Service, including, at a minimum, Swedish language courses, civic orientation and activities aimed to facilitate and precipitate establishment in working life. The government bill also specified that the individual's family and health situation would be considered when developing the plan, and that rehabilitation measures would be considered if appropriate (Prop. 2009/10:60, : p 63-65). These had previously been managed by local authorities.

Committee review and parliamentary debates

The proposed establishment reform was reviewed by the parliamentary labour market committee (Betänkande 2009/10:AU7) (*Arbetsmarknadsutskottet*) and in a parliamentary debate in March 2010 (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89). Unsurprisingly, many of the same issues were raised in the committee report and the parliamentary debate.

The opposition parties, the Social Democratic, Green and the Left Party, all welcomed parts of the reform but were critical of others. There was consensus regarding the need for measures directed towards bringing newly arrived migrants into work. The Left Party also proposed that the need for access to rehabilitation be emphasised, something that the labour market committee noted could be included amongst possible activities in individual plans. The political parties were also in agreement about the importance of increased state responsibility for this group.

A point of contention was the municipalities' lack of obligation to receive newly arrived migrants, something that was criticised by the Social Democrats. All three opposition parties were critical of the privatisation measure.

Government parties emphasised the areas of voluntarism and individual capacity in the reform. Moreover, the freedom of choice system was seen as empowering for individuals. The Alliance parties also argued that regulation of the establishment guides would ensure that the system was not abused by private actors.

The political consensus around the reform as a whole can be interpreted in relation to its actual continuities with previous integration policy goals. As we will see, those measures had emphasised individual responsibility and work focus, although responsibility had then belonged to municipalities. The main point of contention was thus the privatisation of some responsibilities and concern about the lack of certain social policy issues in favour of a stricter focus on labour market integration.

Details about the establishment reform

In this section I briefly summarise the establishment reform, based primarily on the legal regulations at the time of the introduction of the policy, as these laws and regulations were in effect during the empirical work covered in this thesis. While certain important changes that occurred subsequently are noted, I do not attempt to give a full account of the current circumstances. It should be noted, however, that important legislative changes concerning this group were introduced with the aim to reduce the number of asylum seekers in Sweden by the Social Democratic-Green Party minority government in 2015 and 2016 (see SFS 2015:849; SFS 2016:752; SFS 2016:754), notably the introduction of temporary residence permits.[37]

Organisation of responsibilities

The organisation of responsibility for newly arrived migrants involved many different authorities. I will here focus only on the central actors. The Migration Board retained responsibility for migrants when they first arrived and prior to gaining residence permits[38] (SFS 1994:137). Individuals were offered accommodation provided by the Migration Board (ABO) or could choose to stay in private housing (EBO). If individuals chose ABO they were directed to a municipality with available housing. Private housing often meant staying with friends or relatives.

The Migration Board had primary responsibility for calculating how many newly arrived migrants covered by the establishment law would be in need of settlement in municipalities. With the county administrative board and the Public Employment Service it would agree on a division of settlement places by region, taking work opportunities into account (SFS 2010:408). The local county administrative board was responsible for negotiating settlement places in local municipalities based on these figures.

When newly arrived migrants were granted residence permits, the Public Employment Services took over responsibility for coordinating and implementing

[37] The Social Democrat-Green coalition government also proposed minor changes to the current legislation (see DS 2016:35).

[38] In 2016, permanent residence permits for individual migrants seeking protection were replaced by time-limited residence permits and the rules of family reunification migration were made stricter (SFS 2016:752).

the establishment reform following the specific guidelines set out in various government directives (SFS 2010:407; SFS 2010:408; SFS 2010:409; SFS 2010:1122).[39]

Newly arrived migrants in private housing could apply to the Public Employment Service for resettlement in a municipality within six months of receiving their residence permits. The Public Employment Service was to take into account information from an introductory "establishment interview" as well as available work opportunities within commuting distance of the municipality (SFS 2010:408), but individuals could not request a particular municipality.

Even after the establishment reform, however, municipalities remained the agencies of last resort through their legal responsibility for all residents, and were involved in more general aspects of support such as housing, child care and schooling. The civic orientation programme, which was part of the establishment measures, was also the responsibility of the individual municipality, although smaller municipalities could choose to run the programme jointly. Individuals who were unable to join the programme due to sickness or old age were also referred to the local municipalities.

Municipalities that agreed to accept newly arrived migrants were eligible for financial compensation from the state. The sum covered costs in relation to, for example, Swedish language learning, civic orientation and interpretation services. Costs related to health services and social assistance for those unable to participate in the establishment activities fulltime were also reimbursed (SFS 2010:1122).

Other services were provided by the same systems as those serving other residents. For example, health care would be provided by the county councils *(landsting)* and benefits such as parental leave by the Social Security Agency.

Eligible participants

The group eligible to participate in the establishment reform was mostly referred to as "certain newly arrived immigrants". The awkwardness of this term can be explained by the fact that it was difficult to group eligible individuals under one umbrella term.

[39] Following an increase in the number of asylum seekers in 2013 and onwards, the issue of housing has been widely debated due to shortages of ABO housing and available municipal housing. In 2016 the law was changed to oblige municipalities to receive individual newly arrived migrants (Prop 2015/16:54).

The eligible group comprised newly arrived migrants aged 20 or above, but who had not yet turned 65, and who had received a residence permit in the following categories (SFS 2005:716):

- Refugees and individuals in need of protection who are currently in Sweden;
- Individuals in need of protection who have been transferred to Sweden after a government decision;
- Individuals given the right to reside in Sweden due to exceptionally harrowing circumstances (*synnerligen ömmande omständigheter*);
- Individuals who are to be expelled but due to new circumstances the expulsion cannot take place.

Certain other individuals covered by legislation referring to asylum seekers also had the right to participate in the establishment measures.[40]The second group comprised those aged 20–64 who had received a residence permit on the grounds of family reunification with a person who had received their residence permit on the grounds listed above. The third group comprised individuals who received a residence permit aged at least 18 but below 20 years of age and who did not have parents in Sweden (SFS 2010:197).

Establishment measures

Employment officers at the Public Employment Service were obliged to formulate an establishment plan with each individual participant within two months,[41] specifying the activities the latter would engage in whilst in the programme. The plan was to be based on a review of the individual's educational background and work experience, and take into account family situation and personal health. The agreed activities were to be the equivalent of fulltime but validated health reasons or parental leave with parental benefit could justify reductions to 25%, 50% or

[40] See *lag om etableringsinsatser* (SFS 2010:197) and SFS 2005:716 for the full definitions.

41 If the individual received their permanent residence permit prior to travelling to Sweden, the establishment plan would be developed within two months of the date they entered the country or the date of their first establishment interview.

75%. The individual was to take part in the programme for a maximum of 24 months, although this could be extended by up to 12 months if she or he was absent due to parental leave or ill health for at least 30 consecutive days (SFS 2010:409). At a minimum, the plan should contain Swedish language courses for immigrants, civic orientation, and activities to facilitate and speed up the participant's establishment in the labour market (SFS 2010:197).

Generally, labour market activities were to be planned alongside the Swedish courses. These could be varied to suit the individual, but generally should include validation of previous skills and/or education, meetings with a private establishment guide chosen by the individual,[42] CV-writing, work experience, job seeking activities and supported employment. Other activities not directly related to the labour market might be social activities and rehabilitation.

The establishment plan would end when:

1. The time for the establishment plan has come to an end;

2. The newly arrived migrant has had a fulltime employment for a minimum of six months; or

3. The newly arrived migrant enters a tertiary education for which they are eligible to receive a student benefit from the Swedish Board for Study Support *(Centrala Studiestödsnämnden)* (SFS 2010:197).

The individual would receive an establishment benefit for participating in the programme, paid out five days a week from the day of the first establishment interview and increased when the individual started participating in the activities agreed in their establishment plan.[43]

[42] As discussed further in chapter 6, the private establishment guidance system was closed down in 2015.

[43] When the reform was first introduced, the benefit level was set at 231 SEK initially, and raised to 308 SEK per day when individuals actively participated in the measures. An "establishment supplement" was paid out to households with children, amounting to 800 SEK per child under the age of 11 and 1,500 SEK per child aged 11–19. The additional benefit was paid out monthly for a maximum of three children. Newly arrived migrants who lived on their own, without children, could receive a housing benefit adjusted to their level of activity according to the establishment plan (SFS 2010:407). A financial incentive to move to a smaller municipality and thereby avoid overcrowding was thus included in the policy.

In order to encourage the individual to work, paid work could be combined with programme activities. Initially the individual was allowed additional earnings of 8,000 SEK without losing the establishment benefit. In 2012, this was changed and the ceiling for additional earnings removed, allowing the individual to keep all benefits during a period of six months (SFS 2012:534).

Benefits in the programme were individualised and thus did not take family earnings into account. Thus, even if one member of the household worked fulltime, the other individuals were entitled to the full individual benefit. The explicit aim was to encourage women to participate, and thus promote gender equality.

A civic orientation course had to be completed within a year of the start of the plan. Municipalities were responsible for providing courses that were at least 60 hours long and provided a basic understanding of Swedish society and a basis for acquiring further knowledge. The aim was to facilitate newly arrived migrants' establishment in work life and Swedish society. The goals of the course were to develop knowledge of human rights and basic democratic values, individual rights and responsibilities, how society is organised, and practical everyday life.

The course was to contain the following aspects:

1. Coming to Sweden
2. Living in Sweden
3. Supporting oneself financially and developing in Sweden
4. Individual rights and obligations
5. Starting a family and living with children in Sweden
6. Civil participation in Sweden
7. Taking care of one's health in Sweden
8. Ageing in Sweden

The establishment measures thus provided individuals with the opportunity to combine activities aiming to lead to labour market entry with more general upskilling such as Swedish and civic orientation, as well as social support for

individuals in extra need. As we will see, the diversity of the measures included in the establishment reform thus mirror the different political goals of the reform.

Political goals

In this section I will examine three political goals highlighted in the policy documents: work, social investment/social support and individual responsibility. I will draw on documents discussed earlier in the chapter and other government policies to consider how the themes of workfare, social investment and individualisation are discussed in relation to the establishment reform. To contextualise these changes, I will also refer to earlier integration policy goals and municipality introduction programmes.

As will be become evident, the goals of work and individualisation were clearly formulated in Alliance government policies but integration and social support were implicit, and used by opposition parties and other actors to question some of the assumptions underlying the policy changes. As we will see, the different goals in some ways complemented each other and even overlapped, but crucial contradictions remained.

Workfare

As we saw in chapter 4, a major political goal for the incoming Alliance government in 2006 was to increase inclusion in the labour market. This goal was explicitly articulated in relation to newly arrived migrants through the establishment reform.

The increased focus on work was perhaps the most prominent theme in the policy documents under examination and was, as noted above, often promoted by government representatives as a clear break from past integration policy. In its 2008/2009 strategy for integration, the government stated that the main priority during its term would be to end exclusion by increasing labour supply and demand and by improving matching between available labour and the needs of the labour market (Skr. 2009/10:233). Work was thus seen as the most important way to achieve the overarching goal of integration. However, as seen in chapter 4, the focus on work had played a prominent part in the integration goals set out by previous Social Democratic governments: "the individual participates in a societal and social context, becomes a part of the production and contributes to economic

growth" (prop 1997/98:16 p 45). Integration goals were closely based on more general social policy goals and built on social services legislation.

While the goal of work as important for integration was similar, the Alliance government focused on certain general and targeted measures in relation to the labour market. The measures needed to reach the goal of faster labour market "establishment" can be seen both in the development of general labour market policy and through the specific labour market measures in the establishment reform.

A key economic policy for the Alliance government was to reduce income tax on work and thereby increase the incentive to work. The establishment reform bill made the link between these general reforms and the need to support newly arrived migrants in the labour market explicit:

> The general reforms to increase the supply of labour power form a central part of the government's integration policy. In previous years, the government has implemented a number of structural reforms aiming to increase the labour supply through strengthening the incentives to work. Meanwhile, the government has implemented measures that aim to stimulate demand among groups that are further from the labour market. (prop 2009/10:60 p 24).

In an effort to create work opportunities in the area of household services, the Swedish government introduced the RUT tax deduction in 2007 (Prop. 2006/07:94), before the passage of the establishment bill. Its aims were to reduce the irregular labour market for such services as well as to create more low-skilled jobs in this area. These low-skilled jobs might be seen as providing opportunities for individuals with lower educational skills, but also, as critics of the policy noted, particularly for migrants.

The effort to create more jobs at the lower end of the labour market was in line with general economic theories that emphasise the importance of reduced income tax levels to provide clear incentives for individuals to work (see P. Fredriksson & Holmlund, 2006). At the same time, the Alliance government did not propose a deregulation of the labour market to lower unemployment (see Blanchard & Wolfers, 2000; Nickell, 1997; Nickell et al., 2005). Nevertheless, the implicit emphasis on low-paid jobs for migrants entering Sweden reveals some of the ideological differences between the Alliance government and the opposition parties at the time.

For example, in the parliamentary debate preceding the adoption of the bill, the Left Party MP Kalle Larsson questioned why this group should be assigned

these types of low-skilled jobs. Noting that many cleaners in Stockholm had an immigrant background, he argued:

> It is inexplicable why immigrants should be especially suited to manage these cleaning tasks… It is something in the policies that isn't working. The answer has to be in politics that fail to end discrimination and to utilise the education and resources that people bring from their home countries. (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

Such arguments can be seen as emerging from a scepticism about whether workfare policies enable individuals to gain access to skilled work, and preference for social investment strategies of upskilling as less discriminatory and more enabling. The Liberal Party MP and Minister of Gender Equality and Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, responded to Larsson, saying:

> It is possible to be proud of the fact that people choose to perform even these type of jobs in order to earn an income rather than being dependent on the state, which actually is Kalle Larsson's proposal: rather dependent on benefits and the state than to take responsibility and support yourself, gain entry to the labour market and increase your personal network in order to move forward on the labour market… several of these individuals can soon find other jobs in the labour market. If they are highly educated or have skills that our labour market needs, I really want them in the position where they are most useful (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

Sabuni's arguments were closely associated with workfare, or work-first, where the assumption is that individuals should enter the labour market quickly and work their way up to a better job. In a later comment, she stated:

> The key is to lower the barriers to labour market entry and give opportunities to those individuals who have had difficulties to enter a labour market with high barriers. The social democrats have been more protective of the insiders, who already have jobs, than to support those who are outsiders and their way back to the labour market (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

Larsson and Sabuni thus represented the two perspectives discussed in chapter 2: on the one hand, arguing for stronger income equality and social investment strategies and, on the other, for a less-regulated labour market or one that financially incentivises work. Larsson's argument was that initiatives to create low-skilled jobs risked creating permanent income differences between groups, while individuals risked being permanently stuck in low-paid work. Sabuni argued for

the integration of more people into the labour market, seeing this as opposed to the "old way" of social democracy where protection for insiders was considered as having led to a dualised labour market. Her arguments could be seen as signalling, at least rhetorically, a shift from upskilling individuals to enable them to enter the labour market, towards the creation of more opportunities at the lower end.

An emphasis on quick labour market entry can also be seen in the targeted measures for newly arrived migrants in the form of subsidised work measures. As noted above, in order to stimulate demand for this group, two different subsidies[44] for employers to hire individuals far from the labour market were made available: "new start jobs" (*nystartjobb*) and "entry recruitment incentive" (*instegsjobb*). New start jobs were aimed at both the long-term unemployed and newly arrived migrants and gave employers a subsidy of double the amount of employment fees they normally paid (AFFS 2010:7; SFS 1997:1275; SFS 2006:1481). Entry recruitment incentives were to be combined with Swedish language study, compensation to employers wage costs of up to 80%, and compensation for mentoring.

Through such subsidies, newly arrived migrants were singled out for targeted policy initiatives to increase their chances of entering employment. Again, these policies aimed at quick labour market entry as migrants were entitled to join for a limited time after their arrival in Sweden. Such policies were in line with the trend since the 1970s to emphasise employment subsidies and the social policy aspect of labour market policy. Unlike general policies aiming to create more low-skilled jobs, these policies were not in the same way ideologically contested.

Under the establishment reform, the actual establishment plan devised for each individual should have entry to the labour market as the main goal of establishment activities. These activities could include validation of educational and vocational skills, work experience and participation in suitable labour market training programmes. This focus on labour market measures was not questioned by any of the opposition parties who, like the government, emphasised the need to focus on labour market skills (Betänkande 2009/10:AU7), in close relation to the social investment perspective.

All in all, while the Social Democrats had focused on work as an important goal of integration, the Alliance government built on this previous policy focus and added a variety of measures adjusted to the individual, similar to municipalities' introduction programmes, as discussed in chapter 4. The main change from previous integration policies lay in the increased economic incentives to work, in

[44] A more detailed description of the subsidies is provided in the appendix.

line with the development of marketisation to accompany workfare reforms (cf Lødemel & Moreira, 2014).

Social investment/social support

As discussed in chapter 2, the European Union highly promoted the social investment perspective to increase labour market inclusion. Aspects of the perspective contained ambitions more aligned to traditional social policy. The government white paper by Monica Werenfels Röttorp emphasised the distinction between previous integration policies as "caring" from the new establishment policies that focused primarily on work and integration through the labour market. Similarly, government ministers argued that the "passive reception" of before would be replaced by "active work" (see for example Reinfeldt et al., 2008).

On the other hand, as will be shown below, many of the ideas and measures in the establishment reform also built on earlier integration goals, which included different social support and social investment aspects.

The government's integration goal was defined as: "equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all regardless of ethnic and cultural background" (Skr. 2009/10:233, p 33). Another ambition was that, as far as possible, migrants should be covered by general policy measures.

> The direction of Swedish policy is that newly arrived immigrants should have the same obligations and rights as other inhabitants. (Prop 2009/10:60 p 32).

However, the reasons for developing a specific measure for this group were also elaborated upon:

> The targeted measures for this group have been introduced partly due to the fact that individuals in need of protection often have special needs, partly due to the fact that it is a national concern and an international obligation to receive individuals in need of protection. Sweden has therefore considered it motivated to give individuals in needs of protection a reception and an introduction that in some cases lead to a positive discrimination compared to other immigrants. (Prop 2009/10:60 p 43).

Thus, the aim to cover all inhabitants by general policy measures was given as the reason for limiting the timeframe for positive discrimination through the

establishment reform to a maximum of two years. Thereafter, individuals in need of help would be covered by general measures.[45]

This tradition was also in line with the general ambition to give individual migrants the tools to integrate into Swedish society as well as aspects of the previous integration bill (Prop. 1997/98: 16), following the AFGA proposals discussed in chapter 2. In this way, the establishment measures can be seen as following earlier integration ambitions in addition to the new workfare ambitions through their focus on helping individual migrants become active members of society. The emphasis on language learning and civic orientation were specific policies in line with this general aim.

In many cases, the importance of these policies was argued in line with an emphasis on work – building skills would facilitate labour market integration. However, Swedish language education was naturally aimed towards active participation in *both* the labour market and in Swedish daily life; the entry recruitment incentive subsidy also combined participation in Swedish lessons with paid work. The opposition parties also emphasised the need to strengthen language learning as an important aspect of integration (Betänkande 2009/10:AU7; Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

As noted earlier, labour market policy aimed at newly arrived migrants was seen by Integration and Equality Minister Nyamko Sabuni as facilitating entry into low-skilled jobs. This aim was, however, problematised in some policy documents (Prop. 2009/10:60; Skr. 2009/10:233; SOU 2008:58), where there was an acknowledgement of the need for longer-term measures. For example, the government integration strategy emphasised that individuals with high skills should be able to find work at the right competence level in order to avoid being locked into low-paid jobs. The long-term labour market perspective was highlighted in both the government white paper and the government bill:

> Even if a job with low skill demands or short term vocational courses for jobs where there is a lack of labour power can lead to important contacts and be important for the individual's sense of managing their own financial independence, it is

[45] Citizenship rights in Sweden are mainly connected to voting in general elections, while public services such as education, health care and social assistance are linked to residence rights. Individuals eligible to participate in the establishment reform, were thus already covered by general welfare programmes, although certain social insurance programs such unemployment insurance and sickness insurance are employment based rights. The granting of residence permits thus, to a large extent, formally includes individuals in general Swedish measures. Individuals in need of help after the end of their establishment period will thus be transferred to general labour market measures, and receive unemployment insurance (if having qualified for this through working during the establishment period) or social assistance.

> important to also inform individuals about the available opportunities for further education. It is especially important that young persons are encouraged to apply for good education and work that can further their careers. (prop 2009/10:60 p 68).

Thus, the government did not see the newly arrived migrants as simply directed towards lower-end jobs. The stance presented in the quoted text could be seen as either complementing or contradicting the emphasis on quick labour market entry. Either way, this perspective fits more easily with a social investment perspective on work, where investment in education is seen as having future benefits for both the individual and society (Morel, Palier, & Palme, 2012b) and as following in the tradition of earlier integration policies (see Borevi, 2002).

A similar perspective can be taken with regard to civic orientation courses, which provided information seen as necessary to take part in society as active residents rather than solely focusing on employment. In the government white paper, the need for individuals to gain information about Swedish society was seen as essential.

> A prerequisite for feeling at home in a new country and a new culture is to understand society. It is necessary to know how it works and why… It is reasonable to require from the individual moving to a new country that he or she gets accustomed with the new home country's system and accept and respect the customs and traditions of the new country. (SOU, 2008: 209).

The measures in the final government regulation of civic orientation also emphasised the broader integration perspective of individual rights and obligations in addition to labour market knowledge.

> Civic orientation aims to facilitate the newly arrived migrants' establishment in work life and society. Civic orientation should provide individuals with a basic understanding of Swedish society and serve as a basis for acquiring knowledge in the future. (SFS 2010:1138).

This emphasis on individuals' rights and obligations in relation to the new country can be seen as an assimilation measure based on the view that immigrants have a different worldview and need to adjust to the Swedish way of being (cf Larsson, 2015). This can also be seen as a break with the emphasis on multiculturalism that was discussed, for example, in the government bill of integration in 1997/98. However, municipalities' introduction programmes had also been intended to provide information on Swedish work life and society (Prop. 1997/98: 16). The

emphasis on rights and responsibilities may thus be seen as an empowering measure, giving individuals the tools to integrate into society. As with measures encouraging language learning, this did not differ greatly from social investment perspectives or recent Social Democratic policymaking. Related to the social investment perspective, this could, however, be seen as aligned with general upskilling and employability rather than a labour market measure leading directly to employment through retraining.

Among the activities that could be included in the individual's establishment plan were social activities and health care measures. These measures could be seen as general social policy measures that focused on individual wellbeing from a broader perspective than labour market policy alone. It was not clear, then, how the "caring" perspective criticised in the government white paper and by Alliance MPs differed greatly from establishment measures; indeed, traditional integration or social support concerns were integrated into the policy framework. The implications of this in practice will be examined further in chapter 6.

Thus, while integration, or a more general social policy perspective, was not at the forefront of the establishment reform, which was instead set up in apparent opposition to earlier integration policies, it shared many of the same ideas, such as encouraging individual migrants to participate in general social policy measures, and the importance of long-term education. On the other hand, the introduction of certain aspects of the work rhetoric were clearly in conflict with implicit aims to provide social support and focus on long-term labour market goals. Furthermore, by making integration policy labour market policy, it could be argued that various social policy concerns were also brought into the domain of labour policy.

Individual responsibility

A prominent goal of the establishment reform was a focus on the individual participant as responsible for integration and labour market inclusion. This goal was apparent in different parts of the reform and in policy documents. I will discuss the focus on the individual by considering the areas of active responsibility, individualised introduction and choice. Individualisation was also a goal in the municipalities' introduction programmes that emphasised individual responsibility for participating in working life and contributing to society (Prop. 1997/98: 16).

Active participation

Notions of responsibility and participation were closely related to the work focus in the reform and can be connected to the literature on workfare and social investment. As seen in chapter 2, social investment strategies covered more supportive measures, such as upskilling and providing support, whereas control and more punitive measures often related closely to the work-first strategy in the United States where individuals were increasingly monitored and controlled. The specific combination of "carrots and sticks" (Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011: 6-7) is important to consider when discussing these concepts (E. Brodkin & Larsen, 2013), and to what extent the measures can be seen as empowering or disciplining (Elm Larsen, 2005; J. Newman & Tonkens, 2011) .

In the establishment reform, a combination of incentives and control mechanisms were set out to underline the importance of active participation in the programme.

First, by making the establishment benefit independent of other household incomes, it was hoped that the new system would further gender equality. Previously, a lower proportion of women had participated in municipal introduction measures, and introduction measures were delayed for some women due to for example parental leave (Integrationsverket, 2004a). By introducing benefits based on individual income, women and men had the same financial incentives to participate or, put differently, the financial incentives for women to participate in work related activities would increase if individual incomes were not related to family incomes.

Second, individual incentives were primarily linked to financial compensation: the establishment benefit paid out for 24 months.

> Through making the financial compensation conditional on the individual following the establishment plan, i.e. participating actively in the establishment measures, incentives are created and the conditions improved for the individual to reach the goal of the establishment plan without time delay. (Prop 2009/10:60 p 105).

The government bill thus pointed out the importance of financial incentives in regards to both actual participation in programme activities, i.e. to make sure that individuals enrol and regularly attend activities and swiftly move on to work or studies, that is to reach the end goal of the establishment process. Individuals would have to show proof of attendance to receive benefits; unaccounted for absences would lead to reduced benefits. Financial incentives were thus explicitly linked to individual motivation. This can be seen as negative incentives

accompanying workfare ideas on how to steer individuals, as failure to participate in activities led to lower compensation.

One the other hand, there were also economic incentives for individuals to combine the establishment benefit with paid work as a "carrot" or reward; for example, individuals could work fulltime for six months without a reduction of the establishment benefit (SFS 2012:534).[46] This type of measure also limited the risk of individuals becoming locked into a benefit system where taking up paid work could negatively affect their incomes. In the government bill, this intention was put simply as: "Being active should pay off" (Prop 2009/10:60 p 112). This aim to make work pay was thus present in the establishment reform as well as in the Alliance government's broader labour market intentions, with their underlying assumption that increased financial gain for individuals would increase labour market participation. Thus, individual motivations were made central in terms of finding work, and the behaviour and responsibility of individuals to be active were underlined. While previous integration policies had focused rhetorically on active individuals, the actual differences in the establishment reform in terms of active responsibility can be seen through the introduction of these financial incentives and disincentives.

Individualised introduction

Another way to bring the individual into focus was through individual empowerment.

Previous work history, educational background and goals for work in the future, were the basis for individual establishment plans developed by employment officers at the Public Employment Service and the individuals themselves. The government found that "an improved individual plan where the individual themselves contribute more actively" (Prop 2009/10:60 p 64) would facilitate and precipitate earlier labour market entry.

While this individualisation was argued for as a new element in introduction measures for newly arrived migrants, it had already been specified in the municipality introduction programmes. However, several evaluations of the municipality introduction programmes had found that introduction measures were not sufficiently individualised. One problem was the capacity of smaller municipalities to provide sufficiently varied measures (Integrationsverket, 2004a).

An important aspect of the establishment reform was that whilst most labour market measures are formally regulations, this was introduced as a law, and thus

[46] This possibility was subsequently removed by the Social Democratic–Green Party government (see (Prop. 2015/16:1).

established the individual's right to a plan including various specified activities. This differentiated it from most other measures at the Public Employment Service, which were provided if deemed necessary by employment officers. Thus, the individual's right to support under the establishment reform was regulated by law and the rhetoric of increased individualisation was accompanied by a strengthening of individual rights vis-à-vis the state.

Another point to note is that individual goals were deemed more important for a successful integration process than directing individuals to sectors in need of workers. This focus on individuals' rights can be seen as continuing the reorientation of labour market policy from the needs of the labour market towards a greater concern for the individual. However, this posed a potential conflict with the emphasis on active responsibility and the importance of a quick entry into the labour market. While the government strategy pointed out that individuals should be able to fulfil their long-term potential, particularly if they were young and would contribute to the labour market for many years to come, it is easy to imagine potential difficulties that may arise in relation to these different goals. For example, would individuals wishing to study for a long-term career supposed to combine their studies with temporary work? To what extent was this generosity extended towards those who entered the Swedish labour market at an older age? In other words, if the two perspectives could not be combined in an individual case, which perspective would take precedent? More generally, this conflict illuminates some of the contradictions in individualised labour market policy, where both enabling and restraining features were combined.

Freedom of choice

The third area of individualisation was the emphasis on individuals' abilities to make their own choices and decisions. As mentioned in the previous section, the establishment plan was intended to take individual needs and capabilities as a starting point for further measures.

In the government white paper, this starting point was formulated thus:

> …we need to change the perspective and see the newly arrived migrants as individuals with individual resources and needs, including individual vocational skills such as carpentry or nursing. Focus is shifted towards the newly arrived migrant, who is met by demands of active participation in order to create a new future in Sweden (SOU 2008: 65).

This was compared to the earlier municipality-based organisation in which, Werenfels Röttorp argued in the government white paper, newly arrived migrants

were primarily seen as problems to be solved through the creation of different organisational forms (SOU 2008: 65). The individual focus was also formulated in the government bill, in which empowerment was seen as an important aspect of the integration process (Prop. 2009/10:60, p 34).

This empowerment of the individual was connected to the opportunity to choose and freely change establishment guides, and was the most significant innovation in the establishment reform. In the government bill, this was formulated as a broader political ambition:

> Allowing the individual to choose an establishment guide is part of an aim to focus on the individual and achieve a transfer of power from politicians and civil servants towards individuals, an increased number of service providers and greater pluralism (prop 2009/10:60 p 35).

The government white paper proposed that the establishment guide would provide specialised services for individuals. Private businesses or third sector organisations were seen as able to provide new perspectives on the integration process, more so than employment officers employed in the public sector. Individual choice in relation to this was seen as an important empowering tool facilitating integration and labour market entry. This change can also be related to the Alliance government's broader ambition of introducing more choice in welfare services, and is similar to the "job coaches" introduced for other groups of unemployed. The introduction of establishment guides was the most heavily criticised part of the establishment measures, by opposition parties as well as consultative agencies, and revealed ideological differences that followed many of the arguments set out in chapter 2.

These central assumptions were thus often questioned. For example, in a parliamentary debate, the Green Party MP Ulf Holm questioned the ability of individuals to make an informed choice upon entering Sweden and suggested that such measures were not suitable for this group:

> What kind of freedom of choice is it in practice that a newly arrived migrant should be able to choose an establishment guide within one or two months of their arrival? The individual can't speak the language. The individual is not familiar with the society in which they have arrived (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

This mirrors the more general criticisms of choice in welfare services, and points, above all, at the difficulty some groups face in making a well-informed choice, and the need for more advocacy and support for these groups (see Brennan et al.,

2012; Burchardt et al., 2015; Eika, 2009). Hence, if individuals cannot distinguish between or evaluate the different choices they are offered, the power to choose becomes meaningless.

The Minister of Equality and Integration, Nyamko Sabuni, retorted with the assurance that individuals were not required to choose an establishment guide, and if they did decide that they had made a mistake later in the process, they were welcome to choose a different provider:

> This is freedom of choice. You make a choice when you want to make it. No one will be forced to make this choice. If you do decide to make it and get it wrong, the individual have plenty of opportunities to revise it. It is precisely what is unique and clever with the establishment bill. The power lies with the individual (Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

The importance of empowering the individual was thus seen as an essential measure in the reform. From this perspective, the emphasis on being able to adjust a choice was important, and was put forward as the main instrument against malfunctioning private actors. This can be seen as an assurance for quality control, as the individual was not only empowered by being able to choose their way through the integration process into the labour market, but the system of private actors would function on the basis of this choice mechanism (cf Le Grand, 2007).

On the one hand then, the proponents of privatisation saw choice as both empowering in itself, but also as providing a type of self-regulatory mechanism that aimed to provide higher quality welfare services. On the other hand, for opponents, regulating private actors and protecting individuals were central issues that were difficult to resolve within these debates.

Since the 1990s, individuals had been able to choose the municipality they would reside in. To this element of individual choice, the Alliance government added individualised support from a choice of private actors. The envisaged success of this measure could be seen as a major ideological difference in terms of the expected benefits of privatisation of certain public services. While the opposition's criticism of the choice aspect focused primarily on the ability of the individual to make an informed choice (cf Arrow, 1963; Brennan et al., 2012; Burchardt et al., 2015), especially when vulnerable and in an alien situation, proponents saw it as bringing intrinsic benefits such as individual empowerment. As we will see, the potential problems of privatisation brought up in the parliamentary debates recurred in different ways in the establishment guidance system; and also came to underline some of the contradictions between the other political goals discussed above.

Conclusion

The political aims of the establishment measures built on many of the integration policy measures introduced by previous Social Democratic governments. Certain new elements were, however, introduced, particularly the economic incentives for individuals and legislation on individuals' rights in regards to participation and compensation. In this sense, the new workfare elements of the policies were embedded in the legacy of integration policy, emphasising both social investment and broader social policy goals.

The work line perspective was rhetorically underlined by the Alliance policies, and also emphasised through concrete political changes both in terms of general labour market and economic policy and through targeted measures. Second, an implicit social support perspective remained a part of the establishment measures for newly arrived migrants, building on previous ideas. This can be seen as a contradiction in the policy proposals, where an emphasis on work versus social support could become a point of contention. These contradictions in policy can also be seen as reflections of the contradictions noted in the social investment and activation perspectives by Morel et al. (2012b). Moreover, the perspective of individualisation can be seen as an example of how some of these contradictions played out in practice, and gained complexity from the positive and negative aspects associated with individual responsibility, rights and choice. While this focus on individualisation and flexibility followed previous integration perspectives, however, practical policy changes were introduced in relation to positive and negative economic incentives, as well as the freedom to choose a private provider for additional support.

The combination of different policy ambitions can be considered in the light of earlier labour market policy initiatives in which social policy and unemployment goals were often combined, especially for vulnerable groups. The ambition of the Alliance government to bring certain groups into the labour market can be seen as following these initiatives, and the mix of workfare and social policy elements are also in this tradition. Thus, whilst the establishment reform cannot be considered a wholly new initiative, it introduced certain new elements in line with liberalisation trends such as marketisation through economic incentives and privatisation of unemployment services. Nevertheless, the social legacy remained. However, the integration of these group of newly arrived migrants and concomitant social policy ambitions into labour market policy can be seen as a closer integration of the two policy areas, potentially leading to

questions of how their differing goals were combined and prioritised. This issue will be further discussed in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 6

Reorganisation of labour market services

As seen in chapter 5, the political goals of the establishment reform focused on certain workfare measures, but also included broader social policy goals of enabling individuals to take part in civic and social life through measures such as language education and civic orientation. Moreover, measures that could be seen as social investment, including labour market training programmes and further education, as well as additional social support for those in need of rehabilitation or health measures, were included in the reform. In both policy proposals and the government bill, it was argued that a reorganisation of the policy area was needed in order to achieve greater labour market participation. In particular, recentralisation to the main Swedish authority responsible for unemployment, the Public Employment Service, alongside the introduction of a new private guidance system were seen as important for implementing the new work line. In this chapter, I will describe how the policy goals were implemented in practice and experienced by employees in the organisation, particularly how workfare, social investment and social policy were combined. I focus here on the social policy elements than can be connected to social investment, or to broader goals such as social support, whereas focus in chapter 7 is primarily on social investment measures.

In the previous chapter I considered the changing policy aims that, in many ways, combined earlier goals in the policy area of integration and concerns for social support with an increased emphasis on workfare. Moreover, there was a strong focus on individualisation, particularly in terms of choice and active responsibility. These contradictions could also be seen at the organisational level. A new group, that of newly arrived migrants, was integrated into the responsibilities of an existing organisation, the Public Employment Service. The new service of private sector establishment guides also introduced a new practice

into the area of labour market policy, one that was contracted out and regulated by the Public Employment Service.

In this chapter, I will discuss my second sub-question: How is the establishment reform carried out in practice and experienced by employees in the organisations working with the migrants?

In 2008, the new authority the Public Employment Service[47] was founded, replacing the authority Arbetsmarknadsverket and the county labour boards with the goal to create a more unitary and efficient organisation (see Skoog, 2008 for a description of the reorganisation). At the same time, involving private actors in unemployment services, particularly for coaching and guidance, was another goal of the government (Lundin, 2011). I see these organisational changes as connected to political ambitions; thus, considering both the organisational frameworks and the responses of employees is essential for examining the policy on the organisational level.

I have organised my analyses of the Public Employment Service and the establishment guidance system similarly. I begin by briefly considering the arguments related to the reorganisation as such. I then focus on the formal setup which reveals control mechanisms and guidelines established under the assumption that the policy would be applied in certain ways. I then discuss some of the issues in following these assumptions in practice and finally how the combination of social policy and labour market policy goals are experienced by employees.

Part 1 – Recentralisation of labour market services

Motivation for transferring responsibility

One of the government's main arguments for centralising responsibility was the perceived failure of many municipalities to successfully manage the integration of newly arrived migrants. By centralising responsibility, the integration measures were made nationally consistent and ensured that individuals would have access to the same services and financial compensation. Giving responsibility to the Public Employment Service was thus a symbolic act in terms of promoting the

[47] Previously the local offices were referred to as "arbetsförmedlingar" – Public Employment Services.

work line and underlining the expectation of finding work as an essential part of the integration process.

As mentioned in chapter 5, many municipalities were critical of the original proposal, citing the complexity of the issues facing newly arrived migrants that were seen as mainly related to local responsibilities and solutions. Several questioned whether the Public Employment Service would have the local knowledge required to implement the reform, and argued they had built up extensive knowledge through years of working with this group. Moreover, many of the related practical problems new migrants faced, such as housing, schooling and child care, were municipal responsibilities anyway.

Aside from the local knowledge of municipalities, which also stood to lose one of their responsibilities and attached state funding, my interviews with municipal employees conducted during the transfer process also revealed a fear that the Public Employment Service would neglect "social issues" (Ennerberg, 2011).

Organisational framework

The rules and regulations guiding the work of the Public Employment Service cover a wide range of issues. As noted in chapter 5, the establishment reform was introduced through a law (SFS 2010:197) that specified the rights of participating individuals during the establishment period. This distinguished it from other labour market measures under the Public Employment Service, which mostly comprised regulations (*förordning*) or public service agreements (*regleringsbrev*), and where access to labour market measures for the individual was more often granted on the basis of perceived needs and/or available resources rather than rights. In order to follow the legal regulations for the establishment reform, work practices were specified at a central head office at the Public Employment Service, in the division of integration and establishment. This division produced detailed regulation for employees and set up a telephone helpline for any questions that employees could not solve locally.

One administrative tool for employees was a caseworker guidance (*handläggarstöd*) that contained information on aspects of the work practices, for example timeframes for setting up establishment plans for individuals, measures that should generally be included in plans and how participants' absences from activities may be approved or financially penalised, i.e. a guide for implementing some of the negative economic incentives of the reform.

The work of the Public Employment Service also included various administrative duties subject to regulation. For example, employment officers

were responsible for receiving individuals' monthly reports from the establishment guides and checking that the document was consistent with its record of absences, and to contact external providers if the reports were not signed. Payment details were then forwarded to the Social Security Agency in order for them to complete the payment. When new activities were included in the plan, the establishment plan had to be revised by employment officers (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2012a: p 16-17).

Public Employment Service employees were required to enter data into the internal administrative system. Some of this information was then followed up centrally through regular reports on the progress of the establishment measures. These reports included, for example, waiting times for the introductory establishment dialogue, Swedish language for immigrants courses and civic orientation; and the types of activities offered at different times (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d, 2012e, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013d, 2013e, 2014a, 2015a).

The (re-)introduction of the group of newly arrived migrants into the Public Employment Service brought new protocols for payment and control of activities. The ideas behind these measures can be related to the more coercive elements of activation or workfare: the individual participated in activities with negative incentives (reduction of benefits) for periods of absence (Daguerre, 2008; Lødemel & Moreira, 2014). To take a different perspective, these measures emphasised individual rights vis-à-vis the organisation and were in line with the more empowering elements of individual activation. The result of these demands was an extensive administration on the organisational level related to benefit payments and monitoring and control of individuals' participation in activities. This effort to more closely control participants was apparent in the trend towards increased administrative control, where individual employment officers focused more on different measures and routines than their overarching goals (see Munro, 2004).

Taken together, there seems to have been a strong element of re-bureaucratisation (cfBenish, 2010) in the attempts to integrate the group of newly arrived migrants into the Public Employment Service. The regulations described above could be seen as a way to control work processes within the authority and to ensure streamlined work behaviour at every local Public Employment Service, following earlier efforts of introducing more auditing practices into the authority (Lindvert, 2015). The detailed regulatory framework could also be seen as an effort to more closely control policy implementation and outcomes in this area, and as a reaction to the diversity of integration measures under municipality control. Instead of local practices and diverse interpretations of policies, the

central framework covered a range of details related to the establishment measures to achieve consistent working practices nationally.

For employment officers, the emphasis on control over participants led to an expansion of administrative routines (see also Larsson, 2015: 189) and included monitoring of establishment guides before that initiative was closed down.

The organisational framework of the establishment reform can thus be seen as in line with recent trends regarding NPM and post-NPM initiatives, where an initial focus on decentralisation and introduction of NPM was partly challenged by calls for recentralisation and increased control, particularly in complex policy areas (Christensen, Fimreite, & Lægreid, 2007; Christensen & Lægreid, 2006, 2007; Christensen, Lie, et al., 2007; Forssell & Norén, 2007; Gregory, 2007). However, there were also various contradictions within the NPM/post-NPM framework. For example, the introduction of NPM as a reaction against bureaucratic red tape was seen as an empowerment of the individual citizen (J. Clarke, 2007; John Clarke, Newman, & Westmarland, 2008). This could also be seen in the establishment reform, where the legal framework specified measures in terms of individual rights. The tensions between positive and negative aspects of control and individual empowerment, as noted in chapter 5, were thus apparent in both the policy ideas and the institutional policy framework. As we will see, this was also mirrored in the organisational practices of the Public Employment Service and was of particular importance in balancing social policy and workfare goals.

Working practices of the Public Employment Service

The support given to individuals varied depending on need, but also in relation to how the work was organised in local Public Employment Service offices. Nonetheless, a short description of their work over the 24 months establishment period gives the reader an overview of broad working practices. This summary is based on the cases I received from the Public Employment Service and interview data.

The initial contact with individual participants was usually through an "establishment interview" (*etableringssamtal*). The preliminary conversation was followed by an individual meeting, usually with the help of a telephone interpreter if the participant did not speak English. At this meeting, the employment officers informed participants both of their duties concerning participation in the various programmes and activities to facilitate their establishment in Swedish society, and about their rights, to inquire about help in negotiating housing, and to choose an

establishment guide. Employment officers often took this opportunity to ask about previous work experience and future employment plans.

The employment officer and the participants could decide on complementary activities to Swedish classes or fulltime activities whilst waiting for a place in Swedish language courses aimed at immigrants. In the larger cities, the activities were usually labour market measures provided by external actors, for example introductory courses on the Swedish labour market and a personal skills inventory. In smaller municipalities, especially where individuals were still waiting to be offered housing, self-study or social activities combined with Swedish language courses for immigrants were more common during this initial period.

In the first year, establishment meetings were held more or less frequently to follow up on individuals' labour market goals and progress. If participants wished to change their planned activities they could do so with the approval of the employment officers. Employment officers also formally approved internships, work experience and subsidised employment placements. In some cases, the labour unions had to be consulted, but the employment officer could choose to disregard their recommendations.

The administrative and social tasks performed by employment officers increased if individuals had substantial needs for social support. Administrative tasks included communicating with other authorities or external providers of activities, for example if individuals requested changes due to problems with the activities. Social issues related to health or social situation involved contacts with doctors to provide a judgement of individuals' ability to partake in fulltime activities; the use of specialists[48] working at the Public Employment Service to discuss adjustment of activities; coordination with municipality representatives regarding housing or health emergencies, or transfer of individuals from the Public Employment Service to the municipalities' social services if the individual was unable to participate in activities.

At the end of the establishment period, increased efforts to find employment sometimes manifested through job proposals or job interview offers for "job ready" individuals.

During the establishment period, employment officers received and filed monthly reports from participants in which individual absences from activities were noted and the final payment schedule was forwarded to the Social Security Agency that had the responsibility for paying out the establishment benefit.

[48] See Jacobsson and Seing (2013) and Seing (2015) for an examination of the work of the specialists at the Public Employment Service.

Employment officers also reviewed and approved the establishment guides' monthly reports that served as a basis of their payments.

Establishment goals in practice

As mentioned above, one of the main reasons for transferring responsibility for the group of newly arrived migrants to the Public Employment Service was to increase the work focus in the early stages of the integration process as well as to achieve consistent service and control of the system nationally. At the same time, however, these goals negotiated and coexisted with other goals of social policy and individual responsibility. In the following section we will consider how the amalgamation of social policy and labour market policy goals was managed by employment officers. This was exemplified by sanctions on individuals and an emphasis on social issues.

One example of how different political goals are negotiated relates to the sanctions on individual behaviour, i.e. the reduction in benefits if individual failed to attend an activity. While stricter control over individual absences was one of the articulated goals of the establishment reform in order to achieve more "active responsibility" for an individual's integration process, in practice employment officers had a great deal of discretion. For example, one employment officer described how interpretations of the rules varied:

> Luckily, when it comes to regulating absences, we can really use our own personal judgements, so I grant absences, I don't sanction. I always find support for it in the rules and our internal support documents so that I don't have to sanction. But I have colleagues who are more tough and who argue that rules should be followed; if you don't go to Swedish class you should be sanctioned, while I perhaps view it a bit differently. So the administration is very arbitrary, which is a problem since we are so many employment officers and everyone applies the rules differently. (P 102)

While the political aim of increasing the importance of sanctions may be seen as an attempt to achieve a stronger connection between payments and active participation, reflecting the workfare ideals of the policy, in practice the room for discretion within the system left the final decision with the employment officer. This was, in a way, against the intention of the lawmakers if the focus on active responsibility is interpreted as a stricter control over participants. The employment officer quoted above took a more "social" approach when judging

sanctions, but was also aware of the problems from the perspective of equal treatment for participants.

By contrast, another employment officer interviewed described the sanctions regulating absence due to illness as insufficient:

> For example in regards to absence due to illness. They can be ill for up to a week without showing us a doctor's certificate. But there's no rules regulating for how often an individual can be ill for a week… So many individuals use that, and we can't make any demands. They return for one or two days and participate in activities, then they're ill for a week again. I've noticed that some individuals use the system to their advantage. (P 104)

This employment officer argued for the inadequacy of the current sanction system, suggesting a perceived need to be better able to steer behaviour when participants failed to actively participate in line with a stricter interpretation of the workfare perspective.

A third employment officer defended the room for discretion by pointing out the importance of considering the individual perspective:

> And quite often, if you know that an individual is always "good" and always call when they're absent or you see that they apply for lots of jobs… and then another person is often late for Swedish class, doesn't care… Even if it shouldn't influence how we fill out the monthly reports, it will. The judgements will be different, even if they shouldn't, but it's not so strange because we know the individuals (P 101).

The possibility of different interpretations of legislation can thus be seen in relation to working practices: different employment officers might interpret the framework more or less leniently, but the same officer might also treat different participants according to different standards. From a bureaucratic perspective this can be seen as problematic, but following the political goals of the establishment reform, both the stricter interpretation of the law and the more lenient perspective can be supported. The room for discretion can be seen as a reflection of the contradictions within the active responsibility discourse, which focused both on sanctioning certain behaviours, and on emphasising individual perspectives.

The third employment officer quoted above was aware of the dilemma in terms of applying the law differently for different individuals. At the same time, the emphasis on individual circumstances when actually making decisions was in line with the political ambition of individualisation, even if it meant that sometimes one was more generous in interpreting it. These quotes thus illustrate different interpretations of the political ambitions of the establishment measures, focusing

on the one hand on the importance of sanctioning behaviour and emphasising active responsibility, and on the other, on the individual's circumstances.

Sanctioning was one of the strongest workfare elements of the policy, but the difficulties of applying the legal framework and sanctioning participants thus reflected the sometimes contradictory social policy and labour market policy ambitions expressed in the policy itself.

An important part of the employment officer's role was to work with participants to develop a two-year plan that would be beneficial for the latter. In practice, this often led to employment officers becoming aware of, or even sympathetic to, the personal situation of migrants.

> It is a great conflict that if you know the situation of an individual, perhaps they have lots of problems and children in another country that they need to send money to, and then I have to reduce their benefits because they haven't had the energy to go to Swedish class or not understood that you can't just travel (P 102).

This dilemma was experienced by some employment officers, especially if they developed a more personal relationship with participants. This can be seen as a continuation of the integration services previously provided by municipalities, which had been criticised in the more ideological debates prior to the reform for their perceived emphasis on the individual's situation as a whole. Instead of a clear break with the previous organisation, social policy concerns seemed to play an important part in the daily work of some employment officers, which was also noted in the evaluations cited above (see for example Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Statskontoret, 2011, 2012). The weight put on individualised measures was often magnified due to social problems that lay outside the scope of unemployment measures, but that participants often needed help with.

> That happens all the time, that we can't discuss work and studies because they have so many social problems; and we don't manage to help them with the social issues because we have such bad cooperation with the municipalities. But it can be for example that they don't have a place in a day care facility for the children; and while they wait in the queue they have to move to another municipality and then enter the queue again, things like that. So for many, we only talk about social issues and we direct them to the right agency and talk about things like that, and in those cases, discussing work is not even on the agenda. (101)

Thus, similar practices and arguments for social support that were criticised in relation to the municipalities' previous introduction programmes had in fact been transferred to the responsible authority. In these cases, efforts to solve the

immediate problem were often prioritised before the individual's labour market situation, thus in a sense emphasising integration before work rather than integration *through* work, – thereby emphasising the social policy aspects of the policy framework. Here, attempts to create a stronger work focus were hampered by the expressed needs of individuals that many employment officers regarded as legitimate and therefore adjusted their working practices accordingly. On the other hand, the focus on the individual was also supported through NPM ideals of a service-minded public authority which treated individuals as in private businesses – as a customer (J. Clarke, 2005; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992).

Due to the complex issues that many participants faced but that formally remained the responsibility of municipalities and establishment guides, the demands of employment officers to also provide social support increased, making their role increasingly complex. The close and at times personal relationships with participants that ensued from the need to deal with social issues were potential obstacles to bureaucratic procedures and the emphasis on individual sanctions. In this way, the inclusion of social policy goals into the Public Employment Service through the establishment measures can be seen as limiting the ambitions of a more streamlined and bureaucratised working practices inherent in the issuance of detailed regulations intended to standardise services across the country.

The emphasis on social issues could serve as a way to avoid focusing on bringing individuals into the labour market who were seen as more vulnerable and in need of social support. This could be seen as a strategy to focus on other aspects of the integration process than finding work, i.e. social citizenship, that might be easier to achieve for employment officers (Hagelund & Kavli, 2009). In this sense, the conflicts noted in the political goals of the establishment reform were present also in the organisational practices at the Public Employment Service.

The incorporation of a new group, newly arrived migrants, into the Public Employment Service was a process of recentralisation in which NPM and post-NPM ideals were established to achieve greater control over the group and the actual work carried out. As discussed, however, the leeway given to employment officers to interpret the political goals for individual participants may be seen as a continuation of the social policy perspective implicit in the policy documents. Even as responsibility for the group of newly arrived migrants was recentralised, different policy goals and ambitions (such as social policy goals) added new functions to the area of labour market policy, and to the Public Employment Service as an organisation. The adoption of these functions was reflected through new practices that appeared alongside the focus on work.

The reorganisation was argued to be a way of bringing about a shift from the municipalities' integration practices which had been seen as too diverse, and not

sufficiently work-focused. The formal institutional framework that was created through the Public Employment Service was a way to formalise work procedures, albeit considerable room for interpretation remained. A more streamlined process, with measures emphasising control and measurement, was a central ambition in the steering documents and aligned with post-NPM reforms to recentralise and re-bureaucratise certain services. In practice, however, the integration of various policy ambitions and the practical realities experienced by newly arrived migrants challenged this ambition. As discussed above, at least some employment officers adopted the focus on social policy goals, limiting efforts to achieve a stronger workfare perspective. Similarly, the ambition to enhance active responsibility of individuals through sanctions was negotiated through a focus on individual circumstances, allowing employment officers to use their discretion.

Thus the transfer of responsibilities to the Public Employment Service led to the renegotiation of certain organisational practices in order to manage the perceived needs of newly arrived migrants. Rather than transforming localised integration practices into a stricter, bureaucratised work regime, as policy documents suggested, the organisation took over some of the working practices and the wider integration ambitions of the municipalities. This can be understood as a practical limitation of control measures in organisations working with client, where the needs of the client meet the demands of the organisation (cf Munro, 2004), as well as an example of the contradictions within public sector reforms, such as the tension between individual customer focus and increased control.

Part 2: Private organisations – privatizing services

Arguments for the new organisation

The privatisation of responsibility for newly arrived migrants was portrayed as one of the major changes of the establishment reform. In practice, the role of the establishment guides was limited as the Public Employment Service had administrative and decision-making powers. Nonetheless, the establishment guides were to be the main point of contacts for participants in the establishment reform, regularly meeting with the individuals and providing support leading to faster labour market entry. Moreover, the establishment guides faced criticisms from the start and their role was discontinued in 2015 by a coalition government comprising the Social Democratic Party and the Green Party. Interestingly, the

Public Employment Service introduced an "establishment resource", in which the role of the establishment guides providing additional support would be handled by its own employees (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015a).

Analysing the practices of the establishment guides helps to consider the difficulty of adding new elements onto the established framework of labour market policy. As we will see, many of the unresolved conflicts at the policy level contributed to the difficulties of establishing a well-functioning system for private actors and gave particularly interesting insights into the prominence of social issues as they were managed in the establishment reform.

The setting up of the establishment guidance system followed the introduction of private actors into unemployment services as discussed in chapter 2. One of the reasons for inviting private actors to provide welfare services was the aim to provide more flexible and individualised services that are not hampered by bureaucratic procedure (Le Grand & Bartlett, 1993). This was in strong contrast to the re-bureaucratisation arguments of transferring responsibility to the Public Employment Service. If the latter was a way to achieve more equal services and rights nationally, the purpose of the establishment guides was to introduce choice and individualised services.

Thus, the establishment reform created a system of private actors with free market entry once certain requirements were fulfilled. Choosing an establishment guide was an individual right for participants and was seen as a way to enhance individual empowerment. By providing results-based payments to establishment guides, financial incentives were instituted to ensure more effective working practices. The introduction of establishment guides thus represented the establishment of a new practice within the institution of labour market policy, subject to control and regulation by the Public Employment Service.

While the government commissioned white paper proposed a significantly larger role for private actors than was subsequently instituted, the government proposal expressed great hopes for the new organisation:

> The government's ambition is that the development of a market for establishment guides will bring a great pluralism of private actors where the different establishment guide companies' business ideas will be diverse. The newly arrived migrants also have different needs in terms of support and help. An increased pluralism of actors can lead to creativity and new ways of working (Prop 2009/10: 60).

These arguments in favour of privatizing part of the service were in line those that emphasise the value of diversity, pluralism and creativity envisaged as a result of

the organisational changes (Le Grand, 2007). As seen in chapter 5, optimism about privatisation was, not surprisingly, shared by the private employer organisation Almega and some municipalities that were controlled by a centre-right majority, whereas criticism mainly arose from opposition parties and municipalities controlled by the Social Democratic, Left and/or Green Parties.

As seen in chapter 5, the fears of the opposition parties related to the risks of abuse in the system, and the appropriateness of a freedom of choice system for a vulnerable group. Government MPs defended the private actors by assuring, for example, that "only competition of quality will be permitted", and that third sector organisations could able become establishment guides (Centre Party MP Annika Qarlsson in Riksdagens protokoll 2009/10:89).

The individualised introduction process had been an ambition in the municipality introduction system as well. In the establishment reform, the government tried to strengthen this through the introduction of private actors.

While the positive arguments in favour of privatisation were the starting point for setting up the system, the negative arguments became more prominent in its closure. As noted in the introduction, the establishment guidance system was an expensive part of the establishment reform and received criticisms from the start in various evaluations (Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Statskontoret, 2012). In February 2015, the newly appointed head of the Public Employment Service, Mikael Sjöberg, announced that the system of establishment guides would be stopped immediately, after a three month termination period, due to serious threats from these companies against staff at the Public Employment Service, as well as suspicions of criminal activities including white collar crime and recruitment to the Islamic State terrorist organisation (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015c). This flagship of the establishment reform was thus abruptly abolished.

Organisational framework

In this section, I will consider some of the regulations that were intended to provide effective monitoring of the establishment guides and how the different political ambitions were combined in the formal framework. By considering these issues we can better understand the challenges that led to the eventual breakdown of the establishment guidance system.

The work of the establishment guides was regulated primarily by a tender specification (*förfrågningsunderlag*) through a continuous procurement process launched in 2010 and managed by the Public Employment Service until the system was terminated.

A new freedom of choice system (*Lagen om Valfrihetssystem* or LOV) was introduced by the Alliance government in 2008 to regulate procurement processes whereby public services were contracted out to private actors and competition was based on free choice by individual service users rather than on the provision of the least expensive service (SFS 2008:962). Under the establishment law, this system was specified as the chosen system for procuring private establishment guides. In line with the recommendations of the LOV, companies that fulfilled the requirements in the procurement specification qualified as establishment guides and could thereafter be chosen by participants in the establishment reform.

The services provided by establishment guides were specified as providing support to individuals in their efforts to find work and were further broken down to help newly arrived migrants in:

- Acquiring contacts and a network directed to Swedish work life;
- Acquiring an orientation concerning the general conditions and demands of Swedish work life;
- Acquiring the opportunity to receive social support that may concern the housing situation, needs related to health care, or the family situation. (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2010: 2).

This was a broad service specification, with room for interpretation to suit individual participants, but with the potential to complicate service delivery and monitoring (cf Donahue, 1989).

The procurement specification also stated that the establishment guides' work should be based on the establishment plan that the Public Employment Service's employment officers created together with individual participants. It specified how frequently the establishment guides were to meet with their clients, and included formal requirements related to aspects such as office space and staff experience (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2010).

According to the freedom of choice system (SFS 2008:962) under which the service operated, the Public Employment Service could not guarantee a number of participants to establishment guides since newly arrived migrants themselves made the choice. However, the option not to choose was also provided, where the employment officer could pick a guide based on the participant's home address (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2010).

Finally, the regulations related to how establishment guides were compensated for the services they provided. While establishment guides received start-up and

monthly payments, the larger part of their compensation was results-based and were made after individuals had entered employment, enrolled in fulltime higher education or started their own business, subject to certain regulations. Higher payments were made for participants with less than six years of schooling.[49]

Efforts were made to regulate the system in numerous ways, reflecting both monitoring related to the structure (such as staff competencies) and process (such as monthly reports detailing establishment guides' work and outcomes) through the results-based payments system (Amirkhanyan et al., 2007). According to the privatisation literature, this is a necessary aspect of privatizing public services, but there are challenges in setting up an efficient system that gives private providers room for innovation and to perform to high standards, whilst also ensuring minimal abuses (see Anell, 2010). Moreover, freedom of choice systems are often seen by proponents as a way to add a market component whereby "consumers" choose the best quality service, thus adding self-regulation (Le Grand, 2007). The results-based payment system can be seen as a way to avoid cream-skimming and parking that have been noted as problems in the area of quasi-markets in employment services, if payments are made per participant (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2007; Elm Larsen, 2005).

As noted above, this regulatory system was seen as having many flaws, which were considered by the Public Employment Service so serious that they were unable to properly monitor the large number of companies involved in service delivery (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2015c). Moreover, other studies have previously reported on the extensive social support provided by establishment guides, instead of more work-focused guidance (Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Sibbmark et al., 2016; Statskontoret, 2012). In relation to the quasi-market system, an IFAU study from 2016 found that the market mechanisms in the establishment guidance system did not have any evidenced impact on improved employment prospects for individuals (Sibbmark et al., 2016). While my findings touch upon these results, I focus primarily on the issues related to the combination of workfare, social investment and social policy goals, rather than the success of the reform measures.

Privatisation in practice

In this section, we will consider some of the challenges of the establishment guidance system by relating the political goals of individualisation, work focus and social support to the work performed by the establishment guides. Naturally, the

[49] See appendix for more details.

formal setup of the system also interacted with these goals, leading to different challenges related to the introduction of new policies and the privatisation of public services.

Specifying services

As described above, the establishment guides' work were covered by a broad service specification, including both labour market activities and social support. The tension inherent in balancing these issues was a recurrent theme for the establishment guides I interviewed and was also apparent in Public Employment Service documentation on guidance activities. Similar to the evaluations cited above, these materials revealed that a significant amount of work done by the establishment guides focused on social support in the form of activities such as coaching talks, practical support and assessment of jobseeker's training and experience.

For one of the establishment guides interviewed, social support necessarily turned into their main work focus:

> Unfortunately, if you consider the establishment reform today, there was a good idea behind in that you should help individuals get a job, or work experience, as soon as possible. Unfortunately it doesn't work as it was envisaged, and that's because of this small thing called "social issues". And no one really defined what this means…80–90% of what we do are social issues that don't involve getting a job or a work placement. (C 002)

For this establishment guide, the fact that "social issues" were formally included in the service content meant that denying individuals this help was difficult. As discussed in chapter 2, one of the recurring dilemmas in introducing private actors in the area of welfare services was how to specify services in order to achieve the desired results and how to achieve successful monitoring. In this case, including social issues in the work description whilst emphasising the importance of a work focus reflected one of the difficulties in setting up contracts with private providers.

> Especially in the beginning we've been asking ourselves, should we just focus on the labour market or can these other issues also take up our time? In the beginning it's all these social issues and we can't start the first interview by saying "can you take up a work placement next week?" It's impossible, we have to start by gaining their trust. (C 005)

From this establishment guide's perspective, the dilemma lay in how the service specification was interpreted, the expectations of the Public Employment Service, and how to balance the different issues specified. Establishment guides were meant to provide individualised services to participants with a wide variety of needs. Specifying the exact relationship between work focus and social support could therefore be seen as an impossible task, and something that must be decided on a case-by-case basis (E. Z. Brodkin, 2007; Donahue, 1989). The specification of a service description could thus be seen as introducing these contradictions into the policy framework. Presumably, the focus on results-based payments was meant to resolve this issue by encouraging establishment guides to maintain a work focus. Instead, as seen here and supported by other studies (Larsson, 2015; Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Sibbmark et al., 2016; Statskontoret, 2012) the establishment guides were often unwilling to deprioritise social support due to demands of the clients.

Moreover, my cases and interviews showed that the Public Employment Service employment officers often referred questions of social support such as housing to the establishment guides. Such referrals signify that no other authority was in charge of these issues. The rhetoric of increased work focus of the establishment measures, rather than the social support offered by the municipalities, left a gap in social issues that individuals still needed to resolve, but no longer had an authority to turn to. Interestingly, this situation was also predicted prior to the reform, for example by municipality workers involved in the preparations (Ennerberg, 2011) and through the consultation responses (Integrations- och jämställdhetsdepartementet, 2009). This lack of clear responsibility was a consequence of the reorganisation of welfare services and the subsequent difficulties in controlling the actors involved in the policy delivery the more general policy area (Benish, 2014; Christensen, Lie, et al., 2007).

Prioritisation of different goals

Many establishment guides argued that social issues needed to be resolved before labour market issues could even be approached. Some pointed out practical difficulties in maintaining a work perspective when some individuals needed such extensive help, particularly at the start of the establishment process. Involved in this decision making is also how the work with clients is perceived, where focusing on individuals' needs is sometimes seen as necessary and preceding any work related to labour market questions. In this instance, the issue of social support could thus be seen as a way to engage with clients more flexibly, in effect prioritising social policy goals before employment.

For individuals seen as being far from the labour market, focusing on social issues sometimes became the main occupation for establishment guides, who could take on a very extensive role:

> I'm a bit too kind, I'm sure not all establishment guides work like that… But they have my number and I keep my work phone on at home as well, so if I have participants that are in a difficult situation, related to medical care for example, then they might require help at night and are not sure who to call, then I help them. So they can call me outside my office hours. (C 005).

For this establishment guide, the knowledge that many of the issues individuals faced were indeed difficult to resolve left them with a choice between refusing to focus on the help actually requested by the individual, or else bending the limits of what could be seen as professional behaviour towards clients. As seen previously in the chapter, a similar dilemma was also faced by employment officers. Here, there is however a difference in the roles due to the bureaucratic rules guiding the employment officers, that, to an extent, limited their responsibilities towards clients. For the establishment guides, being constantly available, even if not required through the regulations, was a way to interact with their clients and keep them satisfied with the service. Nonetheless, in both cases the responses can be seen as leading to the same result of not following the spirit of the policy.

It can be argued that the focus on an individualised, flexible service, as emphasised by proponents of privatisation (Le Grand, 2003, 2007; Osborne & Gaebler, 1992) encouraged this social engagement and actually countered the work focus and responsibility that were promoted as important goals of the establishment reform.

Individual engagement could be further reinforced in situations where establishment guides who might also speak the language of their clients had substantial power in terms of providing information. While I did not find this in my interviews, a risk of this flexible role can be seen in complaints regarding establishment guides who abused their position. In the Public Employment Service's document "Experiences from the Service Establishment Guides" (2015), there are descriptions of vulnerable individuals being taken advantage of, for example, by being registered at the home address of establishment guides or being "sold" false addresses. The inadequate monitoring and regulation by the Public Employment Service is an example of the difficulties in controlling private welfare service delivery (Amirkhanyan et al., 2007; Donahue, 1989), particularly in terms of protecting more vulnerable groups in the labour market (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2007).

The focus on social issues may be perceived as a continuation of the work done by municipalities, thus continuing the practices of the old system, and as an example of the difficulties in separating unemployment measures from social policy support. As we saw in the previous chapter, the focus on "care" that was seen as characterising the municipality introduction programmes was still present, but was provided by the establishment guides who, through the flexibility granted them, sometimes took an on even more supportive role than the municipalities' social services.

Another assumption about involving private actors in welfare services is that the economic incentives for private companies will lead to higher quality and better results. Studies of the establishment guides refuted these claims (Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Sibbmark et al., 2016). According to the arguments surrounding privatisation, the economic interest in itself should had led to establishment guides focusing on workfare elements with clients. Instead, some establishment guides saw a focus on work rather than social support as particularly difficult when working with individuals further from the labour market. Establishment guides also considered the risk of introducing individuals who were not fully ready to the labour market from a business perspective:

> I won't risk my contacts with employers unless it is an individual that I feel is ready to take the responsibility that is actually needed when entering the labour market… (C 006)

Thus, some clients were simply "parked" (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2008), revealing a further contradiction within the privatisation of welfare services, where only some clients are seen as a worthwhile economic investment. Following this line of argument, while it was hoped that private actors could provide tailored support for individuals through their own personal networks, these opportunities were sometimes limited to those individuals who would have received help regardless.

The amalgamation of labour market policy goals and social policy goals was further emphasised in the establishment guides' work, confirming results from previous studies (Larsson, 2015; Riksrevisionen, 2014b; Sibbmark et al., 2016). Nevertheless, the social perspective goes against the main aims of the establishment reform which emphasised integration through work, rather than a stable integration process after which the individual was prepared to enter the labour market. But the adoption of social policy goals into the service specifications for establishment guides made it more difficult to establish a workfare perspective. On the other hand, the combination of social policy concerns, the particular complexity of the service and individuals' demands to an

extent counteracted some of the more coercive workfare elements of the reform. As we will see, the aspect of choice built into the system further reinforced this dilemma.

Freedom of choice

Material from the establishment guide reports suggests – and this is supported by other studies (see for example Sibbmark et al., 2016) – that help to individuals often involved contacts with the Migration Board regarding family situations, bank contacts, contacts with the Social Security Agency, social services and different housing agencies. While the opportunity to receive social support in regards to, for example, housing, health care and family situation was specified in the regulations (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2010: 2), whether or not the establishment guides were required to make these contacts with other authorities was not specified, but could be requested by the individuals or through requests made by employment officers.

Apart from the demands of the service specification, the choice system seems to have complicated this further for some guides. One establishment guide clearly expressed the power participants held against attempts to emphasise the individual's responsibility in the process:

> We've become better at saying, "OK, I can show you this one, two, three times, but we won't do it for the whole 24 months, because you should be able to do it yourself, you should be able to pay your bills after the establishment period, no one is going to help you." So we have become better at that, but on the other hand it is really difficult, because if you persist in saying that "you can manage on your own", the participant can also interpret it in a way that we don't want to help them, and if that's the case they have the power to change guides. (C 008)

According to this establishment guide, the freedom of choice system gave clients the power to choose, if they wished, private actors that gave the most extensive help, rather than focusing on the help provided in accessing the labour market. Thus, in some cases, the fact that individuals were free to change establishment guides actually prevented private actors from providing a focused high-quality service that emphasised labour market entry. Rather than competing on the basis of their quality of service in helping find employment, the system could be seen as skewed towards providing as full a service as possible (cf Sibbmark et al., 2016). In this way, the individual became a "consumer" or a "customer", with the potential to make demands on the companies delivering the service; something also noted in earlier work on private employment services (Borghi & Van Berkel,

2007; Bredgaard & Larsen, 2007; J. Clarke, 2007). Individualisation can thus be seen as countering some of the more controlling aspects of the reform, in effect countering its liberalizing tendencies.

Another establishment guide contrasted individual freedom of choice with the demands placed on the establishment guides:

> If you get an offer of work experience for example, it's very easy to turn it down without it leading to any consequences. And there's plenty of hours of work going into finding this placement. So it might be that individuals become picky, it's easier to continue doing other things like studying Swedish than to take up a work placement. It can be a dilemma, because it's quite flexible for the participants, but I have demands in terms of performance in order to receive any financial compensation. (C 011)

This complaint clearly reveals the potential conflicts between individual choices and establishment guides' financial incentives. The long-term goal of the individual might not fit the establishment guides' efforts to find them work fast, showing a clash of two different interests (cf F. Larsen & Wright, 2014). The guide could not force the individual to accept a work placement, but the individual could resist the attempts of the establishment guide to adjust to a plan that they saw as unsuitable for their needs. This quote highlights some of the difficulties in achieving a work focus in the area of labour market policy. While outcomes could be clearly measured, individuals' own trajectories towards jobs varied greatly. While some establishment guides worked towards a clear outcome in the form of results-based payment, individuals' end goals or the route they considered most appropriate to reach those goals might differ from those of the establishment guides. The situation thus easily became a negotiation about the best possible way to enter the labour market.

This setup posed interesting dilemmas regarding how individual choice in welfare services could be combined with regulation of private actors' work in the area, especially in an area such as unemployment services, where professional authority is often less relevant than, for example, in health care services. While financial incentives for the establishment guides were introduced in order to increase labour market focus, prioritising "work results" could paradoxically lead to guides losing clients if there was disagreement regarding the work focus.

Individual empowerment, combined with many individuals' concerns over their social situation, was in some cases seen as more important than the work focus of the establishment reform. This can be analysed in relation to the strong emphasis put on rational choice in terms of individual behaviour. Assumptions

that individuals act rationally often concern financial gain; in this case, the assumption may be that the first priority would be employment. However, as the literature suggests, individuals often make choices based on other aspects such as geographical proximity (see Hanspers & Mörk, 2011; Wilson, 2009). Ideals promoting active responsibility and individual choice often assume that individuals choose the service with the best content, rather than short-term gain, even through less serious actors. However, here we see that lack of information and financial difficulties may have intersected to make it more difficult for individuals to choose an option that would be better in the long run by opting for more focused establishment guide companies.

Relatedly, if faced with a complex social situation, some individuals may have preferred social support such as help with housing, health or their social situation, particularly when they had relatives in other countries waiting to enter Sweden. In some of the cases I analysed, for examples, individuals were fully aware that by prioritising travelling to see family members and being away from establishment activities for a longer period than was allowed they forfeited financial compensation during the period of absence. Such choices cannot be seen as irrational except in a strictly economic sense; they emphasise other priorities that are not fully covered by a choice rhetoric focusing primarily on economic factors. This can also be seen as a limit to the workfare rhetoric that emphasises economic sanctions as a tool for steering individual behaviour (Lødemel & Moreira, 2014; Taylor-Gooby, 2008). Moreover, the interpretation of what is most successful in the long run is an open-ended question, leaving room for negotiation between individuals and their employment officers or establishment guides.

The issues identified in this section are examples of how these policy contradictions played out in practice on the organisational level. In the case of these private actors, some of the difficulties were reinforced due to the particularities of private welfare providers.

In contrast to the Public Employment Service where different policies were adopted into the system, the establishment guidance system was abruptly closed down. The failure to establish a functioning system can be seen as influenced by the contradictory goals set for the guides. I would argue that these contradictions, in terms of social support and work, as well as the individual empowerment were further reinforced by the challenges of privatizing and monitoring the system. As evidenced by the criminal activity and potential terrorist recruitment that led to the closure of the system, the difficulty of monitoring the system can be seen along the full spectrum, from establishment guides taking advantage of clients to sustain their own criminal activities, to using loopholes to increase their profits, all the

way to clients demanding more extensive help than the system was intended to provide.

The private actor system was set up to accompany the Public Employment Service by providing a diverse and individualised service to newly arrived migrants on the basis of choice and quality. The organisational strengths of this system was argued to lie in the multiplicity of private actors committed to providing flexible and diverse solution. To achieve high quality, competition was facilitated through mechanisms of choice and results-based payments. Despite these efforts, major problems in establishment guide companies led to the discontinuation of the practice. Through this failure, we can see some of the difficulties in applying the logic of privatisation to a complex area of welfare service delivery where specifying the work expected and continuously monitoring the plethora of actors and the work performance is very challenging. For example, many of the fears regarding the freedom of choice process were realised in practice. Moreover, the combination of different political ambitions, with an unclear mandate of how to prioritise goals, combined with the institutional setup, contributed to the breakdown of the practices. Unlike the Public Employment Service, the different establishment guide companies lacked pre-existing organisational stability or professional authority to achieve institutional stability that would have allowed a functioning practice to be built up within the area of labour market policy.

Conclusion

The coexistence of contradictory goals and functions within an institution is to be expected when it emerges from different coalitions of interests and grafting of policy over time. This raises two interconnected issues.

As noted in chapter 2, Streeck and Thelen (2005) discuss different types of institutional changes as a gradual transformation that may lead to significant transformation, often in a direction of increased liberalisation. The establishment reform can be seen as following the path of earlier labour market traditions in Sweden, incorporating aspects such as freedom of choice and the introduction of private actors, a focus on particular groups and investment in human capital through education measures. However, stricter workfare elements, such as economic incentives and sanctions, and an increased focus on individual choice and privatisation, could be seen as evidence of what Dahlstedt (2009) has called a "new labour market model".

When it comes to policy ambitions, in the case of the establishment reform, two different policy traditions, labour market policy and social policy, were integrated and expected to be adopted into two different organisations. On the one hand, the ambitions of previous integration policy, which also combined different labour market policy and social policy goals, can be seen as simply relabelled as a new policy area: "establishment". On the other hand, the Alliance government's commitment to an integration through work policy aimed, at least rhetorically, to override other social policy concerns. This was articulated through the transfer of responsibility to the Public Employment Service and expressed in the ideal of paid work as the route to integration. At the same time, the social policy concerns that did remain in the policy, following earlier integration initiatives, were in effect transferred to the Public Employment Service in its function as main coordinating agency, and delegated to the establishment guides.

Interestingly, however, the addition of social policy goals, particularly combined with the individualised focus of the establishment measures, can be seen as countering workfare tendencies. The individual responsibility perspective can be seen both through the employment officers and the establishment guides as limiting the extent to which workfare strategies could be enforced, enabling individuals to articulate their needs in relation to social support. Here, the actual needs of participants could challenge the direction of the policy if they were considered legitimate by employment officers. Interestingly, this dilemma was particularly strong in relation to the establishment guides, where the choice model reinforced the role of participants as customers who could demand more, rather than less, social support. This was one of the contradictions in private unemployment services and marketisation, where the market mechanisms actually negated the workfare mechanisms. On the other hand, the ability to control individuals through sanctions was more compatible with a bureaucratised agency, where individuals' needs were interpreted according to rules, than the social needs. Even in these instances though, the interpretations of the employment officials, particularly by referring to individual choice, allowed more lenient interpretations.

The particular nature of labour market policy added to the complexity of these types of judgements, where employment officers and establishment guides needed to focus on either a stricter interpretation or on helping individuals with a particular request. The "solution" to an individual's situation of unemployment could be seen as a negotiation, where their skills, experience and desire to find work in a particular area interacted with the measures and support available from the authorities and the actual jobs available. In the area of labour market policy the way to the end goal of finding employment is complex and multifaceted,

particularly when social issues are involved. Here, flexibility and persuasion could be seen as more important than bureaucratic rule adherence (see Rothstein, 2010a: 174). Additionally, rather than availing a service "produced" by the service provider, the individual in this case actually played an active part in service delivery by participating in job seeking activities and formulating their own labour market participation goals. Finding the most suitable solution was, potentially, a negotiation between participants and the organisations involved, reflecting the historical dilemma of who is responsible for unemployment. Furthermore, as we have seen in relation to private actors, in some instances the introduction of choice led to a different form of empowerment than was originally envisaged, where individuals chose to prioritise other issues over immediate labour market entry. In this way, the "customer" relationship can be seen to subvert workfare tendencies, effectively limiting some of the liberalisation aspects of the measures. In this way, the practices of the organisation actually further complicated the contradictions noted in the previous chapter.

Chapter 7

Labour market policy in practice: challenges and consequences

Introduction

In this chapter, I return to the political ambitions of the establishment reform by looking more closely at the measures actually provided to participants in the establishment programme, how they were managed, and the outcomes for various groups. As discussed in the introduction, the Swedish labour market in the present day is characterised by high employment figures for the general population, while certain groups classed as vulnerable make up a large proportion of the unemployed. The Alliance government's solution to this dualised labour market was to promote the inclusion of individuals belonging to certain vulnerable groups into work. The establishment reform was an example of this ambition. The starting point for this chapter is the sub-question:

How was the "vulnerable" group in the labour market characterised and managed by employees at the Public Employment Service?

I discuss in particular how human capital aspects of social investment were combined with other labour market measures for individuals participating in the establishment reform. To analyse these measures, I present five types that characterise a particular vulnerable group in the labour market and follow the trajectories of each through the establishment measures. While this sketch is based on a small sample, the types presented to a certain extent mirror those in the general labour market, and may help illustrate the complexities of "inclusion through work" as a way to reduce unemployment for vulnerable groups.

The group of newly arrived migrants is a heterogeneous one, and policy questions of whether the focus should be on work, social investment or social support reappear, as different types fit more or less well into the policy ambitions and measures discussed earlier.

In this chapter, I have used interview data as well as my readings of cases obtained from the Public Employment Service. A full description of how I have worked with my material is provided in chapter 3.

As noted in chapter 5, various political ambitions (workfare, social investment, social support and individualisation) were reflected in the establishment measures. During their (maximum) 24 months in the establishment measures, participants had the opportunity to combine Swedish language studies with labour market training programmes, subsidised or unsubsidised employment, studies at upper secondary level, and other activities deemed suitable for their individual goals.

In this chapter I will consider some of these measures more closely and discuss the further overlaps and contradictions they reveal. By creating a typology based on the cases received from the Public Employment Service, I aim to provide a tentative description of how groups of vulnerable individuals in the labour market were portrayed by employment officers. A second aim is to consider how these diverse types fit the labour market measures aimed at them. These types also illustrate the negotiations surrounding freedom of choice and individual active responsibility discussed in previous chapters.

Data description

Other reports (see for example Andersson Joona et al., 2016; Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014b) give a comprehensive description of participation in, and the results of, the establishment reform. I do not intend to provide a similar analysis of my data, particularly as it covers a smaller population. Nonetheless I will, in this part of the thesis, provide a short description of the basic features of the cases I worked with.

As described in chapter 3, I received 197 cases from the Public Employment Service. After individuals who did not wish to take part in the study, whom I was unable to contact and who had left the establishment measures in the first three months were excluded, 181 cases remained. A breakdown of these cases is provided below.

Table 1

GENDER	
Women	38.5%
Men	61.5%

Table 2

LOCATION DURING ESTABLISHMENT PERIOD	
City 1 (large)	43%
City 2 (large)	25%
City 3 (small)	11%

Table 3

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND	
Less than 6 years education	22%
More than 6 years education	23%
Upper secondary education	30%
Vocational education	4%
Higher education	20%

Table 4

YEAR OF BIRTH	
1953–1963	9%
1964–1973	16%
1974–1983	36%
1984–1993	39%

As table 1 above shows, men formed a majority in my material. Most of the participants I studied took part in establishment measures in city 1, whilst city 3 includes both those from a single small municipality and individuals who started their establishment period in other small towns, and moved to one of the two bigger cities during their time in the establishment measures. Only a fifth had received higher education while nearly half had not even completed upper secondary education. More young people participated in the establishment measures.

I attempted to code the region of origin for participants, but this data was not always entered by employment officers in the cases, though it was at times revealed through their notes. Due to the inconsistencies of this data, however, I chose not to use it in the final analysis.

Employment measures

During their first year of the establishment period, most individuals took part in the Swedish for immigrants language courses combined with preparatory courses such as skills validation or vocational Swedish. Civic orientation and preparation

activities covering health, social activities or work preparation were also provided to many individuals. The preparation activities that the Public Employment Service could set up as part of the establishment plan in the two larger cities (cities 1 and 2) were often used when individuals were between other activities, for example when waiting for an appropriate Swedish for immigrants course or other activity to start. In smaller municipalities, these activities often seemed to be used to fill out individuals' plans to 100%. Here, the individuals studied Swedish for a certain number of hours per week, but instead of taking part in an additional organised activity, "preparatory activities" such as social or health activities were included. Occasionally, these activities had more specific instructions, for example that the individual should join a study group organised by a local NGO for practicing their Swedish language skills, but at other times only a vague description was included, such as self-study or getting involved in the local community.

I included the next steps that individuals took after completing their establishment period in the database of cases. These do not reveal the long-term results of the reform, but can be seen as indicators of how individuals were managing after the two years. I have coded this data into three categories: those who entered labour market programmes (Work and Development Programme or the Youth Programme), those who entered study, either fulltime or combined with a labour market programme, and finally, those who were employed, either fulltime or in combination with a labour market programme.

Table 5

AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT MEASURES	
Labour market programme	51%
Studies	11%
Work/self-employment	38%

Types

1 - "Swedish learner"

This type represents individuals whose primary aim was to study. These individuals, who may be either men or women, often had higher education degrees from their home country that they wanted to validate in Sweden. Younger individuals of this type might have received upper secondary education from their home country and wished to continue towards a higher education degree in Sweden. These individuals studied at the highest levels of Swedish for immigrants (C and D levels), and progressed quickly through the courses. Language courses

were usually combined with other activities such as "vocational Swedish" (*yrkessvenska*) or "skills portfolio course" (*meritportföljen*), but individuals in this type sometimes found these courses to be of low quality. This was particularly true of vocational Swedish courses provided by external providers, so they preferred to study Swedish for immigrants fulltime if the option was available.

The Swedish learner types were interested in finishing the Swedish for immigrants course as quickly as possible and were less interested in other work-related activities. If employment officers or establishment guides suggested work placements or part-time jobs, they were sometimes sceptical of how to combine such activities with their language studies. In other cases, they took up jobs offered through establishment guides or employment officers, or found part-time work on their own which they combined with their studies.

These individuals sometimes managed to complete Swedish courses beyond the Swedish for immigrants level, as well as other courses necessary for progressing with higher education. If they already had higher education degrees from their home countries, a validation of their skills, combined with Swedish language skills was sometimes enough to enter work. If the degrees were difficult to transfer to the Swedish labour market, however, a shorter course of education in a similar area was sometimes seen as more desirable. Mostly, however, Swedish learners who did not already have higher education focused on studying for a degree, often in an area where they perceived there were many work opportunities.

Individuals of this type sometimes spoke English and communicated easily with their employment officers. They often found appropriate study routes through their Swedish for immigrants providers or other channels, and merely informed, rather than consulted, the employment officers about their changes of plans. If the individuals could convincingly justify their commitment to language education whilst rejecting work-focused activities, employment officers often left them to decide for themselves, particularly if they seemed to be making progress in Swedish. When between activities, such as during the summer or while waiting for a course to start after completing Swedish for immigrants, the employment officers often added work preparatory activities to fill out the establishment plan. Individuals of this type were often trusted to look for work fulltime and occasionally report back.

Unless the individuals had arrived in Sweden long before commencing the establishment reform and already spoke Swedish,[50] none of those studied

[50] A smaller number of individuals may have received their residence permit after spending a longer period of time in Sweden and thus already have a command of the language and may also have been working.

progressed to a higher education programme during the time of the reform, despite often moving rapidly through the education system in terms of Swedish learning.[51]

2 "Frustrated jobseekers"

This type describes individuals who struggled to find a place in the labour market. This was the most diverse type studied, both in terms of background and in terms of how they managed the establishment process.

These individuals were often either in the younger age group or older individuals who had previously worked in their home countries, most often in low-skilled jobs or professions that were not easily transferrable to the Swedish labour market. They often wanted to find work as quickly as possible and, rather than having a clear professional ambition, were interested in finding any job.

Individuals of this type often combined Swedish for immigrants courses with vocational Swedish or skills portfolio courses, but were more interested in work placements. In larger cities they often managed to find work placements on their own, through the Public Employment Service or through establishment guides, but these generally did not lead to longer periods of paid work. In some cases, they struggled with the language and/or workplace norms. Language difficulties could lead to employers finding that they spend too much time mentoring these individuals or that mistakes were being made. Employers also noted timekeeping issues or difficulties with being sufficiently active. There were also cases where the employers themselves did not seem serious and individuals felt used, leading to conflicts that ended the work placement. In other cases, employers declined to hire the individuals long term, citing costs or lack of work for the time being.

In smaller towns, these individuals did not participate in work placements to the same extent, instead participating in fulltime activities through external providers, such as vocational Swedish and other language activities. They were sometimes frustrated with the lack of connection to the labour market and did not see the point of participating in these measures.

The work of the establishment guides and employment officers was often directed towards finding suitable work placements and activities for these individuals, as well as motivating them to actively participate in Swedish for immigrants and look for permanent work. Those who had undergone several work placements that had not led to permanent work often expressed frustration and lack of motivation, and felt used by employers as free labour.

[51] In terms of the goals set out in results-based payments for establishment guides, individuals were not seen as having reached the result of entering further education.

The lack of success in finding stable employment often caused individuals in this type to question the possibilities of finding work, leading them to redirect their efforts into labour market training programmes or to study Swedish for immigrants fulltime with the hope of finding a new job in the near future. The combination of a labour market training programme and vocational Swedish courses could be a positive experience for individuals interested in a particular profession and where the course was to a high standard. In a few cases, they struggled to keep up due to language difficulties, or expressed disappointment with the quality of the course and the perceived employment prospects. Despite attempting to find their feet in the labour market and trying different activities, they did not always have a clear labour market goal after two years in the programme.

3 – "Establishment strugglers"

The third type comprises individuals who struggled to participate in establishment activities and who did not make clear progress during the two-year period. This type was similar to the second type, the frustrated jobseeker. These individuals were often younger and did not have much previous education or a specific profession. They lacked clear goals in terms of labour market participation.

These individuals studied Swedish combined with other labour market activities such as vocational Swedish, often in a smaller municipality, but progress was often slow. If living in a small municipality they were often still waiting to be placed in a reception municipality, and thus the Public Employment Service did not work with them as closely as with those who had already settled in a municipality.[52] Such individuals thus also lived in greater insecurity about their future. In my material (which is not representative of the general migrant population), some of these individuals found places of their own in the same municipality as ABO placements, and no longer qualified for a municipality placement, or had housing in smaller municipalities but subsequently moved at least once.

Some individuals of this type had a high rate of absence from activities or, according to the external providers or Swedish teachers, appeared unengaged. In a small number of cases this led to conflicts with external providers, who were frustrated with the lack of engagement. The individuals, on the other hand, complained about the quality of the teachers or the education and communicated

[52] This legislation subsequently changed so that individuals could only enter establishment measures once they had received a municipality placement or independently registered that they had found housing.

to the employment officers that they did not see the long-term purpose of participating. In some cases, individuals in this type travelled for a period of time without notifying the Public Employment Service, often to see family members abroad and try to bring them to Sweden. In these cases, absence could further break the continuity of the establishment period. Many of these individuals participated in shorter work placements that ended due to issues with timekeeping or other misunderstandings between individuals and employers.

Individuals in this type may also be more engaged in activities but lacked clear labour market goals. Without a clear focus, the establishment activities seemed to become less useful. When they and their employment officers did not seem to discuss or agree on a long-term plan, the two years of the establishment period passed without much apparent progress.

At other times, these individuals articulated clear labour market goals that required further studies and chose to focus solely on Swedish for immigrants. However, progress was often slow. Moreover, when employment officers discussed career choices and explained the nature of the work in further detail or the study path towards a professional qualification, they often changed focus to a different type of job with less demanding qualifications.

Such individuals often did not make clear progress after the establishment period; and it may be that they needed more than two years to find an appropriate career path. While they had many similarities with frustrated jobseekers, establishment strugglers developed less connection with the labour market through the establishment measures, and struggled to find a suitable path throughout the establishment period.

4 – "Work settlers"

The fourth type comprises individuals who, to the greatest extent, found work in the Swedish labour market, either through subsidised types of work such as entry recruitment incentive or new start jobs (discussed later in this chapter), or unsubsidised types of work. By the end of the establishment period these individuals had found employment, either combined with different labour market programmes (such as the Work and Development Programme or the Youth Programme) or were engaged in studies. Their way through the establishment measures, however, varied.

Such individuals often lived in one of the larger cities and were usually motivated to find work at the start of the establishment period while also studying Swedish for immigrants. They often took the initiative to find jobs, sometimes through previous contacts or a local network, and in areas such as cleaning, retail or restaurants.

These individuals were often able to find work placements that may lead to entry recruitment incentive employment. In many cases, however, employers were reluctant to hire them on a more permanent basis or in a less subsidised form of employment. The jobs found by the individual or by establishment guides often did not lead to permanent positions. After trying different types of jobs and activities however, at the end of their establishment period individuals of this type often received increased help with job matching from the Public Employment Service and could thereby find more stable employment. This service combined meetings for job matching with specific job offers or interview offers to suitable individuals.

Individuals in this type may have lived in Sweden for a longer period of time before being granted residence permits, and thus many already spoke Swedish. They could gain support from the Public Employment Service in terms of subsidised jobs, but often found new start jobs through their own personal networks, and had limited contact with their employment officers.

In a small number of cases, these individuals had a previous education and/or profession that they wished to continue in Sweden. Validation of skills formally or through hands-on experience in the workplace might have allowed them to re-enter their previous profession, often after a period of intense study of Swedish. Employment officers were generally in agreement with the work settlers about the end goal, and they primarily focused on finding the correct routes for validation of previous work experience and identifying appropriate contacts within their vocational area for such individuals.

5 – "Hindered establishers"

The fifth type comprises individuals who struggled to participate in the establishment measures due to health and/or social issues. They were often affected by these issues throughout the establishment period, but sometimes solutions could be found that facilitated greater participation.

These individuals generally participated in Swedish studies throughout the period, although the participation rate varied depending on their wellbeing during the two years. Additionally, they took part in activities such as the skills portfolio course or vocational Swedish. In many cases, however, individuals of this type were unable to participate in activities fulltime due to their personal problems. Some could participate in adjusted activities with a particular health focus that were offered locally. In other cases, they participated fulltime in the reform through the work preparatory activities that employment officers were able to include in plans.

Employment officers followed up on the health and social status of these individuals through Public Employment Service experts or outside professionals, such as doctors, to review the situation. If these individuals had long-term health problems that were unlikely to disappear, the Public Employment Service could draw on expert opinion to plan for further assistance and adjusted activities. For example, individuals might be able to participate in activities if the workplace could be adjusted. To find out about the long-term possibilities of entering the labour market, individuals could also participate in work training to evaluate their work capabilities. In some cases, the expert opinions and subsequent decisions by the employment officer led to conflict if individuals did not accept the description. The issue was often that individuals of this type considered their health situation an obstacle to any type of employment but the medical review suggested that their work capability[53] did not fall below 25%. In a few cases, the individual was seen as unable to work at all and was transferred to the municipality.

Many individuals suffered from health problems or related social issues that were a direct consequence of the traumatic experiences of war/conflict. In these cases, they often needed to combine Swedish studies to a manageable extent with other activities that aimed to increase wellbeing in the long run. Sometimes they could take part in work placements that were not intended to lead to work to try out specific employment areas or to practice their language skills in the workplace. For those who had had careers that were interrupted by conflict in their countries of origin and still had a considerable period left of their working lives, adjusting to these changes seemed particularly difficult.

When the hindered establishers were focused on the wellbeing of other family members who had not reached safety, participating in the establishment activities seemed particularly problematic. The establishment period might be interrupted if these individuals travelled to see family members. Handling social issues related to housing, divorce, schooling, etc. was particularly challenging and required adjusted activities at different times in the establishment period. Employment officers sometimes needed to make contacts with other authorities, and establishment guides could be asked to help solve issues such as contacts with the Migration Board regarding family reunification.

[53] The establishment measures used the definition of *prestationsförmåga*, i.e. "ability to achieve", rather than the more commonly used definition of "ability to work". For individuals to participate in the establishment reform measures less than fulltime a doctor's certificate was needed to validate a reduced ability to participate.

Such individuals could find their way through the establishment measures when social issues seemed less pressing. Those with specific health problems that qualified for additional support through other Public Employment Service measures could also find employment at the end of the period. However, those with uncertain medical conditions and low confidence in finding a job often did not find clear success at the end of the establishment period, but mainly focused on the Swedish for immigrants course.

More on the types

Some of the individual cases analysed fit fully into one type, while others could fit into one or two. Nevertheless, I have categorised individual data into the type that seems most appropriate. This caveat should be held in mind in the section below.

Across the material, the types are divided as follows:

Table 6

Types	
1: Swedish learners	18%
2: Frustrated jobseekers	24%
3: Establishment strugglers	14%
4: Work settlers	28%
5: Hindered establishers	17%
Total	100%

A higher proportion of women could be found amongst Swedish learners and hindered establishers, whereas men were more likely to be found in the work settlers type.

Table 7

	Swe learner	Frustr job-seeker	Est. struggler	Work settler	Hinderd est.	
Men	14%	23%	14%	36%	13%	100 %
Women	23%	24%	14%	15%	24%	100 %

Moreover, Swedish learners and work settlers were more common in larger municipalities, whereas frustrated jobseekers and establishment strugglers were

more frequently found in smaller municipalities after which some moved to one of the larger cities.

Hindered establishers were more likely to be found in older age groups, whereas those categorised as work settlers were more likely to be in the middle of the working age group.

Table 8

	Swe learner	Frustrated jobseekers	Estab. struggler	Work settler	Hindered estab.	
1953 - 1963	6%	19%	6%	19%	50%	100%
1964 - 1973	21%	21%	10%	28%	21%	100 %
1974 - 1983	19%	18%	10%	41%	13%	100 %
1984 - 1993	17%	32%	20%	19%	12%	100 %

While my material cannot be seen as reflecting participants in the establishment measures as a whole, certain trends can be noted in relation to the group and the definition of "vulnerable" unemployed presented by the Public Employment Service. This definition included individuals aged 55–64, individuals with disabilities affecting their ability to work, and those without upper secondary education. The definition also included individuals born outside Europe, i.e. all the individuals in my material. Within this group, however, we can consider this data in relation to the two types that seem to experience the most problems in the labour market: establishment strugglers and hindered establishers. For hindered establishers, we see that many belonged to the older age group, and proportionally more women were included in this category. For establishment strugglers, however, the most common age category was that of younger people, who were also heavily represented amongst frustrated jobseekers.

I now turn to a discussion of how the different measures in the establishment reform were used for the individuals in the programme.

Work focus

As discussed in previous chapters, a general labour market aim of the Alliance government was to lower the threshold for labour market entry in order to achieve higher participation. Among other general policy changes such as income tax reductions, targeted subsidies for groups further from the labour market were also introduced, something that could be seen as a work-first strategy. A mix of positive and negative economic incentives were also directed towards this group. Generally, matching strategies were identified as important for increasing opportunities for jobseekers.

Subsidised work

Job subsidies were a key measure aimed at newly arrived migrants, and were argued to facilitate relatively quick entry into the labour market. From this perspective, entering the labour market quickly was seen, at least for some individuals, as more appropriate than entering educational measures that kept them from the labour market and that did not ultimately guarantee entry the labour market. Additionally, subsidised work could be combined with studies, either in parallel or at a later stage in the individual's career. While job creation through subsidies can be seen to push out actual job opportunities on a macroeconomic level, many economists see targeted job subsidies for the most vulnerable groups as acceptable, as they allow groups that otherwise would be long-term unemployed a chance to enter and, hopefully, stay in the labour market (Forslund, Johansson, & Lindqvist, 2004; *Långtidsutredningen 2011 : huvudbetänkande*, 2011).

In the establishment reform, this was primarily exemplified by entry recruitment incentive (*instegsjobb*) and new start jobs (*nystartsjobb*). These measures offered significant tax rebates to employers who hired individuals far from the labour market as a way to facilitate early labour market entry instead of, or in combination with, the acquisition of new skills that would enable them to move to a different job instead of spending time on further education. These jobs were particularly common at the low-skilled end of the labour market and could thus be seen either as a first step into the labour market on the route to other employment, or as an alternative route for those less interested (at least for the time being) in pursuing more highly-skilled careers. Here, the main focus was on

facilitating entry into a job with substantial financial benefits to the individual for a limited period of time while also, hopefully, leading to a more permanent position. These measures can therefore primarily be seen as a part of a work-first strategy rather than as a social investment measure.

The work settler was the type most likely to pursue this path through the establishment reform. Such individuals preferred to work and earn money quickly and could sometimes organise jobs through their personal contacts, while at other times employment was offered through the Public Employment Service. In a few cases, individuals of this type found subsidised work within their own specialised field. Mostly, however, the jobs they took were in sectors such as hotels, restaurants, retail or cleaning. The Swedish learner type also sometimes combined language courses with a part-time subsidised job, particularly by the end of the two-year period.

Individuals pursuing a career or combining further studies with part-time work could arguably be seen as the "ideal candidates" that proponents of the policy had in mind when arguing for the reform in policy documents and parliament. The combination of different labour market measures that provided incentives for work and targeted measures suited individuals who could easily enter the labour market.

From these individuals' perspective, gaining access to subsidised jobs in the two-year establishment period had several benefits. Those who found a stable subsidised job could gain important work experience as well as substantial financial compensation, as their wages could be combined with the establishment benefit for up to six months. In other cases, however, entering subsidised work posed a potential conflict between long and short-term goals, something that was hinted at in both parliamentary debates and policy documents. For Swedish learners who combined their studies with subsidised work and thus made some extra money whilst pursuing a different career goal, there was no such conflict, assuming that they could manage both activities. Such individuals pursued the path described by, for example, the then Equality Minister Nyamko Sabuni (see chapter 5), by moving from low-skilled jobs to higher education or higher-skilled jobs. This path confirmed the work-first perspective that emphasises quick labour market entry with the possibility of subsequent career progression (Daguerre, 2008).

For others, the focus on work during their two years in the establishment activities could lead to a sense of missed opportunities in regards to not having had time to focus on Swedish studies or other courses whilst they were still eligible for establishment benefits.

> That's very paradoxical, because for many of the participants it's very easy to get a job, for example if they have good networks, maybe employers from the same country that they can work for, and then they might work there for the whole establishment period. And in terms of our results it looks great, but for the individual it's often not a very stable job, so they might not be able to stay after one or two years, and then they haven't had any time to for example participate in Swedish classes (P 101).

This employment officer saw this as a dilemma in the long term, even though it went against the work-first perspective of the programme. The dilemma of whether work-first measures led to quick labour market entry and subsequent labour market progression or whether long-term measures were more valuable for individuals also appears in political and academic debates (Esping-Andersen, 2002; Giddens, 1998; Morel, Palier, & Palme, 2012d). Whereas social investment pointed towards the benefits of education, this could be seen in line with earlier integration policies or a broader social policy ideal, while the workfare perspective, to an extent, influenced the rhetoric of the establishment measures.

Another issue that was not considered in the policy documents was competition amongst individuals in the establishment measures, a problem that also relates to the issue of matching. High-skilled individuals were the most likely to acquire jobs, even in the low-skilled part of the labour market.

> We never discuss who gets the jobs, and it's very frustrating when the highly educated take the low qualified jobs, which they do because they need the money, and they need a job, and they need to start somewhere. But it's a shame to see, because then the individuals with low education don't get any jobs. And it's a shame that we can't match towards more qualified work. (P 102)

This employment officer confirmed what I had observed in the cases: those who were most in need of subsidised work due to their vulnerable position in the labour market, for example those with little or no education, often struggled to take up these jobs.

Individuals who could not gain a foothold in the labour market through subsidised work expressed a frustration that their efforts had not paid off in terms of securing a more permanent position. Some of these individuals, who fell into the frustrated jobseeker and establishment struggler types, instead attempted to pursue language learning or labour market training programmes as the second-best option, but often did not make significant progress due to their late start. These attempts were intended to acquire more formal qualifications so as to fare

better in the labour market in the future, but can also be interpreted as a giving up of hope of finding work through this part of the programme. As discussed in chapter 6, participation in activities was linked to economic support, but could be interpreted differently. While unpaid placements or job subsidies were part of the establishment measures, the lack of progress into the regular labour market could lead to individuals questioning the legitimacy of these activities.

In particular, some individuals became disillusioned with what they experienced as abuse of the system by employers. The problems with some employers was also raised by employment officers and these tendencies were noted by, for example, the Swedish National Audit Office, which pointed to the prevalence of such practices particularly at the low-skilled end of the labour market (Riksrevisionen, 2013). For the types who were not hoping to pursue higher education or vocational education, their introduction to the Swedish labour market thus became an entry into its less regulated parts, where they encountered insecure working contracts and difficulties in finding stable employment. In the policy debates, the work-first emphasis on entering the labour market and "working your way up" applied to individuals in the Swedish learner type, but there was less clarity on how to manage the situation for individuals who were not aiming to use these jobs as a way to progress in the labour market, but were merely hoping to find work in the low-skilled part of the labour market.

Matching

Matching jobs and jobseekers is a traditional strategy focusing on employment, and is often pointed out as an important labour market measure. In the two larger cities I studied, the employment offices had, at different points in time, assigned specific employment officers to work on matching available jobs to individuals.

> Earlier we had a special team that was really good I think. Some worked more traditionally with acquiring job listings and then finding jobseekers by looking at the ads for vacancies, while the rest of the group started by looking at the jobseekers' competencies. And then the only requirement was that the individual wanted a job, not that you finished a certain level of Swedish or anything. Then you looked at the skills, and try to find jobs from what they were interested in. So for me who worked with the participants, if one of my clients were job ready, or wanted a job, I would send that individual to the team and they would work with that individual. (P 101)

This emphasis on prioritising individuals who wanted to find a job, rather than trying to encourage participants to compete with others through sending out job applications and CVs was seen by employment officers as positive as it allowed for more individualised measures and support. The difficulty of actually getting this help, which had previously been one of the core tasks at the Public Employment Service, was evident in many cases. The individuals belonging to the establishment struggler type who did not have clear goals often turned to employment officers with the request for "any job". Experiencing repeated difficulties, applying to advertised jobs but not being called to interviews, could lead to a sense of futility when efforts made did not pay off. Matching support could thus prove beneficial for such individuals, but hinged on employment officers having the time and engagement.

When analysing my cases, I noted that more directed attempts to provide individuals with targeted job offers were well-received and the jobs suggested were rarely rejected by the participants. This was in line with the more traditional matching services formerly provided by the Public Employment Service, that had given way to other types of administrative tasks and social support. In particular, frustrated jobseekers who were looking for "any job" in effect requested this more direct form of job provision from the Public Employment Service.

As we saw in chapter 4, in the 1950s and 1960s matching jobs between employers and jobseekers was one of the most important tasks performed by the Public Employment Service. The subsequent focus on individual support, targeted measures and publicly available job lists reduced this contact between employers and employment officers. Nevertheless, it is interesting to see that these measures that were often cited by employment officers as important for the agency were not seen as part of its core work under the establishment measures, but were deprioritised due to the other tasks required for the establishment reform.

The demands placed on individuals through a requirement of active responsibility can be seen as an individualisation of the responsibility for finding a job. The workfare elements encouraging positive sanctions were only applicable if individuals actually found a job to be combined with the establishment benefit for a period of time and thus pushed them to take up low-paid jobs rather than waiting for a better one. Here, however, the assumption was that individuals would have a job offer in the first place, whereas the lack of any opportunities was a significant issue for those who struggled to maintain their motivation to find work.

Social investment

While the work subsidies discussed above can be seen as a way to emphasise the work-first aspects of the establishment reform, other parts of the measures combined a work perspective with a social investment perspective. These policies can also be seen as following early labour market policy and integration policy closely. The measures that involved this type of investment in the individual included labour market training programmes, further education and possibly also Swedish language courses. As we will see, however, applying this perspective to newly arrived migrants was more complex than the social investment perspective would suggest.

Social investment measures

Further education was available as an option within the establishment measures for individuals choosing to pursue higher education in Sweden or to validate earlier educational qualifications. This path generally required finishing basic Swedish language courses in order to fulfil specific language requirements for further studies. This form of upskilling was in line with the ambitions of the broader social policy or social investment perspective, that emphasises increasing individual skills to compete for more skilled work, as opposed to the workfare perspective (Bonoli, 2012). Including the opportunity for further studies could be seen as a continuation of earlier integration policy ambitions, in particular by emphasising long-term labour market integration for individuals.

The ambitions of the labour market training programmes were in line with earlier labour market policy ambitions. As seen in chapter 4, labour market training programmes had been an important element of ALMP (Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, 1998) and were generally directly relevant to specific careers. Thus, they served as an investment in human capital in line with social investment measures, but could also offer a direct route into work, thus enabling quick labour market entry.

For individuals in the establishment measures, participating in Swedish language courses could also be seen from a social investment perspective that would facilitate labour market entry. Learning Swedish can be seen as essential for entering the labour market, but also for providing individuals with a connection to Swedish society, especially alongside the civic orientation courses included in establishment plans (Prop. 2009/10:60). In particular, if social investment

strategies prioritised "good jobs" over employment in, for example, the service industries where employment was insecure but language skills were less important, language courses were an important social investment.

Complementary courses developing general skills and job seeking techniques were usually included in the early stages of the establishment measures. These courses, provided by external actors, did not carry any credits, but could be seen as a way to fill time while learning Swedish, as many of the more advanced general courses and labour market measures at the Public Employment Service required a certain level of Swedish. These courses did not have the same clear connection to the labour market as traditional language classes, further education or labour market training programmes. However, the extent to which these courses could serve as an important form of upskilling in line with social investment ideas should be considered in relation to their content. In some instances, providing individuals with language skills was necessary before they could take part in more advanced activities such as labour market training programmes taught in Swedish. In other cases, these courses were more comparable to job seeking activities that at best provided career guidance or help with applying for jobs (cf Bonoli, 2012; Kananen, 2014; J. E. Larsen, 2005). The multiple purposes of the measures also makes it difficult to disentangle the extent to which the courses were suited to individuals' current or future ambitions, and to what extent they fulfilled other purposes. These issues point towards some of the difficulties in analysing how well the measures fit into the different perspectives. It is unclear whether these courses can actually be considered to be in line with social investment strategies, or with more disciplining workfare measures, or general upskilling and employability measures.

Social investment in practice

While the proponents of social investment measures often point to their benefits for both individuals and society at large, in practice estimating the potential benefits of these measures is more complex. The types in my material that most closely fit the ideal social investment candidate are the Swedish learners and frustrated jobseekers.

The Swedish learners in my material could benefit from the opportunity to take part in Swedish classes as well as further education to prepare for higher studies. In one sense, individuals in this type, with their clear study/career focus, were ideal candidates for social investment measures. In many cases, they would not need extensive career guidance or support, apart from specific advice about suitable

courses and how best to reach their goal. These individuals also often benefited from a previous educational history and found it easy to adapt to using these skills and experiences in learning a new language and/or embarking on a new career path. One employment officer confirmed that this group often did not require extensive support from the Public Employment Service:

> Those with an academic background, that I work with, the ones that have at least an upper secondary education, they often have a goal. At the start, it might not be that easy to do what you want, to get the job that you want, considering the Swedish skills, and then you don't have any contacts, the experiences that are required. But otherwise, they are goal oriented the ones that are academics, especially if they've already worked and they've got the experience (P 102).

These individuals often had a high level of education and put a great effort into learning Swedish. The language was seen as important to finding work, but was also a necessary requirement in order to enter higher education. For such individuals, it was thus best to make the most of their time in the programme by learning the language before needing to finance their studies with loans from the Swedish Board for Study Support. Rather than following a time intensive labour market programme combining different aspects of the establishment measures, individuals in this type often had the option of using their time and economic benefits to continue to the next stage of their career.

This type was able to use the individualised route of the establishment measures both to shape future career choices and to use their agency to make independent choices. This reflected the positive aspects of activation and social investment, whereby individuals were empowered to pursue their goals with the economic and practical support of the establishment measures.

Frustrated jobseekers sometimes managed to find their way into a labour market training programme that could lead to work in the long term. These individuals usually did not have a higher education or a clear labour market goal, but were willing to take up labour market training programmes if they led to work. Sometimes, they needed to be able to communicate in Swedish to a certain extent in order to participate in courses, thus assuming that they had access to a significant amount of Swedish practice, perhaps combined with other activities, before this type of human capital investment was possible. If labour market training programmes did lead to employment as they were intended to, they offered a rather shorter route to work than the traditional study routes outside the Public Employment Service.

While these two types often benefited from social investment measures, individual success in the programme often enabled them to freely choose how to structure their time in the establishment reform, particularly if they were pursuing higher studies.

An employment officer confirmed the individual agency of individuals motivated to study:

> Yes they can absolutely study if they want to, and they want to focus on higher education or a different education. And of course it works better if you're not 30 or 35, of course then a Swedish higher education works out better in the long run, unfortunately it might be the case. So they can absolutely do that. And it's also efficient, if someone tells me, "let me study", you want to be pragmatic and have time to do your own job (P 102).

In this sense, individuals who were seen as successfully following their chosen path, that also fit with the Public Employment Service's goals, were given the power to choose to study Swedish, even if this meant spending less time actually looking for work or participating in activities that would speed up labour market entry. In this sense, the long-term goals of work, as well as their own power to choose, were the political goals pursued in practice, and were prioritised over quick entry into the labour market.

For the other types of individuals, the social investment element can be interpreted more as a general upskilling ambition, in line with broader social policy ambitions of providing opportunities for active participation (Elmér, 2000; Taylor-Gooby, 2008). While most individuals in the programme benefited from Swedish courses, and complementary courses may also have provided certain benefits, the actual aims of the measures often seemed less clear for those without clear career goals. Swedish was studied by all individuals, except for those pursuing fulltime jobs who may study the language outside their establishment plan.

The hindered establishers often continued to pursue Swedish courses even if they had a reduced plan and were unable to participate fulltime. Language learning was thus often seen as the activity most individuals would be able to manage, regardless of other social or health problems. Thus, participation in Swedish language courses seemed to serve a wider integration purpose, even if it did not lead to the individual moving closer to the labour market due to other obstacles (cf Hagelund & Kavli). Even if the actual "investment" benefits were unclear, this could be defended from a broader integration perspective that values the capacity of individuals to take part in society as active residents/citizens and become part of their local community.

For individuals who did not suffer particular health or social problems, however, focusing on Swedish courses while not moving closer to the labour market could be seen as a problem by the Public Employment Service:

> Yes, freedom of choice… Okay, if you're good, if you have the right preconditions to succeed. And you go study a higher education, an upper secondary education and so on, that is a good way to find a job. But if you can't manage Swedish studies? I mean, can you imagine that, after studying a whole year and you still need an interpreter? Of course we should bear in mind the individual's preferences, but on the other hand we have the labour market and the labour market judgement that we have to do. So it's like… How long should you be able to study Swedish in order to become a child care worker (*barnsk*ö*tare*)? Six, eight, ten years? Who should finance it? We don't have any problems with those who study at an upper secondary education level (P 204).

Here, the workfare perspective of the policy documents was repeated by an employment officer. As with the ideological debates, this distinguished between the previous municipal introduction process, where individuals were seen to only participate in language courses, and the shift to the establishment reform in which jobs were the primary focus (Borg & Sabuni, 2008; Prop. 2009/10:60; Sabuni, 2009; SOU 2008:58; Ullenhag). Moreover, individuals that were seen as less successful in navigating and completing the establishment measures were accorded less individual agency in deciding which route was most appropriate compared to those pursuing further studies. This can be seen most clearly with the establishment strugglers who failed to articulate clear goals and were less committed to establishment activities. This perceived lack of progress and/or commitment, could result in more strictness from employment officers seeking to steer individuals more firmly towards the labour market. Compared to individuals who were more successful or more able to articulate their own goals, such as Swedish learners, those who were seen as failing were subject to more control by the employment officers, similar to what we could expect from a workfare perspective.

The quote above also illustrates one of the dilemmas with applying the social investment perspective to practical policy. To what extent should the investment be up to the individual and to what extent should it be linked to clear results in terms of progression, a completed education or an acquired job? This dilemma was particularly salient in relation to newly arrived migrants with low education skills. In some cases, these individuals were unable to read and write in their native language, had only a very basic education and few or no vocational skills relevant

to the Swedish labour market. Compared to newly arrived migrants with a higher education level or a profession relevant to the Swedish labour market, investment in low-skilled individuals to catch up was necessarily high in the short term and unlikely to be completed within the programme's two-year time frame.

Alternatively, employment officers were required to seek out other routes than formal education to facilitate labour market entry for this low-skilled group. In the absence of clear goals for these individuals, complementary courses to fill the time but that did not provide any higher skills can be seen as, at most, a very limited type of social investment.

> For example, we have some labour market course called the "validation portfolio", two months, three months. After taking that course, they sometimes come back to us and ask, "what type of course is this? All they do is show us how to write a CV". If they're gonna show us a very simple CV after taking this course for a few months, it would be better if some employment officers here could take half a day and just show them how to write a CV. They could have only one activity like Swedish classes, but we are forced to direct them to courses and other activities that we know aren't efficient, just to show that they have fulltime activities (P 104).

Such courses could provide individuals with basic skills and an introduction to Swedish working life, but may be seen more as a workfare measure to ensure that individuals fulfilled the requirement to complete their 40 hours a week than as a social investment measure leading to upskilling. Another practical issue in applying the social investment perspective relates to what constitutes a long-term investment. To some extent, general upskilling may be essential for this group, if formulated as Swedish skills and knowledge of the labour market and relevant legislation. However, these courses could also be seen as focused on general employability, but not necessarily serving to increase labour market inclusion.

Moreover, complaints about low quality courses were frequently raised by individuals in my material, as well as by employment officers and establishment guides in my interviews. Swedish learner type individuals could often bypass these courses by opting to focus exclusively on Swedish language, if they could convince the employment officers. Other individuals, such as establishment strugglers, sometimes questioned the benefits of participation, but continued due to a perceived lack of suitable alternatives. Encouraging individuals to take part in courses that were seen as low quality could be seen as simply emphasising the disciplining parts of the workfare aspects of the programme, rather than being inherently beneficial or empowering to the individual (E. Brodkin & Larsen, 2013; Daguerre, 2008; I. Newman, 2011). This was particularly pronounced for

individuals without clear labour market goals. It can also be argued, however, that some of these individuals required a longer time to fulfil the goals of the establishment reform, as those who entered the programme lacking both vocational and education skills needed to take significantly different routes into the labour market.

To summarise, while all individuals during their establishment period had access to social investment measures, above all Swedish language learning, these measures generally benefited those who entered with a higher education level and those who entered labour market training programmes, i.e. Swedish learners and frustrated jobseekers. The former group in particular could also be seen as having the greatest choice and autonomy in terms of a future career, as their progression and commitment to a certain profession or study route seemed to allow them greater freedom to choose activities in the programme. Individuals who struggled with Swedish language learning and had no clear vocational goals were generally more limited to taking Swedish courses and to receive suggestions of activities they could combine with these courses, than to spend an indefinite time and investment improving their previous skills.

From a social investment perspective, investment in individuals benefits both individuals and society through their subsequent careers. For some types, however, it seemed more difficult to find appropriate measures that could lead to a "return" on the investment made, at least in the short term. On the other hand, access to general upskilling may enable individuals to pursue further education later on. This could be seen as a limitation of the social investment perspective in practice. In general, these theories do not normally consider the particular needs of more vulnerable groups in the labour market where it is more difficult to find suitable activities or where upskilling is part of a long process.

Thus, the social investment measures available in the programme coexisted with measures more similar to workfare. While many of these labour market measures followed in the tradition of the Public Employment Services' earlier measures, the incorporation of this group into the Public Employment Service required the introduction of more courses for non-Swedish speakers, generally provided by external actors. While these measures focused on more basic job seeking skills due to the language barrier, these courses could also be seen as following a more general workfare trend that emphasised active and fulltime participation, and was thus in line with similar trends of workfare for other groups of unemployed. This reveals the ambiguity of the social investment perspective (Morel et al, 2012) at the level of policy measures.

Additional support measures

The social investment resources in the form of upskilling and subsidised work were available to all individuals during their establishment period. In the previous two sections I showed that these different approaches suited some types better than others. The combination of various measures when participating in the establishment period could be seen as positive as it allowed employment officers and participants to devise solutions that best suited the aims and needs of each individual. However, some types of individuals struggled to make full use of the measures available, be they social investment type measures or job subsidies. As shown in chapter 5, the policy documents arguing for a change in integration and labour market policy for newly arriving migrants criticised earlier initiatives as being too supportive (*omhändertagande*). On the other hand, aspects such as health as well as wider integration and social policy ambitions remained implicitly embedded in the establishment reform.

In this section, I will consider some of the problems in successfully finding solutions for all individuals within the group of newly arrived migrants. These problems can be seen as in line with the concerns surrounding social support, particularly related to health, that were brought up in policy documents and debates and were noted in the organisational changes described in chapter 6.

In my typology there are two types that could be seen as faring less well. Establishment strugglers often had difficulties in participating fully in establishment activities, due to a focus on other issues such as housing, bringing family members to Sweden, or repeated relocations within the establishment period. At other times, these individuals questioned the very purpose of participating in the activities. Hindered establishers suffered from more severe problems with health or social issues that posed obstacles to full engagement. As we have seen, completion or at least progress in Swedish language courses was necessary for more specific social investment measures (further education or labour market training programmes), and these were often the only measures all individuals took part in. For these two groups, however, slow progress in language learning was an obstacle to moving to other activities. At the same time, the subsidised work that was meant to provide an alternative route to individuals was mostly open to those with a previous professional careers, a large network or to those who combined studies with paid employment. In other words, subsidised work offers largely seemed to reach individuals who did not need assistance from the Public Employment Service to the same extent as more vulnerable individuals.

Women

In interviews, employment officers reflected on the possible strategies needed to reach individuals seen as in extra need of support. Statistics from the Public Employment Service show that women generally fared less well in entering employment compared to men, a legacy of the municipality introduction period (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2014b; Integrationsverket, 2007b). While an ambition of the establishment reform was to include more women in the labour market by individualising the establishment benefit, how the gender dimension was handled through the reform measures and by employment officers persisted. Some employment officers elaborated on this issue:

> Well generally those who fall between the chairs are those who don't get in touch. Because now when we have such a high number of participants, we have maybe 80 per employment officer, that those who don't persist, who call and email, it's easy to think that "good, that person, they seem to be doing well at Swedish classes, then they can stay there". And then it's easy to drift off. And unfortunately it's often the women (P 202).

This employment officer saw women as less likely to contact the Public Employment Service and probably making fewer demands in terms of participating in different activities or getting help with applying for jobs (cf Larsson, 2015: 260).

Another example is the availability of labour market training programmes for this group. In most of my cases, the labour market training programmes at the Public Employment Service were for male-dominated professions such as driving buses or welding. This dilemma was also brought up by Public Employment Service employees:

> It would be good if you could set up these courses that are meant to equip our participants with skills to be able to enter the labour market… Especially within the health care sector, many of our female participants are interested in working in health care, because they have experience, either from looking after family members or been out working. There are some courses, but they don't lead anywhere. It would be good if you had courses qualifying for nursing (*undersköterskor*), but the Public Employment Service courses cannot compete with regular education. (P 204)

On the one hand, the purpose of these labour market training programmes was to give individuals a chance to find employment in areas where there was a great labour market need and where they did not need to first go through the traditional education system. One the other hand, this was skewed against certain professions, and the integration of certain careers into the traditional education system, including female-dominated careers such as childminding or care work, made them more difficult to enter (cf Saraceno, 2015). This is one of the dilemmas in applying the social investment perspective in practice, whereby constant upskilling can lead to individuals pursuing educational routes for certain career routes while their own personal investment may not always pay off in monetary terms.

For example, work placements in preschools were sometimes offered to (female) participants in my material, with the aim of helping them practice their language skills. The potential career paths in this line of work however requires extensive education, as official guidelines recommend that childcare facilities recruit either preschool teachers (educated to university level) or child carers (educated to upper secondary level with specific competencies in childcare), with the emphasis of the importance of increasing qualified childcare teachers in the preschool system (Sheridan, Williams, Sandberg, & Vuorinen, 2011).

Social support

For the hindered establishers, targeted support often focused on coordinating resources to help them reach a more stable life situation. In these cases, the work of the establishment guides and employment officers became, by necessity more akin to that of a social worker, particularly for individuals who found it difficult to focus on employment before other, more pressing problems, were solved. Here, employment officers had the option of using measures included in the establishment plan such as social or health activities to replace courses and labour market related activities:

> There was one woman who I got recommendations from our specialists, that she should do Swedish courses half time, and half time activities in an [voluntary migrant] association/NGO. The main goal is that they should feel better, and it's not for a whole year, but for a few weeks. Then we can use some of these social activities [as part of the individual's establishment activities] with the aim to improve the participant's health situation and move closer to the labour market. (P 204)

Here, using non-work related activities prior to discussing employment could be interpreted in line with a more long-term social investment approach, whereby individual situations were taken as starting point for the resources required to provide assistance. While this could be interpreted as "parking" individuals further from the labour market, it could also be seen as providing adequate support if individuals actually received help that could lead to a more stable social situation and, ideally, access to more efficient labour market measures later on.

However, this tendency to "park" individuals was also be seen by some employment officers in terms of sorting individuals according to whether they perceived a possibility that they would reach the labour market in the long term:

> No well, it's the older participants that are harder, and then, we also have prejudices knowing how difficult it is being above fifty years old and unemployed, it's not the easiest. So then I don't engage that much with them, although I really should because they're furthest from the labour market and it takes them longer language-wise as well. (P 102).

Here we see that some of those classified as vulnerable due to age, as well as being born outside Europe, actually received less support, and were seen as less worthy of investment as a result of these vulnerabilities, regardless of their personal needs or abilities. Another employment officer discussed this issue as one of motivation among programme participants:

> Then you have to work with those who do not manage as easily, especially when it's easy to think that this might not work. With women who are 55–60, who can't read or write, always worked in the home, never done wage work. Those individuals require more support. Everyone can do something, you just have to find out what it is, but if time just passes by and after a year [in the establishment activities] you still can't imagine that you will be able to find work, then it's not that easy. (P 201)

This quote reflects a situation wherein the more optimistic visions of employment policy clashed with the actual experiences and failures in providing jobs for many individuals. The women whom the employment officer referred to struggled to see a place for themselves in the labour market and the employment officer also failed to suggest solutions for a group that is seen as failing in the labour market (cf Jenson, 2009). While the official rhetoric of the establishment measures and similar work measures stated that all individuals were able to work if only they had the required motivation and could find a suitable job, the negotiations and issues reported by employment officers on the ground showed that some

participants posed far greater challenges than others. Moreover, while policy documents were positive about the ability of all individuals to work, in practice there was little discussion of how to manage more vulnerable individuals within the group of newly arrived migrants.

The focus on individual solutions, and a combination of measures combining work-first, social investment and social support ambitions, in practice meant that negotiations between employment officers and individuals determined the "success" of the establishment measures, even if employment officers had certain sanctioning powers. Thus, the political ambition of individualisation could enable employment officers to find individual solutions that led to work, but could also be used primarily for social support measures – in essence, focusing on wider social policy ambitions when this was seen as appropriate. However, as one employment officer noted, these different ambitions were not always acknowledged when the results or outcomes of the establishment measures were discussed:

> I think that it should be individualised, absolutely, but at the same time, we're only measured on outcomes in relation to jobs really, and then planning [for the individual] doesn't really work…. We want it to be individualised, but it's not if everyone's got the same goals… There are different routes, not just one route. (104)

This quote captures some of the dilemmas discussed in the thesis, particularly how to interpret the goal of individualisation. To what extent should the individuals' goals and ambitions be taken into account if they are not geared towards the job market? The individualisation referred to in the policy documents can here be seen as limited by a focus on outcomes and results measuring quick labour market entry, thus limiting the empowering elements of social investment ambitions that emphasise long-term upskilling.

Conclusion

> What is really a successful establishment period? It's a very strange definition. I had one woman who belonged to the establishment measures who was illiterate, and she completed Swedish for immigrants during the establishment period, she started complementary secondary education, she entered nursing education and she had hourly employment through a cleaning company, but in the statistics, she's not successful. (P 104)

In this chapter I have presented five different types of participants in the establishment reform to discuss some of the assumptions underlying the use of workfare and social investment measures for vulnerable groups in the labour market. As the quote above argues, these types also represent the complexity inherent in discussions of "success" in relation to labour market measures. They illustrate newly arrived migrants to be a heterogeneous group, with very different ambitions and needs. Considering their different trajectories through the establishment reform measures is a way to question assumptions about the extent to which labour market measures could be expected to deliver, in a two-year time period, labour market entry for the diverse individuals who participated in the programme.

While it is not the aim of this thesis to evaluate the success of the policy or the application of policy practices, I argue that the multiple goals of the establishment measures leave scope for different arguments about how the outcomes of the policy reform may be interpreted. Here, the trajectories of the types I identified serve as an example of how the "successes" and "failures" of individuals in the reform can be examined with more nuance.

In one sense, the heterogeneity of this group can be seen as having been accounted for through the establishment measures, with its mix of activities aiming to suit diverse needs. However, considering how these measures fit the types reveals the challenges of targeted labour market measures.

As we have seen in the discussions above, the different establishment measures fit the needs of the types in different ways. Workfare measures encouraging fast labour market entry benefitted those making use of work subsidies, but were also used by individuals closer to the labour market or on the way to better jobs, such as the job settlers. Types such as frustrated jobseekers and establishment strugglers, aiming above all to find permanent jobs at the lower end of the labour market, were frustrated by an inability to find stable employment.

Meanwhile, social investment measures such as support for further education or labour market training programmes leading to work, were suited to Swedish learners and frustrated jobseekers. More general upskilling, through Swedish language courses and/or individual guidance and employability activities, were available for all individuals, and could be seen as either directed towards a more long-term goal of enabling individuals to participate in Swedish society; or as a way to control their active participation in line with a workfare emphasis. The social support required by hindered establishers often involved coordinating support from different authorities and providing a social work perspective, but it could also lead to "parking" for those seen as less likely to be helped by available measures, such as older individuals.

Thus, the different trajectories followed by the five types through the programme enables us to point out issues related to the political ambitions of the establishment reform.

In chapter 2, I examined assumptions related to participation in labour market activities as interpreted through workfare and social investment. These can be briefly summarised here. Participation in labour market activities can be seen as simply a requirement to participate in return for economic compensation. The next step is participation in paid work, which is seen as a primary goal. Controlling and encouraging individual participation in paid work is a central goal in workfare and work-first measures. From a social investment perspective, successful measures that lead to work of higher quality, or activities geared towards upskilling, legitimise the requirement of individual participation. Finally, for individuals with additional problems, the participation requirement can be adjusted or removed if the problems are characterised as sufficiently debilitating.

If we consider these assumptions in relation to the five types and their trajectories through the establishment reform, some comments can be made. First, more positive assumptions of individualised measures and active responsibility could be seen, above all, in relation to individuals who were closer to the labour market, as they could make use of upskilling and job subsidies to reach their future labour market goals. Similarly, work settlers who could find employment independently were not required to participate in activities but were encouraged to use the opportunity to enter the labour market. These types of individuals tended to be given more agency to shape programme activities to suit their own goals.

At the other end of the spectrum were the hindered establishers portrayed as in need of extra social support. If found to be unable to work they were mainly assisted through contacts with other authorities to address their health and/or social issues. For individuals in this group who considered themselves unable to work but lacked a clear diagnosis, attempts to activate them often became a struggle to push them towards fulltime activities that they themselves considered inappropriate.

For individuals who were not in need of social support and not interested in the advanced upskilling provided through social investment measures, there was more of a dilemma in finding appropriate measures. The negative aspects of workfare, such as increased control, could be seen above all in relation to individuals who, in the eyes of employment officers, displayed less progress, through a questioning of their career aspirations and lack of labour market goals. Here, individual responsibility to find work, combined with demands to participate in activities, can be seen as leading to motivational issues among the

unemployed, in particular the establishment strugglers and frustrated jobseekers. Their frustrations over the difficulties of entering the labour market could be seen both through the difficulties of the Public Employment Service to simply provide them with jobs, and with the perceived abuse of subsidies and unpaid work placements by employers. These frustrations can thus be related to actual working conditions and competition at low-skilled end of the labour market. This competition was visible among the group of newly arrived migrants, where many of the more skilled took up positions at the lower end of the market as a first employment, leaving those without such prospects also without work. For some individuals, the matching with available jobs by the Public Employment Service led to paid employment that seemed relatively stable, but these efforts were not given the highest priority in some offices or when employment officers were under time pressure.

The issues encountered by the types can be seen as reflecting some of the broader complexities of a dualised labour market, where individuals who cannot or do not wish to pursue higher-skilled jobs are particularly at risk. The lack of job opportunities through the Public Employment Service can be seen as a clear example of the withdrawal of state responsibility for guaranteeing individual employment. The requirement of individual participation in activities can be seen as part of the ALMP tradition, but for individuals with no clear labour market goal, general upskilling through these activities was not necessarily directly useful in the short term, though their purpose may be better interpreted as a way to achieve more general social policy goals of enabling participation in society.

The issues related to applying workfare and social investment strategies in practice for this group reflect some of the difficulties in integrating excluded individuals through labour market inclusion in a situation where there was a perceived lack of low-skilled jobs. The assumptions of economic sanctions/control or incentives on the one hand and upskilling on the other, perhaps failed to acknowledge groups that, above all, aimed to find stable work at the lower end of the labour market.

While this situation can be seen as new in terms of the problems of including a large group of individuals at particular risk of unemployment in the labour market, the problem of how to manage vulnerable groups in the labour market, was seen throughout the ALMP era, prior to the economic crisis and liberalisation. Apart from the changed prioritisation of economic goals, these current dilemmas point above all to a new situation in which protected work and relief work to help the unemployed who otherwise were failing to find regular work, has been replaced by a focus on job subsidies, particularly for employers in the service sector. While, on the one hand, low-skilled jobs are often by necessity a first job

in the Swedish labour market for newly arrived migrants due to language barriers, these entail the introduction of individuals into a part of the labour market that is evidently under-regulated, particularly in terms of the control of subsidised work opportunities. Here, the consequences of a dualised labour market, with unstable low-skilled jobs for outsiders, can be seen as particularly problematic, and reflect some of the dilemmas of how to integrate vulnerable groups in the labour market, within or beyond the current labour market system.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Labour market policy directed towards unemployed individuals reflects different ideals of individual and state responsibility, both in terms of economic support for the unemployed, and the measures seen as appropriate for increasing labour market participation. In Sweden, labour market policy changed as a result of the economic crisis in the 1990s, with the abandonment of full employment as an overriding policy goal. The high unemployment figures following the crisis particularly affected vulnerable groups in the labour market, that struggled to (re-)enter the labour market. Nonetheless, efforts to include unemployed individuals in the labour market through various policy initiatives continued. The issue of labour market exclusion for certain groups played an important part in the Alliance coalition's general election victory in 2006, and its subsequent policies aimed towards increasing labour market participation.

While the policy studied in this thesis can be seen as expressing clear workfare tendencies, it also encompasses certain social investment or social policy ambitions. Thus, by analysing the establishment reform I have seeked to understand the challenges of including vulnerable groups in the labour market through measures building simultaneously on workfare and social investment ideas.

Summary

In this thesis, I have considered the political ideas of the establishment reform and how they evolved from past practices, combining ideas from different policy areas. By analysing debate articles and policy documents, I have considered the contradictions inherent in this combination in a policy directed towards a group considered to be in need of extra support. At the policy level, the adaption of new and old ideas led to a mix of policies inspired both by social investment and

workfare ideas. Elements of individual focus as well as social support were part of the policy framework. As shown in chapter 5, these different ideas had certain inherent contradictions. While workfare ideas focus on quick labour market entry, social investment policies emphasise human capital investment and the importance of individuals entering skilled jobs. This dilemma was reinforced by the contradiction of individualisation, where support and rights of the individual coexisted with measures that emphasised active responsibility through, for example, sanctions.

In chapter 6 I used interview data to discuss how the policy contradictions were managed in two organisations working with participants in the establishment reform: the Public Employment Service and private establishment guide companies. The contradictions of workfare and social investment were also present at this level as employment officers and establishment guides attempted to manage both the demands of labour market entry and the social support that individuals needed. These contradictions were reinforced by the focus on individualised support.

In the Public Employment Service, an emphasis on individual choice and social support was difficult to apply whilst maintaining a more bureaucratic perspective focused on sanctioning. Instead, applying the policy to suit the individuals left space for individual judgements by employment officers. More lenient interpretations could, however, also be supported by political goals, emphasising how policy contradictions were mirrored at the organisational level.

In the system of the establishment guides, the challenges involved in privatisation of public services further reinforced the policy contradictions of the establishment reform. In this case, the regulation of payments and the freedom of choice system whereby participants could change establishment guides exacerbated the issues inherent in combining social support and work measures. These issues culminated in the sudden termination of the establishment guidance system by the Social Democratic-Green coalition government in 2015.

In chapter 7, I further considered the challenge of defining and delimiting workfare and social investment strategies for the group targeted by the establishment policy, by reflecting on how the different measures fit the members of this heterogeneous group. To discuss these issues, I introduced five different types and followed their trajectories through the establishment reform. The first type, the Swedish learner, had studying as their primary goal and often had higher education or upper secondary education from their country of origin. This type primarily focused on Swedish language courses and sometimes combined studying with a part-time job, often through subsidised employment. The second type, the frustrated jobseeker, often had limited work experience or experience only in low-

skilled work, or in a profession that did not easily transfer to the Swedish labour market. This type was interested in finding a job as soon as possible, and often tried different work placements/subsidised employment that did not lead to a permanent position, or attempted to enter the employment market through Swedish language courses or labour market training programmes. The third type, the establishment struggler, often had limited work experience and a shorter educational background, and lacked clear labour market goals. This type often struggled to participate in labour market activities and did not make clear progress during the programme. The fourth type, the work settler, found work through unsubsidised or partly subsidised employment. This type either has a career that was easily transferrable to the Swedish labour market and could, with support, continue this career path in Sweden, or entered work through contacts or help from the Public Employment Service, often in the service industry. The fifth and final type, the hindered establisher was often older and struggled to progress during the establishment period due to social and/or health problems that had a large impact on the ability to take part in activities. Often, the hindered establisher's personal situation required contacts with other authorities such as the health care system or municipality workers as well as internal experts at the Public Employment Service.

These five types illustrate the variety of individuals entering the reform, and how they managed their time in the programme more or less successfully. Through these types, we also see how conflicting demands of work and social support were experienced in practice. Through this description of a vulnerable group in the labour market, we observe some of the dilemmas in managing the diverse needs of its members and the sometimes conflicting demands of social support and labour market focus.

The contradictions within labour market policy are thus discussed at three different levels: policy, institutions and outcomes. In this final chapter, I reflect further on some of the central contributions of this thesis.

Workfare and social investment in practice

The workfare and social investment perspectives carry different assumptions in relation to individual labour market participation. The underlying assumption of the workfare perspective is the importance of controlling and steering individuals' behaviour to encourage them to enter the labour market. From a social investment perspective, the quality of work is an important feature, and leads to an ambition

to upskill or retrain unemployed individuals to encourage labour market participation. What both perspectives take for granted is that all individuals subject to the measures are able to participate in paid work. We see with the establishment reform the complications that may arise when these perspectives are applied to a group identified as vulnerable.

The workfare perspective assumes a supply of available jobs, either prior to or as a result of individuals lowering their demands in the labour market. If individuals cannot move into the labour market due to a lack of employment opportunities, workfare can also serve as a deterrent for individuals considering an exit. Moreover, financial incentives are assumed to be efficient for steering individual behaviour (Lødemel & Moreira, 2014; Taylor-Gooby, 2008). However, the assumption that individuals can be steered by economic incentives in this area is questionable; both sanctions and freedom of choice are often sidelined by the social issues prioritised by individuals themselves.

In regards to social investment, an inherent expectation is that investment in the individual will, to a certain extent, pay off. In theory, the idea of educating individuals in order for them to participate in higher-skilled employment seems a win-win. However, as with the ideas in the Rehn-Meidner model, these policies may facilitate further restructuralisation of the economy, and actually make it more difficult for individuals who are already disadvantaged in the labour market to find jobs. In this sense, these ideas are attractive, above all, in the long term, as signified by the emphasis on early education initiatives. Moreover, as feminist critiques (see Jenson, 2009; Saraceno, 2015) of social investment suggest, women in the current labour market are to an extent sidelined in favour of their children and the emphasis on breaking generational income gaps. In the case of migrants, the feminist critique may be expanded to argue that the social investment perspective fails to acknowledge the potentially extensive human capital investments in those individuals that need comprehensive educational upskilling, in the form of language training and complementary education, in order to compete with domestic-born individuals for low-skilled jobs. This emphasis also leads to interesting questions of who is worth investing in which are relevant to vulnerable groups such as migrants. Here, a rejection of low-skilled jobs can be seen as limiting employment opportunities for those who are not interested in further education, at least in the short term.

As has been seen in this study, individuals with low education and/or professional skills, combined with poor language skills and belonging to older age groups, required more time in educational and labour market activities to reach the types of employment envisaged in the social investment perspective. On the other hand, simpler, low-skilled jobs in the labour market were often occupied by

more skilled individuals who were seen as more (over-)qualified candidates, leaving those who actually matched those jobs further from the labour market.

The most obvious dilemma in terms of combining the two perspectives is how to bring together the different goals of quick labour market entry and the pursuit of further education and upskilling to benefit individuals in the long term. This paradox was, by necessity, delegated to the implementation level, where it resulted in negotiations between individuals and employment officers. This negotiation was particularly suited to those individuals who were able to articulate clear labour market goals and/or successfully navigate the establishment measures. This was complicated by the multiple possibilities in using available measures – Swedish language learning, for example, can be interpreted as either a rehabilitation measure, or as a route to further education or work.

While work-first measures, such as positive incentives and job subsidies, encouraged early labour market entry for some, and the social investment ambitions of upskilling provided educational opportunities for others, the types who were furthest from the labour market were less able to benefit from either perspective. While this study does not attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the establishment measures, it is clear that different types followed different trajectories that more or less fit the measures available. Those individuals who were, above all, interested in finding stable low-skilled jobs struggled at the precarious end of the labour market, with employers seen to be abusing the system, lack of long-term stability, and competition from more skilled or experienced individuals. Here, continued participation in labour market programmes or increased focus on general upskilling such as Swedish language courses may have been used to avoid further disillusionment with the labour market rather than being the desired options chosen by the individual. In essence, the difficulties in reaching these groups mirrored similar problems throughout the history of ALMP.

As noted above, while the perspectives of workfare and social investment do not focus on vulnerable groups as such, but on the general unemployed population as a whole (and social investment arguably also focuses on the younger generations), both perspectives can be seen as having inspired aspects of the establishment reform. From their empirical application, it becomes clear that a consideration of how the perspectives may be adapted to the particular group of newly arrived migrants was not fully articulated by the policy, leading to concerns of how to combine the specific concerns related to this group with the more general ambitions of labour market inclusion.

Individualisation and active participation

A focus on individualisation and active participation is relevant for discussing the attempts to move vulnerable groups into the labour market and that, in the establishment reform, accompanied the political goal of labour market inclusion. Individualisation has been put forward as a goal in itself, and often accompanies an ideological commitment to freedom of choice and privatisation of services. In the establishment reform, this emphasis on individual empowerment was accompanied by efforts to control and/or steer individual behaviour by linking positive and negative economic incentives with active participation in labour market programmes or labour market entry. Active participation can similarly be seen as an individual and societal benefit, aiming towards enabling individuals to take part in society and avoiding labour market exclusion in periods of unemployment (Elm Larsen, 2005; Taylor-Gooby, 2008). Alternatively, active responsibility can be interpreted as a way to shift the risk of unemployment onto individuals, where participation in labour market activities is merely seen as punishing them for failing to find employment and leads to no individual gain in terms of meaningful activity or employment prospects. As noted earlier in the thesis, whether policies aiming to increase individuals' labour market participation can be seen as either disciplining or empowering essentially relates to the particular policy mix (J. Newman & Tonkens, 2011; Seeleib-Kaiser, 2011), and its empirical application.

The issue of individualisation and active participation are central to the area of unemployment; in this regard, unemployment services, to an extent, stand out from other welfare services. Debates around deservedness often lead to unemployment being seen as a particular form of risk, unlike other situations where individuals may be in need of help from the state or society, such as sickness, child care or old age. The suspicion of "voluntary" unemployment is also reflected in the relations between individuals and employment officers, where a discussion of suitable ways out of employment can be seen as a negotiation between the individual and the employment officer rather than merely the implementation of a clear-cut administrative policy by bureaucrats or experts (cf Rothstein, 2010a). As a welfare service then, services to unemployed individuals in the form of matching or entry into suitable measures depend on the individual actually doing the work – "actively participating" – in order for a successful outcome to be reached. At the same time, it is obvious that other actors play an important role in the process, leaving considerable space for interpretation and no clear answer as to which route out of employment will be most successful.

This negotiation and the positive versus negative connotations of the individualisation perspective are reflected in different ways in this thesis. Control of the individual was more easily used in the bureaucratic organisation of the Public Employment Service that had sanctioning powers over participants. The business interests of establishment guides led them to see participants as customers, and at times prioritise keeping them happy with their services by offering additional support (Bredgaard & Larsen, 2007, 2008).

Control over individuals, however, was often strongly negotiated by employment officers and primarily applied to those types who repeatedly failed to live up to the expectations set out in the establishment measures. For individuals unable to show significant progress or who failed to engage in the activities, employment officers seemed more likely to question their individual ambitions or to apply stricter interpretations. On the other hand, individuals with a strong sense of their labour market goals often managed to use their establishment plans to prioritise the most suitable activities, and were given freedom by the employment officers to fulfil their ambitions. For these ideal candidates, as they were envisaged in policy documents, the mix of different measures and the individualised focus could be a successful route towards employment, highlighting the positive aspects of active responsibility and individualisation. When considering the policy in terms of discipline or empowerment (J. Newman & Tonkens, 2011), we can see how not only the setup of the policy, but how successfully it was negotiated by different individuals, determined the extent to which it was positive for those individuals.

For individuals with social or health problems, or who were in need of additional help, social needs in combination with the emphasis on individualisation goals could also be used as a way to justify a limit to workfare, and to allow employment officers and/or establishment guides to deal with issues beyond labour market concerns. By referring to the inclusion of social needs, and the individual's own agency, employment officers could justify various policy interpretations. The social needs prioritised by the establishment guides as a result of the power of individuals to change their guides, can be seen as further reinforcing the dilemma of how to manage the sometimes contradictory short and long-term goals of the policy.

Here, we see how active responsibility and individualisation further reinforce some of the contradictions in liberalisation policies. While ideals of workfare, privatisation of services and individualisation are not always aligned, they reveal inherent tensions that can limit some of the more negative aspects of workfare policies for the individual. To this extent, the existence of social needs can limit the scope of a new work line, and instead integrate these social concerns into the

organisations delivering labour market policy. For example, the freedom of choice measures could be seen as giving participants a form of empowerment different from what was envisaged in the policy documents, as the ability to change establishment guides gave individuals the opportunity to prioritise social issues or other matters they saw as more urgent.

Actors and struggles

The framework of historical institutionalism has in this thesis been used to understand new and old elements and challenges of labour market policy. The amalgamation of two different policy areas, integration and labour market policy, was a continuation of the changes to labour market policy with the progressive incorporation of social policy concerns since the 1970s. To this extent, the grafting of labour market policy can be seen as in line with the incremental changes that historical institutionalists identify as important. In particular, the resistance to breaking with LAS legislation and challenging the labour unions to open lower-paid jobs can be seen as an acknowledgement of the difficulties in breaking with existing institutions. Even while attempting to develop a "new" policy, the efforts to address exclusion by the Alliance parties in the 2000s were primarily accompanied by economic incentives for increased labour market participation, rather than a more comprehensive restructuring of the labour market.

On the other hand, the establishment reform added a partially new function to labour market policy that was more closely connected to what would traditionally be seen as social policy concerns. Rather than simply strengthening workfare for the group, social problems were extended into the purview of organisations working with labour market policy.

The emphasis on "including" vulnerable groups, such as newly arrived migrants, into the labour market can be seen as a strengthening of previous policy initiatives in the area. For example, the importance of paid work for integration, and individual support to find work, echoed previous integration initiatives, although the Alliance government accompanied these goals with specific policy tools such as sanctions and economic incentives. The attempt to shift integration policy into the area of labour market policy can however be seen as problematic if we consider the persistence of social support measures accompanying the establishment measures. On the one hand, the rhetoric of a "paradigm shift" in the area of integration was complemented by social support measures that were

not highly promoted but, in practice, followed earlier policy initiatives. However, in the organisational changes following the reform, the formal responsibility for social support measures was shared by several actors: the Public Employment Service, the establishment guides and the municipalities. The rhetoric of abandoning the "caring" attitudes of the past, and the emphasis on including all vulnerable individuals in general labour market measures, can thus be seen as leading, in practice, to a failure to fully acknowledge the large existence of social support needs.

While the Public Employment Service was, to an extent, confronted with these issues, the establishment guides faced particular difficulty in coming to terms with the plethora of social support demands from clients. In particular, the dilemma of what social support is needed for individuals to be able to focus on entering the labour market is impossible to answer in general terms, but depends on the individual's specific problems and labour market situation. I would argue that in the area of labour market policy, the particular problems facing vulnerable groups add to the difficulties in reforming the policy area more fully. In other words, attempts to move in a new direction are restricted both by the traditions and rules making up the institution of labour market policy, but also by the actual problems faced by individuals affected by the policy. Here, the actual needs of individuals in the policy area are to a large extent linked to the policy framework, particularly due to the blurred boundaries between social and active labour market support. In this sense, the participants can be seen as individual actors in the process, with certain limited power to shape the policy practices.

The other point that can be seen in regards to the actors with vested interests in the establishment reform and the area of labour market policy is the policy positions that have persisted even after the introduction of the establishment measures. While some actors, such as the Liberal Party and the Centre Party, demanded further deregulation of Swedish labour law prior to and after the establishment reform, in order to increase low-paid jobs, wage dispersion and flexibility for employers in terms of laying off workers (Björklund & Ullenhag, 2015; Centerpartiet, 2017a, 2017b; Sveriges Television, 2015), actors such as LO have expressed fears that "simple jobs" would lead to increased competition and low wages for their union members (LO, 2016). Moreover, actors such as the Moderate Party and the Centre Party prefer increased marketisation of unemployment services through a radically changed role for the Public Employment Service or its outright abolition (Svantesson, 2017; Ådahl & Qarlsson, 2013). This implies an ongoing struggle over how to organise labour market policy for unemployed groups. The different policy positions exemplify two interpretations of the problem of dualisation, or more specifically, who in this

framework are considered insiders or outsiders. As noted in the introduction, insiders can be defined as "individuals in standard employment" and outsiders as "people in atypical and precarious employment" (Häusermann & Schwander, 2012). When proponents of the work-first inclusion principle, such as the Liberal Party and Centre Party, focus on inclusion being achieved by deregulation, the emphasis is on outsiders being those not in employment. On the other side, actors such as LO tend to identify outsiders as those in employment not covered by sufficient protection. The conflict can thus be seen in terms of either increased inclusion or increased protection. While this line of conflict is, by no means a new one, the articulation of these different positions suggests that the establishment reform reflects a compromise between them.

Thus, the establishment reform can be seen as an attempt to merge these two positions through demand side measures that combined workfare policies such as economic sanctions and incentives with social investment policies encouraging upskilling. This new work line strategy thus embedded the Social Democratic legacy of integration policy with an overriding policy goal of increasing paid work. The abandonment of demands to deregulate the labour market can further be seen as a way for the Alliance to win political support among the parts of the middle class that valued job security, and to become more aligned with Social Democratic policies prior to the 2006 general election. Thus, the establishment policy was an attempt to achieve limited changes in the labour market without actually taking the radical step of deregulation through more far-reaching legislation, thereby trying to combine the goals of protection and inclusion.

Migrants in a dualised labour market

Evaluations of labour market measures often deal with a dilemma common in social science research: while certain effects can be established, it is difficult to explain the reasons for the outcomes. In the case of the establishment reform, researchers at Stockholm University found that it had positive effects in terms of increased labour market participation for both men and women, although to a greater extent for men. The researchers pointed to the quicker contact with the Public Employment Service, clearer work focus and the possibility of validating previous skills and experiences as possible mechanisms behind results. While the probability for having a job was significantly higher for individuals participating in the establishment measures compared to the municipality introduction measures, individuals who remained unemployed at the end of the establishment

period to a greater extent also participated in the labour market measure the Job and Development programme. This suggests that among those who remained unemployed, the group of establishment participants were through their participation in the establishment reform more likely to continue to use the services of the Public Employment Service, whereas former municipality introduction participants were not as likely to use (or perhaps be aware of) the measures available (Andersson Joona et al., 2016: 14).

To an extent, my typology complements these evaluations by showing some of what occurs during the time that individuals participate in the establishment measures. Above all, the outcomes of the statistical data can be complemented with a picture of the complexities and different individual achievements and struggles by following the types within the target group and their trajectories through the establishment measures.

By considering the types we see that as with the larger group of the unemployed, women, older individuals and individuals with additional problems struggled to find a path to work. The evaluations also showed that women participated in paid work and labour market training programmes to a lesser extent than men, whereas individuals with more than nine years of education were more likely to find employment (ibid).

Within the types analysed in this thesis, the trajectories towards further education and work subsidies were mainly followed by individuals belonging to the Swedish learner or the work settler types, who already had a clear idea of their future employment prospects, or had networks that could provide them with help. Frustrated jobseekers, with low education or with no clear employment goals, could find their way in the labour market if they received clear direction from employment officers, such as a place in a specific labour market education programme, a clear job proposal or targeted matching measures – that is, more traditional labour market measures.

On the other hand, individuals of the establishment struggler type, who drifted between different labour market activities seemingly without clear purpose, the multiple choices within the establishment measures could be seen as an obstacle, rather than an opportunity. Here, the individualised measures obscured their perceptions of how best to find work. For example, multiple failures to secure a more permanent position led to some individuals choosing to study Swedish fulltime.

Finally, the hindered establishers were often seen as unable to participate fully in labour market activities, at least until their social problems had been managed. The efforts by employment officers were instead directed towards long-term inclusion in the labour market, for example by contacting other welfare agencies

for appropriate support, largely following the work previously done by municipalities. While the Public Employment Service could incorporate health and social activities into individual plans, and had specialists such as occupational therapists available, the long-term perspective of social support and rehabilitation did not necessarily fit well with the two-year establishment period and the expectations set up by the continuous measurement of outcomes and results.

In both the evaluations and the typology developed in this thesis, the group under study seems to mirror the "vulnerable group" of unemployed as a whole. While the types exemplify the heterogeneity of this group, similar to the general labour market policy area, the most vulnerable individuals may be hardest to target. The dilemma of how to handle the mismatch between the high demands of the labour market and the individuals perceived as not living up to the necessary skill level was as we have seen also previously a concern of ALMP. Whereas previously, the emphasis was on de-commodifying some of these individuals through, for example, early retirement schemes (cf Saurama, 2005; Stattin, 1997), the diverse trajectories through the establishment reform show some of the difficulties of focusing instead on labour market inclusion strategies.

After considering some of the commonalities between the group of newly arrived migrants and the group of vulnerable in the labour market as a whole, it is worth reflecting on some of the specific problems concerning the group of migrants.

After considering some of the commonalities between the group of newly arrived migrants and the group of vulnerable in the labour market as a whole, it is also worth to reflect on some of the specific problems concerning the group of migrants.

Despite the challenges newly arrived migrants face, we know that labour market participation for foreign-born individuals increases with time (Bevelander & Lundh, 2007; Statistiska Centralbyrån, 2009), however, it remains lower than for the general population. The challenges for this group, as shown in this thesis, thus remain the same as at the outset of the establishment reform, namely to find effective ways to include the most vulnerable individuals *within this group* into the labour market.

The choices that follow from choosing to prioritise the protection of those within the labour market, or the inclusion of those outside it, are: to accept a longer period of waiting before individuals enter the labour market as part of an integration process, or prioritise faster labour market entry through low-wage jobs with the potential of greater wage gaps in the general labour market.

For newly arrived migrants, balancing the protection of labour market insiders and the inclusion of outsiders is particularly problematic, especially for those with

low educational skills. Combined with the lack of Swedish skills, inadequate personal networks and possible structural discrimination, this group can be seen as particularly disadvantaged. Further, in the current labour market situation, the potential solutions for this group can be difficult to reach in the short term. The competition for work and the difficulty of acquiring stable employment at the lower end of the labour market can put migrants, especially, in a condition of precarity. On the other hand, an alternative route to complement educational skills to compete for more advanced work can lead to a prolonged waiting period in order to enter the labour market, and might not be desired by all individuals; as many aim to enter the labour market rapidly. Further, entering labour market measures that do not lead to employment can lead to lack of motivation and a perception that the system lacks legitimacy.

Individuals in this group thus face a long catch up process that needs to be considered. Is equal employment possible or realistic within a shorter timeframe? How long can we expect an integration process to take? What protections can be offered for those individuals during this catching up process, to prevent them from remaining labour market outsiders?

The targeted labour market policy discussed in this thesis stemmed from a failure to create a more inclusive and protective labour market for all groups. This thesis has shown some of the difficulties in trying to shift individuals into work, and the consequences of a dualised labour market for a particular group.

Nonetheless, while the policy at hand shows the difficulties of including groups such as newly arrived migrants in a dualised labour market, it should also be noted that the policy nonetheless does contain an ambition to include individuals both in the labour market and in the general political system and society. In this sense, the ambition of full employment, i.e. the goal of providing all individuals with job opportunities, can be seen as having been replaced with the ambition to include different groups in the labour market, through for example continuous participation in labour market measures. While current Swedish labour market policy does not leave individuals completely unprotected, the combination of workfare and social investment may be difficult to apply empirically to struggling groups, at least if results are expected in the short term.

In the end, the ways policies are constructed in terms of how to combine efforts to re-commodify, invest in and support vulnerable groups in the labour market reflect different political standpoints and ways to organise the economy and labour market. What may be at stake here is both the legitimacy of ALMP in the eyes of the general public and of participants in specific measures; as well as the ability of the state to create long-term policies sustaining welfare state employment levels and protecting individuals in the labour market.

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Appendix I

Glossary of terms and abbreviations

ENGLISH	SWEDISH
activity guarantee programme	*aktivitetsgarantin*
assessment (of jobseeker's training and experience)	*kartläggning (av sökande)*
caseworker guidance	*handläggarstöd*
Centre Party	*Centerpartiet*
Christian Democrats	*Kristdemokraterna*
Confederation of Swedish Enterprise	*Svenskt Näringsliv*
county	*län*
county administrative board	*länsstyrelse*
county council	*landsting*
county labour boards	*länsarbetsnämnder*
directive	*direktiv*
director-General	*generaldirektör*
employment officer	*arbetsförmedlare*
entry recruitment incentive	*instegsjobb*
establishment benefit	*etableringsersättning*
establishment guide	*etableringslots*
establishment interview	*etableringssamtal*
establishment plan	*etableringsplan*
establishment reform	*etableringsreformen*
government bill	*proposition*
government white paper	*SOU*
housing provided by the Migration Board	*anläggningsboende (ABO)*
Job and Development Programme	*jobb- och utvecklingsgarantin*
labour market training programme	*arbetsmarknadsutbildning*
law of freedom of choice system	*Lagen om Valfrihetssystem (LOV)*
Left Party	*Vänsterpartiet*
Liberal Party	*Folkpartiet Liberalerna (/Liberalerna)*
Member of Parliament	*riksdagsledamot*

Minister for Employment	*arbetsmarknadsminister*
Minister for Integration	*integrationsminister*
Ministry of Employment	*Arbetsmarknadsdepartementet*
Moderate Party	*Moderaterna*
municipality	*kommun*
new start jobs	*nystartsjobb*
official letter	*skrivelse*
Parliamentary Committee on the Labour Market	*Arbetsmarknadsutskottet (riksdagen)*
permanent residence permit	*permanent uppehållstillstånd (PUT)*
regulation	*förordning*
Samhall Ltd.	*Samhall AB*
security employment	*trygghetsanställning*
sickness or activity compensation (formerly early retirement)	*sjuk- och aktivitetsersättning*
statement of government policy	*regeringsförklaring*
Statistics Sweden	*Statistiska Centralbyrån (SCB)*
Swedish Agency for Public Management	*Statskontoret*
Swedish Board for Study Support	*Centrala Studiestödsnämnden (CSN)*
Swedish for immigrants	*svenska för invandrare (sfi)*
Swedish Green Party	*Miljöpartiet de gröna*
Swedish Integration Board	*Integrationsverket*
Swedish Labour Market Agency	*Arbetsmarknadsverket (AMV)*
Swedish Migration Agency	*Migrationsverket*
Swedish National Audit Office	*Riksrevisionen*
Swedish National Labour Market Board	*Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen (AMS)*
Swedish Public Employment Service (PES)	*Arbetsförmedlingen*
Swedish Social Democratic Party	*Sveriges Socialdemokratiska Arbetareparti (SAP); Socialdemokraterna*
Swedish Social Insurance Agency	*Försäkringskassan*
Swedish Trade Union Confederation	*Landsorganisationen i Sverige (LO)*
tender documents	*förfrågningsunderlag*
The Employers Confederation	*Svensk arbetsgivareförening (SAF)*
The National Immigration and Naturalization Board	*Statens Invandrarverk (SIV)*
wage subsidy for disabled persons	*Lönebidrag*
Working life introduction programme	*Arbetslivsintroduktion*
Youth Job Programme	*jobbgaranti för ungdomar*

Appendix II

Entry recruitment incentive (instegsjobb)

"Entry jobs" are exclusively directed towards newly arrived migrants, who received their residence permit within the last 36 months. The individual should be able to combine the work with studying Swedish for immigrants (SFS 1997:1275). The employer should pay the individual a wage in line with the collective agreement for the sector. If the individual works more than 50%, the entry job subsidy is given for a maximum of 6 months; if it is lower than 50% of full time the employment subsidy is given for a maximum of 24 months. The employer receives a compensation of 80% of wage costs up to a maximum of 800 SEK per day. Additionally, the employer can receive compensation for supervising costs of 50 SEK per day for up to 3 months.

New start jobs (nystartjobb)

"New start jobs" are aimed towards long-term unemployed and to newly arrived migrants for up to three years after receiving their residence permit and the subsidy can be paid out for this three year period with a possible extension. Employers receive a subsidy of double the amount of the employment fees that the employer is required to pay for employees. According to the Swedish National Audit Office, this is the equivalent of 63% of the gross wage for individuals over 26 years of age and 31% of the gross wage for individuals between 20 and 26 years old. New start jobs are not seen as labour market programs, and therefore the individual qualifies for unemployment insurance and the general employment protection regulated by the *Las* legislation after the position ends (SFS 2006:1481).

Appendix III

List of interviewees

Public Employment Service	
City 1	P 101
City 1	P 102
City 1	P 103
City 1	P 104
City 2	P 201
City 2	P 202
City 2	P 203
City 2	P 204

Establishment guides
C 001
C 002
C 003
C 004
C 005
C 006
C 007
C 008
C009
C010
C011

Appendix IV

Details regarding financial compensation for establishment guides

The economic reimbursement for the establishment guide was divided into four parts; a start payment; monthly payments; and two possible result-based payments. The result-based payments were paid out after 3 months and 6 months respectively after the individual had been in employment of full time higher education studies, alternatively started their own business and been able to keep the business without receiving financial support from the PES. Result 2 was only paid out for full time employment, and not for entry recruitment incentive, but it does include the subsidised employment forms new start jobs, wage subsidy (for disabled persons)[54] and security employment[55].

The economic amount for the four parts of payment is differentiated according to the participants' education level. The table below shows the different payments that are shown in Swedish crowns, excluding VAT.

	Individuals with 6 years education or less	Individuals with more than 6 years education
Start payment	6000	3500
Monthly payment	1650	1100
Result 1	13000	8000
Result 2	40000	30000

Prices in SEK as of 2012.

[54] *lönebidrag.*

[55] *trygghetsanställning.*

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