Empowerment or excessive care?

Discourse analysis of the debate around

Swedish integration policy

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Abstract

This investigation is about Establishment reform that was launched by the Swedish government in December 2010, which is looked at from the discourse perspective. In order to reveal the contents of dominating and alternative discourses around the reform, as well as show the existing value conflict, Fairclough's critical discourse analysis is applied to the documents about the reform, parliament debates and newspaper articles. Besides critical discourse theory postcolonial perspective, governmentality and neo-classical human capital theory are used for the analysis. It is thus shown that while public debate is rather oriented on changing the situation, policy documents point out reproduction tendencies. I reveal two discourses on integration – liberal and social-democratic, which correspond with two values – empowerment and excessive care. However, the analysis shows that liberal discourse contains even some elements of excessive care. This is in particular seen in passivation and objectification of the newcomers, impersonal and unequal relations in texts between those who make policy and those who are its object. The existing discourses both reflect and reproduce govermentality- and postcolonial tendencies, while the assumption about individuals' own motives is rationalistic.

Key words: integration, governmentality, postcolonialism, neo-classical human capital theory, Etableringsreform
Words: 9665

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1　Introduction

Studying integration policy in Sweden is relevant because many have claimed that so far it has failed. Swedish integration policy is a part of social-democratic welfare model and is based on the ideas of diversity and anti-rasism. In the end of 1990s the government proposed to go over from "migration policy" to "integration policy" to stop the increasing marginalization of immigrants (Jørgensen, 2011, p. 101). The new perspective consisted in emphasizing individual's independence, lifelong education, entrepreneurship etc. In spite of all the efforts there is a constant gap between swedes and immigrants on the labour market (Jørgensen, 2011, p. 102). In my thesis I am going to focus on one case, namely the reform of Swedish integration policy that was launched by Swedish government in december 2010 and is called Establishment reform (*Etableringsreformen*), which is considered to be the biggest in many years. The main contents and meaning with the reform is to create conditions for people coming to Sweden that enable them to find jobs, learn the language and establish themselves both on the labour market and in the new country.

I think it is especially interesting to look at the reform from the discourse perspective. Both governmental policies and research on immigration have under a long time created special understandings of immigrants as "victims" or "problems" because of their cultural background (Ålund et al., 1991, p. 16), which then become general truths about immigrants and set frames for the policy being formulated (Jørgensen, 2011, p. 95). According to the present government, newcomers are not victims, but strong individuals with skills and experience that need to be shown the way and given professional support to enable them to establish themselves in the new country.

Establishment reform is presented as the biggest change in integration area and as a contrast to the previous social-democratic policy. It is claimed that the new policy is different from social-democratic policy based on extensive state care. It is different in the sense that the state interferes into the integration domain only by providing conditions and possibilities, while most of the "work" on integrating is to be carried out by individuals themselves. This is the main dividing line that I found in the debate around the Establishment reform. This is also the main conflict line between the present government and the opposition, which can further be explained by that they have different presumptions about the extent of the state interference in the domain, about needs and prerequisites of individuals integrating. Thus the conflict exists between excessive care-perspective and liberal perspective of empowerment of individuals.

My hypothesis is though that not much in the contents of the policy has changed, and the reform appears to be rather the same thing in a new package.

The fact that those who worked out the policy think in the same terms as previous governments sets frames for the policy.

The study is not only relevant from the scientific point of view, but is also significant from the practical perspective, first of all in what concerns evaluation of the integration policy. The latter even concerns lives and lifestyles of the big group of people in Sweden (Teorell et al., 2007, p. 18). The scientific significance of the study consists in that by studying a new case, i.e. the reform, and new material it seeks to contribute to the existing research about integration.

1.1 Problem and purpose

Purpose of the investigation is to reseach the existence of a value conflict. How is value conflict visualized in the debate around Establishment reform 2010?

The research questions are:

1. What is the content of dominating discourse on integration under the time the reform was prepared and possible alternative discourses?

2. What do discursive struggle and value conflict in the Establishment reform consist in?

1.2 Method and theory

In this paragraph I present method and theories used in this paper. They are later described in detail in Chapter 2. In the study critical discourse theory of Norman Fairclough and corresponding method of critical discourse analysis (later CDA) are used in order to answer the questions described above. As a complement non-discursive theories are used, of which only parts are applied in order to connect existing discourse to a broader social practice. Namely, governmentality, postcolonial theory and neo-classical human capital theory are applied in the analysis.

Here I'd like to explain the relation between these theories that have different starting points. First, they study different levels: neo-classical human capital theory focuses on individuals' own motives, while postcolonialism and governmentality – rather on policy level and its influence on an individual. As a result, they have different assumptions about people's motives: in neo-classical human capital theory it is rather material factors that rule people's behaviour, while according to governmentality and postcolonial theory the factors are rather immaterial and external, as the two latter perspectives are closer to social constructivism, which means that "facts" are socially constructed and subjectively interpreted while being used in creating policies. As Fischer puts it, the "objective" findings used in the policy often come from "deeper, less visible, social and political presuppositions" (Fischer, 2009, p. 120). Thus, the role of

subjective presuppositions and assumptions in pre-shaping of policies is emphasized. The way we understand the social world is in turn framed by the discursive social constructions of political actors, institutions, in particular by the way they use language (Fischer, 2009, p. 121). Fairclough warns though against seeing this impact as one-sided. According to Fairclough it is mutual, i.e. both discourses and social practices influence each other. This is the view that even I share.

1.3   Definitions of the main concepts

In this paragraph I present some of the main concepts of my investigation, that are not described later in the text.

The term "*integration*" can have two meanings: 1. A process by which an individual or a group is joining a larger group or the society. 2. Goal of this process, which was also a usual understanding of integration by the Swedish policy-makers after 1997 (Brekke et al., 2007, p. 12). The idea of integration is "a reciprocal adaptation of the majority and the minority populations in the country" (ibid.). In contrast to integration as a reciprocal adaptation, the adaptation of only one party is called *assimilation,* i.e. a "process whereby immigrants…become increasingly similar to the majority population in their patterns of cultural, economic, or political behaviors and perspectives" (Messina et al., 2006, p. 13).

The concept *"discourse"* has two meanings as well. First, it is a "language…as an element of social life which is dialectically related to other elements" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 214-215). Second and more specifically, "different discourses are different ways of representing aspects of the world" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 215).

1.4   Limitations of the study

I concentrate on labour market integration and Establishment reform preparation, with the aim to visualize value conflict. After reading all the documents that have to do with the preparation of reform, I chose only four, which I then analyzed. As it is governmental policy that is being studied, I focused on governmental and partly parlament perspectives.

1.5   Structure

Chapter 1 is the introduction chapter where I present research questions and purpose of the study, describe background of the case that lies in the center of the

study, i.e. Establishment reform 2010 in Sweden. In this chapter theory and method are also presented, as well as definitions of central terms and limitations of the study. Chapter 2 is methodological chapter where I describe and motivate choice of theories (critical discourse theory, governmentality, postcolonialism and neo-classical human capital theory), present critical discourse analysis method, list different types of material I use in my study and reflect about validity and reliability of the study, as well as operationalization of central terms. Chapter 3 is analysis itself, which is structured with the starting point in different stages of critical discourse analysis, i.e. analysis of discursive practices is followed by textual analysis, which in turn is followed by analysis of a wider social practice, combining discursive and non-discursive aspects of the studied phenomenon. In Chapter 4 I present my conclusions, i.e. answers to the research questions.

2 Methodology

2.1 Theory

In this section I describe the theories used in the investigation. Faircloughs CDA is both a theory and a method, they are sometimes difficult to separate. I also present the parts of non-discursive theories from the point of view of their relevance for explaining and understanding current integration policy.

2.1.1 Critical discourse theory

To analyze existing discourses on integration in the Establishment reform 2010 I use Faircloughs critical discourse analysis (CDA). According to Fairclough politics is a struggle between different groups about essential values, which is also expressed in language (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 339). Fairclough takes up fundamental contradictions that the society is built upon (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 322), which is relevant for me because I have tension between different values in focus. Discourses themselves are built on the opposite values (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 345). The texts are looked at as parts of social events, where both social structures, including languages, and social practices, including orders of discourse, as well as social agents, have an impact on them (Fairclough, 2003, p. 38).

According to CDA discursive practices are dialectically tied with other social practices, which in turn define the character of discursive practices. Discursive practices both reflect social practices and make an active impact on social and cultural processes (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 78).

In CDA it is claimed that discourses contribute to creating unequal social relations between different social groups, for example ethnic minorities and the majority, women and men etc. These effects are considered to be ideological effects (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 63). So discourse analysis according to Fairclough focuses both on discursive practices that construct representations of the world, social relations, power relations, and on the role that these discursive constructions play in promoting the interests of certain social groups (ibid.).

Fairclough himself defines CDA as "an approach which seeks to investigate systematically often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts and (b) broader social and cultural structures, relations and processes […] how such practices, events and texts arise

out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power […] how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony" (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 63). Thus CDA is critical in the sense that it seeks to reveal the role of discursive practices in shaping social relations including unequal power relations (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 63).

To be able to do the analysis of a wider social practice of which discourse is a part, the theories about social practices in the integration domain are needed. The theories I use are neo-classical human capital theory, governmentality and postcolonialism.

2.1.2 Neo-classical human capital theory

This theory has focus on the labour market, that's why it is relevant for my investigation. Human capital can be understood as all training, education, competences that are seen as investments helping to secure individual's position on the labour market (Berntson et al., 2006, p. 225). Neo-classical human capital theory explains the differences in labour market integration of immigrants and sees the decision to immigrate as a rational choice, when an individual makes calculations of costs and benefits of immigration. Migration is therefore seen as an investment. As for the human capital of an individual, a part of it gets lost in another country and an individual has to adjust to the labour market by investing in new skills, for example language skills. During the first years immigrants are therefore less productive and have lower employment rates for their educational level, but they catch up with the native income levels later on (Bevelander, 2011, p. 30). In Sweden labour market integration is considered to depend on such factors as human capital of the home country and investment made in the human capital of the host country, labour market experience of the host country, internal migration of immigrants, choice of the city, social capital and access to ethnic networks (Bevelander, 2011, p. 30-31).

2.1.3 Governmentality

Governmentality is an approach to politics that originates from Michel Foucault. In this paragraph I describe parts of this general approach, which I find most relevant for my investigation.

The term "governmentality" consists of two other terms. The term "government" in its broadest sense means any efforts at directing all the possible aspects of human behaviour, i.e. it includes not only political and economical subjection, but any attempt of influencing people's actions and behaviour (Kalm, 2008, p. 62, 65). Government in this sense is not merely a direct influence, but first of all indirect managing of conditions in which one acts, structuring the frames within which the others are able to act, making self-regulation of individuals possible, which constitutes special forms of domination (ibid.).

Another aspect of Foucault's government is that the power doesn't come from a single center, but includes a range of different relations between diverse actors, i.e. not only state institutions but employers, NGOs, other organisations, individuals themselves (Kalm, 2008, p. 66).

As for "mentality", sometimes called "rationality", it is the way of thinking about practice of governing. It is not the convictions of individuals, but rather collective understandings that are taken for granted, and include existing knowledge, beliefs and opinions (Kalm, 2008, p. 66). Governmentality is focused on how authorities think about governing, i.e. what kind of practice they want to create, how they define the possible problems, what are their aims and techniques they are going to use (Kalm, 2008, p. 64).

According to Britannica, Foucault's "governmentality" is "the array of political arrangements, past and present, within which individuals have not simply been dominated subjects but have been able in some measure to govern, to be, and to create themselves" (Faubion in Britannica).

Within governmentality as an approach there exists a tendency to distinguish between what is good and what is bad, desirable and undesirable, an aspiration to maximize, stimulate the good and suppress the bad (Kalm, 2008, p. 24). There is usually a discrepancy between the empirical reality and what is proposed in the specific reform (Kalm, 2008, p. 91).

People are encouraged to be individualized, active subjects who take their own responsibility for improving their lives. This is a conception of an "active society" (Larner, 2000, p. 13). The citizen in it is an active agent, both able to and obliged to make his own choice (ibid.). Thus responsibility is moved from the state to individuals.

Government takes place "at a distance", when individuals' free action is stimulated rather than suppressed (Kalm, 2008, p. 77). The assumption here is that individuals choose to act good and right without needing to be made to and threatened. Furthermore, other authorities than the state are relied upon, self-regulation is stimulated, and the market form of interaction is taken for an example (ibid.).

One of the central terms in governmentality-approach is "mentalities of government" or "political rationalities", which are not only knowledge representing the reality, but "an element of government itself which helps to create a discursive field in which exercising power is "rational"" (Kalm, 2008, p. 88). The task when analyzing mentality of government is therefore not to see if the reality is correctly represented, but to see how the new knowledge and new concepts are created in order to govern a certain domain (ibid.).

2.1.4 Postcolonialism

According to post-colonial theory the heritage of colonialism is not overcome yet. It still shapes social relations, in which power relations between the West and the colonies still exist, and haven't magically disappeared (McLeod, 2000, p. 32). The

global society differs substantially from the colonial era in what concerns economy, politics and culture, but at the same time is affected by it (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 16). Simultaneously post-colonialism tries to overcome boundaries and identities that were created during the colonial era (ibid.). Not only postcolonial states are under influence of colonialism, but it also is significant for creating cultural identities in the western world's multicultural societies (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 14-15).

According to post-colonial perspective the world is understood through dichotomies, for example man – woman, white – black, normal – abnormal etc. One can only be either of these, for example either man or a woman, not anything in between. These dichotomies help to create hidden unequal power relations, to reproduce social hierarchies; they define what is normal and what is not. An example of such an opposition is "us" and "them", where that belonging to "us" is of a greater value and thus a "norm". This is besides a simplified and reductionist way to create meaning (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 18).

According to postcolonialism modern western identity is constructed with the starting point in basic distinction between civilized Europeans as carriers of universal development process and "the others" as standing outside of this process (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 29). These identities are thus constructed in advance and questioning of them is not an easy task because it threatens the symbolic colonial order (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 34). As both identity and culture of the Europeans are considered to be universal and something that the colonized take in and accept (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 26), it is clear that the colonized are seen as not more than an object in the process.

Power circulates within discourses through creating "truths", when we consider some things to be obvious and make them our own truths (Eriksson et al., 2005, p. 19). Here belongs in particular created artificial difference between "self" and "other" (Loomba, 2005, p. 55).

2.2   Method

The advantage of CDA is that it, being a critical analysis method, helps to expose hidden patterns and is focused on power structures (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 321). Another advantage of using CDA is also that in CDA-studies there is often a focus on the separate actors, something that other types of discourse analysis are often criticized that they lack (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 351).

One of the possible complications of using discourse analysis is that a researcher would tend to think that everything, i.e. all the reality is reduced to a discourse. This could prevent a researcher to think about reality in terms of causality (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 349). In my case this is not a big difficulty because Fairclough's theory includes the analysis of a broader social practice, as well as non-discursive theory about the problem, that should be included in the analysis. Other problem concerns eclectic character of the package of techniques discourse analysis uses, when the analyst should be at the same time open to all

possible techniques and show why and how she uses them (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 352). Sometimes investigation is not transparent enough so that the reader cannot see how conclusions are connected to empirical material (ibid.). This problem I partly overcome through providing translation of sentences and expressions the analysis is based upon in Application 2.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse analysis contains following main steps:

1. Analysis of discursive practices, which involve production and consumption of texts.

2. Textual analysis, when it is analyzed what phrases, terms and words point out certain discourses and what do they reveal.

3. Analysis of a broader social practice of which discourse is a part (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 69). I will now go through these three in detail.

Analysis of discursive practices is about how the text is produced and consumed. The approaches can be different depending on the material, but on the more abstract level it is about what processes a text goes through before it is printed and how it changes during those processes. By *intertextuality* of a text is meant "the presence within it of elements of other texts (and therefore potentially other voices than the author's own) which may be related to (dialogued with, assumed, rejected, etc.) in various ways" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218). According to Fairclough a text can be understood as a part of an intertextual chain, i.e. a series of texts that includes elements from other texts (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 74). If a text is a part of intertextual chain, and thus can be seen in many different versions, the question is how its structure and content are transformed from one version to another. Another phenomenon that is important to mention here is *interdiscursivity,* that is a particular mix of discourses, which are articulated together in the text (Fairclough, 2003, p. 218).

Concerning **textual analysis** there are a number of linguistic characteristics that can be used as an instrument to analyze how discourses are activated textually (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 83). In Fairclough's book "Analysing discourse. Textual analysis of social research" many different linguistic techniques are described (Fairclough, 2003), all of which are not possible to use in this investigation. I choose only the most relevant and interesting for my material. I am from the beginning open to all the techniques and let my research question define the choice of the concrete techniques.

One of the tools for textual analysis is relationships between speakers, for example who sets the conversational agenda (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 84-85). Other tools are metaphors, choice of words (formal or informal, old fashioned etc.) and grammar (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 83).

Important grammatical element is transitivity. It means the way that events and processes are connected or not connected with subjects and objects as well as ideological consequences of that. For example through using of passive form the meaning of the responsible agent neglects, while the effect is emphasized. By nominalization it is meant that linguistic construction "there were" is used for the same purpose (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 83).

When I do textual analysis I concentrate only on some of its elements described by Fairclough, namely on identifying discourses and representations,

modality and evaluation. The reason is the research question that actualizes just these elements of discourse analysis. As a value conflict is significant for the investigation, evaluation becomes especially important.

To identify discourses one should first identify the main themes, and second, identify from what perspective or angle they are represented (Fairclough, 2003, p. 129). There are a number of linguistic features that help to expose the essence of discourse. One of these features are words, i.e. discourses use different words, structure the world differently which is expressed in semantic relations between words (ibid.).

Discourses can use the same vocabulary or partly different ones. Even in case they use the same vocabulary they do it in different ways, and it is differences that can be understood through analyzing semantic relations. The latter can be seen through looking at collocations, i.e. patterns through which words co-occur in texts (Fairclough, 2003, p. 131). Another linguistic feature is metaphor, where they distinguish for example lexical metaphor, i.e. when one part of the world is extended to another (Fairclough, 2003, p. 217). Finally, presuppositions and assumptions are also related to discourses, are tied to particular discourses and vary between them (Fairclough, 2003, p. 132).

As value conflict is an important part of this study, I take into account how social actors are represented in the discourses, as I consider them to be important for the reason that values don't exist outside of people. Actors can be either included, excluded or be prominent (Fairclough, 2003, p. 136).

Modality means the degree of a speakers' commitment to their statements. This can be done in a variety of ways, depending on different commitments. Modality is important from the point of view of defining identities – what people commit themselves to points out to what they are or what their identity is (Fairclough, 2003, p. 166). To use objective rather than subjective modalities means to present interpretations as if they were facts. Moreover another example of modality is permission, when the speaker places herself in a particular position when she can give permissions to the receivers, which also reflects in the language (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 84). Markers of modalization are most often modal verbs, and modal adverbs such as 'certainly', participial adjectives for example 'required' etc. (see Application 1).

One of the aspects of meaning of the texts concerns values. Evaluation is a term in discourse analysis for studying values in texts, including different ways, both explicit and implicit, in which authors commit themselves to values. Here Fairclough distinguishes the following categories: evaluative statements, statements with deontic modalities, statements with affective mental process verbs, value assumptions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 171).

Evaluative statements concern desirability and undesirability, what is good or bad (Fairclough, 2003, p. 172). Evaluation can also be in the form of *statements with deontic (obligational) modality*. Another form is *affective mental processes*, where evaluation is explicitly that of the author (Fairclough, 2003, p. 173). Finally, evaluation can be seen in texts in the form of implicit or *assumed values*, called assumptions (Fairclough, 2003, p. 173).

Discursive practice and the texts themselves are the parts of a **broader social practice**, which also needs to be analyzed within CDA. An interesting aspect here is a wider context of discursive practice, which includes non-discursive, social and cultural relations, or social matrix of discourse, using Fairclough's terminology. As the discourse analysis cannot give an answer to the questions that concern institutional, social, economic conditions, in this part it is important to use other theories that can explain social practice that is being investigated (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 86). In my case I use neo-classical human capital theory, governmentality and postcolonial theory.

2.3 Material

The most important criterion for selection of material is its connectedness to the Establishment reform. After having chosen and read all the material that has to do with the Establishment reform, I narrowed it even further. Of all the documents about reform I chose those in which focus on a value conflict is the biggest: governmental proposal 2009/10:60 *"Nyanlända invandrares arbetsmarknadsetablering - egenansvar med professionellt stöd"*, article by integration minister Erik Ullenhag in Dagens Nyheter "Newcomers need more than a pat on the head" published 2010-11-17 (Article 1), as well as interview with Erik Ullenhag by Mikael Stengård and Oscar Levy "Big change of integration policy", published in Aftonbladet 2010-10-20 (Article 2), and Riksdag's protocole where the proposal was discussed. These texts can perhaps constitute the "monument", namely they can be a starting point or connecting point for discourses (Neumann, 2003, p. 49).

2.3.1 Operationalization

As the main purpose of the investigation is to expose the contents of dominating and alternative discourses, it is important to have an instrument for analysis, which points out what one should look for in the empirical material. As value conflicts and normative dilemmas constitute "true essence of politics" (Badersten, 2006, p. 29) and different value premises lead to different understandings about how the integration policy should be reformed, I decided to have value conflict as an instrument of analysis and limited myself to one pair of concepts: excessive care – empowerment. Here I operationalize these pair of concepts through giving definitions and describing what operational indicators in the texts are pointing to those concepts.

The concept "Excessive care" *(överomhändertagande)* is used to define integration policy that has been dominating during the last twenty years and that ideologically belongs to Social Democratic Party. The basic thought here is that "measures designed to work at the group level had lead to passivity and drained

individual initiative" (Brekke et al., 2007, p. 48). Excessive care made that newly arrived have been looked at as incapable clients and as a result didn't have to make choices in life themselves and lost control over it (Brekke et al., 2007, p. 55). According to S. Scuzzarello, the concept of care includes three elements: *attentiveness*, i.e. identifying needs of others; *responsibility*, i.e. meeting the identified need; *responsiveness*, i.e. understanding needs of the others, in particular how that care has been received (Scuzzarello, 2010, p. 47-48). Operational indicators in the texts are thus those that contain references to state responsibility, state activities, to a group of individuals as a focus of the policy etc.

The concept "Empowerment" *(egenmakt)* is the opposite one, which goes away from the group level and focuses instead on individual's own potential and self-determination (ibid.). The concept is therefore meant to move away from passivity and drained initiative to individual's activity and increased initiative and responsibility. Operational indicators in the texts are thus those that contain references to an individual, individual's own activities, free choice, initiative and responsibility, i.e. individual as a focus for the reform.

Intuitively excessive care is connected to social-democratic discourse and empowerment – to liberal. But as my hypothesis is to find out whether liberal policy contains elements of excessive care I look for the indicators that point at the terms "excessive care" and "empowerment" within social-democratic and liberal discourses.

Elements of other discourses than liberal and social-democratic are of course present in the texts, but as my focus is on empowerment and excessive care, I concentrate mainly on these two discourses.

2.3.2 Validity and reliability

I am aware of problems that appear concerning intersubjectivity when one uses discourse analysis. The only possible way to overcome them is to make an instrument of analysis as clear as possible, as well as to make conclusions as transparent as possible in respect to material used.

In my case the problem of reliability has a dimension that is caused by using English as the language of investigation though my material is in Swedish. It means certain difficulties in interpretation. I overcome those difficulties by writing down Swedish quotations in Application 2, so that the reader can understand the way I think. This increases reliability; this way I try to escape unsystematic errors.

Furthermore, basic grammatical and lexical markers that point out certain elements of the discourse analysis, for example modal verbs, passive voice etc. are similar both in English and in Swedish, which gives the opportunity to use CDA to the Swedish texts. I am though aware of that in Swedish, as well as in official documents, passive forms are used more often in comparison to English. This is why the significance of passive forms in Swedish texts should not be

exaggerated. Nevertheless the use of passive forms has an effect on the way the reform is talked about and eventually implemented.

When it concerns validity, one of possible ways to provide high validity is to use quotes as a way to increase transparency. A well described instrument of analysis is also of great importance, which ensures that the linguistic analysis is made in an accurate way. Another condition for high validity is that power should be understood in terms of discourse (Bergström et al., 2005, p. 353).

3   Analysis

3.1   Change and reproduction-tendencies in the debate around Establishment reform

Governmental proposal, partly parliamental debates and chosen newspaper articles are parts of social event Establishment reform 2010 and can be seen as an intertextual chain, as governmental policy is a leading theme in them. The task is then to see how is contents and structure transformed in different sources.

Article 1 (Ullenhag, 2010) differs from the official documents in respect that it appeals to the public, and as a result is more value-oriented. The structure of this article is less formal and more oriented to explain the content of reform to the public. As well as the article of Erik Ullenhag governmental proposal is a part of an *intertextual chain*, in this case it is the official governmental proposal on the reform. That is why its contents is rather substantial than value-oriented, which also reflects in the document's structure with its detailed description of target group, responsible authorities, establishment activities and pilots (Proposition 2009).   In the parliament protocol the governmental proposal is discussed. The speeches are ideologically toned and the proposal is estimated with the starting point in opposing ideologies. Almost all the main voices are included, which is natural for debate in the parliament, except the newcomers' themselves, who are backgrounded. Article 2 "Big change of integration policy" (Stengård et al., 2010), which is an interview with integration minister Erik Ullenhag, is also a part of intertextual chain of texts in which integration minister takes part. The content of this article is more diverse than that of the other texts in this chain, for example the problems of discrimination are discussed along with other problems. Other voices than the government's and opposition's are included here, as those of usual citizens.

The parliament debate is characterized by relatively high degree of *interdiscursivity*. Social-democratic discourse with its excessive care and liberal discourse with its empowerment of an individual are mixed together with immigration discourse, labour market discourse, discrimination discourse, as well as multiculturalism and gender-discourses in a complex interdiscursive mix.

Governmental proposal has different degrees of interdiscursivity in its different parts. When the background for the decision is described the grade of interdiscursivity is relatively high. Both excessive care and empowerment are discussed, as well as gender- and antidiscrimination perspectives. When the

contents of the reform itself is described liberal discourse begins to prevail, i.e. the degree of interdiscursivity becomes low.

Article 1 has a relatively low degree of interdiscursivity. The texts draw on liberal discourse, focused mainly on empowerment. This is articulated for example in the heading: "The newcomers need more than a pat on the head". However, elements of excessive care values are present. Article 2 draws on a variety of discourses: besides liberal discourse it also refers to a great extent to discrimination discourse, as well as xenophobia discourse. Even elements of multiculturalism-discourse are present. Therefore a grade of interdiscursivity is very high in the article.

While a high level of interdiscursivity is associated with change, the low one means that the existing social order is reproduced (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 82-83). From what I have just said about the degrees of interdiscursivity of the analyzed texts follows that high degree of interdiscursivity exists in public debate and shows the will to change the situation, while low degree of interdiscursivity that is inherent in policy documents points out reproduction tendencies.

3.2   Excessive care and empowerment-values in the debate around Establishment reform

3.2.1 Article 1

In the article 1 the author underlines the difference between the government's integration policy and that of social democrats. In this sense the conflict between the present government and their political opponents is seen very clearly through accentuation of difference between all previous politics and that coming with the reform. It is here that the central value conflict between the values of liberals and social democrats, i.e. responsibility of an individual and solidarity, or empowerment and excessive care, is clearly seen. The author puts his position in a very strong contrast to that of social democrats, with no attempt to resolve and overcome differences between them.

In the article 1 the author's assumptions are clearly ideological, namely liberal, i.e. with the focus on individual: "adapted for individual", "individual's needs", "individual's own responsibility, "individual efforts" and he confesses himself to be a liberal: "as a liberal I welcome" (here and later see Application 2). By using these words he implicitly says that this model of relations in the society, where individuals take their own responsibility, are active etc. is desirable for him. The undesirable is the state care that is strongly connected to social-democratic previous policy. The metaphor "pat on the head" that he associates

with excessive-care-mentality is repeated several times in the article and is also present in the heading.

The discourse on integration drawn on in the article is liberal. It is about both labour market integration and wider integration into the Swedish society. **Liberal discourse** is based on the traditional liberal rhetoric with strong individuals ready to take their own responsibilities for their lives. The assumption here is that all the refugees and other newcomers are "strong individuals" as they had courage enough to take themselves to Sweden. The empowerment-perspective is thus clearly seen in the article. The author contrasts his policy to that of social democrats, whose starting point, according to Ullenhag, is "weak individuals". The contrast is also seen in the sentence that is marked bold: "This model for reception of the newcomers that we have had during the long time did not work, therefore we reorganize the reception now". The accent is also made on presenting the reform as the very big one: "the big reform", "the biggest change", which also underlines the contrast.

It is noticeable that Erik Ullenhag in the article 1 uses different kinds of words when talking about Sweden and about refugees and other kinds of immigrants. His words about Sweden are positively toned: "Sweden…has been open for people and co-operation with other countries", "enriched our country", "Sweden will continue to be an open and tolerant country", while in the paragraph where he talks about immigrants many words are negatively toned: "lower", "worse", "waste of resources", "hasn't worked", "clear failures", both when it concerns immigrants themselves and "the system". Nevertheless in the end of the paragraph he adds that it's the system that has defects, not the newcomers.

As for the elements of liberal discourse on integration, the author of the article 1 talks about jobs, which is the most salient element represented. He also brings up learning Swedish language by immigrants, their knowledge of the Swedish society. What he doesn't take up is, from my point of view: structural problems on the labour market, immigrants' own thoughts about their problems, discrimination on the labour market, higher value of Swedish education in comparison to that of most of the immigrants on the Swedish labour market etc., i.e. all that concerns the labour market itself. Therefore it is a one-sided adjustment or adaptation of the immigrants to Sweden and its labour market he proposes. In this regard one can rather talk about assimilation.

Much of that concerning the newcomers' attitudes is claimed by the author without any reference to what the newcomers themselves think: "They expect to be able to contribute to the society – not to live on subsidies", "The newcomers need more than a pat on the head".

From the point of view of the language, there are a lot of "we"-pronoun Erik Ullenhag uses in the article 1, meaning the present government. When "we" is used it can mean that the one that talks places himself in a superior position and even considers himself to possess the power of making statements on behalf of the others. Simultaneously the immigrants are most usually called "the newcomer", which is rather impersonal and underlines belonging to the class or category. Employers, who are supposed to employ immigrants in the future, are not in the text at all. Establishment pilots (*Etableringslots*), private actors of the integration

policy, are backgrounded, i.e. mentioned somewhere, but not given a bigger attention.

The newcomers in the article 1 are both passivated, i.e. affected by the processes: "Instead of being received…the newcomer will…be met by", "the newcomers are deprived of", "the newcomers' competence is inquired for", "establishment plan…is made" and activated, i.e. are actors in the process: "The newcomer chooses establishment pilot himself", "the newcomer…meets". I consider that the newcomers are also implicitly passivated by for example meaning that individually formed activities will be implemented, that the so called orientation in the society will give (the newcomer) understanding of the Swedish society (meaning that it will happen artificially, without the immigrant taking an active part in it), by claiming that Sweden has taken her solidary responsibility for letting immigrants come.

Therefore, paying attention to how actors are represented (e.g. activated or passivated), the policy appears more contradictive than he presents it – much bigger degree of state care is seen between the lines. Even the picture in the article, representing a refugee sitting on a bed probably at some refugee-shelter wakes up rather a wish to take care than a feeling of him as an active person in search for a job. As the newcomers are referred to as a class, not much attention to their individual characteristics is paid, at least in the language. As for the contents of the reform, it is possible to work part-time during having the introduction activities without reduction of the compensation, which I think to some degree also points out the caring position of the state.

The author of the article1 speaks mostly in a way that he presents the opinions as given facts. When opinions are described as given facts it shows the author's commitment to truth. He uses modal verbs rather rarely and they concern how it should be and what the government ("we") must do.

Passive tenses and impersonal character of the statements of the article 1 ("the policy has failed", "the policy has been influenced by", "the newcomer") contribute to impersonal and distanced relations between the parts. The fact that the author makes statements on behalf of all of the newcomers and implies to know how they think contributes to non-dialogue relationships between policy-makers and the object of the policy. It is not equal relationships in the sense that the author implies that he knows what is best for the newcomers. They are at the same time equal in the sense that the significance of newcomers' own responsibility is emphasized.

The relations between the Swedish government and the newcomers are formally equal. At the same time much is not said, for example that majority and the newcomers have different starting points, chances, education on the labour market. In other words, it is presumed that they are equal when they are not. By not mentioning the problems, by implying a one-sided assimilation etc., unequal power relations are conserved.

3.2.2 Governmental proposal

In the Governmental proposal the difference is also underlined between the present situation with the newcomers and the policy that is offered. It is a less politicized document in comparison to Erik Ullenhag's article. The contrast presents not in relation to social-democratic policy, but in relation to the situation. Social-democratic discourse on integration is absent or to a big extent hidden here.

Liberal discourse on integration with the same elements as in the article 1 prevails in the document, but the reform is described in a more detailed way and includes for example functions of different authorities in this process. The author's assumptions are the same as in the article 1, i.e. liberal, which is seen for example in expressions "stronger motivation", "increased own power and freedom of choice for the individual", "conditions for self-support", "strengthen active participation in the working-life". The movement is also from excessive care to individual responsibility and thus empowerment.

In the proposal it is talked negatively about the present situation with the immigrants: "isolation", "many newcomers come never out on the labour market", "slow establishment on the labour market", "many break off language courses". At the same time it is talked negatively about the previous policy as well: "distribution of responsibility…has been unclear", "the purpose…has not been achieved". The focus is on that the job will be got quickly, which is mentioned several times in the proposal, for example "quick establishment", "as soon as possible".

The voices of the instances to which the official report was sent to consideration are included. But they concern rather form (establishment pilots system, contacts between different actors) than contents and value conflict. The voices of the newcomers or immigrants as a whole are excluded. Different from the article 1 is that the measures concerning stimulating demand on the labour market are mentioned in the proposal.

The newcomers are also called "the newcomers", referred to as a class, which leads to that their individual characteristics get lost behind such a definition. This language detail leads the reader away from understanding the newcomers as a diverse group. At the same time the authors of reform advocate just the diversity and individual approach to the newcomers. Simultaneously it is talked about different groups of the newcomers, including refugees, those coming from European countries and other countries, which is not an individual approach either.

The newcomers are on the one hand passivated: "the law…aims to facilitate and quicken the immigrants' establishment in the working-life and life of the society", "state responsibility to facilitate and quicken…", "activities will give the newcomer", "a newcomer has a right to get an establishment plan" etc. It is again something that the newcomer will get, not taking an active part in the process.

These quotes show clearly that state responsibility is still very big. Besides the newcomers are passivated by focusing on these state activities and not mentioning how the newcomers themselves will contribute to their quick establishment on the

labour market. The assumption about the newcomers is as about striving after getting a job, active individuals, and in this sense a homogenous group. It is at the same time said that the newcomers will be motivated to search jobs by the authorities.

The proposal contains very many "should", i.e. modal verbs that point out what is desirable: "the law…should contain regulations", "the municipalities…should be relieved the pressure on", "good possibilities should be given", "should strive". This is the case of deontic modality, i.e. the authors speak in terms of obligation and necessity, meaning that so it should be and indirectly implying that this ideal picture and the reality differ, or moreover, that there is a gap between them. This of course can be a characteristic, usual for official documents like this, but I think that this can have an effect on the policy anyway.

The text contains much passive form, which is also natural for such type of official document. But as the reform will be implemented by the authorities as well, this can have a certain impact on how the reform is implemented. The effect is underlined, while the subject is given less emphasis. This is like I said done mostly in terms of how it should be, by setting a goal, which could differ from the reality.

Given all the previous arguments I can claim that the relations between parts in the reform are represented as rather impersonal than personal and rather unequal than equal. As the newcomers themselves are backgrounded and passivated, it is not relations of co-operation.

3.2.3 Riksdag's debate

In the Riksdag's debate the speakers' assumptions are clearly ideological. Two main discourses are present, i.e. liberal and social-democratic discourses on integration, mixed with immigration discourse, labour market discourse, discrimination discourse, multiculturalism and gender-discourses. **Social-democratic discourse** comes from the assumption that it is the state's and municipalities' obligation to give introduction to the newcomers, i.e. on excessive care perspective. It is focused on that Sweden ("we") must make it easier for the newcomers to integrate. Liberal discourse is more contradictive. On the one hand it has a starting point in the individual's own ability to take responsibility for their lives, i.e.empowerment-perspective. On the other hand it is not seen so explicitly in the use of the language, just like in the article 1 and governmental proposal. Liberal discourse in Riksdag's debate is rather similar to that in the documents analyzed above, that is why I don't go deep into liberal discourse in this paragraph again.

Social-democratic discourse includes rather equal relationships, where none explicitly dominates, to a bigger extent than liberal discourse: "a job gives you a chance", "at work we meet", "we exchange experience and get to know each other" etc. At the same time in the questions like Who takes over the introduction? Who takes over support-payments? Who has the responsibility?

Who pays? etc. excessive care-perspective is clearly seen. It is then contrasted to the government's policy.

Elements of social-democratic discourse are jobs, Swedish language, housing, networks. From this point of view it is natural that the state takes more responsibility, which it is also said about: "state responsibility", "we must" etc.

Segregation, unemployment, discrimination, housing, and even structural problems, i.e. other elements are included also, that differ Riksdag's debate from the official documents and the article where the official policy is presented. Even gender equality perspective is included as well as ineffectiveness of the state employment service and the need of activities that strengthen individual's competence.

Modal verbs are used quite often, above all "should" and "must", that are both markers of deontic modality and show the existing difference in thinking between what is desired and what really is. It is clear that the desirable is when everybody works, therefore integrates.

It is talked positively about the newcomers. But what both discourses have in common – the newcomers are passivated, not so much through passive form just in Riksdag's debate, but through underlining what the state should do for them: "the newcomer who takes part in the activities", "newcomers who were signed in to State employment service didn't get any support", "stimulate newcomers' establishment", "will help newcomers to get a job", "give the newcomer a stronger motivation" etc. The newcomers are still referred to as a class – refugees, or the newcomers. Often the word "one" ("man") is used, which gives the discussion impersonal character.

Thus, in spite of higher interdiscursivity, the same trends of higher state responsibility, discrepancy between what is desired and what is, passivation of the newcomers, impersonal character of statements about them, and as a result focus on rather excessive care than empowerment are noticeable even in Riksdag's debate.

3.2.4 Article 2

Like I mentioned earlier a number of discourses are present in this article: liberal discourse, discrimination discourse, xenophobia discourse and elements of multiculturalism-discourse. The immigrants are quite passivated in this article also, both through using passive form and making the newcomer an object for policy: "the newcomers will quickly be channeled", "immigrants' knowledge will be made use of", "policy…gives all the people", "policy…creates more jobs", "to help people to get a job", "give people who come to Sweden".

The immigrants are still referred to as a class, they are called refugees or immigrants, or the paperless, or moreover "these persons". Several times it is repeated that the paperless or their children have right or should have a right, as if their right differs from what they get in reality. It is also talked negatively about immigrants: "people get stuck in the system", "hardly 30 percent have…a job".

Only once immigrants are activated, when it is mentioned that people with right support can develop and contribute to the society: "people…with right support can develop themselves and contribute to the society". This is also what is desirable for the integration minister, as well as "people's equal rights and opportunities". Discrimination is on the contrary undesirable.

Several times the modal verb "must" is used in relation to the government, which also shows the gap between what is desirable and the reality. The picture, which is a photo of Erik Ullenhag with some business or bank building on the background makes an impression of the reality which is far away from that of the immigrants' in search for jobs. The voices of immigrants themselves are not included, they are rather affected by activities, which makes an impression of a distance between them and the government, and therefore the relations between them are unequal.

Thus, quite the same trends as in the previous texts are seen even in this article: liberal discourse with empowerment in focus on the one hand, and manifestation of excessive care in the use of the language through passivation of the newcomers, referring to them as a class, use of modal verbs etc.

3.3 The context: integration, governmentality, postcolonial trends and human capital

Put in the broader social context the struggle is between liberal discourse with empowerment as a central value and social-democratic one with the focus on excessive care. These two main discourses accentuated in the texts reveal the traditional conflict between liberals and social democrats. Liberal discourse seems to dominate, thus perhaps contributing to the change of the way of thinking in the long run and probably to the social change as a whole.

The context in which these discourses exist can be seen as the manifestation of governmentality tendencies. The spread of governmentality as a way of making policies provides the context for discourse analysis of the chosen texts. As the discursive and social practices are in dialectical relationship with each other (Jørgensen et al., 2002, p. 78), the links can be shown between them. According to what is written about governmentality above, the analyzed texts can be understood as a reflection of the tendencies of that governmental role consists mainly in creating conditions for individuals, who then act as active subjects and make their own choices; of stimulating the desirable and suppressing undesirable effects; using a variety of actors instead of only state actors while implementing policies; stimulating individuals rather than suppressing them. At the same time, the texts appear as a driving force for the processes of spreading of governmentality. The declared change though exists there along with the reproduction of excessive care values, which is articulated not only by their proponents, but unconsciously even

by their opponents, which, as it was shown earlier, is even reflected in the language.

In the same way the dominating discourse contributes to spread of and at the same time reflects postcolonial tendencies where "the others" are in fact objects for policies, even though it is declared that they are active subjects, where the superiority is demonstrated by thinking in the terms of "we" and "them". Certain markers in the texts are pointing out to post-colonial features of the modern liberal discourse around integration policy. One of them is dichotomy "we"- "the newcomers", a division that indirectly indicates a possible social hierarchy between these two categories. This dichotomy is thus given the status of "truth" and helps to maintain unequal power relations. Revealed distance relations, as well as objectification of the newcomers can also be both a reflection of postcolonial trends in the society, and contribute to reproduction of such relations. As according to postcolonial theory questioning of such relations is problematic, because can be seen as a threat to the existing symbolic colonial order, I suppose that dominating liberal discourse on integration in its form described above seeks to reproduce itself.

The government's way of thinking about individual motives of the newcomers lies very near to neo-classical human capital theory with its representation of individuals as the rational ones, who try to find balance between costs and benefits and invest in their immigration in the new country. This view reflects the liberal trend of seeing individuals as rational, and contributes to spreading of such a view. Rational individual is thus in focus both in neo-classical human capital theory and in my material. At the same time an individual perspective is not given too much space in the texts, where the statements are made rather on behalf of individuals, which makes the reader question the assumptions about the rationalistic nature of all the individuals, when it is not clear how this corresponds to the reality.

There is therefore a struggle between liberal discourse and social democratic discourse which express quite different opinions about how integration domain is to function and be understood. These two discourses even reflect the tendencies of reproduction on the one hand and change on the other hand. Simultaneously those who claim to be striving for change seem to think in the same terms as one did before, i.e. those who are proponents of empowerment are still thinking in excessive care-terms. Contradictions in the way of speaking about the reform can perhaps lead to contradictive implementation as well.

4   Conclusions

Thus, the hypothesis about the contents of the policy that stayed unchanged, and that the reform appears to be rather the same thing in a new package, seems to be true to some extent. Dominating liberal discourse, explicitly showing its commitment to empowerment values, implicitly still contains much excessive care, which is seen in the textual analysis.

Dominating liberal discourse is based on traditional liberal rhetoric with strong individuals ready to take their own responsibilities for their lives, while alternative social-democratic discourse is based on the assumption that it is the state's and municipalities' obligation to give introduction to the newcomers, i.e. on excessive care perspective.

Value conflict exists between proponents of empowerment and excessive care. As liberal discourse contains traces of both, though formally empowerment and implicitly excessive care, there is therefore a discrepancy between what is declared and what is going to be done.

Therefore there still exists more excessive state care orientation of the policy than it is declared. In particular, the analysis revealed existing common trends of relatively high state responsibility, discrepancy between what is desired and what is, passivation of the newcomers, their objectification, impersonal character of statements about them, unequal character of relations between those who make policy and those who are its object. The analysis revealed also that while public debate is rather oriented on changing situation, policy documents point out reproduction tendencies.

As the discourses and social life are in dialectical relation to each other, this new dominating liberal discourse is likely to have an impact on the integration area, which in turn is going to influence the discourse and policy back. As the reform is in the beginning of implementation it is though too early to say what this impact will be. What on the contrary is clear even now is that the dominating liberal discourse reflects and contributes to spread of governmentality, which manifests for example in stimulating desirable and suppressing undesirable effects, as well as postcolonial view, which is seen for example in conservation of unequal power relations between "us" and "them".

At the same time the newcomers are seen as rational individuals, a view that doesn't correspond with the concepts of governmentality and postcolonialism that seem to prevail in policy making. This makes the policy more contradictive than it first seems.

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6 Applications

6.1 Application 1.Template for textual analysis

Social events

What social event, and what chain of social events, is the text a part of?

What social practice or network of social practices can the events be referred to, be seen as framed within?

Is the text part of a chain or network of texts?

Difference

Which (combination) of the following scenarios characterize the orientation to difference in the text?

a) An openness to, acceptance of, recognition of difference; an exploration of difference, as in "dialogue" in the richest sense of the term

b) An accentuation of difference, conflict, polemic, a struggle over meaning, norms, power

c) An attempt to resolve or overcome difference

d) A bracketing of difference, a focus on commonality, solidarity

e) Consensus, a normalization and acceptance of differences of power which brackets or suppresses differences of meaning and over norms

Intertextuality

Of relevant other texts/voices, which are included, which are significantly excluded?

Assumptions

What existential, propositional, or value assumptions (i.e. what exists, what is the case, what is desirable or undesirable) are made?

Is there a case for seeing any assumptions as ideological?

Discourses

What discourses are drawn upon in the text, and how are they textured together? Is there a significant mixing of discourses?

What are the features that characterize the discourses which are drawn upon (semantic relations between words, collocations, metaphors, assumptions, grammatical features – see immediately below)?

Identification of discourses:

1. Identify the main themes, namely a particular part of the world

2. Identify from what perspective or angle they are represented (Fairclough, 2003, s. 129).

Representation of social events

What elements of represented social events are included or excluded, and which included elements are most salient?

How are social actors represented (activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, specific/generic)?

Concerning social actors, their representation can be analyzed in terms of the following variables:

- Inclusion/exclusion, with two types of exclusion:
a) Suppression- i.e. not in the text at all
b) Backgrounding – i.e. mentioned somewhere in the text, but having to be inferred in one or more places
- Pronoun/noun – Is the social actor realized as a pronoun (I, he, we, you, etc.) or as a noun?
- Grammatical role – is the social actor realized as a Participant in a clause (e.g. Actor, Affected), within a Circumstance (e.g. in a preposition phrase, for instance 'She walked towards John'), or as a Possessive noun or pronoun ('Laura's friend', 'our friend')
- 'Activated'/'passivated' – Is the social actor the Actor in processes (loosely, the one who does things and makes things happen), or the Affected or Beneficiary (loosely, the one affected by processes)?
- Personal/impersonal – Social actors can be represented impersonally as well as personally – for instance referring to the police as 'the filth' is impersonalizing them.
- Names/classified – Social actors can be represented by name or in terms of class or category (e.g. 'the doctor'). If the latter, they can be referred to individually (e.g. 'the doctor') or as a group ('the doctors', 'doctors').
- Specific/generic – Where social actors are classified, they can be represented specifically or generically – for instance 'the doctors' may refer to a specific group of doctors (e.g. those who work in a particular hospital), or to the class of doctors in general, all doctors (Fairclough, 2003, s. 145-146).

Modality

What do authors commit themselves to in terms of truth (epistemic modalities)? Or in terms of obligation and necessity (deontic modalities)?

What are the markers of modalization (modal verbs, modal adverbs, etc.)?

Evaluation

To what values (in terms of what is desirable or undesirable) do authors commit themselves?

How are values realized – as evaluative statements, statements with deontic modalities, statements with affective mental processes, or assumed values?

Transitivity is in Swedish language expressed by Passive voice (*Passiv*), as well as by construction "*Det var*".

Markers of modalization:

Swedish modal verbs: vill, kan, får, får inte, måste. The words like "säkerligen", "krävs", "jag tror", "trolig", "verkar","i själva verket","uppenbarligen","uppenbarligen", "vanligtvis", "ofta", "alltid".

Source: Fairclough, 2003, pp. 191-194.

6.2   Application 2.Translation examples

English translation	Swedish original
"adapted for individual"	"individuellt anpassad"
"individual's needs"	"individens behov"
"individual's own responsibility	"individens eget ansvar"
"individual efforts"	"individuella insatser"
"as a liberal I welcome"	"som liberal välkomnar jag"
state care	"omhändertagande"
"pat on the head"	"klapp på huvudet"
excessive-care-mentality	"överomhändertagandementalitet"
"weak individuals"	"svaga individer"
"the big reform"	"den stora reformen"
"the biggest change"	"den största förändringen"
"Sweden…has been open for people and co-operation with other countries"	"Sverige…har varit öppet för människor och samarbetet med andra länder"
"enriched our country"	"gjort vårt land rikare"
"Sweden will continue to be an open and tolerant country"	"Sverige ska fortsätta att vara ett öppet och tolerant land"
"lower"	"lägre"
"worse"	"sämre"
"waste of resources"	"ett resursslöseri"
"hasn't worked"	"inte fungerat"
"clear failures"	"klara brister"
"They expect to be able to contribute to the society – not to live on subsidies"	"De förväntar sig att få bidra till samhället – inte att leva på bidrag"
"The newcomers need more than a pat on the head"	"Nyanlända behöver mer än en klapp på huvudet"
"Instead of being received…the newcomer will…be met by"	"I stället för att tas emot…ska nyanlända…mötas av"
"the newcomers are deprived of"	"nyanlända berövas"
"the newcomers' competence is inquired for"	"den nyanländas kompetens efterfrågas"
"establishment plan…is made"	"görs…etableringsplan"
"The newcomer chooses establishment pilot himself"	"Den nyanlända väljer själv lots"

"the newcomer…meets"	"den nyanlända…träffar"
should be	"borde vara"
"the policy has failed"	"politiken har misslyckats"
"the policy has been influenced by"	"politiken har präglats av"
"stronger motivation"	"starkare incitament"
"increased own power and freedom of choice for the individual"	"ökad egenmakt och valfrihet för individen"
"conditions for self-support"	"förutsättningar för egen försörjning"
"strengthen active participation in the working-life"	"stärka aktiva deltagandet i arbetslivet"
"from state care to individual responsibility"	"från omhändertagande till ansvarstagande"
"This model for reception of the newcomers that we have had during the long time did not work, therefore we reorganize the reception now"	"Den modell för mottagande av nyanlända som vi har haft under lång tid har inte fungerat, därför lägger vi nu om mottagandet av nyanlända"
"isolation"	"utanförskap"
"many newcomers come never out on the labour market"	"manga nyanlända aldrig kommer in på arbetsmarknaden"
"slow establishment on the labour market"	"långsam etablering på arbetsmarknaden"
"many break off language courses"	"många avbryter språkundervisningen"
"distribution of responsibility…has been unclear"	"ansvarsfördelningen…har varit otydlig"
"the purpose…has not been achieved"	"avsikten…har inte uppnåts"
"the law…aims to facilitate and quicken the immigrants' establishment in the working-life and life of the society"	"lagen…syftar till att underlätta och påskynda…invandrares etablering i arbets- och samhällslivet"
"state responsibility to facilitate and quicken…"	"statliga ansvaret att underlätta och påskynda…"
"activities will give the newcomers…"	"insatserna ska ge de nyanlända…"
"a newcomer has a right to get an establishment plan"	"en nyanländ har rätt att få en etableringsplan"
"the law…should contain regulations"	"lagen…bör innehålla bestämmelser"
"the municipalities…should be relieved the pressure on"	"kommunerna…bör avlastas"
"good possibilities should be given"	"bör goda möjligheter ges"

"should strive"	"bör sträva"
"quick establishment"	"snabb etablering"
"as soon as possible"	"så snabbt som möjligt"
"the newcomers"	de nyanlända
"a job gives you a chance"	"ett jobb ger dig en chans"
"at work we meet"	"på en arbetsplats möts vi"
"we exchange experience and get to know each other"	"vi byter erfarenheter och lär känna varandra"
"state responsibility"	"statliga ansvaret"
"we must"	"vi måste"
"the newcomers will quickly be channeled"	"ska nyanlända snabbt slussas"
"immigrants' knowledge will be made use of"	"invandrares kunskaper ska tas tillvara"
"policy…gives all the people"	"politik…ger alla människor"
"policy…creates more jobs"	"politik…skapar fler jobb"
"to help people to get a job"	"att hjälpa människor till arbete"
"give people who come to Sweden"	"ge människor som kommer till Sverige"
"these persons"	"dessa personer"
"people…with right support can develop themselves and contribute to the society"	"människor…med rätt stöd kan utvecklas och bidra till samhället"
"people's equal rights and opportunities"	"människors lika rättigheter och möjligheter"
"people get stuck in the system"	"manniskor fastnar i systemet"
"hardly 30 percent have…a job"	"har knappt 30 procent…ett jobb"