

Policy in Local Setting

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Abstract

With a pair of intersectional glasses this thesis approaches public policy and processes surrounding it. By asking the following research questions: *From an intersectional departing point, which policies are (re-)produced through the street-level bureaucrat? How can this be analyzed with an intersectional departing point?* I search for answers within a long-term project which participant's are immigrants suffering from post-traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD). I conducted a case study and a critical policy analysis departing in the specific case. A number of methods together operationalized my research question and theoretical framework in to useful a useful methodological containing; case study theory, interviews, Carol Bacchi's WPR-approach to policy analysis and observation. Results of the study shows how intertwined ideas of citizenship (social), employment and empowerment are, and that these ideas are not solely created at singe projects but exists in a larger context.

Keywords: intersectionality, policy, citizenship, street-level bureaucrats, public administration

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1 Introduction

To be a person is to be a number of things, you might be a woman, you might be of colour and you might be disabled. Perhaps you are a welfare recipient and immigrant? With an intersectional departing point the following thesis addresses these themes: citizenship, policy, and public administration. The theoretical section creates a critical approach including feminist researchers questioning ideas of citizenship. A further departing point includes Lipsky's concept of street-level bureaucrats (1980), it is also here I find my main approach towards policy. I do not understand it as something constructed from a hierarchical above, melting through the organization to finally meet the individual addressed by the specific policy. No, I argue that policy are connected to processes and ideas formed at e.g a public project.

The interest of the thesis ahead is to analyze public policy using critical theory, hence the intersectional theory. How is it possible to enter the field of policy? Where do I turn, and who will provide information and knowledge necessary for the making of the thesis? I decided to work with one case, which I found relevant. When working with a single case it becomes easier to go in depth with the study, and created an opening to the field of policy (re-)production. The case selected addresses individuals in the ages 18- 45, suffering from migration related PTSD, upholding a Swedish citizenship or permanent residency, further they need to be on social welfare. The project is created in collaboration with three different organisations, and works on a daily basis with the themes of the thesis. Their focus is also to work with their participants in a holistic way, health, education and activation are all relevant parts outspokenly needed for the participant to change their situation.

To conduct a policy analysis here I incorporate Bacchi's suggestion on how to work with policy analysis, the so called WPR-approach. Or what's the problem represented to be, which provides with a more dynamic methodology than traditional policy analysis. It is possible to a larger extent examine the processes surrounding the ideas of policy.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to enhance the knowledge base for intersectional policy analysis within the setting of public administration. Further the interest of the thesis lays in policy production and reproduction of the same. The aim is to approach policy with a what's-the-problem-represented-approach. The aspects of public policy as producing policies beyond the political decision-making processes are in focus. My aim is to investigate how locally produced policies are not created or unique within the context of this case. I want to show how the same ideas exist in other contexts, contexts linked to the field explored here.

1.1.1 Research question

To give the study a focus and direction a research question is constructed. With my aim in mind it is important to keep the research question narrow and well put together.

** From an intersectional departing point, which policies are (re-)produced through the street-level bureaucrat?*

- What ideas of citizenship are reproduced or manifested in the project at stake?

The second research question is a complementary one, making it possible for me to further explore the context in of policy production. It should though be noticed that the first is the main question.

1.2 A ladder of abstraction

This study relates to areas of policy production and reproduction of the very same, the connection is made to public administration and intersectionality. There is also a large theoretical focus at citizenship, providing the thesis with useful insights regarding the question- who is the citizen?.

If reflecting upon the themes of the thesis in a more abstract way, using a ladder of abstraction as described by Lennart Lundquist (1993:63), how are the themes situated? And what will be the next level? Is this a question of citizenship, policy, or public administration? I argue that there are mainly two suggestions

based on the perspectives mentioned. The first suggestion concludes that the base of the ladder is citizenship, the second step the policy and the third public administration. How does it work? Departing from ideas of citizenship, the civil servants produces a policy which than becomes a part of the public administration. Intersectional positions become the glasses with which I approach the field. But it is also possible to argue that ideas of citizenship influence the public administration (civil servants) to formulate certain policies. This is where it starts to be interesting for the thesis ahead. General ideas about citizenship influences civil servants within the public administration to formulate policies. Continuing downwards on the ladder, individuals who's lives are effected by the policies are part of the next level. My thesis will not be focused at the individual experience of the policy, but rather at the formation of policies concerning citizenship executed by the civil servants.

1.3 Explanatory notes before reading

The project, its participants and employees are to a very high extent anonymized. The specific case will therefore be referred to as the Project. I chose to do so to secure my informants a high level of trust, where they could be comfortable with their statements and actions during my time as an observer and interviewer. Since the Project consists of nine employees, all serving as informants I will not address their positions in the thesis, but refer to each interview through numbers. If not doing so their anonymity would have been at risk, since most of them belong to specific work categories.

The interviews are numbered 1-10, missing number three, which was not an interview but a recording mistake. I have kept the numbering in consistent with the voice file.

The participants are consistently referred to as so, I have in some places used immigrant over the term refugee. The decision to do so was based on the fact that I do not know the background to each of the individual participants. It is likely that they have been granted permanent residency based on refugee-status, but I do not know for sure. The term immigrant (*invandrare*) is more commonly used in the texts and by the informants.

Because I do not include any outspoken voice of the participants of the Project it might be argued that I implicitly understand the employees as more important than participants and as something separate from them. Or in other words that I reproduces an hierarchical understanding.

Perhaps it is further suggested that I enhance a feeling, setting a standard or inspire thinking in terms of *us* versus *them*. Here in the initial phase of the thesis I would like to take a moment to reflect on the topic. It will also be addressed later on. My research here is mainly occupied with questions of policy and how these are locally produced and re-produced. I argue the importance of the street-level bureaucrat in the making of politics; in the context of this the informants must be the employee. However, my theoretical departing points relates to intersectionality. So how can I exclude the participant? But a relevant question here: are the participant really excluded in my research? I want to argue, no s/he is not. This will also be addressed further within the thesis. My aim here is to problematize how and which policies are shaped concerning citizenship.

Translations are sometimes made and if not stated differently they are made by the organisations themselves and used in English versions of their documents..

2 Theory

2.1 Intersectional departing point

Anne McClintock has written the book *Imperial Leather- race, gender and sexuality in the colonial contest* (1995) and states in the beginning:

“(…)*race, gender and class are not distinct realms of experience, existing in splendid isolation from each other; nor can they be simply yoked together retrospectively like Lego. Rather, they come into existence in and through relation to each other- if in contradictory and conflicting ways.*”

(McClintock 1995:5).

This thesis this becomes a relevant departing point for the thesis, making it possible to capture the inter-relationship between different aspects of subordination and superiority (Mulinari; de los Reyes 2005:7).

Using this as an overall entrance to the field makes the analysis more dynamic. Here one perspective is not subordinated something else, instead the interaction between them are at focus. Intersectional positions plays part in the everyday lives of the participants of the Project and the problems they face. Their situation can be characterized as relationships, or positions, between different ideas of superiority and subordination. It should be noted here that intersectional positions plays part not in just the participants lives, but in everyone's. What is mentioned here is relevant for not only the participant, but for all human being.

The aim of the thesis is not to enlighten the situation of the participants in deciding what their main difficulties are. With that in mind I find it important to not suggest any perspective to be dominant (race, class, gender) but to rather focus on the inter-relations between the mentioned categories. This will give a critical focus to the analysis and the intersectional approach will push the analysis forward.

It is important to clarify that this perspective is the base for the theoretical framework but also the approach I use to analyse how the participants and their situation are viewed upon.

2.1.1 Intersectionality and labour

Mulinari and de los Reyes have in their book *Intersektionalitet (Intersectionality)* devoted a chapter to discuss intersectionality within the Swedish welfare state (*folkhemmet*). Here I find useful theoretical reflections for the forthcoming analysis (2005:100).

To earn one's living is a central part for the organisation and community of the Swedish welfare state, but also for defining social rights. In the question of integrating immigrants, Mulinari and de los Reyes argues that both practitioners and scientists emphasize that a job, or participation in the labour market, is the key. Labour or work, are not neutral concepts. The focus on paid work creates a norm where the unpaid work is underestimated. The exchange of goods, services and labour can only be done through the open market, and labour can only be legitimized through the market. Entering the labour forces becomes the unquestioned and (mostly) the only legitimate way to a full citizenship. The authors continue to point out that for women to be able to become self-sufficient, they have had to face a segregated labour-market and part-time jobs (Mulinari; de los Reyes 2005:104f). What happens if the term *women* are changed in to *immigrants*? It should be clarified that I do not consider the terms to be interchangeable, but it is relevant to reflect on the situation for the idea of immigrants taking part in the labour-market in the way described. The discourse concerning work as the integrational key is formulated in the dichotomy un-paid work and paid, and is enforced by the idea of a female house-wife and a male breadwinner. What consequences does this carry to an unemployed male, having to face a discourse where he is constructed as a breadwinner?

Mulinari and de los Reyes do not disregard the importance paid work can have for the single individual, and neither do I. But to critically examine the centrality of paid work, as a concept, we need to recognize the normative ideas. Which here are suggested to include: paid work, gender equality, and that integration are accomplished with the help of it.

“An intersectional perspective sheds light on processes that normalize wage labor as source of income and critically examines the implications this has for everyday organization, for power over the working life and the maintenance of inequality.”¹ (Mulinari; de los Reyes 2005:106, my translation)

The quotation clarifies how the intersectional perspective is useful in the context of labour. This thesis discusses a case where labour and connection to the labour-market are the fundamental. It is therefore of importance to reflect on the normative ideas mentioned above.

¹ “Ett intersektionalitetsperspektiv kastar ljus på processer som normaliseras lönearbetet som försörjningsform och kritiskt granskar vilka konsekvenser detta har för vardagens organisering, för makten över arbetslivet och vidmakthållandet av ojämlikheten.” (Mulinari; de los Reyes 2005:106)

2.1.2 Intersectionality and Public Policy

My research within this study have a large focus at public policy, and with that in mind the connection to an intersectional theoretical framework becomes further more interesting. According to the article *Intersectionality and Public Policy-Some lessons from existing models* (Hankivsky; Cormier 2010) the intersectional perspective is now a recognized research paradigm and is being used in a number of different disciplines.

According to the authors, within the area of public policy the intersectional perspective is yet to be explored. In relation to this the relevance of my work becomes obvious.

Further, Hankivsky and Cormier states the following; when developing, implementing and evaluating policy you must take into account that they (policies) are not neutral and not experienced in the same way by all populations. The intersectional approach gives an emphasis on the fact that single identity markers (such as gender, immigrant status etc) does not reflect the lived experience. The following quote clarifies: "*People's lives, their experiences, and subject positions vis-à-vis policy are created by intersecting social locations.*" (Hankivsky; Cormier 2010:219) (compare previous parts of ch 2). Recognizing this the analysis of the thesis, and the field of it, can be explored in a more critical way. The participants of the project are not only immigrants, they are also unemployed, (the following in general, there are exceptions) Arabic, muslim, male etc. If I would focus solely on the Project and the policies surrounding it as an activation- or employment project some relevant aspects would be left unexplored and information would be lost. With an intersectionally informed analysis it is possible to avoid the danger of putting different marginal positions against each other. The interdependence and relationship between positions are at focus.

2.2 Citizenship

I start off this chapter by discussing theories of citizenship departing from feminist research. I have chosen to do so because it gives a critical understanding of the concept of citizenship.

In the article *The Patriarchal Welfare State* Carole Pateman examines the relationship between citizenship, the welfare state and women. The article takes its starting point in a discussion about the male prerogative to defend the state at war which also can be understood as the ultimate test of citizenship. Citizenship, according to Pateman, is mainly constructed by the term 'independence' (author's marking). Independence consists in this interpretation of three component:

- The capacity to bear arms.
- The capacity to own property
- The capacity for self government.

Pateman continues with emphasizing that in the state not at war, the ‘democratic’ (author’s marking) welfare state, employment should be appreciated as the major component of citizenship and with that in mind it is the two later capacities that becomes important in the welfare (as opposite to the warfare) state. (Pateman 2007:134f).

Pateman explains further that not all men are property owners but as individuals they do own and protect their personal possessions. The third dimension constitutes that a man can govern and/or protect himself and therefore he can govern and/or protect others. This translates in to the fact that not all men are public governors, but they are in private considered as heads of households. The citizens of the welfare state are working men (Pateman 2007:135).

The author notes: “*The position of men as breadwinner-workers has been built into the welfare state.*” (Pateman 2007:136). Men can be recognized as playing a role in the market and by that making a contribution to the public. In this way men get the benefits of the welfare state as being direct contributors (2007:135-138). Parallels can here be drawn to the intersectional departing point and its relation to labour. Earlier Mulinari and de los Reyes were used to highlight intersectional ideas concerning labour, and concluded much of the same as Pateman (ch 2.1.1).

I am inspired by Lister's critical approach to the theories of citizenship. In the introductory chapter of the book *Citizenship- feminist perspectives*, the author asks rhetorically: who defines the image of the ideal citizenship? (Lister 2003:5) With a critical approach to citizenship theory it is possible to see the symbiotic processes of inclusion and exclusion. Boundaries and allocative processes which includes and excludes at the same time (Lister 2003:44). As Lister, I understand citizenship not mainly as an outcome but as a process (Lister 2003:6). Theoretically the civil servants will in this thesis be interpreted as the ones producing and reproducing ideas of citizenship. However it should be mentioned that I understand the including and excluding boundaries and processes above as being produced and reproduced in other contexts as well. In this study these boundaries and processes of both inclusion and exclusion will be explored.

Another important departure point in the work of Lister is the extension of citizenship. Making it not only about legal rules, but also participation (*delaktighet*) and identity. Further this suggests a social relationship between individuals and the state, and between individual citizens which are not fixed but negotiated and fluid. These relationships and how we understand them: “(...) reflects national culture and context.” (Lister 2003:15) By using the theoretical frames developed by Lister it is possible to, in a broader sense, discuss the ideas of citizenship in the context of the Project. What is included in 'citizenship' according to the employees at the Project? What are the policies and discourses? In the Project the state, or the public, is clearly present and (in different forms, the municipality, region and state are all represented) forming the relationship to the individual, constantly negotiating the ideas of citizenship.

Therefore, citizenship is in the context of the thesis not treated as merely political but also having a social dimension, a view point shared by both Lister

(2003:44) and Mouffe (1992:4). The later argues more specifically the importance to interpret citizenship not only as a system of constitutional rights given the members within a political community, social rights should be added to the political to re-establish the link between social and political citizenship (Mouffe 1992:4). The participants within the Project are already citizens in a formal political understanding, they have a Swedish citizenship or a permanent residency (*permanent uppehållstillstånd*). The constitutional rights are already given, but in line with the theories of a social citizenship this is not enough. With this aspect added it is possible for the researcher (me) to further elaborate on the concept of citizenship and its inclusive and exclusive processes.

In line with this I would like to argue that there is a linkage between the social and political parts of citizenship and that they are not separated but linked together. In this understanding the citizen are not fully a citizen when only one of the two aspects are fulfilled. But what is included in the social citizenship? I continue to use Mouffe to further explain the concept. Mouffe understands the social agent (in this context understood as the participant of the project) not as a unitary subject, “*(...) but as a the articulation of an ensemble of subject positions, constructed within specific discourses and always precariously and temporarily sutured at the intersection of those subject positions*” (Mouffe 1992:237f). This presupposes a non-essentialist conception of the subject where all identities are forms of identification, and as an individual it is not possible to divide your duties as a citizen from your personal freedom(-s). Mouffe argues, they exist in a permanent tension.

Anne-Marie Smith has written the book *Laclau and Mouffe- The radical democratic imaginary*, which is an overview of the works of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. In Smith's work it becomes clear how Mouffe connects the public to the private. The traditional division between public and private does not play a part in Mouffe's analysis. Instead she argues that the social spheres are “public” since they in some way or another have to conform to the minimal way of rule established by the political regime, this is also how the political regulates the grammar of the citizen's conduct (Smith 1998:138). When theoretically approaching the field of this thesis I find it necessary to emphasize the above. In the thesis I do not wish to make a distinction between the public and the private, but understand the social spheres as public; and identities as not being pre-given. In an employment project which consists of large parts of preventive health care, language education and psychological care (treatment) how is it possible to separate the public from the private? I would argue that it is not meaningful. However, my focus could have been at only employment, or only health care or even education, if doing so, the aim and research question of the thesis would not be fulfilled. The thesis deals with questions of intersectionality, integration, activation policy and the re/production of ideas of citizenship. If only treating some of the parts of the project only some answers would be given, and a full understanding of the field would not be reached.

Further, Mouffe has written the chapter *Democratic Citizenship and the Political Community* (1992) where she argues that political life is concerned with collective, public action (in this context understood as the examined Project), aims

at constructing a “we” in a context of diversity and conflict. To be able to do so, a frontier, an enemy needs to be defined, a constitutive outside, an exterior to the community making its existence possible (Mouffe 1992:234f). ‘A frontier’ and ‘a definition of an enemy’ can perhaps sound harsh. But in these words the relevant parts becomes clearly underlined, a constitutive outside, an exterior to the community. The exterior or outsider also constitutes the community by defining what it is not. With this departing point it is possible for me, as a researcher, to look upon the definition of the participant- how is (s)he defined, within the context of the Project? But it also enables me to ask the question- what is the participant not?

In the book *The changing face of welfare* (2005) Marina Calloni contributes with the chapter *Paradoxes of democracy: the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion*. The author starts off with stating that the intent of the chapter is to question citizenship. Calloni does not end there, the purpose of her chapter is to question the concept of citizenship in a delimited territory using the paradox of politics and democracy. Inclusion and exclusion are understood as parts of politics and democracy (Calloni 2005:93). This provides my theoretical framework with a further dimension of citizenship, inclusion and exclusion as embedded within politics becomes central in an analysis related to my research field.

Further Calloni notes an interesting inconsistency in the western states. The ideal and practice of social policy address: “*(...) the well-being of all citizens, a fair government and the respect of human rights.*” (Calloni 2005:93). This can be understood as standing in direct conflict with the nation-states ideal, were social policies are the privilege of the individuals inhabiting a special territory and holding the right to vote. With the nation state ideal the social policies connects to domestic laws and culture making the inhabitants cohesive and ‘the other’ only selectively being able to be a part of the social policies (Calloni 2005:93). With the earlier mentioned intersectional departing point and the focus on policy this becomes a relevant theoretical approach. It enables me in my role as researcher, to question how policies as well as the Project in itself relates to this inconsistency.

Calloni’s chapter continues, and the author gives the reader the following explanation on citizen and ‘the other’:

“Citizens live in a territory delimited by boundaries, with specific rules and laws, which everyone, including resident non-citizens, are bound to respect. The concept of the city as well of the state can be thus pictured as a delimited space which defines who are the members and excludes those who are not, that is, those who are the foreigners, the strangers.” (Calloni 2005:94)

In addition to the above mentioned Calloni explains culture as a process within political borders. This process is dialectical and consists of inclusion and exclusion of marginal people, regardless of citizenship status. Calloni also discusses the limits of the traditional concept of citizenship, a concept based in large parts of political rights. Whoever not entitled to exercise any political rights (non-citizens) are excluded from the political decision making process in all aspects. The result of this is that migrants and ‘aliens’ without citizenship are not

able to make their voices heard, their interests can only indirectly be handled by elected members. First with their labour they become entitled to social benefits and can enjoy basic liberties (Calloni 2005:95ff).

All in all Calloni provides the thesis with tools to further investigate the complexity of citizenship in relation to (social) policies as well as ideas of 'the other'.

Johansson and Möller argue that the Swedish society during centuries has defined its citizens through labour (see also Eriksson 2004) (Johansson; Möller 2009). The welfare state has in a moral and political sense defined the citizen as a worker. Hard labour are in the context considered a virtue. Citizenship and related rights (civil, political, social) has in this way become intimately associated to social duties. To work is not only of good for the society but also a sign of *göra rätt för sig*. This is a societal moral principle which has influenced welfare reforms created in the post-war era, with close connections between the "right" (Johansson; Möller's emphasize) to financial support and earlier achievements in the labour market. Within the Swedish welfare system this connection is particularly strong e.g financial support is paid due to earlier income, membership in unemployment benefit fund (*a-kassa*) and active job-searching. In Johansson and Möller's study the above is shown but also how this has been central demands for the working male and now expands to include other groups as well. The current policy of employment/activation gives that the unemployed individual firstly need to be offered employment, education or action (*åtgärd*) before any financial support is paid by the welfare state. You need to have exhausted all possibilities for self-sufficiency before being entitled to support (Johansson; Möller 2009:14-16).

2.3 Policy- a general definition

Hill and Hupe (2009) departs in their book *Implementing Public Policy* from Hogwood and Gunn. It is important to distinguish between decision and policy, however, the term administration is harder to distinguish from policy.

"Policy involves behaviour as well as intentions, and inactions as well as action. Policies have outcomes that may or may not have been foreseen." (Hill; Hupe 2009:4)

The quote above serves as a general departing point and approach to policy, I also agree with the authors when they argue for policy as being defined subjectively. To this I add Bacchi's (2009) more problematizing definition. She questions the very idea of policy, the aim is to: "*understand how governing takes place, and with that implications for those so governed.*" (Bacchi 2009:ix). Governing here refers to: "*(...) how order is maintained but also how we live within and abide by rules.*" (Bacchi 2009:ix). In order to do so, policy need to be thought of as cultural product, it needs to be contextualized. Public policy becomes something which

includes legislation but stretches beyond. How does governance, or governing occur on a daily basis?, Bacchi asks rhetorically. In my study this serves as a guiding question, making it obvious why I consider it to be highly relevant to address experts and professionals related to the policy. My focus at the employees of the Project is with this standpoint clarified. This will also be further elaborated in the following chapter.

2.4 Public policy, administration and servants

In this study, I explore the relationship between policy, intersectional positions and civil servants. In the context of that the authors mentioned in this chapter and their focus places the civil servants with a position within my theoretical framework.

The processes behind policy formulation as well as policy implementation are addressed within the context of this research. My interest lay in what policies are formed and how they are re-produced through the process of implementation. You might argue this gives an bottom-up analysis since the bureaucrats are considered main actors, both as policy formulators and implementers (Hill; Hupe 2009:51f). I will further on be using documents from the organisations behind the Project as sources of information as well which could be translated into a more top-bottom influenced study (Hill; Hupe 2009:44f). However I do not find it necessary to draw a specific line between the both. To the question concerning if I am concerned with policy formulation or implementation of the very same, I argue both and the intertwined relation of them. My approach is further elaborated in the methodological chapter, but it should be mentioned here as well. I depart from what Bacchi calls *the what's the problem represented to be- perspective*. My goal is to analyse policies developed within the Project. It does not necessarily gives a specific answer to whether or not this research concerns formulation or implementation might not be given.

I need to further clarify why and how I find the employees of the Project to be relevant in the policy processes. I find inspiration for this in Michael Lipsky's book *Street-level Bureaucracy- Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (1980). Here the author examines the public service workers (Lipsky's terminology) who directly interact with the individual and by doing so becomes a *street-level bureaucrat* and also the actor responsible for policy delivery (1980:3).

Lipsky suggests that the street-level bureaucrat creates policy in two different, but related aspects:

- *They exercise wide discretion in decisions about citizens with whom they interact*
- *When taken in concert their individual actions add up to agency behavior.* (Lipsky 1980:13)

How is discretion carried out in the context of Lipsky's work? He considers the street-level bureaucrat to have the ability and function to decide over the nature, amount and quality of benefits and sanctions which their agency provide (Lipsky 1980:13). In reference to this thesis, the concept of agency might be a bit problematic. I interpret agency as the Project in itself, the employees has come from different organisations but together created their own agency. They decide which individuals to take in to the program and which participants to denounce. And it should also be mentioned that the participant's access to social welfare is depending on participation in the program and at the Project. Nevertheless, there are three organisations supporting the Project, are they not in any part agencies? This question leads us to the second aspect of Lipsky's theoretical elaboration on street-level bureaucrats as policy makers.

In the second point made, Lipsky argues that the actions of the street-level bureaucrats becomes the behaviour of the agency, which could be further understood as the implementation of the policy. How the agency (the Project) behave and how they carry out their understanding of policies becomes actions when dealing with/meeting with the participant in the daily work. This is also my main understanding of policy.

Lipsky's theories are in this reading related to Bacchi's approach to policy, where she asked how governing in a broad sense occurs on a daily basis. This further stresses why the employee of the Project is interesting within this study. The employee is the street-level bureaucrat and with that the one who becomes the informant in this study.

An author who have connected public administration to questions of democracy is Lennart Lundqvist. He has written the book *Förvaltning och demokrati* (*Public administration and democracy*: my translation) where he departs from the following normative research question:

- *What should the relationship between (public) administration and democracy be?*

Lundqvist argues that knowledge of the (public) administration is needed to be able to answer a question like this. In the light of that the importance of my study is further emphasized. How? one might ask. It provides with a theoretical connection between the organisational dimensions of policy and democracy.

Further, Lundqvist explains that his argument are based in an understanding of a political process with the following stages: initiation, preparation (beredningsstadet), decision, implementation and evaluation (Lundquist 1991:12, 34f). Traditional understanding of e. g implementation views public administration as a neutral instrument where civil servants carry out political decisions. Lundqvist's phases relates to the earlier mentioned Lipsky (1980), and identifies several areas where the civil servants within the public administration has opportunities to act autonomously. Lundquist specifies how the civil servants (or street-level bureaucrats) in four distinct ways can affect politics. I consider them as guiding departing points for a theoretical reflection on how the employees of the Project have had possibilities to politically impact the relevant policies.

However, it might need to be clarified that I understand these points as merely points of departure to provide my analysis with structure, the provided phases gives an idea of where the street-level bureaucrats room for acting is situated.

- In the *initiation phase* the public administration are able to guide (*styra*) the politics by pointing out what the problems/questions that need political attention/policies are.
 - The Project was initially created by civil servants (street-level bureaucrats) exactly as Lundqvist describes, they identified a problem that needed to be addressed. The funding of the Project are depending on politically made decisions.
- Continuing with the *phase of preparation* (beredningsstadet), Lundqvist argues that civil (public) servants can influence what further on will be the political decisions by preparing and presenting facts and assessments to politicians and superior civil(public) servants. They serve them the information needed to make decisions. This phase can contain specific decisions as well as planning processes with several stages of decisions.
 - The Project has existed for six years and is maintained by politically based funding. They continue to show the necessity of their existence which gives politicians reasons to continue to fund it.
- The *phase of implementation*, and especially if the administration are guided by specific goals and frames (*mål- och ramstyrning*), further possibilities to act autonomous are added. The employees executes what politicians or superior civil servants have decided upon.
 - The Project acts relatively autonomous to fulfil their goals, but to a high extent the Project designs their own agenda.
- In the last phase in Lundqvist's theoretical points of departure, *evaluation*, the civil servants can evaluate the politics which they themselves have developed.
 - The Project is evaluated on a regular basis by external organisations. But it should also be mentioned that evaluation could include not only what is the out-spoken evaluation. It could also include the process of reflection and adjusting the daily work at the Project.

These phases concludes that (public) administration has multiple functions and other prerequisites to influence politics than the traditional norms suggests. This relates clearly to Lipsky's ideas and provides the forthcoming analysis with useful phases to depart from.

The authors Paulina Blomqvist and Bo Rothstein has written the book *Välfärdsstatens nya ansikte* (*The new face of the welfare state: my translation*) (2000), which relates to both Lipsky's work as well as Lundquist. The authors approaches the field of welfare research with a constructive perspective and with democratic theory, the individual's relation to the political power is at focus here.

Public action programs (as the Project), especially the implementation of them (*genomförandet*), are in the light of this a source of certain democratical problem. The authors refer to the employees responsible for the execution of the programs, and their task to adjust the public services in different areas to all the single cases. The research here concerns how political reforms are conducted in practice (Blomqvist; Rothstein 2000:15).

The public actions are to a large extent developed by the field workers, since the political organisation is not able to dictate the different measures needed to be addressed in all cases. The field worker, or with the words of Lipsky; street-level bureaucrat, which meets with the citizen/client are given a relatively large space for action. There is also space for which actions they consider relevant in different cases. The field workers are given the right to work independently and decides which actions are relevant in that specific situation. The sum of how the street-level bureaucrats acts are what should be considered to be the public action program. This creates a distant to what the democratical organisation within the field has decided (Blomqvist; Rothstein 2000:16).

The decision makers of welfare are administrations and civil servants, which makes it difficult and to some extent impossible to have someone responsible for the relation between the action program (or the actions taken) and the intention of the legislators. But also regarding questions concerning fair treatment. The authors concept: *the black hole of democracy*, relates to where the elected politicians influence on the formulation of the public politics are limited. Local administrations exercises power over the citizens where there cannot be any democratic influence, at the same time the activities and programs can be mandatory (Blomqvist; Rothstein 2000:16, 219). With the theories developed by Blomqvist and Rothstein, the theories of street-level bureaucrats are tied closer to democracy. The question of distance between the elected politicians and the individual are addressed.

Last, in this chapter concerning the thesis relationship to public administration and its civil servants, I would like to mention the author Hans Bengtsson. He discusses the normative role of public administration within the welfare state. The argument here is that decision-making, implementation, politics and public administration all melts together due to time-management and a need for flexibility. In this sense the political process are now taking place on another arena. The civil servants (of the public administration) has a new role where their actions influence the political. In their direct meeting with the citizen (or participant in this case), they become representatives for a political sphere. The values of the public, the abilities and possibilities to create legitimacy for its action are of importance (Bengtsson 2001:390).

2.5 A theoretical approach to the study

In this section of the thesis I have devoted a large space for a discussion of relevant theoretical perspectives.

My main approach which guides the study, is intersectionality. Placing the thesis in the context of such theories makes it possible to expand the analysis beyond single identity markers. An intersectional approach treats the individual as not only female-male, or Arabic- Christian, citizen- non-citizen, but argues that the experience of an individual is complex. Sub-ordination and superiority can have different faces.

The choice to work with feminist theories of citizenship was not hard. From my perspective it helps to problematize the traditional idea of citizenship which can be applicable in the context of my research area. The theories mentioned gives useful starting points for an analysis focused on 'the other', 'processes' and 'in/exclusion'.

Policy, and the understanding of the same plays a large part of the thesis. Here I wanted to provide a more general definition for the concept.

The last part, is concerned with the public administration and its servants. Here I presented how it relates to politics and democracy. The part also defined the concept of the street-level bureaucrat and how they play such a large part of the thesis.

2.5.1 Chart summing up the theoretical framework

Theoretical departing points:	Some concepts:
Intersectionality	Interrelationship between aspects of subordination and superiority
Citizenship	Feminist theory, participation, processes, critical, extended beyond legal rights
Policy	Cultural product, behaviour, intentions, intersectional
Public administration and civil servants	Street-level bureaucrats, democracy, politics, legitimacy

3 Methodology

In the present chapter I will develop a methodological framework for approaching my research. Here I will show how a number of methodological approaches are relevant for the overall themes of the thesis. Further I here discuss and reflect upon the methodological choices and introduce a useful research design.

3.1 Intersectionality operationalised

In the work of Hankivsky and Cormier (2011), the authors draws attention to the question of intersectional methodology and how it is possible to operationalise the concept into a research tool within the field of public policy. They argue the importance of this due to the knowledge gap between theories of intersectionality and the practical application of it. I would like to elaborate on some of the different ways described in the article to place my study in an academic context. I use the article in a descriptive way. Hankivsky and Cormier identifies three main methodologies for doing intersectional research:

- Space as an Analytical Dimension in Intersectionality Policy Analysis
- Intersectional Policy Process Analysis
- Multi-strand Project

Below I reflect upon how this different methodologies can relate to the work performed in this thesis. This presentation is also done to present my study in the methodological field of intersectional performed policy research.

- Space as an Analytical Dimension in Intersectionality Policy Analysis

This approach specifies the element of *space* as being highly relevant for the understanding of not only relations of power but also their mutual production in power. Spatial contextualization are guiding for the understanding of dominant ways of thinking about policy and policy problems. The focus here is therefore the role of power when producing policy and problems of it. How space is produced in policy texts will give answers to questions related to *(...) power, power relations, and their dimensions within policy analysis.* (Hankivsky; Cormier 2011:221).This model is developed by Rönnblom (2008).

In relation to my research this model provides with some relevant and useful starting points for a methodological approach to the field. *"(T)he concept of space is relational, interactive, fluid and constantly under construction, leading to the*

possibility to see both subtle tinges of the production of power and the several dimensions of power“. (Rönnblom 2008 in Hankivsky; Cormier 2011:221, authors emphasis). Typical analysis of policy can be static and descriptive and with that in mind this approach seems reasonable. It provides this study with the concept of space and gives an opportunity to go in-depth with the relations of power situated within the Project. The shortcomings of using only this approach, and why I do not choose to use it more extensively is the need for a more comprehensive methodology.

- Intersectional Policy Process Analysis

The principal developers of this approach (Bishwakarma, Hunt, and Zajicek 2007 in Hankivsky; Cormier 2011) departs from a policy cycle and includes intersectionality at all phases of the policy-making process for the analysis. This is done to “*determine the extent (if any) to which an intersectionality approach is needed and, if it is, whether it is included*” (Hankivsky; Cormier 2011:222). This need to be done because governing bodies are developing social policies leading to inclusion (or aiming at including, my note).

Reflecting upon this methodological approach will be helpful by giving the research direction and a starting point. Further it could also provide insights with regards to how intersectionality is integrated in the policy cycle. In my case it could actually function as the foundation of the entire study. However, the suggested methodology here is based on a very rigid understanding of the policy process and miss the interacting processes. I interpret this as highly problematic when aiming at doing intersectional research. It rather becomes an add-on to the original model for policy analysis (Hankivsky; Cormier 2011).

- Multi-strand Project

This approach was developed by Parken and Young (2007, 2008) who started their work with the example of social care in the U.K. What was interesting was not to prove an already existing policy but to investigate the field of the policy. The original authors consciously avoided to work with specific strands or issues to avoid distinctions between forms of inequities. The model, or approach, consists of four stages: mapping, visioning, road testing, monitoring and evaluating, all stakeholders of the policy is supposed to be engaged. The foundation is “*(...) the collection, collation, analysis and synthesis of equality evidence for all equality 'strands'*“ (Parken and Young 2007 in Hankivsky; Cormier 2011:223). A relevant critique is how can a policy field be chosen, in terms of issues, problems or priorities. There are no suggestions to be found. The model aims at including all equality strands but disregards the aspect of decision-making processes. Those processes gives an opportunity to focus at certain significant social locations or even particularly interesting intersections. These are some arguments behind why I not choose to work with this methodological approach. It does however provide with the useful insight on how to work with investigating policy field (Hankivsky; Cormier 2011).

Nira Yuval- Davis develops an intersectional methodological approach (to policy) in the article *Intersectionality and Feminist Politics* (2006). First the author reminds the reader of what an intersectional analysis implies:

“ (...) the point is to analyse the differential ways in which different social divisions are concretely enmeshed and constructed by each other and how they relate to political and subjective constructions of identities.”

Yuval- Davis continues by elaborating on how a methodological approach is suitable when conducting this type of analysis.

”This means that field methodology should carefully separate, and examine separately, the different levels in which social divisions operate in the communities where they work and which were discussed earlier, i.e. institutionally, intersubjectively, representationally as well as in the subjective constructions of identities. Only when such a contextual analysis is carried out can there be an intersectional review of policy initiatives and systems of implementation.” (Yuval- Davies 2006)

The author continues to underline that in an intersectional analysis not only are the policy makers of interest but people on the ground should to a very large extent be involved. The need to include different perspectives and positioning should be acknowledged and they should not be treated as belonging to any fixed social groups, or be regarded as representatives for the same.

Following in the direction suggested by Yuval-Davis, my research would not only be focused at the street-level bureaucrats but would also include the participants at the project. This would need to be done to fully incorporate the intersectional perspective and make the analysis completed.

In this sense my research will not agree with Yuval-Davis's recommendations for an intersectional methodology since the participants are not given any voice besides from my observation of their interaction with the employees. However, my aim is to investigate which central policies are at stake and how. A continuation of the research would include participants reflections concerning the identified policies, but also what policies they identify.

What does concern me though, is the danger that my research (or future research based on the thesis) continue to understand the participants as a fixed social grouping or target group. That the effects of the research here, or even the thesis in itself constructs the participants in ways that further locks them in categories instead of unlocking them. Even so the work of doing intersectional research have to start somewhere, this study is placed in an intersectional tradition and aims at relating it to public policy.

3.2 Policy analysis- a WPR-approach

In this section I want to describe my approach to policy analysis and how I will operationalize it in relation to intersectionality.

Interpreting public policy in a conventional way is, according to Bacchi (2009:1), to understand the policy as a reaction to a fixed and identifiable ‘problem’. Governments (in this context municipalities and regions are added) react to problems outside of the policy process, with this approach Bacchi argues that the focus of the analysis will be limited. The suggestion here is instead to work with the following approach:

What is the problem represented to be?
(or the WPR-approach)

When analysing a specific policy this approach shows how the policy in itself understands the ‘problem’ to be a specific problem. Policies are an active part in constituting and shaping the problem. Instead of *reacting* to a problem as in the conventional understanding, the government is active in *creating* the problem. This is a necessary part of policy formation: “*(...) because all policies make proposals for change, by their very nature they contain implicit representations of ‘problems’.*” (Bacchi 2009:1) And this is of special interest for the research being done here.

How is it possible to operationalize these ideas and to conduct research based on the same? In this chapter I develop Bacchis ideas in terms of intersectionality, and further I describe how they will be interpreted and used within the context of the specific case. Below a list which serves as guiding when conducting a WPR-informed analysis will follow (as suggested by Bacchi 2009)

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

3.2.1 A WPR-approach turning intersectional

1. What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?

This is a guiding theme through out the process of the work being done in the thesis. Policies in themselves are, as Bacchi puts it, problematizing activities. The policies implies representations of problems and these representations need to be identified (Bacchi 2009:2ff). This gives an idea of not only what is considered to be the official problem that the policy(-ies) should fix but the embedded ideas of the problem.

The ideas of intersectionality earlier mentioned shows how not only individuals but also policy processes are complex. The traditional policy analysis does not in its conventional setting fulfil the purpose of an intersectionally informed analysis. Departing from this question makes it possible to see representations of what is considered problematic. In the context of this thesis it guides me through the ideas presented by the street-level bureaucrats. What do they consider to be the problem? And from my point of view, what do I consider to be the represented 'problem'?

2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlies this representation of the 'problem'?

Also this point serves as a guiding departure point within this thesis. What underpins the problem representation? What is not questioned but taken for granted?

Bacchi introduces here the advantages of discourse analysis since policy is elaborated (and created, my add) within discourses. What meanings are needed for something to happen? What role does different binary positions (dichotomies) play in the specific policy and how do they shape the understanding of the issue and key concepts? Binary positions and dichotomies can in this thesis be citizens and immigrants, language skills and not having those skills, poor versus rich, female- male, healthy- non-healthy. A problem with these (binary positions) is that they simplify complex experience.

A further task is to identify the key concepts in the above representation of problem and to understand what meanings are given to them (Bacchi 2009:7ff). To sum up this aspect of Bacchi's methodological approach here the: “(...) conceptual logics that underpin specific problem representations” are in focus (Bacchi 2009:5).

This question relates e.g. to the approach developed by Rönnblom where she mainly discusses space. But her interest lays very much in understanding the concept both within and outside of the policy (my add: con-)text. To examine the underlying assumptions or presumptions, the dichotomies and binary positions will in the earlier mentioned words of Rönnblom: “(...) shed (...) light on power, power relations and their dimensions within policy analysis.” (Rönnblom 2008 in Hankivsky; Cormier 2011:221)

3. How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

Here the history, or genealogy, are in focus in Bacchi's methodological approach. She argues the importance of following the twists and turn of the problem represented. We should not assume, as often is done, that the understanding of 'problems', practices and institutions are results of 'natural evolution'. Key decisions made at a specific point in time shows how an issue (or the 'problem' represented, my add) has not had a so called natural evolution, in fact there is no such thing. The conditions allowing the representation of a problem to form and become the one acknowledged are relevant (Bacchi 2009:10f). Due to the time limitations tied to this research not all of Bacchi's suggestions or fully elaborated on. In some aspects this can be considered one of the less explored. To pinpoint certain key decisions in time and relate them to surrounding context are problematic when it comes to the examined Project. Its organisational form has been shifting and my suggestion to enlarge the study would contain of a fully done mapping of the Project's background. However, some of the key decisions are explored and put in context with other aspects relevant for the analysis.

Reflecting upon this with intersectional glasses, gives a further dimension to question 3. Bacchi argues the importance of this approach to destabilise problem representation often taken for granted. It gives an opportunity to enhance the perspective beyond what is originally suggested to be 'natural'. It questions the concept of 'natural evolution' of both problem representation and policy designed to meet them. The intersecting positions are not given, and this approach helps to highlight how the individual is put in it.

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

The question here is highly interesting in the context of the study. The Project aims at meeting its participants on all levels which they (the Project) found important for their situation. The Project's entire existing is based on the outspoken idea that the public does not fully meet the needs of the participants and leave aspects un-problematized. My goal here is to ask the question: what are left un-spoken of in a Project who claims to speak of everything? Their program is based on un-problematic silences within the public system. But what are their silences? Could their work be different? Could their policies be different? Are there tensions, contradictions in their representation of the problem? (Bacchi 2009:12f)

In relation to the intersectional suggestions above this point functions well. It opens up for discussion concerning power relations, it sends signals of what is considered important and what is not. By investigating this it is possible to give a depth to the research.

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

In the centre of no 5 is a critical assessment of the effects tied to problem representations. To do so I first have to identify them. Bacchi suggests three interconnected categories of effects; discursive, subjectivisation and lived. The first refers to limitations on what you are able to say and think. The second to how subjects are constituted (in discourse) and the third refers to the impacts of life. Examples of the last include material impacts of problem representation.

The relevance of this point becomes clear when adding the overall goal described by Bacchi as “*(...) to be able to say which aspects of a problem representation have deleterious effects for which groups, and hence may need to be re-tought.*” (Bacchi 2009:18). The possible connections to intersectional theory also becomes obvious when we for example reflect on the second effect mentioned. How are subjects constituted in discourse? How are individuals thought of? As their gender? Their class, or perhaps ethnicity? And which discourse are the ones at stake at the Project?

6. How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Here Bacchi wants the reader (or researcher) to ask which are the means through which representations of problems come to achieve legitimacy. Discourses are plural and can be inconsistent, and with that also become useful for re-problematisation. The goal here is to pay attention to the means through which some problem representations become dominant, and to the possibility of challenging problem representations that are judged to be harmful (Bacchi 2009:19). This question is two folded, aiming at 'problem' production on the one hand, and 'problem' replacement on the other. The first correlates well with the ideas of intersectional theory and my study in particular. It gives a possibility to work with production of policy, and in the same time it opens up with the more widely asked “defended”. How is the policy (or represented problem) defended? The second focus of no 6, the replacement gives a hint that the problem is not firmly situated, it need to be questioned, but how? And how can it be replaced?

3.3 Case Study

I have initially identified a specific research problem, but also pointed at its relations to other issues (ch 1).

When choosing to work with a case study as a methodological approach, some themes can be guiding, according to the author Sharan B Merriam (1994). I let two of them guide me when approaching the case study methodology:

- Type of research question
- If it is possible to identify a limited system as focus

In this study policy and street-level bureaucrats are for example some of the main themes and the research question clearly relates to this. The question in this part of the thesis is whether or not the research question is appropriate for conducting a case study. When addressing these kinds of research themes I do find it suitable to work within the tradition of case studies. In my chosen case a limited system is identified and is so done with regards to the chosen themes of the thesis.

What is a case study? It is an analysis of a specific phenomenon, a limited or defined system chosen because of its importance, a special interest of the researcher or it might constitute some form of hypothesis. Further the phenomenon can be interpreted as an example of a larger context where developments are taking place and with groups of events (Merriam 1994:24). This makes it possible to reflect upon not only the specific case and its relations to intersectionality and local policies, but also to draw conclusions about how citizenship is constructed within the context of the public. What are expected of the citizen? And how does the political construct and reproduce the idea of the citizen?

A research design with a case study approach is not depending on any specific methodology. Instead all methods for collecting scientific information can be used, some are though more common than others. This gives the thesis an opportunity to not be strongly tied to certain methodology, rather the most useful ones can be chosen (Merriam 1994:24).

I have chosen to work with a qualitative approach to this case and by doing so I am not aspiring to interpret a hypothesis but my focus is: insight, exploration and interpretation. The interactions between different factors characterizing the case are illuminated in this research design. Doing case studies are of special interest in the situations where variables cannot be separated from the context or surrounding situations (which relates to the intersectional approach) (Merriam 1994:24). It is also of interest to understand this case as not excluded from the rest of the society but as a part of it. I argue that the participants of the Project and the street-level bureaucrats are actors within not only the Project but the surrounding society as well, and their actions are not only actions within the Project but also related and grounded in a surrounding society.

A case study can be descriptive but also heuristic. My intention is not to pick one of those perspectives, but to embrace both. I aim at being descriptive as describing the interplay between variables, and heuristic by my aim to enhance the readers understanding of the case. Further the heuristic perspective offers the reader to enlarge their experiences and to create new meaning, it can also confirm already assumed conclusions (Merriam 1994:26).

Uwe Flick argues (2009:135) that the main problem for the researcher in the initial phase of a case study is to identify a significant case relevant for the research question, what else belongs to the case and what methodological approaches are required. Relating these three steps to this thesis gives the following:

3.3.1 The Significant Case

What can be identified as the significant case? Is it the project in itself? And further what is this a case of ?

One answer to especially the first question could be the Project. The case is the Project. I find it necessary to elaborate on this. The Project is of course at the centre of the study conducted here, but the case is not based on it solely, it could have been a similar project. The choice to work with this specific Project was based at the following ground:

- It has a multi-dimensional approach to its participants
- It is publicly administered
- It is more than one stakeholder organisation

Reflecting on this it becomes obvious that the Project in itself is not interesting, it could have been another one addressing the same type of questions. The relevant parts were the above mentioned and how this could provide me with appropriate answers for my research question and providing information for my analysis.

3.3.2 What else belongs to the case?

The case is a case in two different understandings. It is the specific project being referred to as *the case*. But what should be at focus here is *what is it a case of?*. It was not chosen randomly and it needs to be addressed in a more abstract way. When this has been clarified it is possible to further elaborate on what belongs to it.

I understand this case as mainly being one of policy production and implementation on a local level. So what belongs to it? At a first glance perhaps some policies might seem to be the dominant ones, and if the methodological approach is not well developed some relevant aspects will be lost. The case relates also to questions of citizenship, activation, empowerment, democracy and public administration.

3.3.3 What methodological approaches are required?

The methods and the selections of them, are further elaborated in this chapter. Here a shorter presentation follows:

Policy analysis

The policy analysis will include the the methodological approach developed by Bacchi. The WPR-approach is the guiding methodology used in the thesis, the following approaches are used as tools within the policy analysis as suggested by Bacchi (as presented earlier).

Interviews

This method will be used to expand the knowledge base concerning the street-level bureaucrats, to understand their ideas of activation, citizenship and the participants. The interviewees can clarify their work at the Project and tasks related.

Observation

The purpose of this method is mainly to get an idea of how the Project function on a daily basis. I will take notes and use my observations as reflections and backgrounds to the interviews.

3.4 Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the employees, as street-level bureaucrats, to clarify their understanding of policy (and 'problem representation'), relevant discourses and their own work.

I choose to work with interviews drawing on the experiences of Tabitha Wright Nielsen (2009), in her dissertation she conducted interviews with civil servants in a similar project. Where Nielsen's interest is to problematize the traditional understandings of empowerment in terms of emancipation and self determination mine is to discuss the concept of intersectionality and its relation to locally produced policies and ideas of citizenship (Nielsen Wright 2009:78).

These interviews will be semi-standardized (Flick 2009:156ff) which will give the interviewee an opportunity to inform me on their subjective theories in the field. The term *subjective theory* is used to describe the complex stock of knowledge about the case which the interviewee possesses. When conducting this type of interviews three types of questions will be guiding: open, theory-driven and confrontational. Topical areas will be introduced e.g.: empowerment, citizenship, employment.

A word of warning is raised by Cannon, Higginbotham and Leung who write that a small sample of homogeneous subjects surely will provide the study with an unique discovery of their lives, but it can also be in the way of diverse knowledge,

if used continually on the same population (Cannon; Higginbotham; Leung 1991:107). Actually the authors consider this as a weakness of in-depth qualitative studies. These authors are mentioned because it gives me an opportunity to reflect on the sample group chosen. The informants are a relatively small group (9) and the interviews are made continuously. On the other hand it could be argued that the employees are a privileged group (in relation to the participants) and as that they are further privileged by given a voice. This is to a large extent already touched in other parts of the thesis. Due to this study's focus on policy production and implementation by the street-level bureaucrat, those are the ones getting a voice.

I did not conduct any interviews with the participants of the Project (which was also elaborated on in a previous chapter). The reasons behind this choice was steered by the aim and focus of the study. Here the street-level bureaucrat and its relation to public policies are at the centre. In a fully intersectionally informed research it can be argued that the participants must be included. However, my aim is stated to be related to the civil servants and with the time-limit tied to this study it was not possible for me to include them.

Initially I did not find it necessary to interview everyone at the Project, since there is a limited time frame tied to this study. Some employees could have been chosen with regards to their tasks and how they work with the participants. While at the Project I learned that there were not that many working within it which made it possible for me to interview everyone. By doing so I could minimize the risk for making people feel left out, and spreading rumours since everyone had the possibility to speak their mind. The material here is to a high extent influenced by the meeting with myself as a researcher and the individuals being interviewed. I spent almost a month at the Project (not full days, not every day in the week), I joined in meetings and attended groups with the participants. Therefore, in most of the cases, I already had a relationship to the person interviewed since the interviews was conducted during my one month stay.

It should also be mentioned that since the period of time spent at the Project came to be quite long it is possible that the interviewees discussed what had been said/what to say/what had been asked with each other. My impression was that they gave me honest and direct answers to the questions and tried to give their personal as well as professional opinions.

Due to the background of the interviewees and their positions in the Project, there is also a possibility of them giving me the answers which they think I (or their superiors, the project manager, their organisations etc) expect from them. Once again, my impression was that the answers given to me was truthful and honest reflections from each of the individuals. Though it should be mentioned that I, in some of the interviews got the impression that the reflections were more of the official kind (eg interview 1, 4, 5).

3.3.1 Themes used in the interviews

Importance of employment
Importance of language
Language and self image
Empowerment
Keys to society/community
Reflect upon the participant
Successful outcomes
Poverty
Policies
Citizenship- social- political

3.5 Observation

This method was used as a complementary method to enhance my knowledge of the work at a day-to-day basis at the Project.

Inspired by the already mentioned dissertation by Tabitha Wright Nielsen, I conducted a field work and in that way became a part of the social room in which the Project exists. In line with Nielsen I experienced two social rooms in it, one for the participants and one for the employees (or street-level bureaucrats) (Wright Nielsen 2009:79). My aim with the observation was to understand how the street-level bureaucrats on a daily basis work with the themes of the thesis. The situation surrounding an interview might contribute to the informant withholding information that can appear in a situation which I can observe. My aim is not to be an active participant and challenge the role of myself as a researcher or the roles of the employees by taking on some of their work (Wright Nielsen 2009:80). I have not the intention of becoming as one of the street-level bureaucrats but to observe their interactions with the participants (Flick 2009:222-227).

I kept field notes, a sort of diary over what I observe on a daily basis. Some situations offered me an opportunity to take notes in real time, some situations forced me to write down the experience or observation later.

3.6 A methodological approach

In this chapter I have presented the methodological considerations with which I aim to enter the field. First I discussed various ideas of how to operationalize the theoretical concept of intersectionality. This provided me with useful insights when turning to Bacchi's WPR- approach, the latter is the approach which guides the rest of the methodological choices.

To fully conduct the study as suggested by the WPR-approach I found it necessary to work with a case, but also to conduct interviews. As described above I did also enter the field through observation, this methodology should be regarded as a complementary approach to the ones already mentioned. It was mainly used to provide me with an understanding of how the organisation, structure and daily work of the Project.

3.6.1 Chart summing up the methodological approach

Methodological approaches	Some concepts:
Intersectionality operationalised	Space as an Analytical Dimension in Intersectionality Policy Analysis, Intersectional Policy Process Analysis Multi-strand Project
Policy analysis	WPR, intersectionality
Case	Policy production on a local level, the Project,
Interviews	Street-level bureaucrats, semi-standardized, employees not participants
Observation	Non-active, focus at understanding daily work

4 Empirical analysis

4.1 Presentation of the Project

Due to my choice to anonymize to a very high extent it is not possible to fully publish the full source of information in the form of printed or electronic material since the Project is included their with their full name. Most of the information was however also provided to me during observation and interviews. The information is available if requested.

The project at stake concerns immigrants with migration related post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The participants are unemployed and one of the projects over-all purposes is to get them in to some form of activation- employment, studies or internship. The second over-all purpose is to enhance their experience of their health situation regarding their PTSD. The project has three pillars, physical work-out, competence enhancing (Swedish studies, internship), and counselling/guidance. The participants are all depending on social welfare (*försörjningsstöd* previously *socialbidrag*) and most of them have been appointed (or referred) to the project through their social welfare worker (*socialsekreterare*). The project works closely with the (Swedish) Red Cross and some of the participants have been suggested to the project through them. Most of the participants are male from the Middle East, and the project only admits individuals between the ages of 18- 45. It should also be mentioned that they have to have either a Swedish citizenship or a permanent resident permit (*permanent uppehållstillstånd*) and needs to have completed the introduction phase. The project is regarded (by themselves and surrounding organizations) as an employment project, their actions are necessary to bring the target group closer to employment.

4.1.1 PTSD- a definition

The definition presented here is the one described and used by the Project. There is a lot of literature concerning the psychological condition, but the purpose of the thesis is not to discuss the medical conditions of the participants. The Project decides which participants to take on and their interpretation and definition is the one relevant within the context of the thesis.

PTSD is short for post traumatic stress disorder. It is not considered to be a psychological illness but a reaction to difficult events or situations, with the last implying danger for one's life and/or a serious violation of integrity. The trauma can both be something personal (abuse) or something impersonal as an accident. Examples include:

- Assault
- Robbery
- Sexual abuse
- Difficult childbirth
- Accident
- Natural disaster
- Torture
- War

4.1.2 The Project- a background

Three levels of governing are represented at the Project, the municipality (*kommunen*), the region (*regionen*) and the state (in the form of the *Public Employment Service/Arbetsförmedlingen*). The organization of the actual project consists of nine employees:

- Project manager (*processledare*)
- Labour market assistant (*arbetsmarknadssekreterare*)
- Internship co-ordinator (*praktiksamordnare*)
- Social worker (*kurator*)
- Language teacher (2 who teaches Swedish, 1 arabic speaking Swedish teacher)
- Public health carer (*folkhälsovetare*)
- Employment officer (*arbetsförmedlare*)

The project is directed towards people in the municipality of Malmö between the ages of 18 to 45 who are in search of employment and also recipient of social welfare. Further to participate in the project you need to suffer from post traumatic stress syndrome (PTSD) caused by experiences of war.

On a yearly basis the project are able to admit 70 participants, each in need of special support on their route towards employment. The project approaches health

and competence from a holistic perspective but with three parallel paths. These are combined in to an individual plan to improve the participant's health and employment status.

The Project has existed since 2006 and has been financed in different ways. Since 2010 the coordinative organisation Finsam² has provided the funds together with participant fees.³ This will continue through out 2011 but change in the following year. At the time of my research it was not yet decided upon how the Project would be funded in the future.

4.1.3 An organisational overview

In the description of the project the following activations are included as competence enhancers:

- Swedish lessons
- Guidance/coaching
- Internship
- Social skills (*social kompetens*)
- Social guidance (*samhällsorientering*)
- Labor practice (*arbetsträning*)
- Support from the Public Employment Service (*AF-stöd*)

The following are what is included to enhance the health situation of the participant;

- Health conversation (*hälsosamtal*)
- Counselling concerning sleep, stress, diet, exercise
- Medical prescription on physical activities
- Body Balance
- Relaxation exercise

The third path of the project is treatment and the Project have possibilities for placing the participant at a special centre for War- and torture victims (The placement includes counselling, therapy etc. To specify further, the participant is not inpatient). The project also offers counselling individually and in groups. After finishing the program at the Project the participant is expected to be a part of either the labour market or educational system. The participant should also experience an improved situation regarding their PTSD.

² A financial coordination between Social Insurance Office (*försäkringskassan*), Public Employment Service, Region, Municipalities- aiming at restoring or enhancing individuals functionality and capacity for work.
http://www.susam.se/finsam/om_finsam/

³ As I understand it this is not paid by the individual participant. My suggestion would be that their Social Office pays and the participant is not involved in the process.

The goal of the Project expressed in numbers (by themselves):

- 40% of the participants in employment or educational system
- 100% improved (experienced health)

Goal attained (as expressed by the Project Manager):

- 35% of the participants in employment or educational system
- 80% improved (experienced health)

During my placement at the Project the numbers were commented upon as being ambitious but relevant and by setting a high standard they hope to have higher achievements. They are expressed by the Project themselves and not any of the external organisations.

4.2 Analytical Model

Here I would like to remind the reader of the methodological approach WPR (ch.3.1). It will here be used as an analytical tool and function as a bridge between the more theoretical parts of the thesis and the empirical, providing a structure for the analysis as well as being helpful in the quest of answering my original research question.

4.2.1 What is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?

From an official and out-spoken standpoint the problem is unemployed individuals suffering from migration related PTSD living on social welfare. Stretching the discussion in direction of the thesis, it is possible to conclude that there is more to it. The Project with its holistic structure provides not only the out-spoken representation of problems but also with an idea of what is desirable and expected by the citizen.

Policies are constructed within a social context; they include actions as well as inaction, behaviour and intentions. Further Bacchi asked a useful question, when pointing at governing, how does governing occur on a daily basis? (Bacchi 2009:xi). This first question here draws the attention to what is implied in this specific policy? The policy being examined here is understood as the local policy created at Project.

The problem is according to the Project: lack of motivation, lack of self esteem, lack of social skills, victimization, lack of cultural resources, lack of health, lack of employment.

Earlier in the thesis (ch 2.2) it was shown how the welfare state understands employment as a major component of citizenship, something reflected in the Project. Both as the founding reasons behind the Project as a whole, but also in

the interviews. “ (...) you have to contribute in regards to your abilities.” (int 4 20:15). What can you contribute with? “Many different things. But your labour is a good start (...).” (Int 4 21:17). In interview no 7 similar ideas are highlighted when the interviewee says: “*Of course when we are living in this welfare society, you have to in some way contribute by working and pay taxes so that the welfare system can be used.*” (Int 7 32:53).

Earlier in the thesis Calloni draws our attention to the ambivalence of the modern welfare state, she argues that there is an ambivalence in the practice of social policy. The ambivalence is connected to the conflicting ideas of the nation-state and the ideals and practice of social policy. Nation-state ideas concerning social policy will make 'the other' only selectively part of the social policy on one hand, and on the other well-being and human-rights (Calloni 2005:93). This ambivalence is also represented at the Project.

One of the most important parts of the Project is that the participant is in need of something more than just for example language courses or treatment. Some of the interviewed (eg int 1, 2, 4,) are very specific when describing what the participants are in need of, but the underlying assumption is that all paths in the Project is needed. The paths implies an intersectional understanding, an understanding of the individual as in not only an immigrant, but also a person in need of treatment etc.

The ambivalence is noted when the interviewees are asked questions concerning citizenship. Ideals much more related to the nation-state-project are revealed, when I ask them to tell me their opinions on how and if citizenship should be regulated (eg int 4, 5, 6). Themes related to this were: language, culture, and history. It was expressed that the individual wanting to be a Swedish citizen needed to posses a certain amount of knowledge in those areas. However, it was also expressed that the individual must be given the opportunities needed to learn this.

Another author (Hedblom 2009) notes a similar ambivalence, which she calls *the dual welfare problem*: activation is often tied to a selective social welfare in contrast to a universal idea of integration. The idea is that when employed the integration of the immigrant into the Swedish society/community will follow automatically. This idea is shared by politicians and civil servants . However, Hedblom presents some critique and says that there are some dilemmas when politics of integration are mixed together. The idea that employment or studies always gives integration research has shown that it can lead to both integration and exclusion in the labour market (2009:160).

Applying the intersectional departing point to the empirical analysis, and further ask the question Bacchi encourages us to do (what is the problem represented to be in a specific policy) gives the following reflection.

Mulinari and de los Reyes were earlier used to describe the relationship between intersectionality and work and argues that entering the labour market is the only legitimate way to citizenship. Turning to the Project we can here see how this becomes a guiding theme. The idea, according to the interviews, is that the citizen contributes to the welfare state with tax (eg int 4,7,8). If the participant has

an employment, their language skills and their health situation would improve (int 2, 4).

In the context the authors uses the example of women, to become self-sufficient they have had to face a segregated labour-market and part-time jobs. In relation to the Project it is emphasized that they need a job, and further it is also mentioned that the participants can not be too particular, they should accept jobs being offered (int 5, 6). A possible conclusion of this statement, is that employment are considered more important than the individual's personal opinions, feelings and conviction of what is right for her/him. The road to full citizenship for women has been filled with the types of employments now offered to immigrants/participants of the Project. This does not in any sense suggests that immigrants are the new "women" and women are now considered full citizens. No, it shows how ideas of citizenship are closely tied to ideas of labour. Labour on the other hand is not a neutral concept.

The interviewees often return to why it is important to not participate in the black labour market and the problems with participants being active parts of it (int 4, 7). On the other hand it is also mentioned that it might not be of importance which kind of employment the participant gets, perhaps being active is more important. This gives that certain activities are more preferable than other, being part of the black labour-market is to not contribute to the welfare society and is considered not acceptable.

The street-level bureaucrats at this Project produces (and reproduces) an idea of citizenship were a specific interpretation of labour and activation are desirable and important.

This chapter departed from the question "*what is the problem represented to be in a specific policy?*" and the ideas embedded within the represented problem. Above I have shown how citizenship becomes a relevant concept for analysing the Project. From the outspoken background of the Project, where labour and employment in itself is highlighted as the prominent problem for the participants, I showed how ideas of citizenship are tied to (ideas of) labour. By doing that the embedded idea of citizenship are here revealed. Yet another concept needs to be addressed here, namely the idea of empowerment.

Some of the informants reacted openly negative when I introduced the concept of empowerment during the interviews (eg int 2, 4, 7). One said: "*I have worked a lot with that. But it is not modern now.*" (int 2, 29:06). Another agrees that it is more of a fashionable concept, where the original idea obviously is good, but it has come to be a cliché. The third does not relate their work to the concept as she understands it, saying: "*It is a fashionable concept, but I don't know if we have had anything to do with it.*" (int 7, 30:05).

How does it become a relevant concept for me to problematize? If we expand the analysis to what is not only initially expressed another picture is painted by the three informants. Not only them. The rest of the interviewees associated the concept in a positive direction. In some of the interviews I had to provide a definition, or an explanation. I tried to keep my definition (or explanation) very open to give the informant an opportunity to reflect without my influence.

One of the most central discourses at the Project concerns motivation, self-esteem and the individuals willingness to change their situation (my observation). The Project, its employees, aims at motivating and increasing self-esteem at the individual level to encourage the participant to change their situation. I identified this as a discourse of empowerment as described by Tengqvist (2007). She expresses a personal definition of empowerment as: “*openings in situations experienced as closed, where you are encouraged to find your own answers towards change.*” (Tengqvist 2007:77). Departing from that, Tengqvist has studied projects similar to this case and identified three central themes creating a foundation for an empowermental approach used in the projects in her examination:

- All individuals are capable (to (...) my add) if they are given the proper prerequisites (*förutsättningar*)
- A focus on all individuals equal value and equal rights
- To visualize and change power structures so that they will express respect for individuals equal value and rights. (Tengqvist 2007:81f)

The experiences described in Tengqvist’s article refer to similar experiences expressed by my informants, and the three-step empowermental approach is to a large extent the foundation of the entire Project. Participants have been regarded as passive victims with limited capabilities (capacities), they have incorporated feelings of helplessness and powerlessness. Something the projects have wanted to change, using power to *facilitate for the individual to use their own power*. Not power *of*, but power *to*. This is clearly expressed in all of the interviews. Now the discourse of empowerment has been identified, is there a problem with it? What role does it play in relation to questions of policy formation?

Tabitha Wright Nielsen has written the dissertation *Viljen til at frigøre- En undersøgelse av empowerment i praksis* (The will to liberate- A study of empowerment in practice) (2009). Here, she argues that the discourse of empowerment to a large extent contains of dichotomies. Dichotomies was earlier mentioned, were Bacchi argued the advantage of discourse analysis since policy is elaborated (or formed, my add) within it. What role do different binary positions (dichotomies) play in the specific policy and how do they shape the understanding of the issue and key concepts? In a discourse of empowerment the following dichotomies are identified: freedom-compulsion, powerless-powerful and paternalism- empowerment. The discourse of empowerment is based on paradoxical dichotomies which can be criticized as locking individuals in closed categories and simplify complex experience Nielsen 2009; Bacchi 2009). Nielsen argues that empowerment implies freedom and is constructed or framed, by society and what is considered acceptable within the same. This construction or framing together with explicit practices constitutes empowerment. In Nielsen's dissertation she concludes that the participants in her study are mainly constructed and problematized in relation to their culture.

I would argue that the participants in the Project here examined, are problematized in relation to further aspects, making culture one. Here health

condition of the participant plays the significant part in the construction. PTSD is initially what is considered to stand in the way of employment. The liberating intention (of the project and its empowerment strategies) disappears when the participant is constructed as subjects in specific ways with specific content (non-healthy, culturally different, low self-esteem). Relevant factors apart from the mentioned are neglected which leads to a preservation of differences set out to be erased (Nielsen 2010:214). In this specific case my observation tells me that the Project tries hard to incorporate aspects earlier neglected. During the interviews I did understand that also here the participants are constructed as differing from the Swedish norm. They are carrier of another culture; this is not necessarily expressed as something bad, but *different*.

In the book *The will to empower* (Cruikshank 1999) discusses the concept of self-esteem and how a variety of social problems are considered to have their origins in the individuals lack of the same. An analysis of governmental program gives the author an opportunity to show how boundaries between the private and public are re-drawn. The personal are favoured over the political, and personal commitment is favoured over collective action. As already mentioned in this thesis, in the Project studied, the personal commitment, motivation and willingness to change are in focus (e.g int 4, 7, 9). Personal qualities or ideals of personal character are in that sense tied to public policy. The organisation of the Project is based on the individual participant's willingness to commit to the program. If your attendance is low you will probably be kicked out.

Further there is an asymmetric relationship of authority between those who are regarded as autonomous and those regarded as dependant. This relationship is reiterated through the will to empower. Cruikshank continues with tying citizenship to empowerment. She argues that individuals are transformed into citizens through technologies of citizenship. These technologies includes programs encouraging the citizen to become politically active and/or self-governing. In context of my research I would argue that the policies produced (through the street-level bureaucrat) and reproduced at the Project create an idea of the ideal citizen, which the participants are suppose to fit in to.

4.2.2 What presuppositions or assumptions underlies this representation of the "problem"?

What role does different binary positions (dichotomies) play in the specific policy and how do they shape the understanding of the issue and key concepts? Binary positions and dichotomies can in this thesis be citizens and immigrants, language skills and not having those skills, poor versus rich, female- male, healthy- non-healthy. A problem with these is that they simplify complex experience. Here I want to turn the discussion to the idea of the active citizen. There are a number of binary positions relevant in the context, but if we draw the attention to the underlying assumption of the importance of work and employment. The entire foundation of the Project is attached to the idea of (paid) work. All of the informants clearly stresses the importance of work as the answer to almost all their difficulties (notice specially int 2, 4, 7, 9). It is however also mentioned that wage labour is not for everyone (int 7, 10).

But what is the underlying assumption of that? As Mulinari and de los Reyes mentioned earlier; it is not a neutral concept. My suggestion here is that ideas of activation, of the citizen as the (male) contributor is guiding.

An active contributing citizen on the one hand and the non-active, non-contributing not-fully a citizen on the other, are some of the dichotomies or binary positions relevant at the Project. How can this be problematized? Are employment always the answer?

In the book *Aktivering- arbetsmarknadspolitik och socialt arbete i förändring* (*Activation- labour market politics and changing social work*) the authors clarifies that participation on the labour market can lead to social exclusion. If your work is badly paid it might have a very low status and this increases the exclusion further. International studies also implies that unemployment can increase a person's social relationships and networks (Johansson, Möller 2009:24). The authors continues with noticing a political trend of a more general activation/employment policy (*arbetslinje*) and an emphasize on more individuals in employment by using different kinds of incentive structures or demands (often in relation to the social service).

4.2.3 How has this representation of the "problem" come about?

In this section of the policy analysis Bacchi encourages the researcher to follow the twists and turns of the represented problem (ch 3.2.1). She wants us to disregard any ideas of a natural evolvement of the 'problem understanding', and instead follow the policy through key decisions. But also to investigate the conditions allowing the representation of a problem to form and become the only one acknowledged. Instead of following in the footsteps of all the decisions which has lead to the Project of today I here choose to look at documents from the organisations behind it. The reasoning behind this choice is two folded. Firstly to map the decisions behind the Project is to time consuming. Secondly I want to show that the ideas behind the policies formulated at the Project are not exclusively formulated their, but exists within a larger context.

There are other organisations tied to the Project, as the earlier mentioned Finsam, the Red Cross etc. Their involvement is not at same level as the other three, which provides more directly to the Project, for example with employees.

The three organisations are Region Skåne, Arbetsförmedlingen and Malmö Stad, and the documents are:

- Malmö Stad's Välfärdsredovisning (Municipal: *Welfare Report*)
- Region Skåne's Folkhälsostrategi (Regional: *Strategy for Public Health*)
- Arbetsförmedlingen's Budgetunderlag (State: *Grounds for budget*)

The texts are supplements to the case presented earlier, and the time devoted for this part is not at comparable with the case study. Because of that, there is a limitation in the number of texts. It is important to notice that all of these three organisations provides with a number of different documents, available for whoever interested. They are often offered publicly through electronic resources. It was important for me to choose documents that were of relevance for the case and at the same time be of equal quality.

Malmö Municipal Welfare Report (Malmö stads välfärdsredovisning 2010) starts of by stating that there are large social differences in welfare between groups in Malmö, in some cases the difference is growing. There is a need for more directed actions a side from the more traditional and general. Economic growth and welfare are here spoken of as pre-requisites for each-other. By growth it is possible to invest in welfare, and with welfare more individuals can contribute to the growth. The report does not only consist of statistics concerning relevant parameters. It includes a presentation of ongoing development work with the aim to visualise the statistics into in-depth discussions. The report was presented last year, and is produced on a yearly basis. It relates to the Strategy of Public Health since it is based on the national public health politics, and the goals tied to it.

In this text it is concluded that an individual's socioeconomic status influences participation in the community (*deltagande i samhällslivet*). A low socioeconomic status will give a low social participation and a less control over your life (this is actually mentioned in int 2). The report states “*(...) bad health is a hindrance for social participation.*” (Malmö Stads Välfärdsredovisning 2010:24). This correlates well with the Project's with integrated health focus.

Further the report stated that an individual's situation at the labour market is of importance for not only integration, but also participation and identity. All of these ideas clearly expressed within the context of the Project. This could also be interpreted as ideas of citizenship.

I have chosen a document from Region Skåne as well, called *Strategy for Regional Public Health* (Regional Folkhälsostrategi 2010-2013). It is a document well elaborated on with stakeholders from the Region as well as the Organisation for Municipalities in Skåne (*Kommunförbundet Skåne*). Initially it states that the population of Skåne is relatively healthy in relation to other areas, but there are differences between areas. Socio-economic differences effects the health situation. There is a need for cooperation between and with, the volunteering-sector, the private sector and the organisation (public) itself. The focus with the strategy is to improve, and enhance equality in health, departing from the national public health policy goal. It provides with the region's ideas of what they find important in relation to health. The time period mentioned in the text also gives further dignity to it, as an important document. In this policy document (it should be mentioned that its departing point is the national goals for public health). In the text it is noted that paid work is: “*(...) an important foundation for identity, social life and economic position.*”⁴ (Region Skåne 2009:13).

To a certain level the health of an individual, both physical and psychological, is depending on income. A higher income improves the health, however this is just true to a certain level, and then the positive effects are subsides. This quotation underlines how important employment is considered in the organisations behind the Project. Here a connection is clearly made between an individual's health situation, who they actually are (identity), their social life and economic situation. Through out the document two things are made clear. The relationship between good public health and economic growth, which relates to some of the interviews above. In which the interviewees made a connection between public economy and their work (eg int 5, 7). The second relates to the discussion concerning empowerment. The region puts a large emphasis on the individual's responsibility for their own health situation. This I would say relates to the whole discourse about empowerment. You personally have the responsibility to change your life to be able to live a healthy life, cf. you personally have to want to change your life (eg int 4).

The organisation Public Employment Service (*Arbetsförmedlingen*,) provides on a regular basis with a grounds for budget (*budgetunderlag*) to the government, which contains of suggestions for policy changes, needs assessment and allocations of funding (Arbetsförmedlingen 2009). The text (considers the time

⁴ Translation: ”förvärvsarbetet (...) en viktig bas för identitet, socialt liv och ekonomisk position.”

period 2010-2012) is chosen because it provides a good picture of the organisation's ideal priorities. It is mentioned in the text that the directions of the labour-market politics are established for several years, and within these lies a focus at matching unemployed with the available employment and to prioritize individuals far from labour-market. The text starts off by reflecting on an increasing unemployment especially with those with a weak relation to the labour-market. It continues to state that one of the four main tasks for the organisation the following fiscal years is to prevent the growing exclusion. I see this as examples of the usefulness of this document in relation to the thesis overall theme.

The text from the Public Employment Service shows clearly how individuals far from the labour market need to, through different strategies, become employed. In the text a number of disadvantaged groups are mentioned; youth, disabled, and newly arrived immigrants. The aim here is also to prevent social exclusion from increasing (Arbetsförmelningen 2009:3;14). The underlying assumption can here be understood as follows: employment will give you access to society and provide with social inclusion. Also here the idea of a relationship between citizenship and employment is being made. In this document it is further emphasized that the *arbetslinje* should be claimed to avoid long term passivity with only cash payment. The Project claims to be an employment- or activation project. Their main goal is articulated as percentage of participants in employment or educational system, and improved experienced health. Within this document the importance of getting individuals far from employment closer to it, is stressed. Drawing on the experiences of the Project we can here see how it correlates with their ideas of getting their participants closer to employment.

In this chapter I have showed how ideas related to citizenship and employment are expressed in the different organisations supporting the Project. This has been done to show that they do not act in a vacant space.

4.2.4 What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Can the "problem" be thought of differently?

This is clearly a very relevant question. The Project aims at being holistic, and in that sense perhaps intersectionally informed. They acknowledge the situation of their participants as being complex and a result not only of PTSD but surrounding variables as well, which is shown by its entire organisation. They work actively with the three different paths, which illustrates an understanding of the participant as in need of more than just a social worker/public health officer/language teacher etc. But what is left out then? Where are the silences?

A general reflection is the very large focus on the individual's willingness to change. If it is only the single individual that need to change, the context tend to blur out. As mentioned earlier the empowermental strategies tend to become problematic when the participant is constructed as something *differing* from the norm of Swedishness. In many of the interviews a lot of critique against the society (*samhället*) are brought up, it is though a very general critique, leaving a

more structural perspective un-analysed (int 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9). The employees of the Project can place their organisation well in the space created between the three organisations, and pin-point problems and advantages of it. When it comes to the participants it is more difficult.

Departing from the intersectional perspective the concept of class becomes relevant. During the interviews I asked the employees a general question concerning poverty. The participants of the project are all on social welfare (sw: försörjningsstöd), which indicates a belonging to a less privileged socio-economic group. With a more general question about poverty, not focusing on the Project or my intention was to grasp the bureaucrats ideas regarding socio-economic differences. During the first interviews my question was:

How can one escape poverty?

With asking this question I was not only hoping to grasp the above mentioned, but also to get the interviewee to reflect upon the processes taking place with the participants when providing them with tools to enhance their position at the labour market. After conducting a few (3: int 1, 2 and 4) of the interviews it became clear to me that the terminology of poverty was contested within the employees. Some of them rejecting the idea that poverty exists within a Swedish context, and insists that an individual on social welfare is not in any aspect being poor (int 1, 2, 4). In the following interviews I added the question:

Does poverty exist within a Swedish context?

By expanding the question to include the question whether or not poverty even exists it is possible to capture the interviewees ideas of the socio-economic situation for the citizens of Sweden. The concept of class was not mentioned during the interviews, instead poverty was highlighted and interpreted as a socioeconomic factor and a marker of class (*klassmarkör*). The reason behind not choosing to use the term class, was simple. In Swedish the word *klass* could be interpreted as much more of an ideological concept, were the discussion would not have been focused so much at the processes as I wanted. The interview situation could have been disturbed.

When discussing silences and what is left out in this representation of the problem, I want to suggest gender. However, it should be mentioned that this is a very vivid part of the Project. There is a very out-spoken idea of gender equality and treating every participant equally. Using the intersectional departing point presented in ch 2.1, I want to argue that the Project would gain a lot from a more critical approach to gender. The problem represented in the produced policy at the Project mainly concerns citizenship and labour, and to some extent even empowerment, with that gender becomes some of a side project.

The average participant in the Project is a man from a Middle- Eastern country, with a Muslim background, but there are exceptions. About a fourth of the participants are women, neither men or women are all Muslim and not

everyone from a Middle- Eastern country (my observation). Here follows three situations where the Project's policy of gender equality can be questioned.

▲ The class-room situation

One of the teachers constantly refers to the group's only two women as 'the girls'. They are both obviously in their middle-ages. This clearly belittles them. In mixed groups men are demanding their space and it is also given to them (my observation).

▲ Gym-class.

Initially the group was mixed due to the policy of the Project to not make any distinction between women and men. The consequences are described in the interview 6 and 8. The women did not attend the classes, they were in the back, not participating fully.

▲ Discussion-group(s)

The Project has a discussion group for women, but the person responsible for the group would like to integrate it more with the men's group due to the Project's idea of equality (int 8). In interview no 8 it is made clear that the Project prefers mixed groups before gender specific. What implications does this have on the processes of empowerment?

There is an ambiguity in stressing the importance of women and men 'doing the exact same things in the same spaces' and at the same time as in int 7 argue that immigrant women are not as concerned with having a job as others (int 7 10:30). Though the interviewee explains that the immigrant women at first do not find paid work as important, but through a process this will change. This implicitly reveals two things: firstly the immigrant women participating in the Project generally are not interested in work, secondly through process this will change.

How can this be thought of differently? Here I would like to introduce Ingram and Schneider (1993).

In line with them would like to argue that target groups are social constructions. Persons and/or groups are through cultural characterizations and popular images socially constructed, and this includes the ones whose "*(...) whose behavior and well-being are affected by public policy.*" (Ingram; Schneider 1993:334). Groups are through these characterizations portrayed in either positive or negative terms using symbolic language, metaphors and stories.

The theory presented by Ingram and Schneider does not end with the above, but continue to reflect on the consequences of the mentioned constructions. In their opinion social constructions influences public officials both in the policy agenda and in the policy design. Public officials will to a larger extent be pressured to provide the positively constructed target groups with beneficial policy. The negatively constructed groups will on the other hand meet punitive, punishment-oriented policy. In this way social constructions are embedded within policy "*(...) as messages that are absorbed by citizens and affect their orientations and participation patterns.*" (Ingram; Schneider 1993:334). A target

population which receives the message of passivity or withdrawal will not be encouraged to participate in changes of policy even if they are affecting negatively by it. Policy sends messages of what is of importance for the government. What are they supposed to do? Which citizens are deserving (support, my add), and last: “(W)hat kinds of attitudes and participatory patterns are appropriate in a democratic society?” (Ingram; Schneider 1993:334)

4.2.5 What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?

It is an employment project. It sends signals of employment being the 'solution' for everything. Some of the employees even express that: you do not have to be well (*vara frisk*) to be able to work, but you need to work to become well (int 4).⁵ The opinion was expressed in a context, where it could be understood as being connected to the situation of the participants. The holistic approach is holistic to get the individual in employment (or education). I experienced the Project as having a very open environment in regards to it as the informants work environment. My impression was that there was openness and a will to minimize effects of any kind. During the interviews some of the employees emphasize that health might come first. Some of the cases might belong to other parts of the public welfare system (int 10). One of the interviewees even says that she does not believe that so many of the participants even belongs to (*höör inte hemma*) the open labour market (int 7).

What are the consequences of the problem represented? As discussed in the part above about silences there are limitations also in this project. The open environment at the Project (my observation), makes it more difficult to reflect on specific limitations outside of the silences already mentioned. Even if the interviews in some aspects showed very different ideas about the outspoken concepts of both citizenship and empowerment, I would argue that there is some kind of consensus in regards to both. This draws the attention to what might be understood as limitations.

How are an individual constituted in the discourses at the Project? Discourses make certain positions available, and when such a position is assumed, a person tends to make sense of the social world from this standpoint. The Project assumes employment (or activation) as something needed for a full citizenship, it also assumes that all individuals are capable to reach this *if they want to* (cf the discussion of empowerment).

Dividing practices puts one group versus another (employed vs unemployed, language skilled vs non-skilled), which stigmatizes targeted minorities and encourage desired behaviour among the majority. From my time at the Project I understood it as an ambivalence in the approach and relationship towards the participants. As Calloni puts it earlier: the over-all human-rights approach to social policy clashes with ideas of the nation-state.

⁵ Translation: ”Du måste inte vara frisk för att arbeta, men du måste arbeta för att bli frisk.” (int 2,4)

The Project, encourages to some extent ideas of differences, it produces ideas of what is needed to become an accepted citizen of the Swedish community. You need employment, language skills and a good health. Further you have to embrace our ideals of equality (int 8, 9, and mentioned during observation).

What are then the impacts of life? And are there material impacts? Can the problem representation have any impact of the participants daily life? To be able to become a participant of the Project you have to be on social welfare. This is very strongly connected to the participants social welfare. The project not only takes on participants but kicks them out if they have bad attendance, belong to the black labour market. In order to get your welfare you have to attend, what happens when kicked out? Further, the Project has a very large focus at (public) health as well (*friskvård*) could also be in the spotlight for this part of the analysis. The idea is that physical health have affect on the psychological. There is a focus on diet, exercise and quit smoking (even though the employees to a high extent are smokers). It does perhaps not relate to the material life as much as just life itself. It relates to ideas of how a citizen should live their every day life.

4.2.6 How/where has this representation of the "problem" been produced?

In this part of the thesis I would like to remind the reader of the theoretical framework described in section 2.4. There I used the authors Lipsky, Lundquist, Blomquist, Rothstein and Bengtsson to relate my study to theories of public policy and administration. The goal in this part is to pay attention to the means through which some problem representations become dominant.

Lipsky suggested earlier that street-level bureaucrats are the one which creates policy through discretion and through agency. Lundquist, Blomquist and Rothstein were more concerned with normative research and asked questions about the relationship between public administration and democracy. Bengtsson questioned the role of the civil servant and argued that they have become representatives of the political. Already in the theoretical chapter I related Lundquist (1991) to the examined project when discussing the space for action for the street-level bureaucrat. I argue that this is how the problem representation came to be dominant together with the policies and ideas from the organizations supporting them.

In the construction of this problem representation it is of importance to understand the Project as not a single unique, unit, but as a representative. To gain knowledge there is a need to see the context in which it exists. When examining how a representation of the problem came to be dominant it this procedure is necessary.

In the beginning of the thesis I used a ladder of abstraction to illustrate the relationship between different relevant themes of the thesis. Ideas of citizenship (as expressed in the policy document) have influenced civil servants to formulate certain policies which are now having an impact on individual's lives. The

problem representation are legitimized through the support of the surrounding organizations.

I would also like to add Lars Gustafsson's (1989) theory of the privilege to formulate the problem. Who sets the agenda when it comes to the participants of the Project? Who decides what they need? This theory concludes that problems are formulated and defined by one side and they own the solutions of the problem within this privilege. Translating this into the context of the Project the parallels are easily drawn. The formulation of the problem is the privilege of the employees, they provide the services, they conclude what is necessary for employment, and they provide the solutions.

Now, how can the present representation be challenged? The Project today has very high ambitions when it comes to attaining goals (set by themselves). It can actually be described as successful, and of course this sends signals of a winning concept. The employees are eager to learn more, to change things within the organization that does not work.⁶ But the discourses? How they understand the participant, the target group and policy production? Studies like this one helps to create an awareness of discourses that the individual employee might not be aware of, and that in return creates opportunities for a critical examination of themselves.

Barbara Cruikshank writes in, *The Will to Empower*, that “*(b)efore calling upon welfare recipients to act in their own interests and represent themselves politically as recipients, one must, to paraphrase Butler, examine how the category (...)the subject of welfare, is both produced and restrained by the relations of rule we call “welfare”.*” (Crukshank 1999:107). This is suggested as a relevant quotation for the Project to challenge the discourses that are at stake.

⁶At a re-visit 29/8 the health-section was completely different.

5 Concluding remarks

In this study I wanted to show how policy is not mainly something created at a very official, political level, but that it includes civil servants and their interactions with the individuals addressed by the policy.

I turned to intersectional theory to have a theoretical departing point which allows individuals to be complex, it is very difficult to single out what processes of power, superiority and subordination are the ones holding you back at specific moments in time. Different positions creates different spaces, and the individual identity are formed by markers of gender, colour, class etc. Further this approach provided with useful critical reflections, for example labour in itself is not a neutral concept, it is also a construction with meanings tied to it.

Public administration and its relation to policy and democracy were also reflected upon making it possible to see how civil servants are connected to policy processes. My understanding included the street-level bureaucrats and the agency created by them as having a large impact on the production and reproduction of the policies taking place at the Project.

When operationalizing the more general themes of the thesis I turned to Bacchi which gave me the essential tools to conduct a policy analysis within the theoretical framework. She asks: what is the problem represented to be? I followed the guidelines developed by her (2009) and could conclude that ideas of citizenship, empowerment and activation had a large impact on the policy production at the Project. However, I also showed how these are not created exclusively, or solely at the case studied, but how similar ideas existed in the organizations surrounding it.

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