

# Ideas of Integration in the Swedish Welfare State

An Idea Analysis of Approaches to Activation in the Establishment Reform

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# Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the relationship between the state and the individual by studying the Establishment reform. As part of the Swedish integration strategy the Establishment reform aims at facilitating the integration of newly arrived immigrants through participation in an active policy program. The study is conducted through a descriptive idea analysis, using an ideal-type model of four diverse approaches to activation as point of reference. The ideal-types are related to different perspectives on social exclusion. It is established that the reform holds features of several ideal-typical approaches to activation and that these coexists in a seemingly contradictory manner which is connected to a discussion on the individuals' rights and duties in the Swedish welfare state. The Establishment reform illustrates a deviation from the ideal-typical social-democratic welfare regime due to its emphasis on conditioned financial incentives. Labor-market inclusion is the predominant objective of the Establishment reform which fails to reflect how integration is a relative and complex concept. Newly arrived immigrants' inclusion into other spheres of society appears to be of less importance to the welfare state provided that the immigrant contributes to the financial gain of the state.

*Key words:* Swedish welfare state, ideal-types, idea analysis, integration, Etableringsreformen

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# 1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a framing of the study and contain formulation of issues essential to it.

## 1.1 Point of departure

This thesis departs from a general discussion of the challenges of social exclusion and inclusion in the welfare state. The welfare state can be seen as an integrative project drawing on cohesion and inclusion as fundamental for its existence. The means to establish cohesion is for the society to hold a certain level of social equality among its citizens (cf. Borevi 2002: 9). In order to accomplish the wanted level of social equality and inclusion the welfare state relies on policies as instruments. Policies are often discussed in terms of being active or passive which connects to whether or not they promote activation by requiring the recipient to be active in order to receive resources, most commonly defined as economical benefits. Active policies aiming at inclusion usually target groups that are excluded with reference to labor-market participation.

The Swedish welfare state is undergoing a process of change in terms of an increasing number of activation and workfare oriented policies (cf. Andersen et al 2005, Dahlstedt 2009). The narrow concept of 'workfare' defined as specific policies aiming at reducing dependency on welfare benefits is included in the more comprehensive concept of activation (Johansson & Hornemann Møller 2009: 18). Bjørn Hvinden defines activation as

"...a label for a broad set of policies meant to be a cure for a range of social ills. These social ills include high levels of unemployment, extensive long-term marginalization or exclusion from the labour market, excessive costs of cash benefit systems, social exclusion and fragmentation, and even dissolving civic virtues, duties and solidarities." (1999: 27)

Regarding the Swedish integration policy, an increase in activation-oriented features is confirmed by Anja Wiesbrock who states that the policy features more and more "labor-market related integration measures" most notably illustrated by the Establishment reform<sup>1</sup> regarding the integration of certain groups of newly arrived immigrants (2011: 48).

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<sup>1</sup> In Swedish Etableringsreformen

The legal foundation of the Establishment reform is the "Law on the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants" (SFS 2010:197) [from now on mainly referred to as the Establishment reform] which came into force in December, 2010. It aims at speeding up the establishment of newly arrived immigrants into the labor-market and in societal life. Although the Establishment reform was initiated by and passed during the current conservative government in Sweden, activation tendencies have increased in Sweden since the economic crisis during the 1990's when a social-democratic government was in power (cf. Borevi 2010; Dahlestedt 2009). Hence, an activation oriented development cannot simply be explained by a change in government.

The Establishment reform can be seen as an illustration of how different policy areas in the welfare state overlap and intertwine with one another – labor-market related policies, social-security policies, integration policies and policies related to immigration – all of them connected to the issue of inclusion as essential for the welfare state.

## 1.2 Purpose of the thesis

The issue of social exclusion has been a major theme in the political discussion in Sweden for the last decades. Social exclusion is often connected to heterogeneous groups of immigrants and unemployed. Bearing in mind the activation trend of the Swedish integration policy, this thesis aims at investigating what kind of approaches to activation the Establishment reform holds and what it can tell us about the principal issue of the relationship between the state and the individual. It also seeks to elaborate on the dominant role that activation has in the Establishment reform in order to deepen the understanding of the relationship between employment and integration of immigrants.

Integration is a complex concept which is often used in a rather vague manner (cf. Hedblom 2004: 24). The meaning of integration differs greatly depending on the context in which it is used as well as by whom (cf. Ager & Strang 2008: 167). The focus of this study is ideas and conceptions rather than specific agents (Beckman 2007: 17ff). This means that less attention is paid to the sender of the message than to the actual content of the message. This approach is connected to the notion of governing as stemming from ideas and conceptions rather than from single agents (Tesfahuney & Dahlstedt 2007: 135f). Policies are cultural products formed by the context in which they were created (Bacchi 2009: ix). It is assumed that the goal of the welfare state is to achieve a certain level of integration and that policies are created under the influence of existing ideas of the relationship between the welfare state and the individual. Hence, it is relevant to study ideas underpinning the policies.

The Establishment reform is very comprehensive and encompasses several aspects of the integration measures undertaken by the Swedish state regarding accommodation, education, civic information and employment of newly arrived immigrants. The extensiveness of the reform is part of why it is the focus of this

study. It illustrates the diversity and complexity of the meaning given the concept of integration and an interesting ambiguity in the Establishment reform. On the one hand employment is seen as the principal solution to the problem of the absence of integration – on the other hand it is much more complex with several more significant and contradictory aspects.

The purpose of the study is twofold — aiming at presenting both a description and explanation of the Establishment reform (cf. Teorell & Svensson 2007: 22).

### 1.2.1 Research question

Bearing the purpose of the study in mind, the explicit research question is formulated as follows:

*How can the Establishment reform be understood in terms of different approaches to activation?*

## 1.3 Previous research and delimitations

There are, of course, many scholars who have contributed to the scientific research on welfare states and the integration of immigrants, both from a Swedish and from an international perspective. The scientific research on integration connected to immigration holds a great variety of branches with an emphasis on quantitative research and comparative studies which connect diverse approaches to integration to different welfare regimes and different immigration policies (cf. Valenta & Bunar 2010; Joppke 2007; Sainsbury 2006). There are also scholars who focus explicitly on the case of integration of immigrants in Sweden (cf. Bevelander 2011; Borevi 2002, 2010a, 2010b; Wiesbrock 2011).

In order to provide a perspective on the Swedish integration policy that differs from the findings of previous research, this thesis will study the research on activation most commonly connected to other welfare state policies such as social- and labor-market policies (cf. Dahlstedt 2009; van Berkel et al 2001; Johansson & Hornemann Møller 2009; Lødemel & Trickey 2001). Hence, this thesis poses a cumulative attempt to build on, and combine, the research on integration of immigrants in the Swedish welfare state with research investigating the concept of integration as related to other parts of the welfare state. Such an approach appears fruitful since the research on activation highlights the characteristics of the relationship between the state and the individual which also is the overarching theme of this thesis.

As mentioned previously, the focus of the study is on ideas rather than on agents. Therefore little or no attention will be paid to national politics, parties in government etcetera. Language education and civic information are only elaborated on briefly as parts of the Establishment reform. Both are comprehensive and complex elements of the Swedish integration policy, but due

to the focus of this study will not be addressed in detail. This is also the case with the policy on accommodation for the newly arrived.

The possible connection between increasing activation measures and periods of economic regression is yet another aspect of the issue that will not be elaborated on in this thesis because it is descriptive rather than explanatory. Any evaluation of the reform is not part of the scope of this study.

## 1.4 Disposition

This thesis consists of five chapters. Initially, the Establishment reform is introduced followed by chapter 2 and a presentation of the methodology of the study – idea analysis and ideal-types as an analytical tool – as well as the material used. In the third chapter the theoretical framework is introduced followed by an account of the ideal-type model of different approaches to activation which constitutes the underpinning of the analysis. In chapter 4, the analytical findings are presented and discussed leading up to the conclusions in chapter 5.

## 1.5 The Establishment reform

In 2009, when the proposition "Newly arrived immigrants' labor-market establishment – their own responsibility and professional support"<sup>2</sup> (prop. 2009:10:60) was put forward to the parliament by Sweden's conservative government, the gloomy employment figures of newly arrived immigrants had been a political concern for decades (cf. Bievander 2011: 22). The government's proposition was welcomed by the Swedish parliament's opposition parties due to the prevailing consensus regarding the problems of the existing system and the importance of a reinforced labor-market perspective (Riksdagen).

The proposition resulted in the Law on the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants (SFS 2010:197) as the legislative foundation for the Establishment reform. It consists of 16 paragraphs (§). In § 1 the aim and the content of the law are accounted for. In § 2 it stated which individuals are eligible for participation in the reform. § 3-5 constitute a division of responsibilities between the official actors involved in the process. § 6-10 and § 7-11 give an account of two of the reforms' key elements: the establishment plan and the establishment pilots<sup>3</sup>. § 15 establishes the financial allowance. The remaining paragraphs mainly refer to practical matters of the reform and are therefore of less relevance in the context of this study.

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<sup>2</sup> My translation. *Nyanlända invandrares arbetsmarknadsetablering – egenansvar med professionellt stöd.*

<sup>3</sup> In Swedish etableringslots

The law came into force on the 1<sup>st</sup> of December 2010, its target group consisting of immigrants between the ages of 20 to 65 who have received permanent residence due to refugee status or as eligibility of protection or otherwise in need of protection, including some of their arrived family members (2 §). Newly arrived immigrants between the age of 18 and 19 who have been granted residence permit on the same grounds as above and who do not have parents in Sweden are also part of the target group, as are quota refugees.

The Public Employment Service<sup>4</sup> plays a leading part in the implementation of the law and coordinates all actors involved. The reform constitutes a movement towards centralization because it is no longer the municipalities themselves that is the responsible coordinator (Borevi 2010: 123). One of the consequences of the centralization process is that the financial allowances will be standardized and no longer dependent on in which municipality the newly arrived settle in.

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<sup>4</sup> In Swedish Arbetsförmedlingen



## 2 The methodology of the study

The purpose of this chapter is to give account for the methodological position of the thesis.

### 2.1 Idea analysis

Ideas are not easily defined. Since they are the core element of this study it is appropriate to reflect upon their meaning before resuming the methodological discussion. Ideas will be defined as social constructs and conceptions of society and phenomena related to it (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005: 149*f*). Political ideas are fundamental elements in human society as they shape the way we perceive the world and for that reason they are of importance (cf. Beckman 2007: 9).

As stated previously, the purpose of the study is both descriptive and explanatory, with emphasis on the former. These two branches of idea analysis are combined in order to answer the research question. The study is descriptive in the sense that it makes inferences from the material instead of simply referring to it (Beckman 2007: 49*f*). Inferences are partly drawn by comparing the material to an ideal-type model of activation (cf. Beckman 2007: 51). The study is explanatory in that it aims at providing an understanding of the connection between the approaches to activation that are found in the Establishment reform and the relationship between the state and the individual (cf. Beckman 2007: 14). Rather than explaining *why*, this study aims at explaining *what* and hence it is not explanatory per se (cf. Beckman 2007: 80).

### 2.2 Ideal-types as analytical tool

Ideal-types are constructed as theoretical models and consist of abstract and stylized concepts. They are often used in order to enhance the empirical analysis by intensifying central concepts of the theoretical framework (Teorell & Svensson 2007: 43).

The ideal type model presented in the next chapter is an attempt to clarify different aspects that are central to the understanding of the material (cf. Beckman 2007: 28). It is a way to organize ideas systematically (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005: 159). The model is an adapted version of a chart constructed by Johansson and Hornemann Møller (2009: 22).

Inspired by van Berkel et al, the model presents different approaches to activation and it will be used as points of comparison to the empirical material. The typology is not based on the results of the study but constructed beforehand (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005: 171).

As is the case in this study, the ideal-type model used is quite precise and detailed which implies a higher risk of ascribing the material a "forced" meaning than if the analytical instrument is formulated in more general terms (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005: 172). Since the ideal-typology applied in this study has previously been used by several scholars in similar ways, there should be no immediate reason to doubt its' validity.

Descriptive idea analysis is a way to promote a certain understanding of the phenomenon that is investigated and consequently, interpretation is part of the process (cf. Beckman 2007: 50). As is the case in all scientific studies, the process should be transparent and choices made should be available for critical examination (Teorell & Svensson 2007: 54). Hopefully, the preciseness of the analytical model will enhance the chances that the demands for intersubjectivity are met. According to Bergström and Boréus, a precise analytical instrument indicates a more positivist position than one that is constructed in more general terms (2005: 174). Irrespective of how precise the analytical model of this study is, this thesis departs from a hermeneutical oriented scientific tradition and considers interpretation as a subjective process. The analytical model is an effort to relate interpretations of the material to a specific theoretical framework (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005: 25f).

## 2.3 Material

Both primary and secondary material is used for this study. Traditionally, idea analysis is described as a type of text analysis (cf. Bergström & Boréus 2005). This study departs from a flexible approach regarding the attitude towards what material is used for the idea analysis. The primary material consists of a number of official policy documents that concern the Establishment reform. The texts used as primary material in this study have been strategically chosen with regard to their informative nature. During the conducting of the study, the policy documents are analytically processed and interpreted. Since they are written in Swedish, translation of relevant quotes presented in the analysis is part of the interpretation process.

The secondary material, consisting of a variety of literature by different scholars on the subject of welfare, integration and activation is used to construct the theoretical framework of the thesis. In order to elaborate on the theoretical framework, an abstract model influenced by an ideal-typology of different approaches to activation is presented in the following chapter.

## 3 Theoretical framework

In this chapter the theoretical framework serving as the basis for the analysis is presented. Initially, the concepts of integration, inclusion and exclusion are discussed in order to specify how they are used in this thesis. Furthermore, rights and duties in the welfare state and different kinds of policies are elaborated on, followed by a presentation of four different approaches to activation.

### 3.1 Inclusion and exclusion rather than integration?

As stated in the introduction of the thesis, integration is a complex concept which is often used in a rather vague manner (cf. Hedblom 2004: 24). The meaning of the concept of integration differs greatly depending on the context in which, and by whom it is being used (Ager & Strang 2008: 167). Van Berkel et al. state that integration is an umbrella concept in that it encompasses various meanings (2002: 19). Due to its multidimensionality, it is argued that the concept of integration is best applied in macro contexts and that exclusion is a more suitable concept to use regarding "individuals and groups of persons" (van Berkel et al 2002: 16). Although not a dichotomy, inclusion is posed as the opposite of exclusion. Exclusion and inclusion are dynamic concepts in that individuals move into and out of several (sub)systems during a lifetime (van Berkel et al 2002: 27). Thus the concepts are relative – an individual can be more or less excluded, included or marginalized (van Berkel et al 2002: 29). To significantly study the concepts of exclusion and inclusion they need to be analyzed in relation to a specified social system (van Berkel et al 2001: 27).

Ruth Levitas presents three perspectives on social exclusion based on observations of the European context (Dahlstedt 2009: 51). In actual policies, the three approaches are often intertwined with each other in a seemingly contradictory manner.

According to the first perspective, social exclusion is defined first and foremost in terms of poverty and hence redistribution of resources poses the main means of reducing exclusion. Dahlstedt states that such an approach traditionally can be found in the ambitions of the Swedish welfare state (*ibid*).

The second perspective on social exclusion identifies it as connected to morality. The immorality of the excluded individuals is the main cause of their exclusion. The instrument of the state to accomplish increased social inclusion is to readjust the moral standards of the excluded to the standard of the included majority (*ibid*).

The third perspective regards social exclusion as synonymous with unemployment. Hence, the main trouble of the excluded individual is the lack of participation in paid work (*ibid*).

## 3.2 Rights and duties in the social-democratic welfare regime

According to an acknowledged welfare regime typology composed by Gøsta Esping-Andersen there are three ideal types of welfare states, one of which is the social-democratic regime which Sweden exemplifies. Universally applied welfare services and institutionalized welfare distribution are key elements in the ideal-typical social-democratic welfare regime (Lødemel & Trickey 2001: 27).

In the ideal-typical social-democratic welfare regime, work and employment is considered a right rather than a duty. As is the case in social-democratic welfare regimes in general, full employment for all residents has been one of the key elements in the Swedish social democratic welfare state since the end of the Second World War (cf. Dahlstedt 2009: 39; Lødemel & Trickey 2001: 27, Sainsbury 2006: 237).

Esping-Andersen suggests there is a connection between the social-democratic welfare regime and an inclusive integration policy. Social-democratic welfare regimes are suggested to make the individual less dependent on the market and to be less likely to treat groups differently than in states found in the other welfare regime categories (Lødemel & Trickey 2001: 27).

Moreover, social-democratic welfare regimes with universally applied systems adhere to a rights-based logic to a greater extent than is the case in selective welfare regimes (Borevi 2010b: 51). The interaction between rights and duties is an inherent aspect of the welfare state. With the common aim to increase the level of societal inclusion the rights-based system focuses on the importance of the state to provide the individuals with basic resources, while the duties-based system for the same reason promotes the importance of incentives (Borevi 2010b: 50). The Swedish integration policy has gradually increased economic incentives and sanctions as a way of governing which indicate a movement towards a more duties-based integration policy (Borevi 2010a: 40).

## 3.3 Active and passive policies

In order to present the different approaches to activation that constitutes the underpinning of the analysis, an introductory discussion on policies is recommended.

Active social policies promoting participation are often discussed as opposed to passive social policies focusing on providing financial resources without any

further conditions. In accordance with what is argued by van Berkel et al, this thesis departs from the assumption that both active and passive policies might fruitfully be viewed in the light of an underlying activation objective (2001:49). By considering the active and passive social policies from an activation perspective, a more complex picture of the differences emerges where passive and active social policies often overlap one another. Hence, the active and passive social policies should not be seen as a dichotomy.

The aims of active and passive social policies can be said to differ in that the main aim of active social policies is to accomplish participation while the main aim of passive social policies is to provide income protection. Active and passive social policies also have different means of achieving inclusion. Through the providing of financial resources, passive social policies include the recipients into the system of consumption. By providing financial resources, passive policies make participation in other parts of society possible and indirectly intervene in the recipient's life.

"In addition, passive policies may be used as activation instruments in a more direct way, for example by various levels of income replacement, making income compensation conditional on 'active behavior', or by using them as mechanisms to reward or punish certain behavior."

(van Berkel et al 2001: 49)

Active policies also make use of financial resources in terms of labor-market participation or by providing some other sort of financial incentive to participate (*ibid*).

### 3.4 Approaches to activation

In order to enhance an analysis of policy programs, van Berkel et al have introduced an ideal-typical typology of activation approaches (2001: 51f). It identifies four approaches which represent different views on inclusion and which mechanisms lead to it (van Berkel et al 2001: 53).

The first two approaches to activation each reject active policies but do so for different reasons. The two final approaches to activation are positive towards active programs, although for very different reasons.

**Autonomy optimists** "rely on people's own capacities and willingness to realize forms of inclusion in different systems on their own initiative and according to their own needs" (van Berkel et al 2001: 52). The function of the society is to provide people with basic means. Active policies are not needed since people will "actively seek forms of inclusion themselves" (*ibid*). The most radical autonomy optimists promote the imposing on the income of its citizens.

**Welfare independence optimists** consider state intervention and welfare state involvement as a threat to people's own capacity. They reproduce rather than reduce exclusion and should preferably be abolished. "[A] free, unregulated market will then provide people (especially the 'underclass') with enough

opportunities and incentives to realize inclusion into paid work, an income and 'decent' family life." (van Berkel et al 2001: 52).

**Paternalism optimists** stress the advantages of "enforcing activation upon people who are unwilling to make use of participation opportunities" since it is advantageous both for the recipient and the society as a whole (*ibid*). This approach originates from early poverty laws which aimed at disciplining the unemployed and poor according to the perceived moral standards of the majority.

**Activation optimists** "emphasizes people's willingness to participate in and contribute to society, much like what the autonomy optimists are doing." (van Berkel et al 2001: 53). According to this approach it is argued that some groups fail to achieve inclusion on their own despite basic financial means due to lack of some other needed resources. Hence active policies can make up for the lacking resources (*ibid*).

On the following page the four ideal-typical approaches to activation are illustrated in a model. It is an adapted version of a chart constructed by Johansson and Hornemann Møller (2009: 22).

	<b>The autonomy optimists approach</b>	<b>The welfare independence optimists approach</b>	<b>The paternalism optimists approach</b>	<b>The activation optimists approach</b>
<i>View on labor market inclusion</i>	Through basic economic security	Through the market	Through obligations and disciplinary means	Through skills development
<i>View on the contract between the state and the individual</i>	Basic economic rights but limited state intervention in terms of choice of work/activity	A contract based on freedom from state intervention	The state has a right to activate and the individual has a duty to be activated	The state has a duty to support, the individual has a right to receive support
<i>Degree of state intervention</i>	Only through basic economical allowance	No state intervention	Extensive intervention aiming at disciplining the individual	Could be extensive, taking the individual into consideration
<i>View on the role of the state</i>	Active to a certain extent	Totally passive	Clearly active	Clearly active
<i>View on the recipient</i>	The recipient as active like all individuals	The recipient as passive – negative connotations	The recipient as passive – normative implications for activation measures	The recipient as active

## 4 Analysis

In this chapter, the theoretical framework and the ideal-typical model displaying different approaches to activation are applied on the empirical material. In order to set the stage for the analysis, a brief return to what was mentioned on activation policies in the introduction is suitable. Hvinden defines activation as

"...a label for a broad set of policies meant to be a cure for a range of social ills. These social ills include high levels of unemployment, extensive long-term marginalization or exclusion from the labour market, excessive costs of cash benefit systems, social exclusion and fragmentation, and even dissolving civic virtues, duties and solidarities." (1999: 27)

As illustrated in the quotation, activation connects to several aspects of the welfare state. Hvinden describes the utilization of activation policies as means to counteract unemployment, social exclusion, excessive costs and dissolving morality. These aspects of activation policies and their function in the welfare state are brought to the fore by comparing the Establishment reform to the ideal-type model of approaches to activation presented in the previous chapter.

### **Procedure of the analysis**

The analysis is carried out by using the ideal-typical model as point of reference to the Establishment reform. Initially, the policy will be analyzed according to the themes presented in the column to the left (*view on labor-market inclusion* etcetera). The next step will be to compare the results with the different approaches to activation in order to investigate if the Establishment reform corresponds to any of the four approaches presented in the model. In the sections following on the ideal-type model, the reform will be analyzed in more detail illustrated by quotations from the primary material and the results will be discussed.

### 4.1 Approaches to activation in the Establishment reform

In order to answer the research question, the ideal-typical model of different approaches to activation will be returned to. The ideal-type model on different approaches to activation is based on the assumption that inclusion into the labor-market is the main form of inclusion. Since the Establishment reform to a great



extent is labor-market oriented, the focus on the labor-market in the ideal-type model should not be considered a disadvantage. Nevertheless it is worth mentioning that the model could be adjusted by replacing the focus on the labor-market with some other focal point in order to enhance its' applicability on other policies.

In the following, the Establishment reform will be described by comparing it to the abstract ideal-type model on different approaches to activation. The list below should be read as a survey of the reform. The results displayed will be elaborated on further in the coming sections.

*View on labor market inclusion.* The way that the Establishment reform realizes labor-market inclusion reflects both an activation optimists approach and a paternalism optimists approach. The activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach are both based on the assumption that active policies are preferable to passive policies. The individual should be obliged to (the paternalism optimists approach) or motivated to (the activation optimists approach) participate in the program.

*View on the contract between the state and the individual.* In the Establishment reform, the contract between the state and the individual is full of complexity. On the one hand, the individual has a right to receive support and the state has a duty to provide it in accordance with the activation optimists approach. On the other hand, there are strong financial incentives for participating which indicate a focus on the duties of the individual as promoted by the paternalism optimists approach.

*Degree of state intervention.* The intervention extent aspect of the Establishment reform reflects both an activation optimists approach and a paternalism optimists approach. The state intervention is extensive but the reform also holds features of how the wish of the individual is taken into consideration. The individual has an influence on the content of the program but it does not have much to say about its' extent.

*View on the role of the state.* The role of the state in the Establishment reform is being clearly active. The alternative would be relying on the market to regulate inclusion (in accordance with the welfare independence optimists approach) or only providing basic financial support through a passive policy (in accordance with the autonomy optimist approach).

*View on the recipient.* With regard to the view on the recipient as reflected in the Establishment reform, the paternalism optimists approach and the activation optimists approach seem contradictory. In accordance with the latter, several aspects of the reform rely on a perception of the individual as active but such an understanding is argued against by the strong financial incentives which seem to reflect an understanding of the individual as passive.

Below, these findings will be demonstrated by using the ideal-type model of different approaches to activation. As mentioned previously, the areas marked with gray indicate aspects of the different approaches to activation which are reflected in the Establishment reform.

	<b>The autonomy optimists approach</b>	<b>The welfare independence optimists approach</b>	<b>The paternalism optimists approach</b>	<b>The activation optimists approach</b>
<i>View on labor market inclusion</i>	Through basic economic security	Through the market	Through obligations and disciplinary means	Through skills development
<i>View on the contract between the state and the individual</i>	Basic economic rights but limited state intervention in terms of choice of work/activity	A contract based on freedom from state intervention	The state has a right to activate and the individual has a duty to be activated	The state has a duty to support, the individual has a right to receive support
<i>Degree of state intervention</i>	Only through basic economical allowance	No state intervention	Extensive intervention aiming at disciplining the individual	Could be extensive, taking the individual into consideration
<i>View on the role of the state</i>	Active to a certain extent	Totally passive	Clearly active	Clearly active
<i>View on the recipient</i>	The recipient as active like all individuals	The recipient as passive – negative connotations	The recipient as passive – normative implications for activation measures	The recipient as active

#### 4.1.1 The activation optimist approach in the Establishment reform

As described in section 3.4, the activation optimist approach is characterized by putting the emphasis on peoples' want to be included – integrated – in society. The problem is that some individuals lack resources needed to realize inclusion. The Establishment reform corresponds to this part of the ideal-type model in several ways. To begin with, participation in the Establishment reform is voluntary. This implicates that the view on the individual as active is domination – otherwise a

voluntary program would be useless. Furthermore, the individual is expected to be active in setting up the establishment plan and choosing the establishment pilot.

The Public Employment Service is obliged to offer an establishment meeting in direct connection to the receiving of a permanent residence permit. Such meetings should consist of the following elements: an evaluation of educational and employment background, a discussion about the future employment and education and information about the labor market and a dialogue on accommodation departing from the chances of employment etcetera (Arbetsförmedlingen 2012: 23). Information about the right to choose establishment pilot, establishment benefits, language education, civic information and what sort of actions the Public Employment Service can supply should be presented during the meeting. Information should also be given on the rights and duties that are implied by the establishment mission (Arbetsförmedlingen 2012: 25). This routine is stated in the Law on the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants (SFS 2010:197):

**6 §** "The Public Employment Service shall create an individualized plan of measures to enhance and speed up the establishment of the newly arrived (Establishment Plan). A newly arrived person has a right to receive an establishment plan within one year he or she was initially registered in a municipality.[...]" (SFS 2010:197)

**7 §** "The establishment plan shall be created together with the newly arrived and in cooperation with related municipalities, authorities, companies and organizations.

The plan shall last a maximum of 24 months and include a minimum of

1. Swedish language education for immigrants who are entitled to such education according to the education act (1985:1100)

2. civic life information

3. activities to facilitate and speed up the establishment of the newly arrived in the work force." (SFS 2010:197)

Another part of the Establishment reform that illustrates the view on the individual as active is connected to the principle of freedom of choice. The immigrant has the right to choose from a number of establishment pilots with the mission to assist the immigrant in realizing and developing the establishment plan. Establishment pilots are contracted by the Public Employment Service and they are paid on basis of the results of their work with the immigrant (Arbetsförmedlingen 2012: 60). The establishment pilot, which provides a form of customized support, could be a company, a trade organization or some sort of association that is contracted and paid by the Public Employment Service on performance basis (Länsstyrelserna 2011: 3). The right to choose an establishment pilot is stated in the Law on the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants:

**11 §** "The Public Employment Service shall provide one or more options giving the newly arrived the right to choose a Public Employment Services approved contractor to deliver services listed in 12 § (Establishment pilot). [...]" (SFS 2010:197)

In accordance with the activation optimists approach the establishment plan and the establishment pilots can be regarded as set up in order to compensate for the newly arrived immigrants' lack of resources. According to this way of reasoning, language education, civic information on the Swedish society as well as the different labor-market preparation activities included in the reform should be seen as a way of providing the individual with resources necessary to attain self-sufficiency through paid work.

#### 4.1.2 The paternalism optimists approach in the Establishment reform

Besides reflecting an activation optimists approach the Establishment reform also holds features of the paternalism optimists approach. In accordance with the account given in section 3.4, the paternalism optimists approach can be said to be characterized by considering it legitimate to force activation upon individuals due to its' advantages for both the society as a whole and the individual him- or herself.

In accordance with a paternalism optimists approach, the Establishment reform holds extensive state intervention and a view on the recipient as passive. This is illustrated in that the state exercises far-reaching control over the individual once it has entered the program, mainly by posing conditioned financial incentives and keeping track of whether the individual is present during the activities or not.

In the following, the paternalistic features of the Establishment reform will be elaborated on departing from quotes from the legislation.

**8 §** [...]. The activities of the plan shall combined correspond to fulltime work unless otherwise stated. (SFS 2010:197)

The preparation activities should correspond to fulltime commitment. The only exceptions are made due to impaired performance or parental leave (Länsstyrelserna 2011:3).

**15 §** A newly arrived individual enrolled in activities according to an Establishment plan is entitled to an establishment allowance and, under certain circumstances, supplementary establishment allowance and housing allowance. [...]" (SFS 2010:197)

The allowance is reduced in the case of the newly arrived failing to take part in the activities according to the establishment plan without having valid reasons (Länsstyrelserna 2011:4). The aim of the financial incentives is to serve as a driving force for taking part in both activities and regularly paid work. Hence, it is possible to take part in paid work and still keep the establishment allowance as long as the income from the paid work does not exceed a certain limit (*ibid*). From a paternalistic perspective, this can be interpreted as reflecting a view on the recipient as passive. The conditioned economic incentives imply a belief that they

are a necessary mean in order to activate individuals in the target group. Accordingly, the Establishment reform can be said to illuminate how the paternalism optimists approach connects to a duties-oriented welfare strategy (cf Borevi 2010b: 50).

Such an understanding can also be discussed in terms of a moral issue holding normative implications of that if there were no strong financial incentives the individuals would be too lazy participate in the program. This way of reasoning reflects how the reform illustrates not only a view on social exclusion as dependent on labor-market participation but also in terms of morality (cf. Dahlstedt 2009: 51).

#### 4.1.3 Other approaches in the Establishment reform?

As demonstrated in the previous sections, the Establishment reform reflects both an activation optimists approach and a paternalism optimists approach. It is possible to differentiate the picture even further.

The accommodation part of the Establishment reform reflects a deviation from the activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach. The Public Employment Service is responsible for directing individuals who have received establishment plans to accommodation in a Swedish municipality up to six months after he or she has received a permanent residence permit. Such measures should be undertaken from a labor market perspective which implies that the objectives of the individual as being economically independent are central in the process (Arbetsförmedlingen 2012: 46ff).

Regarding the accommodation, the newly arrived immigrant has two options: to live in the accommodation facilities<sup>5</sup> provided by the state or to make their own housing arrangements<sup>6</sup> (Arbetsförmedlingen 2012: 27). The right of immigrants to choose their own accommodation is established in the legislation and could be seen as an expression of how Swedish integration policy holds features of other approaches to activation than that of the activation optimists and the paternalism optimists, in the case the autonomy optimists approach. People are provided with basic financial support through housing allowance underpinned by the view on the individual as active and able to realize inclusion on its own.

In accordance with the welfare independence optimists approach, any form of welfare state involvement is a threat to the individuals' own capacity. Consequently, features of this approach are naturally limited in the reform. Nevertheless, with regard to the establishment pilots and the principle of freedom of choice, the reform also reflects features of the welfare independence optimists approach in terms of the strong connection to the market.

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<sup>5</sup> In Swedish anläggningsboende (ABO)

<sup>6</sup> In Swedish eget boende (EBO)

11 § "The Public Employment Service shall provide one or more options giving the newly arrived the right to choose a Public Employment Services approved contractor to deliver services listed in 12 § (Establishment pilot). [...]" (SFS 2010:197)

This part of the reform could be seen as a way of increasing the individuals' dependence on the market and it indicates a deviation from the ideal-type social-democratic welfare regime.

## 4.2 Discussing the analytical findings

"Every newly arrived individual shall receive tailor made professional support to learn Swedish as quickly as possible, start a job and support himself financially as well as learn about the rights and duties (of citizens) in Sweden." (Regeringen2)

As demonstrated above, the Establishment reform illustrates both a paternalism optimists approach and an activation optimists approach.

The general aim of Swedish policies regarding integration of immigrants is to accomplish equal rights, obligations and possibilities for all, regardless of ethnical and cultural background (Regeringen1). In accordance with the characteristics of the ideal-typical social-democratic welfare regimes, the explicit aim of the Swedish policies addressing the integration of immigrants is that they should be as universally applied as possible. Hence, the Establishment reform could be considered a deviation from that aim in that it selectively addresses a fixed target group.

Furthermore, it poses a movement towards a more duties-based system by increasing the economic incentives to participate. Such a development could also be seen as a move away from the ideal-type social-democratic welfare state. In the Establishment reform, the duties of work are stressed rather than the rights to work which connects to an increasingly moral perspective on integration through activation. The duties-oriented logic reflected in the Establishment reform is comparable to that of the expression "something for something" which says that the right to welfare should depend on your contribution to society.

The activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach coexist because participation in the Establishment reform appears as both a right and a duty of the individual. The state fulfills its' duties towards the individual by promoting or enforcing activation. The individual fulfills its' duties by being activated.

Employment and labor-market inclusion is the main goal of the activation program:

1 § "This law contains regulations of responsibility and measures aiming to facilitate and speed up the establishment of certain newly arrived immigrants into the labor market and civic life. The measures are meant to provide the newly arrived with opportunities for self-support and to strengthen their active participation in the labor market and civic life." (SFS 2010:197)

This quotation, stating the content and the aim of the reform, illustrates the visibly broad aim of the Establishment reform in that it wants to accomplish integration into labor-market and society. "The labor-market" is hence explicitly stated as a part of the society into which the Establishment reform aims at integrating newly arrived immigrants. What is intended by "social life" is not further elaborated on which might contribute to the understanding of the Establishment reform as first and foremost a labor-market policy. The main objective of the Establishment reform is to include the newly arrived immigrants into the labor-market. The impression is that inclusion into other (sub)systems of the society is not of the same importance – it is a concern of the individual illustrated by the following quotation:

"When the changes bring the result of quicker establishment on the job market, the gain arrives for society. As for the state and the municipalities in terms of reduced benefit costs and increased taxable income. As for the individual him- or herself in terms of improved possibilities to shape its' own life and to take part in and to contribute to the Swedish society." (Regeringen2)

In accordance with the paternalism optimists approach, the message for the target group conveyed by the state is that participation in the reform is in the individuals' own interest.

The quote above also implies that the main reward in the Establishment reform for the state and the municipalities can be defined in terms of financial gain. Hence, the aim of the reform differs depending of which perspective is considered. From a state perspective the objective is for more people to be self-sufficient and contributing financially. This objective could also be said to illustrate the meaning of integration as it is illustrated in the Establishment reform. When the individual has fulfilled its' duty in terms of contributing to the economic gain for society it is up to him- or herself to "realize" its' own interest and integrate in other parts of society.

### 4.3 Reflections

It is important to keep in mind that it has not been included in the scope of this study to describe the complete collection of Swedish policies connected to integration of immigrants. It has focused solely on the Establishment reform and the findings in this study are the result of subjective interpretation.

As elaborated on in chapter 2, the ideal-type model is a theoretical and abstract construction used as points of reference to the empirical material. When comparing the material to a precise ideal-type model there is a potential risk that the material is ascribed a "forced" meaning. Hence it is suitable to reflect upon whether the ideal-typical model was applicable on the Establishment reform or not. As illustrated in the analysis, the ideal-type model as analytical tool served as means to highlight several aspects of the Establishment reform in a fruitful way.

This may partly be explained by the fact that the initiated aim of the study was to provide a nuanced picture of the reform rather than confirming or dismissing a certain hypothesis. Supported by the theoretical framework, policies are likely to be complex and hold several ideas overlapping or seemingly contradicting each other. All together, the analytical model and the rest of the theoretical framework have emphasized the advantages of discussing issues related to the welfare state and concepts connected to it as continuums rather than dichotomies.



## 5 Conclusions

As stated in the opening chapter, this study set out to examine the relationship between the state and the individual in the context of the Swedish welfare state by studying approaches to activation in the Establishment reform.

It has been established that the Establishment reform is a complex policy, reflecting features of several approaches to activation. Nevertheless, a strong emphasis on the activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach is evident.

The Establishment reform reflects an activation optimists approach in that participation in the program is voluntary which indicates a view on the recipient as active. It also has an explicit ambition to involve the individual in creating an individualized establishment plan.

The paternalism approach is reflected in the Establishment reform in terms of strong, conditioned financial incentives to participate in the program.

Despite the fact that the activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach have essentially different views on whether the individual is passive or active and on the characteristics of the contract between the state and the individual in terms of rights and duties they coexist in the Establishment reform. The activation optimists approach and the paternalism optimists approach coexist in the sense that participation in the Establishment reform appears as both a right and a duty of the individual. The state fulfills its' duties towards the individual by promoting or enforcing activation. The individual fulfills its' duties by being activated.

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