Rethinking Multiculturalism

The Ethnocentric Dimensions of Multiculturalism and its Impact on
Transnational Cross-border Connections

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Abstract

Multiculturalism has had significant successes with promoting mutual cultural acceptance, inclusion and equality of national and cultural minorities in several western states. It is often praised by politicians and governments due to its emphasis on inclusion of minority-groups regardless of any cultural distinctiveness. Yet, such distinctiveness might be more significant for minorities and their identities than promoters of multiculturalism might admit. In practice, identifying oneself as different or being labelled as such might be two very different things even in the most multicultural society. Questions that rise from these reflections are if culture ever is neutral, what impact culture has for the majority's self-image and how this affects its definitions, interactions and inclusion of minorities. This study therefore analyzes the implementation of integration-policies to understand how ethnocentrism and ethnocentric fallacy affect the rules for multicultural inclusion and equality of migrants. By offering alternative perspectives on multiculturalism, I argue that the distinctiveness of migrants' transnational cross-border connections and identity is overlooked due to the unconscious conviction of the universal legitimacy of liberal democracy and its norms, practices, values and societal structures, which imbues the cultural logic of majority-groups within multicultural states. This leaves migrants with little choice but to assimilate in accordance with the majority's cultural logic.

Contents

List of abbreviations

EA - the Employment Agency[1]

MIPEX - Migrant Integration Policy Index

OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

SDI – Gradual Deductive-Inductive Method[2]

SFI - Swedish For Immigrants[3]

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[1] Swe: Arbetsförmedlingen
[2] Swe: Stegvis Deduktiv-Induktiv Metod
[3] Swe: Svenska För Invandrare

1   Introduction

When engaging in migration studies, one quickly realizes the great scope of the field. To say the least, migration studies is a substantial and well-established field within the academic community. It takes great varieties in its approach focusing on issues such as migration and development (Faist, Fauser & Kivisto 2011), ethics of migration management (Fine & Ypi, 2016), effects and consequences for migrants by social welfare policies (Sales, 2002)**,** labor migration (Holtslag, Kremer & Schrijvers 2013), and relationships and impacts on the national welfare-state (Koopmans, 2010). Even as this thesis is being written, perhaps the most debated issue in current public discourses is the issue of the evident and rapid increase of refugees and asylum seekers (see for instance Rodin, 2016) and the many challenges it poses for society.

However, this extensiveness might not be so surprising since migration basically has been around since the beginning of mankind. As Riyadh Al-Baldawi puts it: "Movement from one location to another is a natural and quite well-known phenomenon among mankind. People are used to move to find food and work" (2014, 17). Today however, globalization takes migration to whole new scales. According to Nick Vaughan-Williams (2015, 16-18) global migration increased dramatically during the past decades ranging from approximately 75 million during the 1960s, to 191 million in 2005. By 2013 he estimated that 232 million people, or 3.2 percent of the global population, qualified as migrants. The largest concentration of these migrants could be found in the EU with 72 million people living outside their country of birth.

Adding further to the layers of complexity, trying to grasp the term and concept of 'a migrant' in and of itself is quite a substantial task. As Gail Lewis (in Phillimore, 2015, 5) describes it, 'migration' and 'migrants' can refer to everything from a personal experience, a cultural and social position or a legal status. The term can also be categorized within various demographic, political and societal levels such as geography, history, as historical links between sending and receiving countries, economy, environment, legal positions of different countries and de facto causes for migration. Simply defining migrants individuals or groups that have moved from one spot to another, for whatever reason, would therefore be a serious underestimation. The 'million-dollar' question then is how states should conduct migration-management and integration policies to accommodate, integrate and respond to such complex individuals and dynamic groups that are migrants. Furthermore, this is a question that seems more and more relevant to answer when reflecting to the strong increase of migration movement that was presented above.

This study aims at examining these issues by analyzing multicultural integration policies and agencies in the liberal welfare state and how they consider, or contradict, with transnational structures of migrant identities. Utilizing a qualitative interpretivist approach, the study focuses specifically on Sweden and the multicultural labor market integration policies applied by the Swedish Employment Agency (EA), drawing its empirical material from interviews with its employees. In the study I argue that ethnocentrism, i.e. the conviction of the universal legitimacy of the liberal democratic system, biases the cultural self-conception of liberal welfare states, and thereby also its multicultural practices, policies and agencies of integration. As such, a situation of ethnocentric fallacy occurs where the majoritarian culture is granted an exclusive right to define the rules for and practices of multicultural equality and inclusion.

1.1   Purpose and relevance

The purpose of this study is to increase the understanding of how ethnocentrism affect multicultural ideals, practices, agency and inclusion within liberal, democratic welfare-states. It looks specifically at multicultural interaction and integration policies within western democratic and liberal welfare-states, and the transnational aspects of migrants and migrant identity. A central argument is that ethnocentrism within multicultural integration policies creates tensions, rather than inclusion, towards migrants' transnational identity, cultural distinctiveness, lifestyle and relationships, also known as transnational cross-border connections. This can be supported by Randi Gressgård who argues that the inclusion and equality provided by such integration policies usually entail assimilation, and assimilation in turn denotes a process of incorporation by differentiated cultures and identities into the prevailing cultural sphere. As a result, multicultural dialogue within integration agency is in fact a monologue (Gressgård 2010, 11-15).

In other words, multicultural integration policies fail to recognize the significance of the individuality and distinctiveness expressed through migrants' transnational cross-border connections. Therefore, the only way for migrants to become included, autonomous and equal is to become an identical part of the majoritarian cultural community, unintentionally making cultural conformity the very condition for multicultural equality. This phenomenon can be described as an ethnocentric fallacy of multiculturalism, meaning that it is the dominant majority-culture that has the exclusive right to define the conditions for equality and multicultural inclusion in a society when it interacts with other cultures (Gressgård 2010, 34-35). The long-term consequence of this, however undeliberate, is marginalization, isolation and stigmatization of immigrants belonging to a culture perceived as differentiated, which is reflected by Stephen Castles with the term "failure of assimilationism" (2000, 10-11).

The relevance of this purpose can further be supported by Castles (2000, 15) who argues that migration studies, despite being well established, is highly fragmented on its accounts to the human experiences of migration. Despite claiming to be multidisciplinary, migration studies often narrow down its focus to single, individual theories or issues such as ethnicity, multiculturalism, transnational communities, racism, migrant identity-construction and citizenship. This fragmentation has little to offer to the understanding of the lived reality and situation of migrants, and only lead to confusion.

Castles (2000, 24-25) argues further that there is much to reveal by studying the links between *de facto* transnational migrants and multicultural societies. These studies connect multicultural societies together with migrants long-term cultural, social, economic and political links and relationships with both their native countries as well as co-ethnics across the world, and how such relationships operate within the multicultural host society. This is a vital shift according to Castles since it allows us to understand migration not only as movement from one location to another that leads to integration, but rather as a complex multicultural consciousness of an increasingly more global and transnational population.

In line with these arguments, the work of Castles can be used to highlight the relevance of studying multiculturalism and its relationship and tensions with transnational aspects. He argues that "most migration takes place within transnational social networks, which link families and communities across long distances*"* (2000, 125). This means that migrant identities need to be understood as highly individual, and at the same time as complex and multidimensional, leaving the abstract and universal formulations of multicultural equality quite problematic.

There is therefore great relevance in studying these transnational relationships in relation to multiculturalism and vice versa since the transnational migrant is seen both as the 'other' of the nation, while s/he at the same time is being included as a part of that very same society (Castles 2000, 187-188). This spurs questions of how to maintain and foster cultural distinctiveness and diversity, while at the same time promoting equality and freedom for all participants and groups in society. This is what Castles (2000, 131) describe as the contradiction of the liberal democratic nation-state; while everyone is seen as equals by the democratic *state* regardless of citizenship or national or cultural origin, the *nation* by contrast is based on shared possessions of unique and distinct cultural features of a national identity.

To summarize this section then, I have tried to show that when engaging in migration and integration studies, more attention needs to be directed at the policies, agencies and implementation of multicultural integration policies which becomes the very reality of migrants and migrant groups, and how they are in sync or desynchronized with the complex cultural identities and transnational relationships of this target group. I have also tried to highlight and argue for the presence of unintentional (and often severe) consequences of exclusion due to multiculturalism as ethnocentrically biased within liberal democracies and their interactions with other foreign minority-cultures. These issues are therefore at the very heart of the study.

In line with these arguments, the requirements for internal relevance of this study should have been met for two reasons. First, it answers what seems to be a request for an academic defragmentation of perspectives within migration studies. Second, it might offer an evaluation and increased understanding of contemporary multicultural inclusion within democratic welfare-states from an alternative and rarely utilized angle which highlights the unintentional and unseen effects of ethnocentrically biased multiculturalism on migrant's transnational identities and cross-border connections. And such understanding could, in the best of worlds, help societies that wish to maintain multicultural equality to develop new and better ways of multicultural implementation, integration and ultimately inclusion. Therefore, the requirement of external relevance should also have been met.

1.2   Research question

Given the discussion and reflections presented above, my aim is to answer the following research question:

1. *How can ethnocentrism, ethnocentric fallacy and transnational cross-border connections and their relationship be understood within the Swedish Employment Agency's implementation of Swedish integration policies?*

1.3   Demarcations

This section presents the geographical demarcations in the study. For more detailed description and motivations for the selection of interview participants and the empiricism of the study, see section 3.5 Selection, Implementation and Ethical Considerations. Motivations and arguments for selecting the Employment Agency specifically will be presented in the next section (1.4 The Employment Agency and the Establishment Assignment).

Sweden poses as the primary focus area. Sweden's integration policies are interesting to study since Sweden ranks high on the Migration and Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), developed by the British Council and the Migration Policy Group. MIPEX assesses the degree of access to legal equality and cultural rights granted by integration policies with minimal preconditions for immigrants by measuring their possibilities to gain national access, long-term residence, protection from discrimination, family reunion, labor market access and political participation (Koopmans 2010, 4-5). The countries analyzed in the MIPEX includes all the EU member states, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Canada, USA, South Korea, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. In the most recent analysis conducted 2014, Sweden scored highest among the analyzed countries (MIPEX 2015).

In another aspect the OECD (2016, 40-42) concluded that Sweden was the largest receiver within the organization of humanitarian immigrants seeking asylum between 2004 and 2013. Further, the OECD states that 16 percent of the Swedish population in 2013 were born abroad and that yet another 5 percent of native-born Swedes were born to foreign parents. At the same year, almost 90 000 permanent residents settled in Sweden, representing another additional 0.9 percent of the population. Combined with its significant migration history since World War II, Sweden has become a country that faces many challenges resulting from this highly heterogeneous population. Given these figures and the emphasis on inclusion and equality in its integration policies showed in the MIPEX, combined with the complexity and diversity of the heterogeneous composition of its population shown by the OECD, I have found Sweden very interesting to study both from a multicultural and transnational perspective. I have therefore chosen to utilize Sweden as a representation of a liberal multicultural welfare-state and society with a highly heterogeneous population, since these aspects seems to make it an ideal choice for the potential fruitfulness of the analysis.

I have chosen to conduct the analysis at one EA-office in a mid-sized Swedish city. Since the participants in the interviews have been guaranteed confidentiality however, I will not reveal the location of the office nor the name of the city. However, the chosen city is interesting to analyze since it is a significant receiving municipality of migrants and where foreign-born residents constitute a large part of its population. It receives around 1000 refugees with residence per year, and of the municipality's 108 000 residents in 2015 over 24 000, or 22.2 percent, were foreign born. Furthermore, the unemployment rate among non-European migrants was approximately 55 percent the same year. This makes it an interesting site to study since the phenomena analyzed in this thesis seem likely to be visible in this over-representation of unemployment among the migrants in the municipality.

With this quite crucial demarcation it is important to acknowledge the relevance for studies on a higher national level. Such studies would likely give interesting and relevant opportunities to for example comparisons and cross reference studies. Nonetheless, I believe that this design still is relevant due to its micro approach, which gives insight to integration policies and agencies on a grassroot level. Castles gives support to this since he argues that "[...] migration is generally studied at the national level, yet its strongest effects are felt locally" (2000, 129).

1.4   The Employment Office and the Establishment Assignment

The Swedish Employment Agency has a central role to Swedish integration policies. The agency is the main coordinator of Swedish integration processes since December 2010. This position was granted through a reform sanctioned by the parliament with the purpose to aid newly arrived migrants and to facilitate their access to the Swedish labor market. The reform states that newly arrived migrants shall be given the resources needed to become self-provident and enhance their active participation in both labor and societal life respectively (SFS 2010:197). Thus, Swedish integration processes are highly labor-oriented and when analyzing Swedish integration processes the EA is a natural actor to focus on.

The reform pertains newly arrived migrants between the ages 20 - 65 that have been granted residence either with support from the Swedish foreign-law[1] or through relative migration, and for whom the residence can form a basis for public registration. It formulates the EA, County Government[2] and the Municipalities[3] as the responsible agencies for the efforts where the EA is the main coordinator. The process of establishment includes an individual establishment-plan designed by the EA in compliance with the migrant. While participating in the establishment process and in accordance with the plan, the migrant takes part of various labor-focused training, activities and programs that focus on the Swedish language first and foremost, but also on societal orientation and activities with the aim of facilitate and promote the migrants' abilities to labor. The program ends either after 24 months, if the migrant achieves full-time labor for at least 6 months or engages in college-level education or other equivalent educations that are entitled to public education grants (SFS 2010:197).

It is important to note that from 1 Jan. 2018 an addition to the reform came into force that placed more responsibility, presence and activity from behalf of the participants of the establishment program for them to maintain the economic allowances connected with it. The additional law thereby grants the relevant agencies of the establishment process more authority to set requirements on the participants. However, the EA maintained the role as main coordinator in this amendment (SFS 2017:584).

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[1] Swe: Utlänningslagen
[2] Swe: Länsstyrelsen
[3] Swe: Kommuner

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1.5 Previous research

This section will outline the backgrounds of the central concepts in the study; multiculturalism, ethnocentrism and transnationalism. The specific theoretical development of these concepts will be presented in more detail in the next chapter. Multiculturalism has been the leading doctrine and paradigm of cultural interaction and policymaking in liberal democratic states since the 1970s. Canada, USA, Australia, the Netherlands and Sweden are all examples of states that often are mentioned in this respect. According to Castles, Hein de Haas and Stephen Miller (2014, 270) the understanding of multiculturalism traditionally entails equal inclusion and participation of immigrants and national minorities without expecting them to give up their own culture, religion, language and practices. Although migrants are usually expected to conform to certain key values of the receiving state, multiculturalism implies the willingness of the majority culture to accept both cultural differences as well as state action to secure immigrant and minority rights and equality.

However, in practice the multiculturalist approach has not been free from a fair share of obstacles and problems. Castles et. al. (Ibid.) describe that by the early twenty first century, a widespread perception of an 'integration crisis' appeared. One main reason for this is the securitization of migration and concerns of national identity. Another is that forms of integration are often based on rather unclear ideas about social cohesion and national values.

Ethnocentrism was according to Traian-Alexandru Miu (2016, 101-102) introduced in the early 20th century. In its essence the concept refers to the view that one's own cultural group is in a central position, leading to all other cultural groups being measured, rated and evaluated with one's own culture as the reference point. Ross A. Hammond and Robert Axelrod define the term in similar ways, but also bring ethnocentrism into more normative reflections by describing it as "a nearly universal syndrome of discriminatory attitudes and behaviors" (2006, 926). However, despite this explicit connection between ethnocentric expressions and discriminatory behavior, their focus is on behavior defined as in-group favoritism. In this sense ethnocentrism can be understood as substantial cognitive abilities in individuals based on complex social and cultural inputs that affect behavior and triggers such favoritism towards the in-group culture.

One example that connect these two concepts, multiculturalism and ethnocentrism, is Marinus Ossewaardes discursive approach on anti-multiculturalist discourses in western Europe. Focusing mainly on the Netherlands, Germany and the U.K., Ossewaarde (2014, 174) argues that underlying ethnocentric expression made by leading spokespersons was highly present in the multiculturalist discourses within these nations. Mainly, the skeptic anti-multiculturalist discourse evolved from two main expressions within the discourse: (1) it manifested through attempts to reinforce monocultural visions of a specific (majority) national identity through socio-cultural construction of 'the other' (particularly Muslims), and (2) three variations of expressions could be identified in the discourse; expressions, issues and metaphors of the un-enlightenment of 'the others', expressions of cultural imperialism and expressions of totalitarianism.

Transnationalism on the other hand has according to Ludger Pries (2001, 17-18) been used in the field of political science and international relations at least since the 1960s. At this stage the term was mostly used to define and characterize transnational interactions and structures of institutions, companies and organizations. During the 1990s however, the concept expanded by including anthropological and sociological branches as well, thereby shifting its focus to the everyday life of certain groups, and particularly migrants. An important contribution in this sense was the definitions of social spaces, i.e. social practices, artifacts and symbols, that span two or more nation-states without deterritorializing 'new' nation states or prolonging these states. Instead these social spaces could be seen as creating integral transnational communities corresponding to these everyday practices of migrants.

In response to this quite conventional form of transnationalism, Nadje Al-Ali and Khalid Koster (2002, 3-5) describe that distinctions need to be made between transnationalism from above and from below, i.e. top-down and bottom-up transnationalism. Their critique is that researchers focusing on the latter is often overrepresented. They emphasize this distinction by connecting the top-down transnationalism to the effects of globalization, mainly in the form of macroeconomic processes that are not rooted in territories, whereas the bottom-up transnationalism is mainly connected to the more conventional focus on relationships of everyday people and how they span between two or more nation-states.

Another critique brought up by Al-Ali & Koster (Ibid.) is that studies of transnationalism must not only consider the specific political, social and economic contexts of migrants, but also pay greater attention to the differences within transnational communities such as gender, class and motivations and incentives for migration and participation in transnational activities.

2   Theoretical Framework

The theoretical chapter starts off with a description of the traditional conceptions of multiculturalism, beginning with Will Kymlicka and Seyla Benhabib, and continues into a discussion of how and why these traditional definitions of the multiculturalism are problematic. The problematization introduces the element of ethnocentrism into multiculturalism and gives a description of how I aim at using it in the study. The chapter then continues with a description and definition of transnationalism and how it's applied it in the study. I will summarize the chapter by defining and operationalizing these frameworks into the analytical instrument of the study.

2.1   Multiculturalism

When analyzing multiculturalism, it is almost impossible not to include one of its most significant authors Will Kymlicka. In his work *Multicultural Citizenship,* he describes multiculturalism as a situation in a society where the members;

> [...] either belong to different nations (a multination state), or have emigrated from different nations (a polyethnic state), and if this fact is an important aspect of personal identity and political life.

(Kymlicka 1995, 18).

This is a quite rough definition of the term. Kymlicka acknowledges the difficulties of providing a universal definition to multiculturalism due to the many forms it can take, emphasizing that any such efforts only provide vague explanations (2007, 61). However, it offers some understanding of the components of multiculturalism. First, the terms *multination state* and *polyethnic state* are central to his descriptions. These constitute the two most significant sources for cultural diversity in liberal democracies (1995, 10-11).

An important aspect of the multination state is to distinguish between the nation and the state. Castles might provide some additional insight with his definition of the state as a legal and political organization exercising control within a specific territory, whereas a nation is a cultural community of people linked together through their belief of common heritage and destiny (Castles 2000, 188). Similarly, Kymlicka also defines a nation in the terms of a culture, but one that wish to maintain itself as distinct from a majority culture, most commonly through claims of self-governance. Typical for these nations is that they have previously lived in self-governed and territorially isolated areas, but that they at some point also have been incorporated by a state and majority culture, thereby creating cultural diversity. In its essence then, nations are synonymous with national minorities and a state that hosts several nations is not a nation-state but a multination-state (Kymlicka 1995, 11).

Polyethnic groups on the other hand are constituted by individual and familial immigrants and immigration. They in turn distinguish themselves from national minorities in the sense that they wish to assimilate to the majority culture rather than to gain self-governance This is not to say that they wish to abandon their ethnic identity or being denied recognition as ethnically distinct, but rather that their goal is to modify and adapt the institutions and laws of the mainstream society to make them more accommodating to their cultural distinctiveness. As such, they are not nations since they manifest and express their cultural uniqueness voluntarily through everyday family life and association, but still act and take place primarily within the institutionalized life and structures of their cultural majority hosts (Kymlicka 1995, 11-15).

2.1.1   Multicultural Nation-building

The importance of these two sources of multiculturalism can be seen in how the state situates itself between them. According to Kymlicka, states often try to define themselves as either multinational *or* polyethnic which often leads to confusion when analyzing multiculturalism since these states most commonly are both (1995, 22). Furthermore, liberal states traditionally wish to position themselves as culturally neutral, meaning that culture much like religion and liberal notions of self fulfilment is something the individual should be free to pursue on its own. This however is also very misleading when trying to understand a multicultural state, since promotion of certain cultural patterns is something that is quite naturally exercised by liberal states, a process that Kymlicka calls nation-building (Kymlicka 2001, 23-27).

Some of the most common and visible examples of nation-building is policies of language participation and the promotion of certain traditions, holidays and the socio-historical roles these have in society. What these promotions have in common is the goal of intentional integration into a specific societal culture. For instance, participation in a common language is essential for finding work and synchronizing public institutions that implement and provide citizens with their rights and freedoms. Also, if democracy is to build on understanding, the importance of being able to understand one another becomes even greater. Another valid reason for states to engage in this nation-building is the sense of solidarity it creates between different cultural groups (Ibid.).

Until the mid-twentieth century, nation-building in liberal western states was mainly constructed through anglo-conformity, which meant that immigrants were expected to give up their cultural distinctiveness and assimilate fully into the majority culture and its customs, traditions and identity (2001, 152-155). Today however, liberal multiculturalism in the west can be understood as the result of several ethno-cultural struggles in response to this older anglo-conformal model that began in the 1960s. In other words, multiculturalism is the model that has replaced anglo-conformity and has thereby transformed contemporary nation-building.

Developing this argument further, Kymlicka states that "All struggles for multiculturalism share in common a rejection of earlier models of the unitary, homogeneous nation-state" (2007, 61). What this means in practice is that the state must be understood as equally accommodating to all its citizens, that it rejects all (previous) assimilationist integration policies and that it acknowledges previous injustices done by such anglo-conformist integration policies to receive a title as multicultural (2007, 61-62).

In his view, multicultural nation-building should be understood as policies that encourage and aid immigrants to participate in mainstream society on their own terms, allowing them to engage with the society by also bringing their own cultural distinctiveness to the cultural repertoire of the society. It thereby also recognizes two important facts of immigrant integration; (1) it needs to be understood as a complex, long-term process that operates through several generations and; (2) the public institutions, into which immigrants are to become integrated, need to provide them with equal respect and accommodation as they do to the majority culture (2001, 162-165). One of Kymlickas major conclusions is that contemporary multiculturalism achieves these goals quite successfully (Kymlicka 2001, 152-159).

2.1.2   Criticism Against Conventional Multiculturalism

One major critique in respect to multiculturalism that needs to be brought up is offered by Seyla Benhabib. Benhabib (2002, 5-8) argues that theories of multiculturalism are problematic in the sense that they tend to view groups and cultures as clearly identifiable and delineated wholes that coexist, while simultaneously maintaining their cultural boundaries. This is what she calls mosaic multiculturalism. Instead, human culture should be viewed as socially constructed and imagined boundaries that creates notions of 'us' and 'them' within cultural groups, and that are constantly created and recreated through both intra- and intercultural negotiations and interactions. In this sense, multiculturalism is about much more than materializing cultural groups and their different needs and desires for recognition.

Compared with Kymlicka, Benhabib emphasize the significance of the internal dynamics and experiences of members of cultural groups and how these may shape politics (2002, 16-18). In this aspect her main critiques of contemporary multicultural debate are therefore that they do not treat group formation dynamically enough. Too much effort is spent on identifying a group in relation to structural indicators such as economic oppression, or cultural ones such as marginalization and discrimination. Another significant critique is that the existing literature overlooks the processes in which social and cultural cleavages are transformed into motivation and political mobilization within cultural groups.

However, despite this well formulated critique of the conventional static view of cultural groups, Benhabib much like Kymlicka takes a quite optimistic standpoint regarding the success of multiculturalism. She estimates that the impact of multiculturalism has been that it liberates citizenship, thereby creating a pluralization of cultural identities, multiple hierarchies of law and jurisdiction and distributes power and agency to both minority groups and regions of society. In this sense, assimilationist approaches towards immigrants has been weakened and immigrants participating in multicultural integration need not to abandon or cut their ties to their cultural origins, neither legally, politically or economically (Benhabib 2002, 179-182).

2.1.3   Multiculturalism in practice: Universalism vs. Relativism

In response to Kymlicka and Benhabib, Karen O'Reilly provides a more general perspective of multiculturalism in practice. Agreeing with the previously mentioned authors that multiculturalism has had significant success in several western states with promoting cultural acceptance, there are still some major issues that are overseen by the literature. One can for instance see lots of depictions of immigrants in the public spaces of society, such as the media and public political debates, as having negative impacts on state economy, demography and domestic national culture and identity. Also, in a great many western liberal democracies, assimilationist models of integration are still a harsh reality for immigrants (O'Reilly 2012, 49-53).

O'Reilly defines multicultural societies as treating minorities as distinct and equal simultaneously. Migrants may be equally dignified to welfare, education and status before the law while also being allowed to maintain cultural distinctiveness, practices and expressions. However, it may not be as easy to live with difference as theories suggests. O'Reilly explains that "Identifying oneself as different is one thing; being labelled (and therefore treated) as different is not always the same thing" (O'Reilly 2012, 53). The increasing numbers of people migrating into the west has for instance proven a major challenge to western tolerance towards difference, cultural diversity and the liberalization of citizenship.

To build on this critique, Stephen Castles (2000, 140-141) brings up the relativistic interpretations of multiculturalism by various states and regions and how multiculturalism therefore might operate in very different ways in different states. This relativism in combination to dilemmas between cultural differences and egalitarian democracy creates many significant issues for multicultural policy-making. For instance; failure to provide immigrants with the same rights-base as citizens denies them full participation in democracy; socio-economic marginalization and even racism are still strong forces on all levels of even the most multicultural society; migrants often form larger communities, turning integration into a much more complicated task of incorporating groups rather than individuals, and finally; politics and institutions of the state always favor certain cultures and can never be culturally neutral which might make them incompatible to other differentiated cultures.

2.1.4   The Metaphysics of Multiculturalism

Gressgård (2012, vii-viii) takes a critical stance against conventional multiculturalism in its political and philosophical essence. Instead, she focuses on metaphysical notions of purity and impurity through which distinctions between 'us' and 'them' are constructed and affect multicultural dialogue and argues that such an approach can provide better understanding of the nature and structures of multicultural policies and dilemmas in practice. According to Gressgård (2012, 34-35), defining the logic and self-conceptions of cultural groups, through which they position themselves in relation to others, is a better way of understanding multicultural interactions. She describes by highlighting the cultural bias of societies:

> My contention is that there are specific norms of universality that the [majoritarian] civic order embodies. As such, the civic order is granted a universal status with an exclusive right to define equality.

(Gressgård 2012, 34)

This means that members of a specific culture in possession of the society's' civic order and agency, or in other terms the cultural majority, also are the actors in possession of multicultural dialogue and thereby stipulate the conditions for cultural negotiations, interactions and inclusion. This is because a cultural group's self-image and self-conception, i.e. its cultural logic, also constitutes its frames and perceptions of universal reality when interacting with 'others,' and thereby also sets the rules of inclusion v. exclusion of others (Ibid.)

The cultural logic of a group is created through collective experiences and perceptions of what Gressgård calls metaphysical purity and impurity. These are highly subjective notions that allow individuals and groups to categorize and make sense of their social realities and surroundings, and therefore do not pertain exclusively to culture or cultural distinction. Metaphysical purity refers to that which is conceived as absolutely whole and devoid of differentiation. As such, purity is indissoluble and static, meaning it is experienced as never-changing, universal and ideal. The metaphysically impure on the other hand can be perceived as the chaos of fragmentation, differentiation and change. Impurity is that which is out of place in relation to the wholeness of purity. In this sense purity can only be perceived and experienced through definitions and reflections of that which is impure and vice versa (Gressgård 2012, 20-25).

Purity and impurity should be understood as existing in a dynamic relationship with one another and as highly embedded within modern configurations of societal and political thought. Applied to cultural communities then, purity can be translated into that which correlates with a community's ideals pertaining its cultural systems, structures, practices and order, while impurity is differentiated cultures that provoke fragmentation of, or challenge this order. Gressgård (Ibid.) argues that these notions of metaphysically purity and impurity are vital to modern cultural arrangements since their dynamic relationship allow cultural participants to create culturally logical notions of 'us' and 'them'. And the major point of this metaphysical universe that Gressgård argues for is that no matter how we depict the others, be it in positive or negative terms, it is still the notions of the pure and whole, i.e. our own idealized cultural logic, that ultimately form the universal normative and evaluative basis and point of departure when interacting with and distinguishing other cultures.

2.1.5   Ethnocentrism & Ethnocentric Fallacy

Gressgård describes that within western liberal societies, the metaphysical purity of the cultural logic of majority cultures is highly characterized and defined by ethnocentrism. She defines this (western) ethnocentric cultural logic as the universal belief and conviction of the legitimacy of liberal democratic systems, values and standards. In other words, this ethnocentric cultural logic is what forms the evaluative basis for western societies when they engage with other differentiated cultural groups (Gressgård 2012, 15).

Gressgård argues that traditional multiculturalism builds on egalitarian cultural relativism which pertains that cultural distinctiveness should be recognized and protected. To achieve such goals, multicultural states emphasize dialogue between the immigrant and integration institutions to high degrees when developing and implementing multicultural policies. Yet since these policies and institutions themselves become imbued and biased by the majority-group's ethnocentric cultural logic, Gressgård (2012, 6-11) argues that such multicultural dialogues in western liberal states are in fact monologues. This is what she calls ethnocentric fallacy, meaning that the majority culture in western societies holds the exclusive and executive right to define the rules and conditions for multicultural equality and inclusion, and that they do so in accordance with the liberal democratic societal model as well as its norms,

values and practices. The consequences for multicultural integration then is that ethnocentric fallacy turns conventional multicultural integration into a unilateral, rather than multilateral, process that entails assimilation.

For differentiated migrant cultures within the society the result of this ethnocentric fallacy is rather paradoxical. On the one hand they fall short on access to cultural equality unless they assimilate in accordance with the majority's cultural logic. This causes migrant groups and cultures that 'stand out' to become marginalized and stigmatized. In other words; rather than mutual integration through cultural exchange, ethnocentric fallacy unintentionally reinforces assimilation into the majority culture as the condition for multicultural equality. Yet at the same time, migrants are simultaneously labeled as equals through the egalitarian elements of multiculturalism that promote dialogue, recognition and protection of 'others.' However, because of the condition of assimilation, multicultural equality is in practice more of an ideal rather than a *de facto* equal cultural status (Gressgård 2012, 34-38).

2.2   Transnationalism

One significant author worthy of mentioning who developed transnationalism within migration studies is Nina Glick Schiller. Transnational migration studies were developed during the 1990s as a critique towards methodological nationalism that positioned nation-states as the natural institution and universal socio-political borders of the world (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002, 302). As a response, transnationalism was presented as an alternative view that focused more on the actual social interactions that individuals and communities maintain and construct across borders (Glick Schiller 1997, 155-156).

In *The Situation of Transnational Studies*, Glick Schiller reflects on the increased importance of understanding immigrants as transmigrants. She defines transmigrants as "immigrants who live their lives across national borders, participating in the daily life of two or more nation-states." (1997, 158). Similarly, Castles (2000, 25) argue that migration is not merely a transition from one country to another. Instead, migrants and even their descendants maintain long-term cultural, social, economic and political ties with their society of origin and with co-ethnics throughout the world.

Compared to the theories of multiculturalism that are much more general in their scope, transnationalism therefore tends to focus more on identities and communities of groups and individuals, thereby contributing to the understanding of migrant social spaces on a much more specific level. This can be supported by O'Reilly who describes:

> Transnationalism is a concept [...] that enables us to think/see across boundaries, to observe connections between places and peoples, to consider links people have outside the nation, and to look at the impacts of these in terms of identities (or habitus) and actions and structures.

> (O'Reilly 2012, 61)

This understanding of migrant links between their national and cultural origin is vital in transnational migration studies. Through transnational activities, migrants create and maintain these transnational relationships, or what I shall henceforth call cross-border connections. These connections usually pertain remittances of capital, goods or resources to the native country, communication and social correspondence with co-ethnic friends as well as families and relatives across the globe, participation in civil society organizations or similar organizations that target the culture of origin and so forth (2012, 61-62).

A transnational perspective can provide insight to how migration can be the result of both global change as well as a powerful force of change within both migration sending- and receiving countries. Castles (2000, 124-125) argues that the impacts of transnationalism can be felt on all levels of society; it affects the economy, challenge the borders of nation-building, affects culture, national politics and international relations, and inevitably leads to greater ethno-cultural diversity that further transforms identities.

2.2.1   Transnationalism in practice: Global Contradictions

The significance of migrants cross-border connections in the global era leads Castles (2000, 128-129) to acknowledge the importance of treating the local dimensions of migration as central both in research and political action. This is because transnational cross-border connections orients and imbues both identities and political action on multiple levels. If global migration

integration is to benefit people, he argues, then the importance of addressing local migrant communities and their voices is vital since states often ignore the local in favor of global interest. This is what he calls "The contradiction between the global and the local" (2000, 128).

Another contradiction lies between the national and global citizen. As mentioned, citizenship in a nation-state indicates membership in both a cultural sphere, i.e. a nation, and a political one, i.e. a state (see section 2.1 and 2.1.1 above). According to Castles (2000, 131), the political sphere of the liberal democratic nation-state renders all its members as equals, and ethnicity, gender or religion are irrelevant for such equality. The national sphere in contrast builds on a distinct and collective cultural identity. However, such cultural homogenization is hard, if not impossible, for nation-states to achieve today since transnational minorities and their cross-border connections within the nation-state are highly resilient, and part of migrants everyday-life, due to globalization.

Because of these contradiction, Castles (2000, 131) argues that multicultural inclusion might not be as simple in the global era. Globalism both enable and motivate migrants to maintain their cross-border relations through communication across countries and interaction with their native social, economic and political ties. Migrant identities are therefore in and of themselves multiple and transcultural, leaving nation-states with a substantial and complex challenge of cultural inclusion in their nation-building processes. The global significance of migrant cross-border connections therefore challenge the rules of nation-state citizenship and "The principle that each person should [could] belong politically and culturally to just one nation-state" (Ibid.).

2.2.2   Criticism Against Transnationalism

Ine Lietaert, Eric Broekaert and Ilse Derluyn (2017, 366-367) criticize the adoption of transnationalism as something that is generally studied on immigrants in receiving states at the expense of migrants returning 'home'. In their study Lietaert et. al. interestingly focuses instead on migrants returning home to Armenia and Georgia from Belgium and how cross-border connections might be expressed by these returnees. One of their discoveries is that not all migrants have the possibilities to engage with their cross-border connections due to for instance low socioeconomic position or unclear legal status, and that the subjective value of cross-border connections often can be stronger for migrant returnees.

Another critical reflection is presented by Cynthia Hunter, Susannah Lepley and Samuel Nickels (in Negi et. al. 2010, 222-24). They argue that the term transmigrant should be separated and distinguished from the two terms *immigrants*, i.e. individuals being pulled from home by opportunities in other countries, and *refugees*, i.e. individuals who are pushed from home due to war or insecurity, and that confusion often occurs when transnational migration studies fail to do so. Yet, at the same time Hunter et. al. states rather ambiguously that transnationalism is the new reality for both immigrants and refugees due to globalism.

Castles (2000, 131) agrees somewhat that a minority of people lives under transnational conditions. Yet he also forecasts that transmigrants will increase as long as globalization continue to increase. Aoife McMahon (2017, 118-119) develops this even further by addressing the importance to immigrants of information-access through already established co-ethnic friends and families. He describes this as a common practice among migrants, especially in the early stages of settlement. Furthermore, McMahon describe that the nature of cross-border connections also constitutes a powerful force in and of itself that increase and encourage further migration. Therefore, viewing migrants as transmigrants and the significance of cross-border connections seem relevant nonetheless.

2.3   Analytical Instrument

This section provides an operationalization of the theoretical concepts presented above into the analytical instrument of the study. Teorell & Svensson (2007, 39-40) describe this as a vital step since an operational definition pinpoints the precise characteristics and properties of the theoretical concepts of the study, and how they operate in reality, thereby making them applicable for analysis within the empirical material.

Ethnocentrism - Dominant western cultural logic and self-image that unintentionally forms an idealized evaluative basis for western cultures when identifying and interacting with other differentiated cultural groups. It is constructed when the societal and cultural majority's collective perceptions of metaphysical purity are defined by an unconscious conviction of the universal legitimacy of liberal democratic values, norms, practices, institutions and standards.

Ethnocentric Fallacy - Ethnocentric fallacy means that the majority culture in western liberal and multicultural societies is granted an exclusive and executive right to define the rules of inclusion and cultural equality when interacting with and including other cultural groups. Unintentionally renders multicultural dialogue into a monologue that entails assimilation in accordance to liberal democratic values, standards and practices, i.e. the majority's cultural logic.

Transnational Cross-border Connections - A vital aspect that contributes to and shape migrants' transnational and transcultural identities. They are the global relationships that migrants create and maintain through transnational activities. Such activities may pertain remittances of capital, goods or resources to the migrants' native country; communication or social correspondence and interaction with friends, families and relatives; participation in civil society organizations or similar organizations connected to the culture/ethnicity/nation of origin; native cultural exercises and practices, religion, language etc. They add multiple and complex layers to migrants' transnational identities, which is overlooked within western multicultural integration policies due to ethnocentrism and ethnocentric fallacy.

3   Method

The chapter begins with an ontological and epistemological reflection and standpoint. I shall then continue by presenting the method for data collection and analysis, before moving on to the research design. The section will be concluded with an account to the implementation and ethical conditions taken for gathering and handling empiric material.

3.1   Ontological Standpoints

According to Paul Furlong and David Mars (in Marsh & Stoker 2010, 184-187), defining one's ontological position is to define how the researcher view the world; objectively or as socially constructed, and thereby also have an impact on the epistemological position, that is, how knowledge can be acquired about this world. According to Raymond Williams, during the late 18th century culture was understood as "noun of *configuration* or *generalization* of the 'spirit' which informed the 'whole way of life' of a distinct people" (Williams 1981, 10). During this time, culture was understood and used more as a comparative tool to separate a linear civilization from nonlinear ones. These notions would later influence comparative anthropologist views of the 19th century, where culture continued to be understood in terms of wholes and as distinctive ways of life. However, as a result of alternative answers to these emphases of 'spirit' (religious, national or otherwise) more modern conceptualizations of culture explains the term as something lived through social processes (Ibid., 11).

Mabel Berezin (in Crane 1994, 91-95) develops these explanations further by stating that since the early 1980s, the term culture has had a renaissance within political studies where its understanding, in various ways, have been more connected to the understanding of politics. Therefore, when positioning culture ontologically researchers should ask themselves where the boundaries between culture and politics lie, and how questions of political studies would vary when addressed from a cultural point of view. She argues that:

> The union of cultural and political analysis should enhance our understanding of the areas
> that students of politics typically study: nation-states, policy, organizations including state
> bureaucracies and political parties, regime transitions and collective action - ranging from
> voting behavior to full scale revolutions.

(Berezin in Crane 1994, 92)

What this means according to Berezin (in Crane 1994, 92-93) is that while the empirical focus on politics often remain the same when seen from a cultural point of view, the question of how to ontologically make sense of culture might vary. On the one hand, culture can be seen as observable, collectively shared cognitive maps that form a group's perceptions of social order and of how the world works. As such, a researcher might want to observe their effects on for example political actions or voting behavior. On the other hand, culture can be understood as subjective meaning, i.e. shared cultural institutions and values, symbolic practices and rituals as well as linguistic and communicative symbolism that shape political outcomes. Central to such studies is that they ask *how* culture affect politics and leaves out notions of 'what' and 'why'.

A conclusion of this ontological reflection is that the understanding of culture seems to exist both in an observable and socially constructed universe. According to Berezin (in Crane 1994, 94), this has created what she calls a fissure between scholars that favor the possibility of explaining on the one hand, and scholars that favor interpretation on the other. Or in other words; between one group that seeks universality and generalizability, and another group that seeks particularity.

Transnationalism position itself in the same way ontologically. Steven Vertovec (2009, 32) describes different ontological conceptualizations of three key terms that have had major influence on transnational migration-studies and that "represent a wealth of epistemological and methodological insights" (Ibid.). These concepts are; social networks, social capital and embeddedness. Studies of social networks might often map the interconnectedness of migrant individuals and social spaces, the strength or size of such networks and circulation of resources within it and between them (2009, 32-35). But they might also seek to study aspects such as network social structures, social distances between groups and individuals and motivations for social cohesion within these networks.

Social capital pertains abilities to mobilize and utilize resources in virtue of membership in social networks. As such it can be analyzed by observing communication, social exchanges and remittances, participation in events and association etc. Yet social capital is also based on collective expectations, that includes shared values, norms, normative reciprocity and mutual trust, which in turn influence individual behavior. Finally, embeddedness means a full appreciation of both social networks and social capital, where the actions of an actor are seen as outcomes and a result by the constantly overlapping interactions and connection between these two key terms (Vertovec 2009, 36-38).

The aim of this discussion is not to provide more theoretical concepts of culture or transnationalism, but rather to show the ontological and thereby also the epistemological versatility and (indeed) the fruitfulness of such versatility within political science. However, recognizing this versatility and the opportunities to understand culture and transnationalism both objectively and as socially constructed, I have chosen the latter ontological position for this study, that is the constructivist position.

3.2   The interpretivist approach

The constructivist position, or anti foundationalist position as Furlong and Marsh (in Marsh & Stoker 2010, 199) call it, contends that the world is socially or discursively constructed. Reality can therefore not be understood objectively or independently of our interpretation of it. Instead, it is our constant interpretations of reality that grant and attach meaning to social phenomena and therefore affect outcome. Furlong and Marsh (in Marsh & Stoker 2010, 191) describe that this is not to say that there is no real world 'out there', but that this reality has no social role or causal power that is independent from the agent's (an individual, a group's or society's) understanding of it. Therefore, my aim as a researcher is not to explain causal phenomena, but instead to focus on understanding of meaning of human behavior and actions, also known as the interpretivist epistemological approach (2010, 192-193).

Interpretation is never free from preconceptions of the researcher. The interpretative researcher, who also interacts with a socially constructed world, engage in the same process of constructing reality as the subjects s/he wishes to study, meaning s/he always have a subjective relationship to the phenomena and context being studied. This poses the challenge for the researcher to interpret the interpretations (or make meaning of meanings) of others within the context of study, and to incorporate both streams of interpretation simultaneously while not reifying one stream in favor of the other. This is also known as the double hermeneutic problem (Jackson, Patrick T. in Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2006, 266-267 and Dalen, Monica 2007, 13).

One of the main critiques against the interpretative approach following this challenge is that it only offers opinions or subjective judgements about reality that are biased with the researcher's perspective and values. A major challenge therefore for the interpretative researcher is how to maintain validity and reliability of such interpretative analysis and provide a basis for generalization (Furlong & Marsh in Marsh & Stoker 2010, 199-200). Johan Alvehus (2013, 122-123) develops further that validity and reliability in their more objective essences might be hard to achieve within the interpretative approach. This is because the interpretivist approach holds the researcher as an active part of all stages of the research process and as the natural actor of linking theory and empirical material together.

To maintain validity and reliability therefore, Patrick T. Jackson (in Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2006, 266-268) describe that interpretation need to occur by assembling and manipulating intersubjective resources of significance, meaning that the researcher must re-conceptualize and define the explanatory capacities of the context that is being studied. Interpreting social activities by assembling such intersubjective resources allows for contingencies to be identified in the form of social patterns, that can be revealed and established by the researcher. By selecting and combining such specific resources, the researcher can chisel out analytical instruments that reveal the socially constructed world in particular ways. Through this process interpretation become real for both the researcher and the social actors under study, but the contexts in which their interpretations take place differ.

The combination of resources taken together in this way form what Jackson call a theoretical ideal type. When forming such ideal types properly, they operate as prosthetics that are pragmatically and analytically useful. Through these theoretical ideal types then, the researcher can make claims of how to accurately apprehend and interpret the essence of the social context and empirical material under study. Or in simpler terms, they allow the researcher to "focus on what their theoretical specifications actually do in practice and what kind of world they help to produce" (Jackson in Yanow & Schwartz-Shea 2006, 268).

Teorell & Svensson (2007, 55) complement these explanations by describing the process as pinpointing the manifested expressions that the theoretical concepts show and indicate in real life. By pinpointing and defining such manifested expressions, these highly abstract theoretical concepts become measurable. This is to provide operational definitions of the theory and was done and presented for the sake of this study in the theoretical chapter under section *2.3 Analytical Instrument*.

3.3   Method

The method for gathering the empirical material builds on qualitative interview techniques. According to Monica Dalen (2007, 11), one of the main goals of qualitative research is to achieve insight of phenomena connected to individuals and contexts within the individual's social reality. In this respect the qualitative interview technique is about reaching deeper understanding of how individuals adapt to their social situations and contexts. Dalen describes that a better term than social situation might be social world, since the qualitative approach focuses not only on describing the social circumstances of the subject being interviewed, but also on the dimensions of how they experience the social contexts in the ways that they do.

Qualitative research might use a variation of approaches when analyzing the empirical material, but what they all have in common is that they always involve interpretation. However, one of the most common approaches when conducting the analysis, and also applied in this study, is the hermeneutic approach. More specifically the focus of this approach is to interpret the empiric interview statements by reflecting them to a deeper context of meaning, i.e. a theoretically defined wholeness (Dalen 2007, 14-15), as described above.

The hermeneutic approach however goes both ways in the sense that the theoretical wholeness also must be reflected to the empirical components. This process of analyzing by allowing empiricism, theory and the preconception of the researcher to interact is commonly known as the hermeneutic spiral, through which deeper and holistic knowledge of the social phenomena being studied can be achieved (Ibid.). Diana Kapiszewski, Lauren MacLean and Benjamin Read describe similarly that interviews allow the researcher to gather empirical information that "generate detailed, holistic descriptions, capture varying perspectives, discuss processes" (2015, 190) and that they "allow us to explore the informal interactions and behaviors that can be equally as important [as the formal ones] to political outcome" (Ibid.).

While interviews might take many different forms, the interview technique that I conducted in this study is based on in-depth interviews that ranged from a loose to a semi-structured degree. Kapiszewski et al. describe that this type of interview has the advantage of allowing the researcher to gain a high sense and insertion of and to the social context and can reveal unique perspectives, while also making subjects keener on sharing their experiences if the subject of study is controversial or sensitive in nature. In-depth interviews also have the advantage of allowing for the researcher the possibility for customization to every interview subject. By adapting and combining the degree of structure of the interview, ranging from loose to semi-structured and asking specific yet open questions, I should be able to attain a high degree of flexibility pertaining guidance and narrative flow by and from the respondent, while also having the ability to direct the interview if needed (Kapiszewski et. al. 2015, 194-196).

The analysis of the gathered data was done in several steps following the Gradual-Deductive Inductive Method (SDI) as presented by Aksel Tjora (2010, 137-141). He describes SDI as a process that systematically works both inductively upward from raw data towards theory, and deductively downward, where the theoretical frameworks constantly function as checkpoints for verification of reliability and validity. The advantage of this method according to Tjora is that it allows the full potential of the empirical material to emerge while also making them generalizable to the theoretical frameworks.

The first step of SDI after collecting and transcribing the empirical material is to code this raw data. It is vital in this step to use near-text and near-empirical codes that describe *what* the informant is saying, rather than codes that merely sort and summarize the 'topics of conversation'. This is in order to secure unbiasedness since it is the empiricism, not the theory, that is to be represented at this stage (Tjora 2010, 141). This process means that the data are systematically broken down and re-constructed in order to find more abstract-level categories that organize the data in new ways (Dalen 2007, 70). This brings us to the next step which according to Tjora (2010, 146-147) is to *categorize* the codes. Since coding generates too many codes, it is now necessary to summarize them into such categories. In this step, the research-problem and research question are allowed to steer more so that irrelevant codes can be sorted out. The main purpose of this step is to identify main themes that bring out the potential in both theory and empiricism.

Dalen (2007, 69-70) describes that this whole process of interpretation means that the material is allowed to transcend from an experience-near to an experience-distant level. Experience-near statements are descriptive and are basically the informants' statements and descriptions of concrete relationships and contexts. Experience-distant statements however also

includes the subjective interpretations of the informants, and the researcher is also allowed to add his or her own interpretations to these statements as well. In this way an analytical step has been taken from a concrete descriptive level to a more interpretive one. The purpose here is to systematically identify and organize the implicit messages, themes and expressions of the statements towards a more theoretical direction. This is what Dalen seems to refer to as *thick descriptions*, and they are in these senses synonymous with what Tjora refers to as categories.

The next step is *conceptualization*, where the theory is allowed to be given its fullest influence (Tjora 2010, 147-150). Once the categories from the previous step has been conceptualized into main themes, typologies can be developed. Typologies can be seen as schematic summaries of the empirical categories in which the theoretical dimensions (see section *2.3 Analytical Instrument*) of the study are connected. This is where empiricism and theory are merged together by looking at the empiric categories from the theoretical perspectives. By showing how these analytical themes are connected to the theoretical dimensions through this systematic process, conclusions can be drawn and presented.

3.4　　　　Research Design

According to Kapiszewski et. al. (2015, 190-191), one of the advantages of interviews is that they allow the researcher to engage with and observe the thoughts of those s/he wishes to understand to a degree that few other techniques allow. Similarly, Ariadne Vromen (in Marsh & Stoker 2010, 258) describe that interviews have great significance when studying political and institutional behavior and is adopted by many disciplines within the political sciences.

The interviews were conducted on site, meaning I went into the field. Kapiszewski et. al. (2015, 27-31) present five major advantages that make fieldwork a fruitful design; (1) it allows for direct engagement and analysis of the context and the political dynamics one wishes to study (2); it allows flexibility if unexpected obstacles (or opportunities) should appear, (3); it allows triangulation of the data since it can be collected from multiple sources simultaneously that comprehensively represent the empirical reality, (4); it allows for constant critical reflection and reevaluation of the research design since data collection, evaluation and analysis becomes contemporary processes, and finally (5); if conducted with an appropriate ethical commitment and with constant descriptions, reflections and justifications of operative choices and strategies, field research becomes highly transparent, valid and reliable.

There are off course tradeoffs and challenges however with this design. Kapiszewski et. al. (2015, 16-17) describe that they commonly relate to logistics of living and travels, time consuming work and challenges with contacting and obtaining access to participants for the study. Furthermore, achieving the consent of so called gatekeepers, i.e. persons in authoritative position through which permission to contact and engage with interview participants must be granted, also prove a big challenge in many cases.

Also, the flexibility of field studies might generate difficult analytical and operational challenges, cross-roads and dilemmas, and not to mention unpredicted challenges that might occur while on the field. One consequence might be to re-operationalize some concepts of the analytical instrument to maintain validity, reliability and analytical usefulness of collected data (Ibid.). However, I have nonetheless chosen this design since it, with reference to their advantages, seems to provide a better proximity and flexibility towards the original empirical context and the realities of the interview participants as compared to other designs.

3.5   Selection, implementation and Ethical Considerations

The local EA office was first contacted through personal contacts working at the site. Through these contacts correspondence by email could be initiated with relevant gatekeepers, in this case the local managers within the establishment assignment, in order to gain permission to conduct the study and to contact potential respondents. The managers offered suggestions of employees to interview (by providing their email addresses), forwarded my contact-information to all of the employees at the office and even participated in the interviews themselves. A total of seven interviews were possible to achieve, and all of the participants are granted confidentiality in the final paper in order to respect their integrity at work. For a list of confidential nicknames given to the participants, see Appendix 3.

All the participants work primarily with the establishment assignment and closely associated assignments. However, their individual roles as employees varies from administrative officials, consulting psychologies and managers. Furthermore, some of the respondents has backgrounds as immigrants in Sweden themselves. This ensures a broad repertoire of views and perspectives. All participants received an email through which they were informed of the purpose of the study, how the interview would take place, how the material was to be collected and used as well as their rights as participants (Appendix 1).

The interviews took 30 minutes with a max duration of 45 minutes. They took place in secluded conversation-rooms available at the EA-office between 9 Nov. and 16 Nov. 2017 and were recorded using a digital recording device. The recordings were transferred to my personal computer immediately after the interview and deleted from the device. Transcriptions have also been stored digitally on my PC, meaning that a personal log-in ID and password, known only to me, has been required for accessing the material.

The advantage of interviewing EA officials is that it allows great insight to the policy implementation stage. Erik Hysing can support this argument through his accounts of the public administrator and its resources and position. Hysing (2014, 129-130), argues that the street-level bureaucrat not only implement public policy, but also influence and shape it through their direct interactions with the citizens. More specifically they are in an advantageous position which enables them to implement government policies while also adapting public policy to local conditions and available resources.

Furthermore, as Michael Lipsky states; "debates about the proper scope and focus of governmental services are essentially debates over the scope and function of [...] public employees." (1980, 4). Through their position as determinants of eligibility of citizens for public benefits and sanctions, street-level bureaucrats have significant impact in many different aspects on the 'customers' of the agency in question. According to Lipsky, this makes the public official the keyholders of many dimensions of citizenship.

The selection of an agency also has relevance since agencies in Swedish sociopolitical contexts hold and exercise high levels of power. Amanda Smullen (2010, 24-25) describes that this is because Sweden is a dualistic system where government policy-making is separated from its implementation. This has granted agencies an executive power that can be compared to that of courts because of the agencies expertise and size, putting them in a position of predominance in many vital aspects of Swedish policy-making.

The reason I have chosen not to focus directly on migrants is because of the potentially exposed position they might be in and thereby also the ethical challenges associated with interviewing such a selection. This potential exposure of either newly arrived or unemployed immigrants could bias the interviews and thereby also the empirical material. Nonetheless, Tjora (2010, 112-113) describes this type of strategic selection, where the participants (i.e. the public officials) have been selected *qua* their likeliness to express themselves in reflective ways regarding the subjects of study, as one of the main rules when conducting qualitative interviews.

4   Analysis

The chapter is presented in accordance with the steps of the SDI-method (see section *3.3 Method*). It begins with the coding and categorizing processes, which is summarized and presented with figure 4.1, before moving on to conceptualization and finally the results. All citations have been freely translated into English from the raw-material. The participants nicknames used to reference to the statements can be found in Appendix 3.

4.1   The Coding Process

Already at this initial stage of the analysis, two major and recurring expressions could be identified and coded quite easily; migrants accessibility to labor and employment, and language-skills. For example, when asked to describe integration, Alex instantly answered that it is "to learn the Swedish language and to receive an employment." Kim referred to the issues of migrants as statistically overrepresented as unemployed when s/he expressed concern for the current, and future, challenges of discrimination of migrants in the Swedish labor market. And Charlie stated that "the language always falls short" when s/he referred to the most tangible challenges of communicating with the target group. A third major and highly evident expression were those that referred to participation in society. For instance, when asked to describe integration, Addison said that "it is to help people to become participants in the society through labor and work." S/he then developed the answer by saying that integration is "a path into society and to become a part of it."

These expressions and associations of labor, language and societal participation seemed to form central types of 'source-codes,' so to speak, since the majority of the other statements in all of the interviews often were associated from, or connected back to, these expressions. Off course this might not be so surprising since labor and employment, language and societal participation can be seen as quite natural and expected expressions within the context of the EA. Nonetheless, they were undoubtedly noted as the most frequently associated and occurring issues of conversation.

Many expressions of concerns about the EA: s reception of the target group could also be coded. These expressions were often formulated as a demand for more knowledge, understanding and synchronization with the target group and its situation. Robin stated for instance that:

> The society needs to meet somewhere. It is not only newly arrived migrants that are the ones who need to integrate. We [the Swedish society] also need to integrate.

When asked how well s/he believed the society integrated with migrant groups, the answer was "Not that well at all." Kim also expressed similar concerns of the same issues, which was identified in her/his emphasis that "Swedes also need to integrate with the new Sweden." Given the research problem of the study, these types of statements seemed to hold high promises and potential for the analysis.

When asked to describe what challenges with the establishment mission-design they experienced, the answers from the participants varied a lot. Some were optimistic and shared positive experiences of clear instructions, highly functional regulations and activities, and successful cases of integration. For instance, some participants gave specific examples of employers who had had great successes in making their staff more diverse, and of migrants who had established themselves well both as employed and as societal participants.

One theme that often occurred however was synchronization. Kelly, for instance, gave interesting examples when s/he reflected on "large differences between culture and the conditions in Sweden", and referred to substantial social, religious and cultural aspects that often collided when migrants participated in the assignment or engaged with the labor market. Many officials also often connected synchronization to gaps between the establishment mission, the EA, and the target groups previous education and competences. Robin said that "They already have the competence, but it is often that they cannot utilize it. There are many doors that are closed." And Addison emphasized this to higher degrees:

> Many are forced to leave their professions and competences in order to find something that is viable on the labor market here [Sweden]. [...] If someone for instance has worked as a bus driver in his homeland for 35 years, and then comes to Sweden with an expectation to drive, that won't work. [...] In practice that person would definitely be able to drive [...] but they won't be allowed to because there are rules that must be followed.

Overall, these types of statements seemed to have analytical potential by virtue of referring to the incompatibilities of inclusion between the establishment mission, the EA and the Swedish labor market on the one hand, and the migrant target group on the other. Addison specifically exemplified this by saying that "the mission builds on a model [...] the Swedish Model." Likewise, Kim also expressed these concerns of incompatibility, but associated them more with recurring ethical dilemmas within the mission. S/he stated that:

> It is complicated for the [Employment] agency to integrate [with other cultures]. [...] At the same time, however, we have a responsibility never to take religion or culture into consideration, but to treat everyone as equals.

These expressions also seemed to highlight the establishment mission in two very nuanced ways; on the one hand as in need of considering cultural distinctiveness of members of the target group to greater extents, yet as also having an indisputable responsibility to be non-considerate of cultural or religious factors in order to maintain neutrality and avoid special treatments. They therefore seemed to pinpoint the very tensions and dilemmas between cultural and transnational distinctiveness on the one hand, and cultural equality and egalitarianism on the other, or in other words; the very issues that are in the base of the study's problem formulation. Yet it was too early to conclude anything at this stage.

Another much more unexpected aspect that revealed itself significantly were associations of the situation and challenges for migrant women to establish themselves at the labor market. These statements were found and coded on a significant number of occasions during the coding process. It was somewhat problematic at this stage to decide how to sort these highly evident expressions since they often referred to, and were associated with, issues and concerns of gender equality, i.e. aspect that unfortunately are not included in this study. Yet these expressions concerning migrant women were also too evident to ignore.

Women were perceived as the most exposed group for reasons such as their domestic situation, their situation as uneducated, their own perceived identity as non-working housewives or overall socio-cultural expectations on women as such, absence of previous labor-experience, or all of these reasons combined. An initial impression was therefore that migrant women need to be analyzed as an isolated group with deeper connection to problem formulations and theories that highlight their contexts than those that have been considered in this study.

Interestingly, many expressions of the perceived social networks of the target group could be identified and coded as co-ethnic in-group networks with little or no interaction with Swedish networks. There were a lot of these expressions concerning either migrants that isolated themselves with their own co-ethnics, but also of self-employed migrants who were able to conduct and expand their businesses to other countries through such networks. Another common expression was how a large number of members of the target group often had tendencies to travel home, or to "merely disappear without notice."

For most of the part, these isolated in-group interactions were expressed as influencing negatively, which was especially evident through the informants recurring associations of them as obstacles to language progression. They were for example often described as sources for large groupings within activities and efforts associated with the establishment mission, such as for example Swedish for Immigrants (SFI). The same can be said within job practices for the target group, where the same type of co-ethnic, co-cultural and/or linguistic groupings were expressed. Yet at the same time they were also perceived as something highly understandable. Kim said that "It is only natural and an aspect of belonging to socialize with your own group." And Robin stated in these regards that "It is their identity. It's important that we do not change it."

With reference to this type of in-group interactions, many of those interviewed expressed concern for social and demographic segregation. As Alex explained: "Many of those who I meet have not succeeded in making Swedish friends or integrated socially in the Swedish society." When reflected like this, many of the participants also had concerns towards social, cultural and societal orientation within Swedish contexts due to these interactions, meaning that they reinforced segregation and isolation. Furthermore, these interactions were often perceived as leading to restlessness, anxiety, a sense of meaninglessness and psychological depression among the target group due to the isolation that would often follow.

The cases where migrants engaged, or wished to engage, with Swedish social contexts could also be found. For instance, when asked to describe migrants' transnational networks Bobbie responded that:

> A lot of people participate in language-cafés, applies for a language-friend or join an
> association. [...] I think it varies a lot from person to person, because many want to access
> the Swedish society, to work for a Swedish employer and not to speak their native language.

Furthermore, Charlie responded similarly that:

> I meet a lot of people who say that 'I want a Swedish employer. I want to socialize with
> swedes.' And they therefore attend evening- and language-classes and work real hard with
> themselves and understand the importance of this.

Other often mentioned aspects were migrant adaptation and conformity to Swedish norms and society as well as societal orientation as necessities for societal participation and inclusion. These aspects were often mentioned when the officials were asked to describe the biggest advantages in their experience gained by participating in the establishment mission. Kelly answered for instance that:

> If we give them the aid that they need they'll have easier to adapt to the Swedish society,
> which will also benefit them personally. And I guess that is what you try to emphasize as
> well when you're working with someone who is not very cooperative; that 'it is for your sake
> so that you can be better off in the Swedish society.'

Similar with the expressions of cultural incompatibilities mentioned earlier, many of the interviewed officials referred to the challenges of the overall and highly diverse society that they experienced. For instance, Kelly said in relation to the subject that "It [integration] creates a unity in society", while Charlie simply answered, "It is necessary in order for society to work." Likewise, Addison said that

> It is important since the Swedish society is a super-diversity today, [...] and since there is a
> will to avoid societies within the society, integration unifies everyone towards the same goal.
> That is why it's such an important issue for both politicians and the to the public.

Codes labelling this type of statements were also found interesting since they seemed to express a desire for migrant assimilation yet did so implicitly by referring to aspects of exclusion and discrimination of the target group that potentially stemmed from societal fragmentation. Robin stated in this respect that "alienation creates debate, [...] a lot of feelings, and fears too I would say." In this respect then, a connection between societal unification through assimilation seemed to be visible in these statements, expressed in ways that resembled processes of multicultural nation-building.

Security was also highly expressed and coded in all but one of the interviews. Alex for instance spoke a lot of the often challenging, and sometimes even traumatic, situation or experiences of migrants: "All this insecurity leads to psychological challenges. Security is one of our most basic needs. If we don't have security, nothing else works." These expressions of security were often connected to either security from danger in a physical sense such as war, persecution or danger. But security was also perceived as economic and social security, and Bobbie even described security as "rules and laws" that offer protection.

Furthermore, many statements referring to advantages such as economic independence and independence from social benefit support as a type of security could also be coded. Again, the associations to labor access, language skills and societal participation, described in the beginning of this section, were often connected to these expressions of security. As mentioned however, these types of expressions can be seen as quite expected within the context of the EA.

4.2   Categories

As was predicted, many hundreds of codes could be produced at the first stage (see Appendix 4). So far, I have focused on presenting a selection of the codes and topics that seemed most relevant to focus on for the remainder of the analysis. The codes that were sorted out had in common that they mostly labelled the employees explanations of specific assignments and other specific and daily bureaucratic processes and how these were conducted. And sometimes the participants referred to personal memories, specific issues or isolated events or projects that had occurred during their employment period. Such codes were therefore sorted out by virtue of their seemingly loose or very vague connections to the research problem.

When all the transcribed raw-material had been coded, the codes had been summarized and organized, and duplicate codes had been sorted out, seven main categories could be identified and defined. The categories have already been somewhat visible in the previous section, however only very abstractly so. The categories were; (1) Access to labor; (2) Language skills and progression; (3) Societal participation; (4) Institutional and/or socio- cultural synchronization; (5) Women's situation; (6) Social networks and finally; (7) Security.

4.2.1   Access to Labor, Language Skills and Societal Participation

Access to labor and employment, language skills and progression and societal participation were categories that revealed themselves quite evidently already at the beginning of the analysis. Therefore, allowing these three aspects to form the first set of categories came quite naturally since they could be identified as three main and central categories. Access to labor was formulated by expressions of the economic self-sufficiency, freedom, and an overall improvement of the target groups situation that would follow. Furthermore, access to labor was viewed as an important aspect of setting examples and role-modelling for children in the family. Also, in many of the cases access to labor was formulated as a long-term and final goal of the establishment assignment and thereby a central precondition for integration. Furthermore, participation in full time education on senior- or university-level is an important subcategory included in access to labor due to its perceived significance as an equivalence to labor.

Likewise, language skills and progression were quickly identified early in the analysis. This category is closely connected to the category of labor-access. Sometimes it even surpassed access to labor as the most important aspect of the assignment. On several occasions in the interviews, participants would refer to efforts of language progression as in need of higher priority than employment itself. This was especially true when the officials reflected on the elderly members of the migrant target group. For most of the part however, the importance of language skills and progression was expressed as a major key in order to unlock both labor-access, societal participation and overall integration itself.

The same could be said for societal participation. Like the previous categories, societal participation was expressed and perceived as a central condition as well as a long-term goal of the establishment assignment. It could be identified on several occasions in all of the interviews. In many of these occasions where participation was expressed, it was often connected to, or originated from, expressions of access to labor. More specifically, labor and employment were perceived as a natural and given form of societal participation and vice versa. Other expressions thought which the category revealed itself was when interview participants referred to issues of identity and individual pride of the migrants in terms of a sense of belonging to, and being a part of, society. It was often believed that societal participation pertained mutual inclusion of both Swedish and foreign socio-cultural identities and practices. This means that societal participation entails harmony between migrants' foreign socio-cultural identities, practices and origins on the one hand, and cultural factors perceived as domestically Swedish on the other.

What might already have become evident is the interconnectedness of these three categories. The interviewed officials continuously expressed them as a trinity and constantly associated one or more of these categories with the rest of them. When any of the categories were perceived as low or weak by the interviewed officials, so too were the perceived conditions of the others. The same was also true for the opposite, that is if any of these categories were expressed as high or strong. Furthermore, in many cases the statements from the interviewees expressed and related to these categories in such similar and interconnected ways that distinctions between them sometimes were hard to make. More specifically, when a statement from the interviews could be categorized as any one of these categories, it could to a great extent also be categorized as the other two as well.

Whenever the categories were perceived as high or strong, participants in the interviews were more optimistic about the opportunities and the situation of the members of the migrant target group. And when they were perceived as low, the participants were more pessimistic. This took the form of concern for isolation, exclusion and discrimination of the target group. In these cases, they often emphasized the importance of increasing the conditions and the strength of each of these categories in order to avoid such situations. However, access to labor, language skills and societal participation seems to summarize the base and the preconditions for migrants' capacity to establish and to integrate.

4.2.2   Institutional/socio-cultural synchronization

Institutional/Socio-cultural synchronization, sometimes referred to as just *synchronization*, defines the capacity for migrants to match their previous (native) competences, skills and experiences, and/or their socio-cultural identities and practices, with Swedish institutions, expectations, the labor market and other socio-cultural factors. Codes summarized in this category expressed such compatibility-issues in terms of acceptance and inclusion of migrants on one hand, but also the practical difficulties and challenges experienced by the EA-employees when working for such inclusion. For instance, one such experience was the issue of certain professions being available for migrants in their native countries, but that did not even exist in Sweden. Another and similar expression were those of migrants who were educated and had previous experience in certain professions also available in Sweden, but who had to leave such

professions and find something else due to different systems, institutions and higher requirements for that same profession in Sweden. Also, the expressions of religious or cultural collisions are also components that make up this category.

The category also defines how synchronized the migrant target group was experienced to be in relationship to the expectations of Swedish institutions and institutional agencies such as the establishment assignment itself, the Swedish labor market and Swedish rules and laws. In these aspects, the category defines how well the target group was experienced to understand the significance and the purposes of Swedish institutionalism and culture, as well as how this differed from their native institutions and culture. One such example was how well migrants understood their responsibilities, rights and obligations, both when participating in the establishment assignment but also as an employee of a Swedish employer and as a part of the Swedish society and its culture.

The category also defines the reversed, that is Swedish institutionalism and socio-cultural practices and their capacity or incapacity to match, and adapt to, foreign socio-cultural norms, practices, identities, values and institutions. These expressions took the form of demands of making the Swedish society more compatible to change, adaptation and thereby also inclusion of other cultures and identities. They could also be identified from reflections of shortcomings of the establishment assignment and its institutional and cultural bias in favor of what was perceived as a Swedish model.

Institutional/Socio-cultural synchronization is highly connected to the central categories, i.e. access to labor (and/or education), language skills/progression and societal participation. More specifically, this category is the determinant of the three main-categories. This connection could be identified in how the participants in the interviews almost always experienced institutional/socio-cultural synchronization as low or as an issue if any or all of the central categories were experienced likewise, and as high if the main categories were perceived high. Figure 4.1 shows this interconnectedness in greater detail.

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4.2.3 Women's Situation

As mentioned, women were expressed as an isolated group within the main target group of migrants. They were experienced as the group facing the most and the hardest challenges when participating in the establishment assignment. Put in other terms; of all the challenges and issues associated with the main-categories and institutional/socio-cultural synchronization that have been explained, women were by far perceived as the group that faced the most difficulties when participating in the establishment assignment and adapting to Swedish institutions, social and cultural practices and values as well as acquiring any of the main-categories.

There was a highly shared and significant experience among the interviewees of challenges for women such as lack or absence of education, previous professional experience, or both. This was often explained as results of stereotypes that imbued migrants native socio-cultural or religious values and practices, through which women take a lead role as non-working housewives and family-caretakers. The situations for migrant women was always expressed with concern, and as an extraordinary issue in need of priority and long-term solution, due to the socio-cultural challenges and the related isolation, segregation and discrimination that would often follow for women. Because of this, women and their situation were without doubt always perceived as low in relationship to the central categories and thereby also scores low in institutional/socio-cultural synchronization, putting them in a fixed situation of insecurity and low establishment (see below).

4.2.4 Social Networks

This category summarizes how the officials experienced migrants' social networks and what impact and consequences they were perceived to have on participation in the establishment assignment. Two types of networks could be identified; isolated and mixed social networks. Isolated social networks only included migrants' own national, cultural and/or co-ethnic members, with little or no opportunity to interact with Swedes or Swedish social contexts. It can also mean that these networks consist exclusively of other migrants with other national and cultural origins besides Swedish ones. Mixed social networks on the other consists of both by migrants' domestic, or other foreign networks, but it also includes Swedish socio-cultural contexts and relationships.

Drawing from the statements of the officials, mixed social networks seemed to be the ideal and favored structure of migrant networks. This was because of the reinforcing effects they were perceived to have on the three main categories and on institutional/socio-cultural synchronization in general. However, mixed social networks were mostly expressed as a preferable ideal that should be encouraged and pursued and was rarely believed to be something that actually happened in migrants' real life. In other words, mixed networks were perceived as something very hard for migrants to achieve by the officials. On the contrary, isolated social networks was described as the commonly lived reality for most migrants participating in the establishment assignment by the officials.

However, a mixed social network was expressed as achievable if the three main categories and synchronization could be strengthened. In this respect, isolated social networks were seen as a point of departure, from which migrants eventually and gradually could and should include more and more social relationships of mixed (Swedish) origins. However, from the experience of the EA-officials, many migrants were rarely able to achieve such a mix due to a sense of insecurity, shyness or a fear of changing that which is familiar. Because of this, isolated social networks were also often perceived as an obstacle that impeded migrants' progression within the establishment assignment and their individual integration. They were therefore seen as resulting in segregation, exclusion, societal isolation and that lead to a situation of insecurity and ultimately low establishment (see below).

4.2.5   Security

Security and insecurity summarize statements that refers either to the physical security or the socio-economic security of migrants participating in the assignment. When describing physical security, the interviewed officials usually referred to migrants who had fled from threats such as war, violence, instability and poverty. In this respect, previous and untreated psychological traumas and family members left behind in unstable and dangerous regions were often expressed as the sources of physical insecurity for migrants by the interviewed officials.

Socio-economic security was expressed as a direct result of high strength of the three main-categories, institutional/socio-cultural synchronization and a mixed social network. If these were experienced as high, the officials expressed the participants in the establishment assignment as living in socio-economic security, and if low, the officials perceived this as resulting in a state of socio-economic insecurity. When described in these terms the officials associated socio-economic insecurity with psychological depression and frustration, rather than trauma and anxiety, among the affected members of the migrant target group.

Despite these differences between physical and socio-economic security, the category includes both these types. This is because no matter which type of security that was being described by the officials, both types were constantly perceived as highly connected with the main categories and synchronization, since the strength or weakness of these ultimately lead to either high or low establishment. In other words; when the central categories and synchronization were high this was associated with security, and when low with insecurity. Also, the nature of social networks as either mixed or isolated, were also perceived as either sources or obstacles for security. Figure 4.1 illustrates this pattern in greater detail.

Just as with mixed social networks however, security was expressed more as an ideal that should be pursued rather than a de facto situation for most migrants in their everyday life. When explaining the practical nature and situation of migrants' security, most of the interviewed participants did so by reflecting on the sources of insecurity instead and on the importance of countering insecurity through the efforts of the establishment assignment. In this sense, security was also expressed and minted with high notions of egalitarianism and responsibility for the migrant target group on behalf of the EA.

4.3   Findings

Before moving on to conceptualization, a summary of section 4.1 and 4.2 is in order so that the categories and their alignments becomes clear. These alignments are significant since they structure how the results of the study can be understood (Tjora 2010, p. 146). I have summarized the discussions presented above with the following figure:

Figure 4.1: Findings

High Establishment

Security	Mixed social networks
Access to labor/education	
Institutional/ Socio-cultural synchronization	Language skills/ progression	Institutional/ Socio-cultural synchronization
	Societal participation	
Women's situation	Insecurity	Isolated social networks

Low Establishment
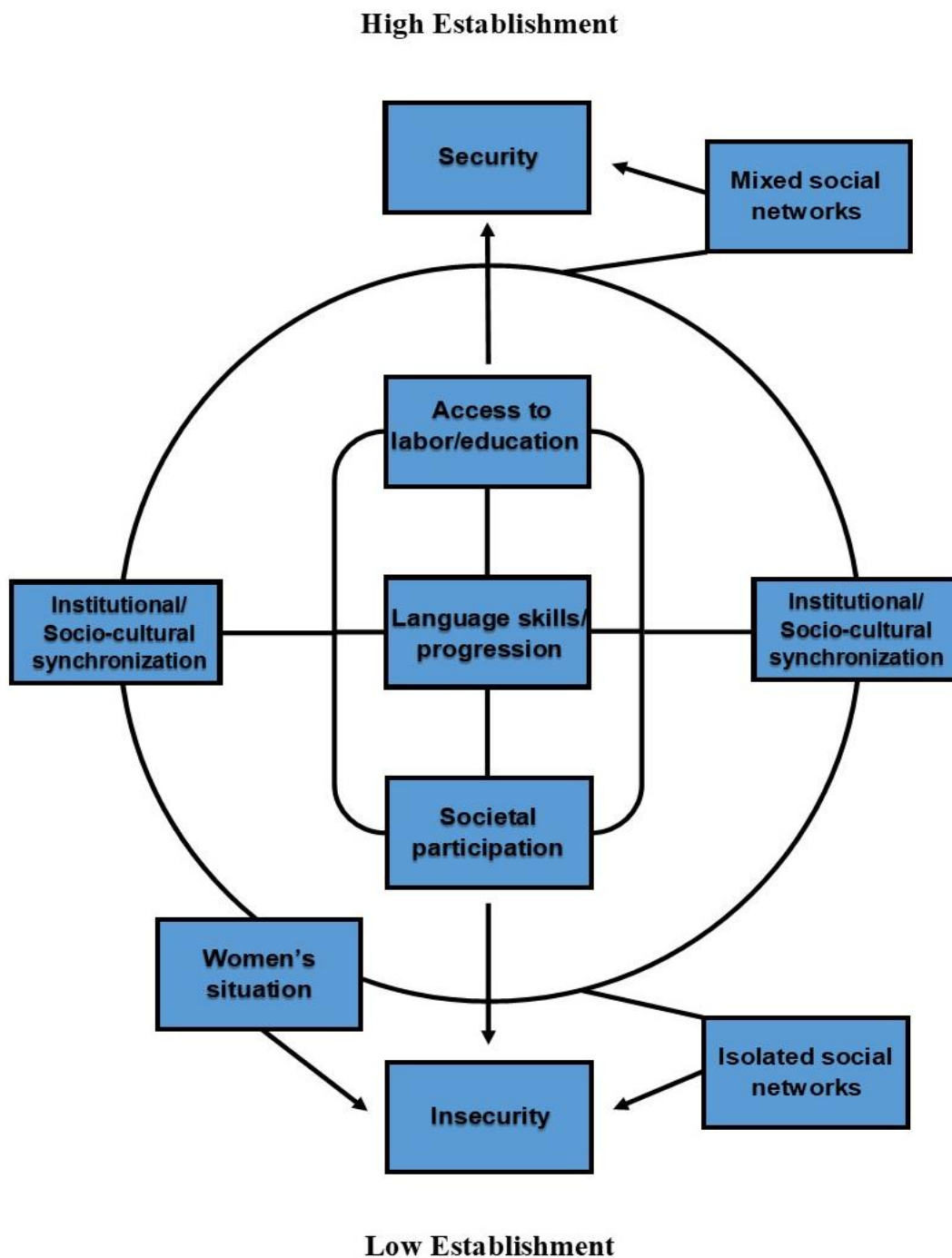
4.4   Conceptualization

As mentioned, conceptualization is according to Tjora (2010, 147) the process where the theoretical dimensions are finally allowed to guide the analysis. This means looking at the categories from the previous stage from the perspective of the theories and their operational definitions presented in the analytical instrument. Conceptualization therefore brings out the potential from both the empirical work and the theoretical insight.

4.4.1   Ethnocentric Fallacy

Something that could be identified quite early was the connection between ethnocentric fallacy and the three central categories. The way in which access to labor, language-skills and societal participation were expressed, i.e. as conditions for mixed social networks, security and ultimately for high establishment, also indicates as conditions for equality and inclusion as they are defined by ethnocentric fallacy. This connection can be made by virtue of the interviewees constant associations between the main-categories, and the high strength of these, as the conditions for equality and inclusion of foreign cultural groups due to the full societal establishment and inclusion that the they believed would follow. Or put with other words; the main categories can in these aspects be seen as the majority-culture's definition, conditions and requirements for equality and inclusion.

Institutional/socio-cultural synchronization is thereby also embedded with the ethnocentric fallacy-dimension due to its strong connection and relationship with the central categories. The establishment assignments efforts of increasing migrants' synchronization with domestic (Swedish) cultural values, practices and institutionalism seems to be a strong indicator of the very same multicultural monologue, and the assimilationism that follows with it, as defined by the ethnocentric fallacy-dimension. Such efforts, in other words, seems to indicate assimilation in accordance with the predetermined conditional 'template' for equality and inclusion in accordance with the majority-culture's cultural logic.

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Empirical findings that support these arguments were, again, the examples described by the EA-officials of migrants who had to sacrifice their competences from education or experiences of earlier employments in their native countries and take jobs in Sweden that they were overqualified for. The other was when they could not find jobs that matched their competence or experiences since these professions simply do not exist in Sweden, or because they were deemed as unqualified because of higher standards on the Swedish labor market. Synchronization in the form of assimilation and conformity therefore becomes their only choice.

Yet the synchronization-category also covers the capacity of the establishment assignment as well as the domestic Swedish society, its institutions and cultural communities, to adapt and match with foreign cultures. However, many of the officials that emphasized this side of the category often also referred to the shortages, deficiencies and dilemmas of any such mutual exchanges when interacting with foreign and differentiated groups, giving indications that this type of adaptation and synchronization rarely occurred. For example, some of the officials explained that the EA was bound to be culturally and religiously neutral to avoid any special treatment that considers other cultural, social or religious aspects. And others explicitly expressed the cultural exchange and integration with migrant communities as low. Furthermore, a domestic need of integrating with a new Sweden and the many different cultural groups and communities that nowadays make up society was also a common expression, as were issues of "missing the reality" when interacting with the target group. Therefore, the synchronization on behalf of the domestic society can be understood more as a something in need of improvement and reinforcement. And despite that synchronization was expressed as something mutual then, these expressions therefore give reason to understand synchronization as one-sided and non-reciprocal, rather than mutual.

This is not to say that access to labor, language progression, societal participation or synchronization are unreasonable conditions for integration into a new society. As mentioned, societal participation was even emphasized as a mutual process were migrants previous identities were to be respected, protected and maintained in their convergence with the Swedish society. Likewise, as mentioned in the theoretical section, participation in a common language is vital if citizens are to be able to synchronize with public institutions and agencies in order to understand one another in everyday societal life (Kymlicka 2001, 23-27). And employment, labor and the income it provides is off course something that is required not only in western cultures and societies but can rather be seen as a universal institution.

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Nonetheless, the central categories and synchronization seem to fit well with the definition of the ethnocentric fallacy-dimension since they all implicitly express conformity, compliance and adaptation with little or no opportunity for migrants to deviate from this process or the model of the establishment assignment. Again, this could be seen in how many of the interviewed officials expressed concern for the assignment as operating within 'Swedish frames.' Therefore, this clear belief and emphasis of prioritizing, strengthening and fulfilling the main-categories, as well as synchronization with the host-society, are too evident to ignore. Reflected like this, they thereby seem to constitute not the conditions for a mutual integration process, but rather the majority's definition and its rules of equality and inclusion of other groups as is defined by ethnocentric fallacy.

4.4.2   Ethnocentrism

High security, mixed social networks, and overall high establishment were in turn highly idealized as the ultimate and preferable goals of the establishment assignment, which is to expect given the EA: s purpose and function. As mentioned however, these categories were perceived to be just that; ideal results of the establishment process that should be reached and strengthened through efforts pertaining the central categories and synchronization, and not as practical and achieved realities and situations for the majority of the migrant target group. This was evident for the mixed social networks-category, since most of the interviewed officials thought of such networks as highly difficult to achieve, yet also as something that ultimately had to be achieved and therefore should be encouraged for migrants to better learn about the Swedish society and thereby reach a successful and complete establishment within it. Likewise, security was also highly idealized rather than being expressed as the actual situation for the majority of migrants participating in the establishment assignment. Instead, the real-life situation of migrants' security in both its socio-economical and physical senses were more often associated to the obstacles for reaching such securities, rather than as the actual situation of migrants in their everyday life.

As mentioned, such obstacles to socio-economic security were highly connected to the weakness of the main categories, synchronization and isolation, and typical statements made by the interviewed officials when they reflected on such obstacles could for instance be

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unemployment, inabilities to communicate and therefore also to understand the establishment assignment and its purpose, as well as segregation. On the other hand, the obstacles to physical security where often associated to untreated posttraumatic stress, a scattered family and a deficiency of the establishment assignment to acknowledge and consider such situations. Therefore, when reflecting on security, the public officials of the EA also perceived physical security as an ideal to strive for, and not as something that actually had been reached for the majority of individuals within the target group.

Because of this idealization of these categories, where security and mixed social networks are ideal situations rather than de facto situations, an indication of the same type of idealization as defined by the ethnocentrism-dimension seems to appear. The way in which security and mixed social networks were expressed indicate a utilization of an ethnocentric cultural logic as tool for evaluation of other cultural groups. This can be supported by the fact that fulfilment of these categories (should they be fulfilled), frequently were associated as that which would make migrants fully self-sufficient and independent as well as established and included in society, but therefore also more synonymous and equivalent to the majority's cultures self-image.

This also seems to be true for the reversed, that is in how that which can be seen as typical liberal democratic institutions, norms and values frequently are associated as the tools and solutions that would help or assist migrants to achieve mixed social networks and to reach security. This could be identified in the egalitarian expressions pertaining the responsibility for the migrant target group that the EA was perceived to have and the importance of assisting and helping it, and where institutions as well as rights, benefits and similar aspects associated with liberal democracy were seen as the natural countermeasures for isolated social networks and insecurity from the expressions of the officials.

In these ways, liberal democracy as well as its norms, values and practices, seems to appear as the evaluative basis and as a reference point for the legitimacy of the institutional interaction with the migrant target group. Security and mixed social networks are idealized since their fulfilment is the ultimate goal of the establishment assignment. And reaching such fulfilment can be seen as a transition from a foreign culture into the domestic culture, since such a transition would entail that migrants' identities would become more unison with the domestic, Swedish societal model and its culture. Furthermore, mixed social networks and security can therefore also be seen as metaphysically pure, i.e. whole, universal and ideal, by virtue of how their fulfilment can be seen as something that better matches the perceptions of metaphysical purity within the majority's cultural logic and self-image.

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4.4.3   Transnational Cross-border Connections

Women's situation, isolated social networks and insecurity can on the other hand be argued as to indicate the opposite, that is metaphysical impurity. In other words, these categories are that which is external and differentiated and provokes the fragmentation of metaphysical purity. This is seen in how isolated social networks were perceived as leading to insecurity due to the negative impacts they had on progress in the establishment assignment due to the isolation and segregation that would follow. For example, the interviewed officials explained that this created groupings within both the assignment and in everyday life. And the major concern was that isolated social networks therefore prevented progress within the three main categories or synchronization. Ultimately, this was perceived as providing insufficient insights of the Swedish society that ultimately lead to the segregation and insecurity of migrants.

The same can be said for women's situation since women were always reflected upon as the most exposed group among migrants. As such, women can also be understood as the group that is most distanced from the main categories and synchronization and were therefore considered as a separate group that suffered the most isolation and segregation. As mentioned this could be identified in how the officials always expressed concern and emphasized the need to prioritize women specifically within the establishment assignment. Because of this exposure, women's situation was in other words always connected directly with insecurity.

These three categories, women's situation, isolated social networks and insecurity, seem to relate to transnational cross-border connections. This connection was especially evident regarding isolated social networks, since the interviewed officials described and reflected on such networks pretty much identically with how cross-border connections are defined in the analytical instrument. In other words, isolated social networks were defined as various types of transnational networks in which migrant's native ties and relationships are maintained through global communication, correspondence and frequent social interaction with co-ethnics.

However, the fact that such social networks lead to isolation and segregation, and ultimately imped migrants' security and progression within the establishment assignment, also seems to indicate the ethnocentric tendencies of overlooking the significance of these cross-border connections in migrants' everyday life and the complexity and multiple layers of migrant identity that they create. This can be supported by how the interviewed officials acknowledged the importance of maintaining native social relationship and that this indeed was a part of

migrants' identity, but how they also simultaneously expressed concern due to the establishment assignments failure to acknowledge this significance and complexity.

These phenomena can thereby be understood as a tough institutional dilemma for migrants when going through the establishment assignment between either reforming their native and transnational networks and identities, or to face isolation and insecurity. This took the expressions of Sweden as being a super-diversity and that a unification towards the same societal direction through integration is required in order to avoid total societal fragmentation on the one hand, and the fact that most migrants were perceived as unwilling and afraid to change their social networks in favor of such unification because of shyness or the sense of security that familiar cross-border connections brings on the other. This can also indicate just how vital cross-border connections are to migrant identities, but also how integration policies and agencies overlooks these aspects.

Women's situation is a bit more problematic to connect to cross-border connections. As mentioned, the high extents to which women were perceived as a distinct, highly exposed and urgent group, were quite unexpected. In this regard, there is an issue of the design of this study since it understands migrants participating in the establishment assignment on a more abstract and general level. Women's situation therefore deserves its own research that perhaps utilizes other more suitable approaches and perspectives than those provided in this study, and that specifically isolates migrant women as the main group of migrants when trying to understand the forces behind their exposure within the establishment assignment. Note therefore that the women's situation-category deviates in how it is presented in the final results and in Figure 4.2. This is to acknowledge that other forces might be at work behind this exposure within the establishment assignment besides transnational cross-border connections.

However, the fact that the majority of the interviewed officials experienced migrant women unison in these ways, women's situation presented itself as a substantial empirical category that was too evident to ignore. And the fact that the category places itself closely to insecurity and isolated social networks gives some indications of cross-border connections nonetheless. This connection can be defended by how highly institutionalized gender-stereotypes within migrants lingering, native cultural, social or religious identities were seen as the roots of women's exposure and the challenges they faced when trying to establish in Sweden. And such native social, cultural or religious relationships, and their effect on identity, can in and of themselves be defined as cross-border connections.

Just as the significance of migrants cross-border connections are overseen by ethnocentrism then, so too were women's situation when understood as originating from the native society's culture, religion or social norms and practices. This was highly evident since a common view among the interviewed officials was that the establishment assignment was insufficient in acknowledging and identifying these challenges as well as the resilience of such native and stereotypical religious, cultural and social values and practices that shaped women's identities and their societal roles even after arriving to Sweden.

One example that highlights this was that migrant women often were escorted, supervised or controlled by their husbands during various activities in the establishment assignment and when meeting their EA administrators. And sometimes women were even prevented by their husbands to participate in the assignment and accept employment at all. Another example was the fact that women often did not have any previous education at all because of these stereotypes in their native societies, and therefore faced many additional challenges when trying to transform their native identities as non-working housewives into working women in Sweden.

Finally, the fact that women's situation and isolated social networks were constantly associated with insecurity and low establishment also seems to indicate how ethnocentrism and ethnocentric fallacy overshadows the significance and complexity of cross-border relationships. For example, isolated social networks were seen as results of weak main-categories, low synchronization or as obstacles that impeded them, and thereby also as sources of insecurity. And the lingering stereotypical native expectations and identities of women as non-working housewives were seen as preventing them to participate, synchronize and gain access to any or all of the main-categories, which thereby also lead to their insecurity. And with both of these categories, the significance and consequences of cross-border connections were not considered enough or simply something that had not been considered by the EA or the establishment assignment. Insecurity therefore indicates as the result of an ethnocentric forgetfulness pertaining the lingering transnational aspects and the significance and impacts of these on migrant identities, and therefore also explains the resilience of migrant insecurity, the difficulties in countering it and thereby also to include them in society.

4.5   Results

I have chosen to summarize the previous section with figure 4.2. It develops figure 4.1 by bringing in the analytical instrument and connecting its theoretical dimensions with the empirical findings in accordance to the discussions under section 4.4 Conceptualization. This thereby also presents the final results of the analysis.

Figure 4.2: Final results
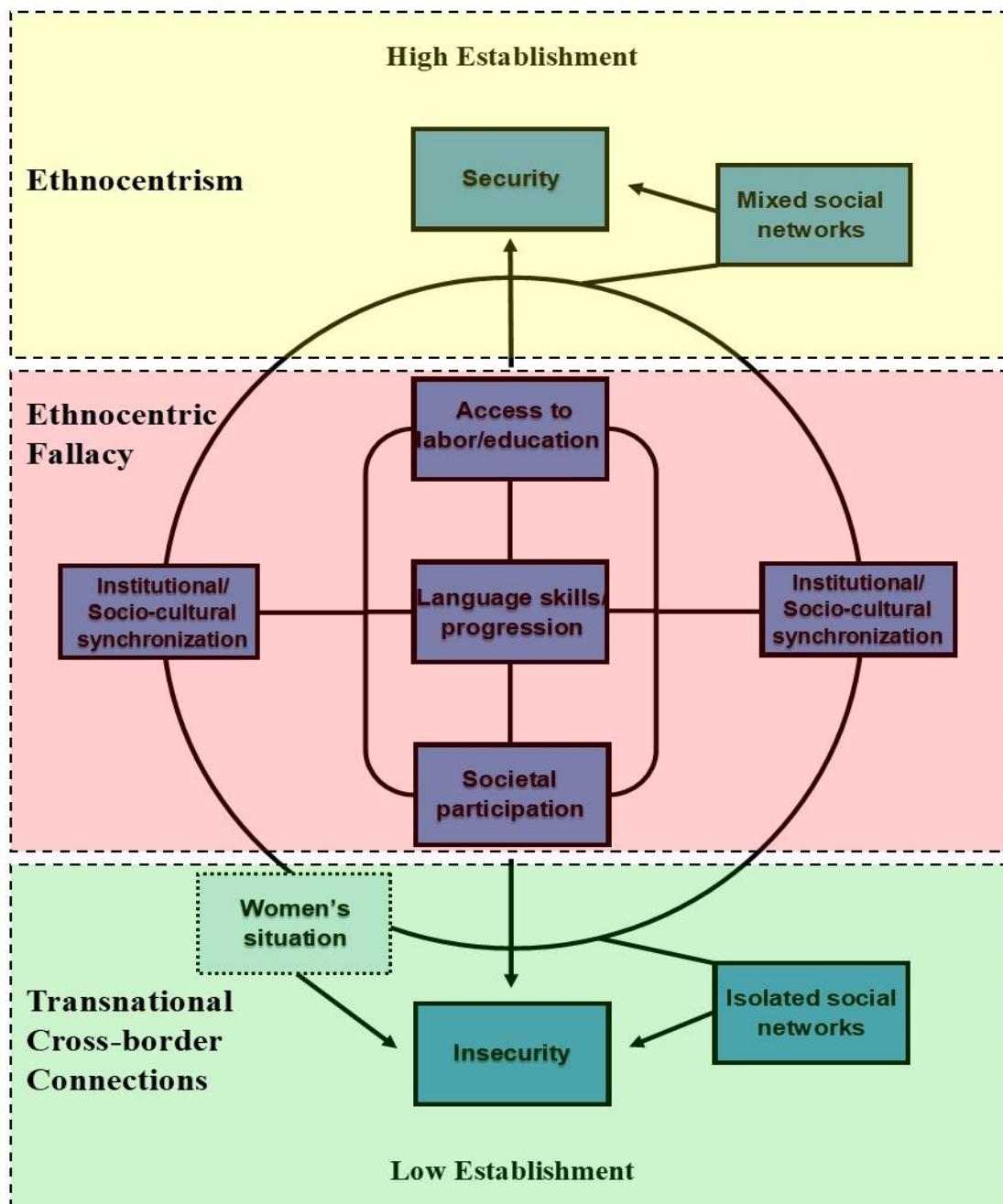
4.6   Discussion

The results from the analysis represent a small fraction of the overall picture of multicultural integration processes within a democratic welfare-state. There are off course more dimensions besides ethnocentrism and ethnocentric fallacy at work within multicultural integration-policies that are not included in this analysis. And off course, more aspects than transnational cross-border connections are affected in integration processes of welfare-states.

For example, Irene Bloemraads, Anna Kortewegs and Gökçe Yurdakuls (2008, 154-156) consider the possibilities for receiving states to demand minimum levels of naturalization of residents who cannot acquire citizenship through birth. And a usual requirement is for migrants to demonstrate basic knowledge of the new host-country and its dominant language. This was also highly visible in the analysis through the language-category as well as societal participation. Furthermore, Bloemraad et. al. (2008, 158) also state that when immigrants are required to learn the majority language the overall civic participation in political processes are reinforced.

Furthermore, Alexander Betts (in Betts et. al, 2011, 19-23) argues that it is quite natural for states' interests and power to influence how they construct and shape migration governance. For instance, states base their migration policies on their economic interests, such as for instance access to labor as it revealed itself in the analysis. And power of course allows states to determine and define their own migration policies for migrants to synchronize socially, culturally and institutionally in accordance with these interests, which also is suggested by the results.

These are important disclaimers since the purpose is not to conclude multiculturalism and its policies for inclusion as normatively or morally 'bad'. It is also important in defense of the EA officials interviewed in this study and their daily work and efforts, since the purpose is not to shame or blame either. However, as Dalen (2007, 69-70) states in these regards, interpretation is about transcending the experiences of interview participants to a theoretical direction and generate theoretical insights of the specific phenomena that are being analyzed. And the results of this analysis support the fact of the increasing difficulties for multicultural societies to accommodate and adapt to cultural diversity and to grant cultural inclusion due to transnational aspects of migrants' identity.

This result might find support in the arguments of Pierpaolo Donati (2008, 56-58) who argues that the multicultural dilemmas can be better understood when multiculturalism is distinguished and understood as an ideal. Multiculturalism as an ideal becomes evident in its struggles for cultural values and interests lived by specific cultural communities as if they were universal values and interests, by appealing to the principle of political equality granted to all cultural differences. However, this ideal neglect a crucial social fact according to Donati; that societies are becoming increasingly more diverse and heterogenous. The issue is therefore that multiculturalism transforms this social fact into a political program, which in his view always are expressions and extensions of an ideology. Therefore, multiculturalism is never politically neutral and therefore not a proper instrument for managing cultural diversity. In these regards, he states that "The right to diversity, to every cultural diversity, is passed off as the right to the equality of opportunities that any culture should have in configuration of its choices and practices (while in fact it is not)" (Donati, 2008, 58).

Donatis arguments therefore seems to be highly relevant in defence for the results of this study. This is because they show how transnational aspects and distinctiveness of migrant identity are highly resilient and that they nurture and reinforce cultural and ethnic diversity as a social fact. And at the same time, they also show how multiculturalism and multicultural societies might aim to increase cultural inclusion and ensure cultural protection and equality, but how this cannot always be realized since they in fact are extensions of the cultural values, ideal expectations and the self-image of the societal majority which might not be compatible with migrant and migrant groups. And when put in the context of the increasing possibilities of mobility, communication and social, cultural and institutional interactions with the country of origin, allowing migrants to develop and maintain a transnational identity that is hard to define, pinpoint and adapt to for multicultural societies, the results also highlight society rather paradoxically, i.e. as a shared space where highly differentiated and distinctive cultural groups and communities are simultaneously perceived as coexisting as equals.

In line with these arguments, Alexandre Coello de la Rosa (2014, 110-111) similarly argues that liberal-democratic rhetoric is typically measured through its capacity to integrate and include minorities, as well as their impurities, into the hegemonic cultural order. Yet, acknowledging 'the others' as equal *and* different inevitably leads to assimilation. de la Rosa connects this argument to issues that are generated within liberal democracies where he states that transnational migration is perceived as something that erodes and fragments cultural identity, national social cohesion and that ultimately changes national culture, leading to a loss of it. de la Rosa states that this can be understood as leading to the resilience of liberal

democracies of sharing their privileges that 'regular' citizens hold, including the privilege to introduce societal change. Instead, the consequence is according to de la Rosa that "[multiculturalist] European governments prefer to integrate, adapt, and assimilate immigrants through a process of cultural domestication-that is, culturization-that dissolves their particularities in a new symbolic order" (2008, 111).

Therefore, reevaluating multiculturalism and its associated and connected policies for inclusion within liberal democracies might be an important and highly relevant step for future research and integration policies so that these factors might be given more consideration in multicultural efforts and agencies. The results highlight the very dilemma of including differentiated group and label them as equals, while in truth and practice they are highly distinct and still in many ways maintain a lifestyle and identity that is highly connected to the countries of origin. And as the analysis and its results show, the incapacities for multicultural societies to identify, recognize and adapt to these transnational realities of migrants' situation and lifestyles might have dire consequences since it, at best, can be said to develop integration policies that migrants might not be so receptive to. Because as was clear from the analysis, the consequences for migrants who deviated or in some ways could not adapt in accordance with the conditions for inclusion and equality, i.e. the central categories and synchronization, were all perceived as facing substantial challenges when establishing in Sweden. And transnational networks, lifestyles and interactions were highly contributing to this pattern. Equality and inclusion might therefore be much harder to achieve than societies want to admit

Indeed, these arguments express high degrees of criticism to the multicultural welfare-state and its capacity to include 'others'. Yet they are nonetheless highly supportive for the results of this study. It is important however to again acknowledge that this study merely builds on seven interviews with public officials in one city in mid-sized Swedish city. And Sweden is off course only one of many multicultural welfare-states. Therefore, the possibilities for variations are off course quite substantial. However, considering the issues brought up in this discussion, I believe that there is significance in the results of this study and their indications of high tensions and difficult dilemmas in relation to transnational aspects of migrants' identity within multicultural welfare-states and their policies of integration and inclusion.

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5   Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to increase the understanding of how ethnocentrism affect multicultural ideals, practices, agency and inclusion in relationship to transnational aspects of the identities of migrants targeted by such policies. A key argument has been that ethnocentrism within multicultural integration policies creates tensions pertaining migrant transnational identities, cultural distinctiveness, lifestyle and relationships, or what in this study has been defined as transnational cross-border connections, and thereby lead to difficulties of including them in society. This led to asking the research question:

> *How can ethnocentrism, ethnocentric fallacy and transnational cross-border connections and their relationship be understood within the Swedish Employment Agency's implementation of Swedish integration policies?*

Ethnocentrism can be understood as an idealization of mixed social networks and security. This could be identified in how achievement of these categories was seen as that which would make migrants established and integrated within the domestic Swedish society. But this can also be understood as expectations on migrant communities to make a transition from a foreign into the domestic community, since institutional efforts for fulfilling these categories can be seen as a process of assimilating differentiated cultural communities and make them more equivalent in accordance with the domestic community's cultural logic. Also, what can be understood as liberal institutions, practices and norms and values, i.e. the cultural logic and self-image of the majority-culture, where highly associated as natural and legitimate tools that could help migrants to achieve mixed social networks and security and thereby also full establishment and inclusion with the Swedish society. This could be identified from high degrees of egalitarian expressions pertaining the responsibility and importance of assisting, helping and encouraging migrants to take these steps. Therefore, this emphasis on security and mixed social networks can be concluded as connected to unconscious conviction of a universal legitimacy of the liberal democratic system, and a utilization of this cultural logic in the interactions with, and inclusion of, other and differentiated cultural groups.

Ethnocentric fallacy is understood as a high emphasis on access to labor or education, language skills and progression, societal participation and institutional and/or socio-cultural synchronization. These categories were the most common and evident in the empirical material

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and are concluded as the cultural majority's conditions for multicultural inclusion and equality. This was because high strength and occurrence of these categories were perceived as vital necessities for achieving mixed social networks and security, which in turn ultimately led to establishment and integration. But they also implicitly indicated high degrees of conformity, compliance and assimilation on behalf of the migrant target group, where little or no opportunities to deviate from these processes and the predetermined model of society that it follows. This was commonly expressed by statements that highlighted the establishment assignment, its processes as well as the labor market as operating within very 'Swedish' frames. Access to labor, language skills/progression, societal participation as well as institutional/socio-cultural synchronization can therefore be understood not as conditions for mutual integration, but rather the cultural majority's rules for inclusion and cultural equality, which renders multicultural dialogue into a monologue that entail assimilation so that these categories can be fulfilled. Or in other words, efforts of increasing and strengthening these categories can be seen as efforts for assimilation since such efforts were expressed as following a Swedish model.

Finally, transnational cross-border connections can be understood as isolated social networks of migrants with little or no opportunity to interact or merge such networks with domestic Swedish contexts and relationships. Furthermore, cross-border connections can also be understood as highly institutionalized gender-stereotypes which imbues lingering native cultural, social or religious aspects of migrant identity, leading to a situation of high exposure for migrant women when participating in the establishment assignment. Both categories were furthermore highly associated as results of low access to labor, language skills, societal participation and synchronization, which also made isolated social networks and women's situation highly connected and associated to insecurity. And the fact that insecurity is the result of isolated social networks and of the exposure of migrant women, as well as the difficulties of identifying and countering these issues, can be explained by an ethnocentric forgetfulness and institutional unawareness of the significance and resilience of migrants lingering transnational cross-border connections, leading them to be overlooked.

The results therefore highlight significant difficulties for multicultural societies to include migrants and migrant groups due to the transnational aspects of migrants' identity that are overlooked in favor of the prevalence of the domestic cultural logic. The question therefore is whether multiculturalism should be reevaluated in light of the increasing possibilities of maintaining a lifestyle, culture and an identity that transcends the traditional national borders of states, so that these factors might be more considered in policies for integration, inclusion and equality. Time will tell if multiculturalism is up to the task.

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        Dec. 2017)

Appendix 1: Interview Request

Hi,

My name is Christian Norelius and I am currently working with my master thesis in political science at Lund University. In this thesis I study establishment and integration of migrants. Therefore, I would very much like to interview you for this thesis.

The purpose with the study is to examine if there are any tensions between the Employment Agency's implementation of the establishment mission and integration policies on the one hand, and migrants' transnational identities and situations on the other.

A central argument in the study is that it often is problematic to achieve multicultural dialogue and interactions in practice, and thereby also to achieve establishment and integration, since culture might take several different expressions in the efforts and implementations of Swedish integration policies.

The interview will take approximately 30 minutes (maximum 45 minutes) and will be recorded. It is completely voluntary, and you have the right to cancel at any time. You also have the right to undo your participation afterwards. The recorded material will only be used for this study and no other, and I alone will have access to the material. You will be treated confidentially in the paper, but there is a possibility that you will be given a coded nickname on the occasions that the study refers to your statements. After the completion of the study the recorded material will be deleted. The completed study will be available to the public through Lund University publications.

Hope that you are interested in participating and thanks in advance!

Sincerely:
Christian Norelius
my_mail.adress@somemail.com
070-XXXXXXX

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

1. Warmup questions:

- What do you work with within the establishment mission/Employment Agency?
    - Do you have any specific assignments or responsibilities?

- How long have you been working here?

- Why did you want to work at the Employment Agency and with the establishment mission?

2. Ehnocentrism: Describe the establishment- and integration mission

- What is establishment and integration?

- Why is establishment and integration important?
    - Why is it emphasized - in media, debates, politics, policy?
    - What is the most important goal with establishment and integration?

- In what ways does establishment and integration achieve multiculturalism and diversity?

- In your experience; are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

3. Transnationalism: Describe the transnational identity of migrants that you meet:

- Do you notice this kind of relationships, practices or identity when you work with the target group?
    - In what ways?

- In your experience, is it important to keep or maintain this these relationships or this identity when going through the process?
    - How? In what ways? Examples?

- To what extent do you believe that the establishment mission considers this type of relationships?

4. Ethnocentric fallacy: Describe the process

- When has establishment and integration succeeded in your experiences?
  - What has actually been achieved when the goal of establishment has been achieved?

- Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating the establishment assignment?

- Reversed: what is the biggest advantage they gain through establishment and integration in your experience?
  - Examples?

- In your experience, is there something that needs to be done in different ways or to change with the establishment mission?
  - What? How?

Appendix 3: Nicknames of interview participants

1.   Robin

2.   Alex

3.   Bobbie

4.   Charlie

5.   Addison

6.   Kim

7.   Kelly

Appendix 4: Summarized near-text Interview Codes

The appendix contains the coded raw data from the interview-transcriptions. These codes are from the very first coding-session of each transcription, meaning that they summarize and label all the statements from each interview. All codes have been translated freely from Swedish to English.

Interview 1: Robin

Q: What is establishment and integration?

It is about the place for individuals within society
That all individuals feel valuable
A social context to go to
Children have a mother or a father to look up to
No difference depending on where you come from
A meaningful existence and a valuable occupation

Q: Why do you think so much importance is attached to integration and establishment?

It is about economy
A lot of money are invested in 'them' before they are integrated
Migrants are needed in order to maintain the society
Not enough people are born in order to maintain society
Alienation creates debates
It creates a lot of emotions and fear

Q: Why is access to labor in specific so important for integration?

It concerns both newly arrived and individuals that lives on social economic support
Segregated areas is the same thing
Growing up as a receiver of social economic support
Can this pattern be broken
Equally important for newly-arrived migrants to gain access to labor

They become role models for their children
A part of one's identity and sense of pride to be valuable
A social context to go to

Q: In what ways do think that the establishment assignment considered multiculturalism?

Employment support can be of assistance for corporations
Field trips to employment-establishments can open the eyes of the participants
Field trips in order to encourage employers to receive these individuals
Our most important task is to inform and teach industries and corporations about the target group and their competences
Many companies experience difficulties in recruiting during this economic boom
Many newly arrived experience difficulties in achieving a first access to the labor market

Q: Do you believe that the multicultural exchange is mutual?

The society needs to meet somewhere
It is not only newly arrived that are to be integrated
Our society also needs to integrate

Q: And how well do you experience that our society integrates with other cultures?

Not well at all
It is about fear that is rooted in insufficient knowledge

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

In the beginning there were many disagreements between the EA and the municipalities
Today the cooperation and communication is sufficient
The assignment is reformed from a right into a program
Gives EA-officials more support than before
We have had to accept if the participants wants to refrain
We will have more mandate in the new program, which is positive
Have a deeper knowledge of the higher requirements of the labor marked in the employed

An occupation can look very different in Sweden and might therefore not be viable
Are trying to adjust this

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

Not from the perspective of my tasks and duties
It is possible that my colleagues see it differently

Q: But now when you are reflecting on it, what importance do you think such networks and relations would have?

Difficult to answer
We mostly focus on performance rather than capacity for work within the employment
Hard to connect to these multiple identities

Q: Do you think it is important to keep these networks and relationships?

It is their identity
It is very important that we do not take it away from them
There are examples when individuals dare to challenge their cultural identities
Women are encouraged to challenge their identities when they discover the possibilities for women in Sweden
We need to be afraid to require and demand change
We need to be perceptive and also inform of the possibilities in Sweden

Q: When has establishment and integration been successful, and what has been accomplished when it succeeds?

It is important to identify goals early in the process
The language-progression should move forward
As short waits and hold ups as possible so that one has the opportunity to progress
Especially the language
Close cooperation with employers
Internship or a first employment that converts to a regular employment
One is considered as established if one has had employment or has participated in regular education for six months

The long-term sightedness is that which is important
Have succeeded when labor and employment is long-term

Q: So is it simply access to labor that defines establishment and integration

From the EA:s perspective, yes

Q: If you consider the EA:s partners and related agencies and actors, do these definitions of establishment and integration vary?

The goal of children and adolescents is to find their place in school or kindergarten
As an adult the goal is labor or education
Also the social context
Access to leisure that is valuable

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

The language is a huge challenge
Many have a strong drive and will to progress and to find their place in society
Without the language you become restricted in social contexts
everyday communication and everyday dialogues are important for language and participation
It is complicated and a lot to process
There are many different authorities to engage with
It is very different and confusing for a long period

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

A structured support pertaining language-progression
We are a support along the entire process
I experience that many need help with opening the doors
They have the competence, but they need help to bring it out

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

We cooperate with multiple authorities in a project called Meetingrounds and Information
The Migration Office summons the individuals

The participants meet with us and the Insurance Office at the same site
Needs to be developed so that individuals are susceptible to all the information
There is a substantial amount of information
Cooperation with more authorities and municipalities is positive

Interview 2: Alex

Q: What is establishment and integration?

To learn Swedish and get a job
To support the individual in language and in employment in the best ways as soon as possible
Collides with my private opinion in my role as employed
I often meet people with no opportunities to establish

Q: Why is establishment and integration important?

We have encountered a significant wave in migration with new target groups that we have not encountered before
New type of refugees that face greater challenges to establish and to integrate
Lack of education make it harder to integrate
Women often lack an identity as workers and employed
The political pressure is an answer to great tensions that are created because of immigration
It is easy to blame societal issues on immigration
There is a thriving racism or strong prejudice
The political answer is to raise multiculturalism as something positive
It is to enrich us instead

Q: What are the goals with establishment and integration?

To be economically independent and self sufficient

It is not about adopting Swedish cultural values
One must respect Swedish law
One must find an income
One is to be able to affect one's own life
Otherwise you become dependent on social support and benefit
A harder psychological challenge to break the dependence in social support
Women are not to end up in a situation of dependency
One is to be able to affect one's own situation as much as possible

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

There are many requirements that are to be fulfilled during the two years in the assignment
One must quickly learn the language and gain access to the labor market
Many of these individuals are without any type or residence
They have a shattered family
An extremely insecure situation
Learning a language that it not anyway near your own language is not an effort that comes lightly
When you cannot trust your residence-situation
When you do not know if your children will survive
Hard to muster and maintain the focus and concentration needed to receive the information
The target group cannot maintain the focus and commitment we require from them

Q: Can you develop and specify?

It is really hard to find a residence
There are no residents or apartments
There are no alternatives of residences
The economy is attached to the residence
Most of the income goes to the residence, and there are no money left for other things
The establishment does not consider that many originates from a more collective group-society

| The target group does not have the same individualistic thinking as here in Sweden |
| A significant aspect is women whose situation is far from the labor market |
| The establishment assignment does not consider what women can or want to do |
| We need to reformulate the issues as they look pertaining women |
| Women have a role and an identity attached to family |
| Women feel that they lose their identity as a mother, wife or woman |
| It affects the self-esteem of women |
| An issue that we have trouble to define here in Sweden |
| We don't want to be labelled as racists |
| It is a sensitive issue |
| Something that we need to work with if we want women to participate in society |
| The insecurity leads to psychological challenges |
| Security is our most basal need |
| If we do not have security, nothing else works |
| Insecurity affect the psyche |
| Untreated traumas leaves scars lead to psychological illness |
| The target group experience the situation as totally unreasonable here |

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

| Problematic for those that isolate themselves and do not have a social context |
| Those who are not part of their own communities are feeling more depressed |
| Not many that are successful with making Swedish friends |
| Not many that integrate socially in Sweden |
| Problems emerge if you miss a social network |
| Better to have a social network even if it is only to you fellow compatriots |
| Unusual to have a Swedish social network |
| That which brings a basic sense of security is highly important in the beginning |
| The need for security is at its highest in the beginning of the process |

Work, school and networks builds up the security on multiple pillars
Work, children participating in school and networks build social context that bring security
New social context makes the relationship with compatriots less important

Q: Does the establishment assignment consider these issues of isolation that you describe?

Nothing opposes that we should do it
I do not experience that we enforce any cultural demands
Access the society by achieving an employment
You can have a profession in the Swedish society and belong to your own cultural sphere on your leisure
You can belong to your own cultural sphere and not integrate privately

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

It is difficult to understand the requirements that are placed on you
It is difficult to understand the connections and contexts in the process
It is difficult to receive and process all the information
It is difficult to learn the language and communicate
It is difficult to integrate within such a differentiated and advanced society

Q: What are we missing?

The issues are significant for the problematic groups
We do not dare to speak of other cultural structures
We assume that everyone wants the same thing, which is not the chase
Many men feel depressed when they do not fulfill the roles as family providers
A more tolerant gender role for men in Sweden compared with other cultures lead to difficulties
If we do not address the issues they will become an obstacle and a problem without us understanding why
Hard to address these issues since it is easy to be branded as a racist in the Swedish society
We see integration as 'Swedification' and miss that multiculturalism is to live side by side

Q: Do you believe that the process requires a sacrifice of one's cultural background and identity?

I believe so if they are to participate in our systems and institutions
I don't think they give up their culture, which might be the background to some issues
The establishment is insufficient in capturing the reality
We have never handled groups that are this substantial before
We lack methods of investigation in order to understand the consequences for instance analphabetics
In Sweden a lack of education can be equivalent to a disability
We face a dilemma of how to engage with analphabetics
The establishment does not consider the situation of analphabetic

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

We have succeeded once the individual has an employment and an income
You get to participate in structured causes of action in order to learn the basics of the Swedish society
Nothing orients around changing them socially or culturally, but rather around societal orientation
Language and societal orientation must be included and enable social contexts

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

Not discriminate in favor of the target group
Need to clarify the expectations of the labor market
Need to clarify that Sweden builds on everyone's participation in labor
Clarify that if you don't work you'll be alienated from society
Need to clarify that it is difficult for women to remain exclusively as housewives
We entrust with Swedish social codes where one reads between the lines, and need to become clearer
We cannot assume that we know what people want or need

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Interview 3: Bobbie

Q: What is establishment and integration?

To participate in the society

Q: Why is establishment and integration important?

Participation is one of the substantial issues
Important if Sweden is to grow as a country
Important to make the most of the manpower and competences that we receive
The target group should not have to feel differentiated and as outcasts

Q: Do you experience that the cultural exchange is mutual between the EA and the target group?

There is a cultural exchange with the target group
Our society also need to change
We receive many new professions that the labor market and the EA need to adapt to
There should be educations available for these new professions

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

There are challenges but things have become better
The EA had not managed without its partners and cooperating actors
Great challenges in improving the cooperation
Challenges of informing the target group of their rights and obligations
The regulations and the labor market is very different here compared to where you came from
We need to inform of how things are here
There are high competences that are not accommodated
The process is long and needs to be shorter

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

Initially, many seek to those who talk their own language
Many seek contexts of language exchanges

Many seek to those who talk their own language at first
Many are isolated with their own at home
Many seek to Swedish contexts
Many wishes to gain access to Swedish labor-contexts
Many want to learn Swedish
The mission as a whole is very abstract and could be improved. I don't know how
Don't think we have considered all aspects
We have not focused on those aspects at large

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

An individual is established when he or she participates in labor or education
We need to develop something more viable after the process is finished
The individual needs to have long-term care in his or her profession or education
An individual is established when he or she participates in labor or education

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

Maintaining motivation when the process is stalled
It depends on what they want and on their background
Many are confused
Some have a clear sense of direction
It is unclear when individuals do not have clear senses of direction
The society adapts
The EA and employers are adapting more to the language-skills of individuals
It gets better and more are taking their responsibility

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

It is about security and participation
To be secure from war and danger

Rules and laws that provide protection

That one can trust in authorities

To be self-sufficient and independent

It is important that we adapt and offer help

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

It is positive with a duty of education since it is required within the labor market

Education enables you to access the labor market

It is important to be clear and explain societal differences

It is important that they are a part of the process

The key is to explain

Interview 4: Charlie

Q: What is establishment and integration?

To become a part of the Swedish society as soon as possible

To gain access to labor

Integration through access to the labor market

Q: Why do you think so much importance is attached to integration and establishment?

Necessary if society is to function properly

We need to help and take responsibility of those who arrive here

The target group need to gain an education and access the labor market

We need to adapt the assistance in accordance with their situation

Need to understand their traumas

Need to understand their culture

Accessing the labor market and gain a profession

That they become participant within the society

It need to be seen in the long-term

This will be solved in time

We need to accept that change takes time

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

We have clear directives to educate the target group and validate their competence

The process can be slow and challenging sometimes

It has improved in the last couple of years

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

Many live in shattered family-situations

One was self-employed and had business-connection with the country of origin

Many go to visit their native countries

Sometimes they might merely disappear without notifying us

Many in the target group wants to participate in Swedish labor- and language contexts

Some isolates themselves out of fear or insecurity

They limit themselves and their opportunities

Need to motivate them to take small steps

If they are motivated and supported we will succeed

One would like to have time to do more

We have come far pertaining some aspects

Need to highlight that people are on different levels individually

There is so much more one would like to have time to achieve

Would like to meet each individual, it builds trust

Cannot forget to see the human in each individual

| Those who want can converge their culture with the Swedish society |
| It is about individual responsibility |

Q: When has establishment and integration been successful, and what has been accomplished when it succeeds?

| One has been successful once one identifies the right path for the individual |
| One has been successful once the target group gets an employment and establishes |
| Access to labor gives income and freedom |
| That the children are attending school |

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

| It is very confusing |
| The process of settling, children's education and the language progression all take place simultaneously |
| Their situation is chaotic |
| Many are denied their earlier professions here in Sweden |
| There are higher standards and requirements in Sweden |
| It creates frustration |
| They need to adapt |
| We need to polish their competences |
| Do not believe that we are in a rush with getting them into the labor market |
| They just need to complement some bits |

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

| That many get to embrace the Swedish society |
| That their fears and insecurities are removed |
| That they can feel that they are Swedish |
| That they feel involved and that they contribute |

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

| The target group is educated too late |

Should be mandatory with education earlier throughout the entire process
It needs to be swifter
We need to be clearer with the target group
The target group must be armed with a senior high school education in order to get the same chances
We need to put in more efforts so that something happens
Need to ensure that they are educated, and then proceed from there
The language always falls short
Everything depends on the language

Interview 5: Addison

Q: What is establishment and integration?

Helping people to become societal participators through labor

Q: Why is establishment and integration important?

It is important since Sweden is a super diversity
Immigration causes societal defragmentation and issues
Integration unifies everyone towards the same goals
Integration through labor is a huge advantage in society
If you work you feel secure and involved in society
Those who get a job are more involved in society
When you work you do something that nourishes the society
We feel that we aid the target group
We assist individuals in need of accessing society
We work while we simultaneously aid the target group

Q: In what ways does establishment and integration achieve multiculturalism and diversity?

The establishment assignment is constructed from a Swedish model
The target group does not have the competences needed to make use of the assignment
The target groups earlier competences and experiences are not viable by Swedish institutions
The purpose is to adjust and compensate the target group for these differences
If there are any competences we have to accommodate and direct them

Q: Can you specify in what ways the process follows a Swedish model?

There are many professions in Sweden that do not exist in the country of origin, and vice versa
Many discover that their competences are insufficient in Sweden
It creates issues for those who are educated and experienced
Many are forced to leave their professions in order to find something viable in Sweden
Many are frustrated
They expect professions to be the same in Sweden, which they are not
Many women live in tough situations
Women face many obstructions from their home
Women often need to refrain from employment or education because of their husbands
The attitudes pertaining gender equality differs
You need to be specialized in Sweden
There are cultures in which women are not allowed to work
Takes a long time for women to realize that they need to work

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

The reality is overlooked when decisions are taken from above
Decision makers should take more inspiration from those who work at the floor
The efforts are to general and lack many aspects
It takes time to identify the needs of the target group
Have many education programs that few can take part of

It is a complicated bureaucratic process
A profession might be viable in the country of origin but not in Sweden
One need to go through preparations and become certified for earlier professions
Need to learn the language and be educated on several levels
In practice a person could conduct earlier professions, but they are not allowed since there are rules that must be followed
They become disappointed when the Swedish language is insufficient
The process needs to be shorter
The assignment is very black on white and misses individual aspects
We have some cultural, differentiated expectations
Sweden is an organized society that wants to maintain its structures
Those who make decisions utilize templates of Sweden and how Sweden should function
The efforts that assist the target groups entrance in our societal structures lead to problems
If each and everyone got to live as in their country of origin it would not work
I don't know what decision makers could change
We are strict in that the target group must readjust
In time everything works on its own
Adolescents in specific starts to learn a cultural mix in time

Q: Do you think a sacrifice of one's own culture is required in favor of this Swedish model you describe?

It is possible to maintain your own cultural values
Many times there are no collision with Swedish values, but it is rather a question of how to express and communicate
Some values are mutual
If you communicate you find one another
It is in the initial part that frustration might occur
You learn more from relatives and friends from the same country that have integrated, than you do from Swedes

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

It occurs
Know of one individual who was not hired due to eventual plans to move to the U.K.
You identify in multiple ways as an immigrant
Transnational networks might prolong the process
Very common to consider moving to other countries
Prolongs the process
Sometimes people can merely disappear and travel home
Transnational networks is very common
It obstructs language progression and affect your individual growth
Instead of speaking Swedish you use your native language
Large language-groupings within SFI
You can pass SFI and still not have learned Swedish
You lack networks with individuals that speak Swedish
If they do not already know anyone in a Swedish context they won't want to participate in them
Many want to participate in the same activities as their acquaintances
You identify more with your own group rather that with your competences
Obstructs the process
Identity must be maintained
Important that you can identify with your own group
The individual need to be able to identify with his or her goals and competences
The individual must be able to identify what he or she is capable with regards to what is offered by the society
You can continue to be who you are even when undergoing the process and accessing the labor market

Q: But now when you are reflecting on it, how well do you think the assignment takes these transnational aspects into account?

Many activities encourage the target group to try professions that are unconventional for them

Need to focus on encouraging, inform and give women the same chance as men
The language and communication are obstacles that prolongs the process
Authorities have an incredible amount of information which is poorly adapted to the target group
You need to adapt information and efforts individually
You need to encourage the individual to participate in society

Q: When has establishment and integration been successful, and what has been accomplished when it succeeds?

When a person realizes that he or she can work despite the obstacles
When a person learns the language
When an analphabetic manages to access the labor market
Access to labor market needs to be done with a long-term perspective

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

It is very frustrating
They are analphabetic and feel useless
Those who have an education have hopes
Many are frustrated and become impatient with how long the process is
Many well-educated feel that they are degraded down to a child's level and start all over again
Many feel useless and need support
Many are ambitious and determined, but most feel frustrated and useless

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

We rebuild them from start
We try to identify and value their competences so that they become useful
We can adapt their competences and experiences to closely related professions
Those who do not have competence needs to be educated
There are relevant education programs that can formalize the competences of the target group

Many want to start working right away but find it difficult to find jobs

Nobody wants to hire those who cannot prove and validate their competence

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

We have integration policies that are personal and clear
Both authorities and target groups need assistance
More responsibility is required from those who are to access the society
It is not the authority's responsibility, but rather your own
The target group receives wrong information and think that everything is granted to them by the authorities
The attitudes in the society are wrong pertaining personal responsibility
We should be clearer from the beginning that they are responsible for their own income
We should be clearer with the fact that the establishment process is temporary
It is hard to mediate information without appearing as a mean official
Need to demand more individual responsibility
Increase the awareness of their obligations

Interview 6: Kim

Q: What is establishment and integration?

Seeing the benefits of employing the target group
There has been a low multicultural consideration in recruitment
Homogenous labor forces
To see the benefits in recruiting individuals with other languages and networks in order to expand business
To make corporations grow by utilizing the competences of the target group

Greatest challenge in Sweden is that the majority of unemployed are new in Sweden
You become a free individual if you work
You become integrated when you work
If you are not part of the labor market you become dependent on society
An employment is a natural part of becoming a participant in society
A job leads to economic security
In is not only societal participation, but also to have opportunities in society

Q: Why is establishment and integration important?

Unemployment is costly for society
Large majority of the enlisted unemployed are exposed target groups
The demands on both corporations and on the reserve of labor forces are substantial which prevents growth
We need to make efforts so that the target group can work in order for society to grow
There are many disturbances in areas with high unemployment which affect the area negatively
They feel frustrated and excluded
Positive when children grow up in a family where parents go to work
There won't be any negative atmospheres in areas where people work

Q: What are the goals with establishment and integration?

It gives us opportunities and resources to focus on the target group
You are to establish in the labor market within two years
Compared with many other programs, one has a freedom within the establishment assignment
We can prepare the target group for the labor market
Efforts, educations and professional training in combination with SFI
Efforts to ensure that language is not an obstacle
Language allows for speeding up the integration and establishment

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

The law applies to 90 per cent of the population, which mean that there will always be exceptions
All cities have local opportunities that can differ a lot, making the process more difficult
I see nothing that obstructs the process locally
No challenges pertaining the target group
There has been a shortage of efforts pertaining the target group until now, which prolongates the process
Laws and bureaucracy sometimes obstructs the process
The efforts sometimes burns a lot of resources for employers
The target group are grouped together at the employers, which obstructs the language progression
We have not had tools or educations that have been effective
Language training has often been insufficient

Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

Have not reflected on that aspect
More of a rule than exception to associate with your own group
It is only natural and an aspect of belonging to associate with your own group
Som corporations see transnational networks as an advantage and an opportunity to expand
Common for many to travel to their homelands

Q: When has establishment and integration been successful, and what has been accomplished when it succeeds?

It has succeeded when the individual has a job
When the efforts assists individuals with preparation for the labor market
To participate in society without sacrificing one's own culture
To feel participation and security
We have been successful if we decrease unemployment
It is about a swedification of the target group

| We must mix cultures and learn of other cultures |
| Swedes must also integrate in the new Sweden |
| Employers try to adapt better to other cultural groups today |

Q: How do you experience these cultural exchanges that you describe?

| It is difficult for the EA to integrate and adapt |
| Women are especially exposed and in need of support |
| The EA must be religiously and culturally neutral |
| The EA is not allowed to consider religious aspects, but is bound to follow the regulations at hand |
| Individuals are not allowed any special treatments |
| The target group is not allowed to decline employment due to religion or culture |
| The EA is not allowed to consider cultural adaptations on workplaces |

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

| Professions differ depending on where you are from |
| There are many adjustments and knowledge-gaps to fill |
| Many procedures that are unclear on different workplaces |
| It is difficult for them to understand their rights in an employment |
| Many employers lack collective agreements and apply their own labor-rights |
| There are a number of employers that do not follow collective agreements |
| Many feel that the process takes time |
| They are locked until they have learned the language |
| All efforts require some level of language skills which lead to frustration |
| I experience that many are grateful |
| There are cultural challenges |
| The EA cannot make religious or cultural adjustments since that would be special treatment |
| Adjustments will have to be made by the target group |
| The target group must accept employment offers in order to keep their allowances from the assignment |

A huge responsibility to inform the rules, conditions and rights that apply
They are not to reset, it is an about readjusting
Two different cultures that are introduced to one another

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

We are the proper authority with the resources and competence to counter the needs
We should be able to succeed with the available resources
The opportunities and conditions would be completely different without the establishment assignment
There are impressive opportunities for the target group to make their own future
Many, especially women, have been exposed in their countries of origin
Women are often uneducated and have lived as housewives
Need to begin with changing the attitudes of men pertaining women that work
The target group is given the opportunity to grow and become what they wish to be
It is for their benefit to become a part of society
They do not have to accept everything, but they need to understand the significance of our structures
We here in Sweden also need to understand the individuals that come here from outside
The establishment offers insights for how society is structured and how it operates

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

No need for change
Must always engage with the target group with respect and consideration
We are clear, but we need to become clearer
Must be clearer with men in the efforts for women
We must be considerate and respectful, while at the same time avoid special treatments for anyone

Interview 7: Kelly

Q: What is establishment and integration?

You are to find your place in Sweden and the Swedish society
Integration is to become involved and to participate
We shall assist the language progression
We shall assist with the societal participation

Q: Why is establishment and integration important?

It creates unity within the society
We need to avoid divergences between groups
The Swedish society should also integrate
Substantial differences between culture and conditions here in Sweden
They come here from uncertainty and insecurity
Hard to assist the target group without the knowledge of their background
The religion and culture is significant
Natural for women to work in Sweden, but not for the target group
There are some difficulties for women to access the Swedish labor market
A huge shock for women to work
Women are not used to work
It is unreasonable for the elderly part of the target group to work
There can be disagreements with the elderly participants

Q: Are there any issues, or something that has been overlooked, in the formulations and regulations of the EA and the establishment assignment?

Two years is a short amount of time
Huge difference between elderly and younger participants
Younger participants have more motivation and drive than the elderly
Insufficient time to learn the language first and foremost

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Q: Do you notice any transnational relationships or connections when you engage with the target group?

Noticeable with children
Most noticeable through the ties to the country of origin
Talk a lot about the country of origin
The family is shattered
The family is shattered, but the hope is to reunite in Sweden
Many have accepted Sweden as their new homeland
They maintain contacts and their native culture
They keep their culture alive
The fragmentation can lead to psychological depression
Might be a cultural shame and a bias to express or show signs of depression
Would not claim that the assignment considers this transnational complexity
The regulation sometimes contradicts the personal thoughts and emotions as a human being
The regulations do not consider the cultural collisions
The frames are very Swedish
You must adapt to the Swedish society
Hope they do not feel that they need to sacrifice their own culture
Dress-codes at work might lead to huge cultural collisions for women
The hijab leads to cultural collisions for women
The cultural collisions limit women and creates difficulties
Culture is often an obstacle and obstructs

Q: When has establishment and integration been successful, and what has been accomplished when it succeeds?

You are established once you have an employment or study
The agency does not really talk about integration
We are not helping integration, but rather with establishment in the Swedish society
You are established when you have a network with both Swedes and your own compatriots
You are established when you are a participant within society

You get a Swedish network through an employment

Q: What are in your experience the greatest challenges of participating in the establishment assignment?

Swedes way of living can differ substantially
The target group might be used to more temporary models of employment on a day-to-day basis
Sweden does not work in the same ways
Substantial cultural collisions pertaining labor and the labor market
Substantial differences in family-situations and family-life
Sweden can appear as cold and impersonal
Religion leads to substantial cultural collisions
Substantial differences that are hard to understand and process
Especially difficult if you are forced to flee and have not come to Sweden by your own will
Difficult if you participate in the process all alone
Low motivation when the family is shattered
We can be intrusive
It is a huge readjustment
Huge differences to readjust to
They feel stressed and depressed
It is tough for them when we hang over their shoulders, asking demands

Q: What is the greatest advantage, benefit or strength one could get by attending the establishment assignment?

The assistance aids societal adaptation
Societal adaptation is to their personal benefit
You get to access the Swedish society and get an employment
That you get an employment and become self sufficient
Societal participation and employment improves their lives
If you learn Swedish then you might exercise your earlier profession
You have to be able to understand the language

Q: Is there anything that can be done differently, or that could improve?

Focus more on the elderly so that they can learn the language first and foremost
A lot of importance is put on activities in the establishment assignment rather than the language
They should not be required to seek employment first and foremost, but rather to learn the language
You need to know the language before you can get a job
Put them in language education before they start working