

# “Having Demands and Expectations is Love”

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Problematizations and the Constructions of Subjects  
in a Labour Market Program in Sweden

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# Abstract

This thesis explores how subjects are constructed within a labour market program in the Swedish municipality Trelleborg. It focuses on the Trelleborg Labour Market Department and how the subjecthood of economic welfare applicants and street level bureaucrats is constructed in the policy. The analysis is based on policy documents and interviews with labour market secretaries at the department and uses Carol Bacchi's WPR approach to explore underlying problematisations and presuppositions within the policy and subject construction. Situating the Trelleborg model within the historical conditions and context of neo liberalism and New Public Management, the analysis uses Foucault's concept of governmentality to understand what conception of subjects is the object and outcome of this form of conduct.

The subjects desired within the Trelleborg Model practice an "active" citizenship with a desire of self-realisation through waged labour. The methods used are to a large extent coercive but are motivated by the desire to see subjects reach their full potential as individuals. Hence, the practices and ideology of the Labour Market Department can mediate both freedom and coercion at the same time.

*Keywords:* labour market policy, governmentality, subject, New Public Management (NPM), dependency

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# Table of Content

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>2</b>
1.1	Relevance of the Case.....	3
1.2	What is the Trelleborg Model?.....	3
<b>2</b>	<b>Question Formulation and Aim.....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>3</b>	<b>Analytical Framework .....</b>	<b>6</b>
3.1	Theoretical Background .....	6
3.2	The Construction of Subjects .....	7
3.3	The Citizen and the Subject.....	9
3.4	What is Government?.....	10
3.5	The Concepts of Governmentality and Ideology .....	11
3.6	Governing Through Knowledge and the Profession as Knowledge.....	12
3.7	Neo Liberalism and New Public Management Rationales .....	14
<b>4</b>	<b>Conducting the Study .....</b>	<b>16</b>
4.1	What's the Problem Represented to Be? The WPR Approach as a Method .....	16
4.2	Material and Delimitations.....	19
4.3	Interviews .....	20
<b>5</b>	<b>Analysing Subjects of Governmentality .....</b>	<b>23</b>
5.1	What is the Problem? An Introduction .....	23
5.2	Breaking with the Social Perspective .....	25
5.3	The Active Citizen-Subject.....	28
5.4	The Only Way.....	31
5.5	The Role of the Local Government.....	34
5.6	The Rule of Numbers.....	36
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion .....</b>	<b>39</b>
6.1	Reshaping Subjects.....	39
6.2	The Art of Governing .....	41
6.3	Waged Labour and Freedom.....	41
<b>7</b>	<b>Further Research.....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>8</b>	<b>References .....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>9</b>	<b>Appendix 1: Interview guide .....</b>	<b>48</b>

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# 1 Introduction

That public administration has gone through New Public Management reforms during the past decades may not be new to anyone, especially not within the field of public policy studies. The labour market strategy known as the Trelleborg Model (Trelleborgsmodellen) has proudly taken these New Public management rationales to its heart. By measuring the private lives of certain minors and explicitly and actively working towards creating more desirable citizens they are efficiently governing through subject constructions.

Most of what has been written about the Trelleborg Model has been about the automatization of the process of applying for economic welfare support (försörjningsstöd). However, the automatization is just a part of a broader development within the Trelleborg municipal administration and government. It has been highly influenced by New Public Management mechanisms and reforms that aim to increase work ethics through governing by transforming subjects into more desirable citizens. Since 2011 Trelleborg Municipality has had a Labour Market Department that has taken over parts of the assignments from the Social Service Department, for example economic welfare support. With the creation of the Labour Market Department there have been active changes in language and practices, that are described as a shift from a social perspective to a labour market perspective (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). The main assignment for the Labour Market Department is to help individuals applying for economic welfare find an employment. This target group includes long term unemployed and recently arrived asylum seekers.

Studying policy in general is important if we want to improve collective decision-making. To do this we need knowledge about outcomes and consequences of specific policies, but also the ideas and constructions behind them and discourses they are situated within and between. By using the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and power/knowledge exploring the case of the Trelleborg Model as an example of empowerment this thesis aims to look at what is happening when governing penetrates even the very subject acting within a structure of explicit power relations.

## 1.1 Relevance of the Case

During one of my visits at the Labour Market Department the new Trelleborg Model was presented by the management as unequivocally positive in its effects and results, as well as when it came to its construction of subjects and disciplinary practices. But it is not only the municipal government and administration itself that praises the model. The government organisation Sweden's Innovation Agency has allocated 1 245 000 SEK to Trelleborg Municipality to implement the Trelleborg Model in other municipalities (Vinnova). The critique from the management of previous ways of working is strong. In a pamphlet handed out at a seminar at the Labour Market Department it says that "The tolerance and exaggerated empathy for the other, and as a consequence being undemanding, may be an expression of contempt and promote learned helplessness" (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). Instead they want to go from "the helpless individual that is taken care of to the responsibility-taking individual that chooses. A view of human beings that is based on a shift from victim to viewing the individual as responsibility-taking, capable and able to choose" and they suggest that "having demands and expectations is love" (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden).

At the same time, the critique against the new ways of working within the department has been strong. Social workers have resigned due to what they argue are ethically problematic ways of exercising public authority. With the influence of neo liberalism and New Public Management there has been a "deorientation" of traditional public values (Stensöta Olofsdotter 2010:295). New forms of government postulate new sets of values, values that I argue become visible by studying the policy behind the practices. Hence the relevance of studying problematisations is raised by the changing forms of government that contradict and differ from traditional public ethics and values.

## 1.2 What is the Trelleborg Model?

The Trelleborg Model is the Trelleborg Municipality's approach and to and policy regarding the local labour market, establishment, economic welfare support and unaccompanied minors. It is not a specific policy, rather an approach and a way of working that focuses on, inter alia, the importance of salaried employment and the role of language in the communication towards citizens (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen 2017a). In 2010 the municipal council (Kommunfullmäktige) in Trelleborg decided to create the Labour Market Department (LMD), through which the ideas and ideologies behind the Trelleborg Model's approach has been set into practice. When I hereafter refer to the Trelleborg Model, I mean the notion and ideological framework that surrounds the

LMD and serves as the department's *raison d'être*. This will be developed in the analysis.

The LMD currently has three main functions; (1) running and allocating housing for unaccompanied minors and other individuals that have not been able to find housing for specific reasons, (2) finding employment for individuals who has applied for economic welfare and (3) what is called *Stödprocess myndighet* which is mainly administrative to its character and handles the applications for the economic welfare support (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017). The LMD is also responsible for Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) and society orientation. Although the analysis mainly focuses on the department's labour market programmes and interventions the work with unaccompanied minors and SFI are important to understand what the problem is represented to be and its presuppositions. As will be explored further in the analysis, I argue that having included areas regarding integration is significant in strengthening the characterisation of the absence of waged labour as the main problem. This is discussed further under 5.2.

The goal of the department as a whole is to give all inhabitants in the municipal equal support in all phases in life and that more municipality inhabitants will have their own means of support (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017:5p). This will be reached by an active co-ordination of housing and labour market strategies as well as networking and collaboration with the local economy (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017:6). The goals include asylum seeker who are assigned to Trelleborg Municipality getting their own housing contract, to lower costs for economic welfare support pro capita, assist more inhabitants into employment, studies or self-employment and stimulate the local economy.

The LMD is governed by an elected council that decides the budget and goals of the administration. The funding comes mainly from taxes, but the Labour Market Department has also been granted grants from the County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen), the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (Myndigheten för ungdoms- och civilsamhällesfrågor), Samordningsförbundet Trelleborg and the Swedish Public Employment Service (Arbetsförmedlingen) (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017:6). The structure and operation of the department has changed over the years since its founding in 2011, changes that will be discussed and problematised in the analysis.

## 2 Question Formulation and Aim

The shift from a social to a labour market perspective affects both those working at Trelleborg municipality as well as the economic welfare applicants. In this thesis I want to explore how this shift have affected subject positions and relations of power, particularly between citizens and government. Constructions of subjects and target groups are here seen as a form of exercising power and governing that promotes specific identities and practices. These power relations are relevant due to their consequences for democracy and citizens' ability to influence society and their own lives. It is particularly relevant since the Trelleborg Model is being exported to other municipalities. What is interesting here, is not the Trelleborg Model in itself, rather what it exemplifies as a part of a broader governmentality and neo-liberal rationales. This will be developed below (3). While looking at theories, as well as the model itself, many questions spring to mind, drawing on the discussion above I have formulated two main questions:

- What is the problem represented to be in municipal labour market program policies?
- How are street level bureaucrats and economic welfare applicants constructed within such policies?

These questions touch upon the Laswellian question of “who gets what, when and how?” within politics, and thus public administration (Schneider & Ingram 1993:334). The answer to that question may have an infinite amount of answers, depending on theories chosen, and ontological points of departure. However, I will argue in this thesis that how target groups and subjects are constructed has an important impact on how problems and solutions are formulated. This is an important part of the study and lays the groundwork for answering the second question. The first question will thus serve as a guide for gathering empirical material rather than pointing out what, as I suggest is most interesting in this case which instead is emphasised in the second question.



## 3 Analytical Framework

How certain subjects are constructed through specific ways of governing has been elaborated on and contested from a lot of perspectives within public debate and academia. Here, I will present parts of the research made that is relevant for this thesis and outline the theoretical framework that will be used in the analysis. Theoretical concepts will be explained and related to the topic. This will lay the ground for their methodological use and the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the thesis that will be explained in section 4.

### 3.1 Theoretical Background

A lot has been written about how subjects are created, shaped and constructed through government conduct and social institutions. In this section I intend to situate this study within this theoretical discussion of subjects and how they are constructed in the context of welfare and public administration.

deLeon & Denhardt examine the implications of what is called the “reinvention movement” (deLeon & Denhardt 2000). They argue that “the most basic premise of the reinvention movement is a belief that the accumulation of the narrowly defined self-interests of many individuals can adequately approximate the public interest” (2000:89). I suggest that the Trelleborg Model can be an example of this type of reinvention, where the changes in government are meant to promote self-interests that align with the public interest. deLeon & Denhardt also suggest that the “reinvention’s faith in self-interest as a motivating force for public action is misplaced: it denigrates the role of collaborative action, produces an impoverished vision of the public interest, tends to exclude some persons from the public arena, and reduces trust among citizens and between them and their government” (2000:93). I suggest that being subject to reforms that emphasise the individual’s self-interests demand an adoption of certain identities, promotes values, and ethics, that are not traditionally associated with the public sector (see Stensöta Olofsdotter 2010). Values such as the collective interest, that has traditionally been an integral part of the legitimacy of the public sector, are no longer seen as desirable. A part of what I discuss in relation to the main questions on which this thesis is based is: what happens when the individual, its interests and

identities becomes the subject of politics, rather than collective interests and identities?

I do not suggest, drawing from the ontological standpoint of this study, that it is possible to distinguish between a personal self-interest and a public interest as two completely separate, dichotomous categories. Thus, I deviate from the basic premise of the reinvention movement as presented by deLeon & Denhardt. Instead, I will analyse interests, both those constructed as public and those “belonging” to the individual, as Cruikshank suggests, based on Foucault, that subjects will always be products of historical conditions that both enable and restrain possible actions (1999:2ff). However, I will argue that governing aiming for individuals as subjects to align their perceived self-interest with the governmental (“public”) interest has the effect of is restraining more than it is enabling autonomous actions and ways of thinking. deLeon & Denhardt suggest a less constructivist and less dialectical standpoint than that of this thesis. What I do draw on from their theory of the reinvention movement is the effects of mistrust among citizens and the government.

What is interesting about the construction of this specific target group and how it is governed is that its goal seems to be not only to reinvent the construction of the group but also to persuade the individuals to adapt this construction as a part of their identity. Hence the policy suggests, and demands, not only a construction of a target group that is subject to certain forms of governmental actions, but also demands changes in the individual subject. Hence theories regarding the relation between the construction of the subject and governance will be the main theoretical framework of this thesis. I will use Foucault theory of governmentality (Bacchi 2012; Cruikshank 1999; Dean 2010) as the Trelleborg Model seeks to govern even the very subjective identity of the citizens seeking welfare, as well as those of the officers working within the LMD (former) Social Department.

## 3.2 The Construction of Subjects

I will view the construction of subjects within the model as a form of empowerment. As a theoretical framework for empowerment I will use *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* by theorist Barbara Cruikshank (1999) and the concept of “technologies of citizenship”. In this section I will outline the most important aspects of how subjects are constructed in relation to discourses such as “the social” and how groups are constituted through problematizations within public policy.

Although Cruikshank focuses on democratic participation as a form of governance and my empirical case concerns participation in labour market and employment programs, both cases are forms of what Cruikshank calls technologies of citizenship and empowerment. Technologies of citizenship operate according to a political rationality for governing people in ways that promote their autonomy,

self-sufficiency, and political engagement; in the classic phrase of early philanthropists, they are intended to “help people help themselves” (Cruikshank 1999:4). The Trelleborg Model will in this study be viewed as a form of governing that presents itself as a policy that “liberates” the citizens from former modes of subjugating and patronising governing and identities. This is managed by creating new subjects, promoting waged labour as the solution to social exclusion and an assumed feeling of helplessness. However, I argue that the result of this kind of politics is not empowered citizens in relation to the state and coercive forms of power, but citizens that have been made more compliant and accepting of the values imposed on them by the state. The politics and policy of the Trelleborg Model are coercive, although framed within a discourse of freedom and self-realization. Or as Cruikshank puts it: “It is political; the will to empower contains the twin possibilities of domination and freedom” (1999:2). What is also interesting is the construction of these subjects within the Trelleborg Model seems to be inseparable from the actions of the public administration. As subjects, they are assumed to first and foremost identify themselves in ways that align with the aims and views of the Labour Market or Social Service Department i.e. to view employment and employability as the most important elements of their participation in society or as an essential prerequisite for participation in the first place. To adopt the “public” interest goal, or “the social” goal as one’s own is a way of making oneself governable (Cruikshank 1999:90).

For this form of governing to be possible there must be a common understanding of “the social” as a societal entity (Cruikshank 1999:44pp). For a “public interest” to exist, we must view our society as something with a common goal, and as a community from which individuals or groups can be excluded from. What seems to legitimise the Trelleborg Model is the assumption that the people who apply for economic welfare support are excluded from this community because their lack of employment, and therefore reforms and governmental actions are needed to make them included.

For this to be possible certain identities and problematisations need to be adapted, implying a shift, from exclusion to inclusion, i.e. from a negative to a positive identity (Koch 2010). I will view this as a way of politicizing one area of social exclusion, while depoliticizing another. However, with Cruikshank, I do not suggest that the ‘depoliticized’ areas are in any way less political, rather the opposite (1999:27pp). Areas considered depoliticized or apolitical do still contain relations of power and subjugation, but through being depoliticized they can either be continuously kept as status quo or be subject to political action without the concern of receiving criticism.

Using policy to construct the problem as a lack of waged labour, the Trelleborg Model obscures other forms of social exclusion those citizens may be subject to. Hence the policy is both enabling participation in societal institutions, here the labour market, and at the same time masking itself as a tool for continued social exclusion in other areas. As such, the citizens are “both the effects and the instruments of liberal governance” (Cruikshank 1999:4). Hence the “‘powerless’ are the object and the outcome of the will to empower” (Cruikshank 1999:72). This is

a part of the theoretical framework of this thesis and as well as an ontological assumption about how subjects are created.

Through the Trelleborg Model, it is possible to direct the success of the empowered to the restructuring within the municipal government and public administration, i.e. moving from a social to a labour market perspective but at the same time blame eventual failures on the individuals' unwillingness or inability to participate. For this to be possible, the group that is the object of the policy needs to be constituted as a group with a common problem that craves a common solution in form of empowerment (Cruikshank 1999:82). The empowerment becomes both a solution and what constitutes the group as itself and its "needs". In short, neither groups or individual subjects can be understood apart from the discourse that they both are a result of and constituting at the same time.

I am aware that my study is situated in a different welfare context than Cruikshank's. Swedish welfare, and thus empowerment, is based on a much more individual and general welfare system than the American (Scruggs & Allan 2008). Though I do argue that the theoretical frameworks of Cruikshank's study are relevant and applicable in this study, they will be used as tools for analysing a phenomenon rather than an explanation for the same. And, with Cruikshank, I do not dismiss the possibilities of these forms of governing having the *intention* of wanting to help and empower the poor, rather I suggest that the outcome may differ from the intentions. Therefore, we have to ask ourselves: to what problem does the LMD pose its policies and practices as a solution? I will take on what Carol Bacchi calls "the 'what's the problem represented to be' (WPR) approach" (Bacchi 2012:4). WPR as a method and its use in this thesis will be developed below (4).

### 3.3 The Citizen and the Subject

In this thesis, a subject will be defined as that what is not an object. They are not contradictory or dichotomous since what is considered a subject may change over time and space and is dependent on factors such as knowledge and power. I agree with Foucault's understanding when he uses the term in a double sense where it can mean "subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his [or her] own identity by a conscience of self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to" (Foucault 1982:781). The "subject" is not a stable category and therefore precision is not possible but will rather be a part of the analysis itself.

Cruikshank argues that the citizen, as understood as an active participant in democracy, is not and cannot be parted from the subjugated subject, for example the welfare recipient or bureaucratic client, which is why the form citizen-subject

with a hyphenation is used (1999:20). They are tangled together with power and knowledge that constrains and enables the exercise of citizenship. The hyphenation indicates that neither of the words citizen and subject contradict each other but indicate “that although citizens are formally free, their freedom is a condition of the operationalization of power” (Cruikshank 1999:22). Since not all subjects that are analysed within this thesis are citizens, I will not use the citizen-subject hyphenation, rather only the term subject or “citizen” within quotation marks. However, the understanding of discourse surrounding the “citizen” as an active participant in democracy and society’s institutions, such as the labour market, are seen as not only applicable to the non-citizens within this study, but also as a technology of governing. The active “citizen” is a citizen viewed as deserving, something I will revisit and develop in the analysis.

Both subject and “citizen” will be used in the analysis where subject refers to the individual subject and “citizen” to the notion and discourse about the subject’s position as a “citizen” with assumed rights and responsibilities.

### 3.4 What is Government?

Studying empowerment is a way of studying government. It is way of studying reforms within the exercise of power, problematising “what is understood as the overly paternalistic, rigid and disempowering bureaucratic administration of welfare states” (Dean 2010:38). In this section I will develop this thesis’s approach to the concept of government and in the next section explore how this is related to governmentality as a form of conduct in advanced liberal democracies.

This view on government suggests that government is more than the common definition of it as a number of public institutions. In short, government be defined as *the conduct of conduct*, where conduct both refers to the act of leading or directing as well as our behaviours and actions (Dean 2010:17). Or with Foucault:

Perhaps the equivocal nature of the term "conduct" is one of the best aids for coming to terms with the specificity of power relations. For to "conduct" is at the same time to "lead" others (according to mechanisms of coercion which are, to varying degrees, strict) and a way of behaving within a more or less open field of possibilities. The exercise of power consists in guiding the possibility of conduct and putting in order the possible outcome. [...] "Government" did not refer only to political structures or to the management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed” (Foucault, 1982:789).

This general definition of government is expanded by Dean:

Government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks to shape conduct by working through the desires, aspirations,

interests and beliefs of various actors, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes (Dean 2010:18).

However, stating that I view the conduct of government as an exercise of power, promoting specific behaviours and identities does not mean I suggest that this is also an expression of certain values. Rather, values are a part of the rationalities of government (Dean 2010:45). Values are not the source or origin of the technologies of government, but a function that along with technologies, rationalities and knowledge gives meaning to government practices (Dean 2010:46). Hence, as mentioned above, the Trelleborg Model can mediate both freedom and coercion at the same time by operating through the subject and its understanding of itself.

When using the word *rational* I mean “any form of thinking about which strives to be relatively clear, systematic and explicit about aspects of ‘external’ or ‘internal’ existence, about how things are or how they ought to be” (Dean 2010:18p). Thus, it does not refer to the exercise of “reason”, but rather “the rationales of rule that make the activity of government both thinkable and practicable” (Bacchi 2012:5). The same applies to “reason” and “rationality” and how they are thought and practiced. Reason and rationality are not etymological possibilities as the subject is always a product of and produces historical conditions.

### 3.5 The Concepts of Governmentality and Ideology

Foucault’s concept of governmentality is a term put together by the two words govern and mentality, in other words the mentality of government. The term aims to describe and emphasise the notion where the thinking “involved in practices of government practice is explicit and embedded in language and other technical instruments but it also relatively taken for granted” (Dean 2010:25). In this section I will describe the concept of governmentality and how it will be used to analyse the Trelleborg Model. I will also explain how it relates to ideology and how we can understand possible ambiguities.

Practices are never independent from discourse however I will use both terms to analytically distinguish practices from the wider discourse. The term governmentality intends to describe the set of practices and constructions of norms and ideals that shape how we view society and ourselves and it is the notion of self disciplination as a part of these norms and ideals (Dean 2010:24pp). Governmentality involves four aspects of governmental conduct of subjects: ontological: the ethical substance governed, ascetical: *how* the substance is governed, deontological: the mode of subjectification, or *who we are* when we are governed, and teleological: *why* we govern (Dean 2010:26p). These different aspects cannot exist without each other, as concepts and practices they enable and restrain the possibilities of specific ways of governing. I have, drawing on my question formulation, chosen to focus on the ontological and deontological aspects,

however all of them may be touched upon in the analysis because of their conflating existences.

In this thesis I will explore how subjects are constructed within the Trelleborg Model. The construction of subjects is here seen as a part of the broader phenomenon of governmentality. That is, the “making” and shaping of the subjectivities is governmentality in practice. As mentioned earlier government conduct and governmentality is not only the political decision making and its outcome but how we govern ourselves and others through different rationales of power and knowledge.

The term ideology is used here to refer to discourse and technologies of a specific discourse. It is not being used to refer to a specific set of ideas and values, which may be the more common understanding of the term ideology. The alternative understanding of ideology that is being used here suggests that practices, concepts and ways of understanding a phenomenon can be diffuse and even contradictory in their rationalities. Discussing the concept and understanding of dependency, Fraser & Gordon argue that because of these contradictory meanings, it is “a powerful ideological rope that simultaneously organizes diffuse cultural anxieties and dissimulates their social base” (1994:327). I suggest that these ideological rationalities apply not only to the concept of dependency but also to empowerment, agency, passivity and other concepts that are constituted in relation to governmental activity and thus power relations. As ideological, these phenomena will be possibly ambiguous to be effective. Since governing and governmental discourse do not have a single, uniform originator and are not created consciously, these expected ambiguities are understood as inherent and unavoidable seen from an abstract level.

### 3.6 Governing Through Knowledge and the Profession as Knowledge

In this section I will explain this thesis’s approach to Foucault’s concept of knowledge/power and how I relate this to the professions of the labour market and social secretaries. In the analysis I argue that the creation of the labour market secretary as a profession is a form of governing and thus exercise of power. The method of analysis used in this thesis, the WPR approach (explained in 4.1), focuses on the knowledge through which we are governed and the knowledge that constitutes and produces “the professional” (Bacchi 2009:26), and it is thus necessary to understand what is meant by knowledge and how it is linked to, and even merges with power.

The concept of knowledge/power suggests a positive approach to the concept of power, which is the concept of power which will be used in this thesis. That means power is not necessarily repressive but exercised through what

Foucault called “regimes of knowledge”, i.e. what is considered to be “truth” (Wagenaar 2011:111). It is a form of power that belongs to the modern state and its ways of governing and implies that power is no longer a prerogative belonging to the state itself but is

dispersed over the professional classes who, in this way, become complicit in governing society. The effect is the politicization of everyday life, the inculcation in the population of a host of internalized practices and ways of speaking that normalize certain categories of behaving and thinking (Wagenaar 2011:111).

This form of power is used to govern complex modern liberal democracies and does not work through coercion or violence but through the subject itself, making people govern themselves by influencing their values, self-images and aspirations (Wagenaar 2011:119). Neither is power something imposed from above but immanent in everyday conduct (Wagenaar 2011:121). Hence it is exercised by individuals but not possessed by the same. When I refer to “power relation” or “relations of power” I therefore do not refer to the relation between the individuals themselves but the relation between their positions which are subject to power. These subjects, for example the professional or the welfare applicant are both the product of power and cannot exist without an encompassing discourse of “knowledge”.

Knowledge is entwined and fused with power, which is why Foucault’s terminology frequently used both words together as power/knowledge (Wagenaar 2011:120). When referring to knowledge or knowledge production I do not mean knowledge as a product that is produced as a commodity within society, for example at universities. Rather knowledge itself is *productive* as specific knowledge regimes produces specific subjects (Bacchi 2009:235). This makes is a very effective for governing liberal democratic states (Wagenaar 2011:119) and thus suitable for analysing the Trelleborg Model.

As mentioned above, I do not suggest that the individual bureaucrats have acted as autonomous subjects independent from encompassing power structures. Rather the role of these subjects, as understood by the LMD and themselves, are viewed as a way of governing, which is also why the term street level bureaucrat is chosen. The term refers to civil servants working in direct contact with citizens or other civilians (in this case for example people granted asylum and residence permit but that are not officially citizens). The notion of the street level bureaucrat was first coined by Michael Lipsky as a theory about bottom-up implementation and agency (Smith & Larimer 2013:160). According to Lipsky these individuals are the main shapers of policy (in contrast to the “actual” policy makers) (Smith & Larimer 2013:160). However how the term is used here differs from Lipsky’s theory about street level bureaucrats being the primary policy makers since policy in this thesis is not viewed as something neither implemented nor initiated by individuals, but rather as a result of discourse and knowledge (knowledge as defined above) where a policy is both what constitutes a problem and the answer to the same. Thus, the term will be used to refer to the position of the subjects rather than Lipsky’s theory about the same. However, it is important to note that even though the individual is



not able to act entirely autonomously, but is shaped by norms, institutions and discourse which influence individual aspirations, values and self-images, resistance is possible (Wagenaar 2011:134). Though since power is always present and discourses are never stable or absolute, resistance is always both possible and present in form of competing discourses that exist counter hegemonic.

Professions such as that of the social worker comes with a set of ethics, values and understandings of problems, that conducts how citizens and authority are viewed, both independently and in relation to each other. These values are from the LMD's point of view associated with and incarnated in the social worker itself and are considered patronising. Therefore, the "profession" of the labour market secretary is created. In the analysis, I argue that the initiation of the LMD and the labour market secretary (as opposed to the social secretary) are examples of knowledge production and exercise new relations of power. This regards both the target group and the street level bureaucrats.

### 3.7 Neo Liberalism and New Public Management Rationales

The Trelleborg Model cannot be understood as a lonely phenomenon but needs to be analysed as situated within a broader discourse of neo liberalism and New Public Management (NPM) as historical conditions. Here I will develop this thesis's approach to neo liberalism, a concept I argue is often misunderstood. Set within a Foucauldian theoretical framework it is necessary to know what historical conditions enable and motivate, but also restrain, certain conceptualisations (Foucault 1982:778).

Neo liberalism here refers to a specific mentality of governing and conduct of citizens. It is a term often used vaguely defined, both in academics and in the general political debate (Nyberg 2016:194). However, it does often seem to refer to a notion of a limited government, resulting in more individual freedom and a state of laissez faire (Nyberg 2016:195). I do argue that neo liberalism is a form of governing, but deviate from the, perhaps more common, apprehension that it intends less governmental regulation and action. Rather neo liberalism is a government rationale that seeks to channelize the interests of the market through the state, and by that change individuals' interests as citizens and subjects (Read 2016:238p). It aims to broaden and deepen what is considered a part of the economic sphere resulting in individuals viewing themselves as carriers of human capital rather than for example workers or citizens (Read 2016:238). This suggests that citizenship is not something that a person has, but something that has to be practiced. Or as Rose & Miller put it:

For neo-liberalism the political subject is less a social citizen with powers and obligations deriving from membership of a collective body, than an individual whose citizenship is

active. This citizenship is to me manifested not in the recipient of public largesse, but in the energetic pursuit of personal fulfilment and the incessant calculations that are to enable this to be achieved. (Rose & Miller 1992:201)

Drawing on this definition of neo liberalism the Trelleborg Model can be seen as a part of this rationale, shaping subjects into identifying with and acting aligned with market interests. The expression “a collective body” should here not be confused with a “public interest” or an identification with government goals and aims. I argue that the collective body here rather refers to the collective as a political subject with political power and possibilities of political action. What rationales that may apply to a collective as a subject in a specific political situation may not always align with the rationalities of the individual. I will come back to this in the conclusion.

Neo liberalism is a historical condition for the type of labour market programmes that the Trelleborg Model is an example of. Neo liberal rationales are often practiced and realised within the public sector in the form of NPM. NPM here refers to the approach to the public sector which differ from classic bureaucratic methods with key features such as “performance measurement and monitoring; a private-sector style of management; an emphasis on output controls; a distrust of traditional professions” (Hudson & Lowe 2009:137). Although these are not general, agreed upon definitions of NPM and neo-liberalism (there are no general, fixed definitions or doctrines regarding any of these two notions (Hudson & Lowe 2009:137; Nyberg 2016:194), I argue that they act upon the same rationales such as the individual, competition and the market. Rationales that create subjects oriented by individual economic gains that do not antagonise the interests of the market.

To be able to study and understand concepts of the present, we need to “know the historical conditions which motivate out conceptualisation. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstance” (Foucault 1982:778). This motivates this thesis’s chosen method of studying policy: Bacchi’s “What’s the problem represented to be” (WPR) approach. It draws on Foucault’s genealogy and situates the policy as a result of an understanding of what the problem in this case is represented to be.

## 4 Conducting the Study

This section will begin with outlining the WPR (What's the problem represented to be) approach and how it will be used as the method of analysis in this thesis. Further, the thesis's approach to and use of interviews as a method will be explored as well as elucidations of ontological and epistemological issues and positions regarding the interviews. The WPR approach to policy has become popular over recent years, and I view this as a reason for its relevance in today's society. I argue that as NPM and measuring in numbers has become everyday conduct within public administration the need to ask, "what is this the answer to?" and thus what is the problem represented to be, is gaining an increased importance since it diverges from traditional public values on which the governing of the complex liberal democracy is resting.

### 4.1 What's the Problem Represented to Be? The WPR Approach as a Method

As the method for analysing policy regarding the creation and formation of the Trelleborg Model I will use Bacchi's "what's the problem represented to be?" (WPR) approach (Bacchi 2009; 2012). The WPR analysis suggests that the study of problematisations within public policy can show taken-for-granted "truths" by critically examining historical processes of the production of thoughts (Bacchi 2012:1p). Processes that constitute problems and thus solutions. Although I will not do a genealogic analysis I do argue, as explained above in 3.7, that the Trelleborg Model is situated in and thus required to be analysed within a specific historical context. The basic premise for WPR is that "what we say we want to about something indicates what we think needs to change and hence how we constitute the "problem" (Bacchi 2012:4). I will use the WPR approach when answering my first question to detect patterns in the formulation of the problem to which the Trelleborg Model poses as the solution.

The analysis does not look for crisis points, but rather view the problematisation as something that is brought into being through everyday practices, and as part of a system we cannot place ourselves outside of (Bacchi 2012:5). This means that although I argue that Trelleborg Municipality and the LMD are explicit in their aims of wanting to encourage more autonomous, self-

reliant individuals in relation to the state, society and the market, which can be regarded as a renegotiation of their subjecthood, I do not argue that this is done as a completely autonomous act. Rather, thoughts are formed in a historical context, creating a framework for possible actions. Hence policy and problem solving are not constructions that are created independently, apart from each other. Or with Bacchi:

the presumption that the purpose of policy is to *solve* 'social problems' remains a grounding premise in most conventional approaches to policy analysis. By contrast, showing that policies by their nature imply a certain understanding of what needs to change (the 'problem') suggests that 'problems' are **endogenous** - created within - rather than **exogenous** - existing outside - the policy-making process. Policies *give shape* to 'problems'; they do not *address* them (Bacchi 2009:x).

This ontological point of departure serves as an argument for the chosen methodology in this thesis. To study how problems are brought into being is necessary to understand policy is designed in certain ways, constructing and reproducing subjects and citizens. This suggests that policy makers here are not viewed as *problem solvers*, rather they problematise certain activities through policy. To accomplish this, I will use three of the six questions presented by Bacchi as the foundation and method of the WPR approach. The six questions are:

1. What's the 'problem' [...] represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in the problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted and replaced? (Bacchi 2009:2)

Below follows a further explanation of how these questions can be related to and used for analysing the Trelleborg Model. The analysis in this thesis will focus on question 1, 2 and 4. I may touch upon question 3, 5 and 6, although they will not all be answered. This is not because they are considered less relevant or interesting in themselves, but because they are not considered as relevant for the aim and research question and due to the limitations of the thesis. The questions as a method will function as a help for exploring the rationales and technologies of governmentality within the LMD. I will ask the questions in their order to the material, both texts and interviews. Below follows a further explanation of the questions and how they will be used, or why I have chosen not to use them in this thesis.

*Question 1: What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?* The WPR approach is a way of working backwards, detecting historical construction premises

for a specific policy (Bacchi 2009:3). This will be accomplished by using the first question, asking “to what problem is the Trelleborg Model a solution?” i.e. “what’s the problem represented to be in the Trelleborg Model policy?”. I am aware that process of constructing a problem is not a straightforward one, but rather that policies and problems as well as concepts of are contested and can contain contradictions. In order to structure the analysis, I will therefor look for key terms and topics that have their point of departure in the theoretical framework, drawing on Bacchi’s guidelines (2009:21). These concepts are governmentality and technologies of governing, power/knowledge production and rationality/rationales. They are key theoretical terms that will be used to explore how the Trelleborg Model is practiced and understood as a solution to a, more or less, specific problem.

*Question 2: What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?* If the first question undertakes the task to investigate what is explicit and outspoken in the policy documents, subsequently drawing conclusions of what the problem is represented to be, the second questions outlines what is assumed, taken for granted and not being questioned within the frames of the problem (Bacchi 2009:5). This includes epistemological and ontological presuppositions that makes it possible to identify conceptual logics (Bacchi 2009:5). It is important here to distinguish between the presuppositions and assumptions held by the policy makers and what is inherent in the problem itself. In accordance with the epistemological and ontological assumptions in this thesis, the aim of this study is not to look for the policy makers’ biases, as the argument here is that the individual subject is not entirely an autonomous actor. Rather, the aim is to detect what understandings of specific categories presuppose the policy and how it is practiced. For an individual to be considered biased there has to be an assumption of an objective truth, to which the bias deviates and differs from, a view that is not shared by this thesis.

There are several different strategies to detect these presuppositions and assumptions. Recommendations suggested by Bacchi are analysing dichotomies/binaries, key concepts or categories (Bacchi 2009:7pp). In dialogue with the material, I will look for categories in form of subject positions that become visible through the policy documents and interviews. Such positions are welfare applicants, unemployed and the labour market secretary. Categories, or here subject positions, are crucial in our understandings of ourselves, others and thus how we are governed (Bacchi 2009:9), which make them crucial to explore when looking at problem representations and presuppositions within public policy.

*Question 4: What is left unproblematic in the problem representation?* Where are the silences? Can the ‘problem’ be thought about differently? Whereas question 3 would touch upon competing and alternative problem representations, question 4 digs deeper and explores the issue from a more critical point of view (Bacchi 2009:12). This part of the study will look for silences and what is not being problematised within the specific policy. For example, why are other aspects of integration or self-realisation not viewed as more, or equally, important as waged labour within the Trelleborg Model?

The WPR analysis is a form of discourse analysis. My method will, through the questions above, identify subject positions within the discourse(es) found in the material and explore where there may be tensions or contradictions. The analysis does not seek to expose subject positions or ideological constructions as contradictory or illogical. Such cases are understood as a rationale of governing. Contradictions and internally illogical reasonings are understood as phenomena that may but does not necessarily exist within all concepts since discourses are never completely stable. Discourse analysis is both theory and method which means that discursive conclusions about a phenomenon or can be drawn from a small amount of text. This thesis does not have the ambition to make generalisations but to show how subjects and power/knowledge is produced within the Trelleborg Model, a case study that is interesting because it is controversial and very explicit in what it as an approach wants to accomplish.

I am aware that the interpretivist approach in combination with translations of texts and quotes from Swedish to English may cause some concerns and difficulties regarding discursive variations and dissimilarities between the two languages. Aiming to overcome this as much as possible I will consult with a native English speaker, and when translations may be ambiguous or impossible, an explanation and further elaboration on the term will be provided. However, the discourse analysis will be based on the Swedish texts (texts in a broad meaning) and not on the translations.

To sum up, I will in addition to answering the questions above (1, 2, 4) develop the analysis by exploring how the concepts of governmentality and technologies of governing, power/knowledge production, and rationality/rationales are practiced within the Trelleborg Model. I will also analyse how the subject positions of the welfare applicants, the unemployed and the labour market secretary are produced and constructed within the Trelleborg Model.

## 4.2 Material and Delimitations

As mentioned in the introduction the LMD has three functions, or units: (1) running and allocating housing for unaccompanied minors and other individuals that have not been able to find housing due to other specific reasons, and (2) finding work for individuals who has applied for welfare (and other unemployed) and (3) the decision-making and legal aspects of the exercise of public authority regarding economic welfare. It is important to note that the second unit above does not only handle people who have been granted welfare support. Every unemployed individual, with or without economic welfare support or unemployment insurance funding (A-kassa) is welcome to participate in the LMD's labour market programs and efforts.

The material consists of policy documents such as operational plans (verksamhetsplaner) for the years 2011-2018, the political decision of the founding

of the LMD made by the municipal council (Kommunfullmäktige) in Trelleborg, texts from the municipality's website, presentations from lectures and seminars at the LMD as well as pamphlets and prospectuses published by the Labour Market Council (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden) and the LMD (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen). None of the pamphlets or prospectuses have a publishing date, however they are all in use and handed out by the LMD and are thus relevant for understanding the current approach and practices of the Trelleborg Model. All of the documents are written in Swedish and quotes are translated by me in consultation with a native English speaker. The operational plans are chosen because they describe the objectives and aims of the LMD, formulated by the politically elected council for the administrative department to carry out. Thus, it is a link between the politics and administration within in Trelleborg Municipality. Among the printed material pamphlets and prospectuses has also been included as they present an ideologically explicit view of the LMD, as understood by themselves with the aim of presenting it to other actors and organisations.

To get a deeper understanding of the construction of subjects the documents will be complemented by in-depth interviews with street level bureaucrats working as labour market secretaries at the LMD. As mentioned in 3.6 the term "street level bureaucrat" refers to officers who work in direct contact with the citizens or other civilians in contact with government (Smith & Larimer 2013:160). How the interviews will be conducted will be developed further in the section below.

### 4.3 Interviews

Since research questions in this thesis addresses the construction of subjects I will, in addition to the WPR analysis of policy documents, conduct interviews with subjects directly concerned by the Trelleborg Model. I will focus on two categories that, drawing on the theoretical frameworks above, I suggest are of particular interest when aiming to understand the effects of the Trelleborg Model. I will interview the street level bureaucrats currently working as labour market secretaries at the LMD. The 3 interviews are conducted as semi structured, in-depth interviews that are circa 1 hour each and questions and topics will depart from the WPR approach.

The interviews will begin with an introduction of myself and introducing questions to the interviewee and continue with specifying questions about their work (see Kvale 1996:133p), its aim and their relation to the profession (labour market secretary or formerly social secretary depending who the interviewee is). The introduction will contain information on confidentiality and the aim of the thesis in order to establish an informed consent (Kvale 1996:112pp). As I know what I am asking for, I will ask them to clarify possible upcoming concepts or thoughts that are relevant to the analysis. This will make the point of departure for analysis more trustworthy as possible ambiguities can be clarified (Kvale 1996:132).

However, it is important to add that I do not view possible ambiguities as problematic in themselves in the forthcoming analysis. Drawing on the ontological standpoint ambiguities and contradictions are seen as a likely (but not necessary) part in the construction and conception of the self and thus of interest in the analysis rather than something that needs clarification. The intention of asking for explanations or clarifications is to get closer to the interviewee's perspective on a specific issue or situation.

Through the interviews I am be able to analyses how the subjects view and construct themselves in relation to, and as practisers of the Trelleborg Model. This opens up the possibility of analysing not only how subject identities align with and rationalises the policy, but also resistance and questionings of the given identities. The questions will regard the interviewees' work and practices as labour market secretaries (or formerly social secretaries) and their experiences of their work and roles. The interviewees are relevant because of their experiences and are chosen on the basis of their current or former role within the LMD and not on account of them as individual subjects. I have let the manager of the LMD announce my desire to interview currently employed labour market secretaries and have after that used the "snowball effect" to get in touch with further contacts and subjects.

I am aware that the structures, practices and approaches of the LMD have changed and developed over time. This implies that bureaucrats who have worked there for a longer time may have different approaches to the ways of working and their role. However, I will not analyse the outcome of the interviews in direct comparison to each other, rather they show different aspects of the specific approaches and perspectives represented by the Trelleborg Model which are temporally bound and set in a network of discourses.

To avoid ethical concerns, I have chosen not to interview any individuals towards which the policy is directed - in other words, the welfare seekers. The theoretical framework and critical approach of this thesis raise questions about how critically a subject can be analysed and the confidentiality of the subjects (Kvale 1996:111). The subjects will be informed about the aim of the thesis, that the interview will be recorded and that the material will be confidential. All subjects are anonymized so that any undesired consequences will be avoided to the largest extent possible. The interviews will be recorded, held in Swedish and later transcribed. However, quotes used in this thesis will be translated by me in consultation with a native English speaker.

Due to the post structural approach in this thesis the interview guide will contain relatively open-ended questions. I want the answers to originate as much as possible from the subjects themselves and try not to influence their perspectives and identity perceptions. At the same time, I am aware that the interview and its participants is situated in a social context that will affect and influence what is being said. However, this means that how things are being said will also be taking into account and the interview is viewed as a discursive situation as a whole (Alvesson 2011:28). One problem that may appear when conducting and analysing interviews is handing the tension between what the interviewee knows and feels, and what is being articulated in the actual interview (Alvesson 2011:40p). Individuals may have



an interest in presenting themselves and their position in certain ways which may not align with the “reality”. However, since the aim of this study is not to unveil a “concealed reality” I view this as something that is a product of the specific social situation and surrounding power structures that influence and shape the subjects. Individuals construct themselves as subjects in relation to the past and the present and thus the possible will to present oneself as, for example, a model employee or a public administration rebel is analysed as a consequence of prevailing forms of governing in combination with the individual subject’s previous and current identities and experiences. However, even with this in mind it does not overcome the issue that the interpretation and analysis of the interviews will be influenced by my knowledge and prejudice. Therefore, it is important that, because the analysis is based on an epistemologically interpretivist foundation, the analysis will be conducted using the same methodological instrument throughout the thesis to aim for a result that achieve the requirements of intersubjectivity.

## 5 Analysing Subjects of Governmentality

According to the Oxford dictionary a problem is defined as “A matter or situation regarded as unwelcome or harmful and needing to be dealt with and overcome.” (Oxford English Dictionary). Hence for something to be a problem there have to be consequences, for example a situation that is perceived as unpleasant or having a negative impact in some way. Here, it is the subjects that are assumed to be produced by the caring social approach that are seen as negative, both for the individual subjects themselves.

### 5.1 What is the Problem? An Introduction

In the proposal about the creation of the LMD bludgeoned by the municipal council in 2010 it is stated that the new department were to be responsible for finding employment for adults in Trelleborg (Kommunfullmäktige 2010:4). Although the identities constructed within the Trelleborg Model do not explicitly aim to construct individuals as “problems”, rather what is articulated is the opposite, problem identities are the presupposition and a part of the rationale within the model. The main function of the LMD is to support individuals and groups in their search for and employment (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen B:6) Hence the lack of employment is the problem to which the LMD is the answer and the main reason of its existence.

As a means to be more effective the LMD is working by the principle of “85/15” (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen 2017a; 2018). The LMD suggest that it is only 15% of the individuals seeking welfare who are in need of extra resources. What differentiates those 15% from the rest of 85% is unclear and has not been articulated in any of the documents or other texts or interviews involved in this study. In mail correspondence with the LMD it was stated that there is no original documentation or definition of what determines if an individual will be subject to the labour market programme aiming to find employment for the individual. Rather this is an evaluation made continuously on an individual level based on factors such as sick leave, parental leave or if the person has an active drug abuse. If the welfare seekers are not subject to any such categorisations, they are viewed as solely individuals without an income.

Fraser & Gordon argues that “there is no longer any self-evidently good adult dependency in post industrial society. Rather, all dependency is suspect, and independence is enjoined upon everyone. Independence, however, remains identified with wage labor” (1994:324). But as one of the labour market secretaries states

It is all types of humans who come here and therefore we need to stop blaming the need [of economic welfare support]. The need is there, it's a fact, Lady Justice, it's blind, the need is there to stay. But if we shame the need, then we also shame... or shame is maybe the wrong word, but that we do... you should not be ashamed. (...) The important thing here is, for me, is that here comes a person that needs help to become self-sufficient, that's my task, and I'm proud of it!

Here, it is possible to be viewed as deserving, but only if the individual's aim is to find employment or enrol in education as fast as possible. Disappointment is expressed if the individuals do not participate as planned in the programmes and plans made by the LMD:

for me it's hard when people... when you experience that they do not always take the chance, there's no obstacle (...). Or that people... they fail at a workplace they have been discharged to and maybe worked there for a couple of months, but they come back because it went wrong at the workplace, then I can be disappointed.

It becomes evident that even though there is a strong belief in the importance of not shaming or imposing any guilt upon the welfare applicants, possible failures are seen as a partly a result of the individual's behaviour and choices. This is not something that is explicitly articulated but becomes evident when asking the first two WPR questions: what is the problem represented to be and what presupposes the problem? As the only reason behind why people come in contact with the LMD is because they lack employment, social or structural problems cannot be claimed as the reason behind “failure”, as that would contradict the subject position of the welfare applicants as constructed by the LMD. A construction where the welfare applicants are more or less independent from surrounding structures and environmental factors that may increase the risk of unemployment. If they are victims of such structures or factors their ability to “improve” their own life and be self-realising is limited.

According to Fraser and Gordon, in post industrial society the structural basis of dependency is abolished and thus it has instead become individualised (1994:325). When asked, following the statement above, about whether the interviewee is disappointed in himself or in the people he is helping, he did not respond directly but instead hesitated and replied only, “I'm disappointed”. He continued by saying that he does not want to blame or impose guilt upon any of the people he is working with. Hence the disappointment may as well be directed towards himself. It appears to be a tension here. What may be an act of resistance or unwillingness to participate cannot be conceptualised as something the individual can be shamed for, within this discourse. Rather the deviant or undesired behaviour must find its origin somewhere else. The same interviewee reported that where a person is failing with their employment plan this makes himself critical and

that one reason behind a failure may be that he has not reached out with the information he was supposed to reach out with. Any failures are here seen as a failure at an individual level, for example poor communication. I will come back to how the individual “citizen” is conceptualised in 5.3.

The interviewed labour market secretaries all express positive feelings towards their job, which I suggest is an important legitimatisation for their job as promoters for waged labour as a form of self-realisation.

## 5.2 Breaking with the Social Perspective

The LMD uses several technologies of governing that aim to conduct the formation of specific subjects. This is particularly explicit and distinct within the work with recently arrived asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors. Three months after arrival the unaccompanied minors are supposed to “know what they want and receive knowledge about what this means and how this goal can be achieved” (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen A). It is argued that in the previous system where the authority contact with the minors was through the social services created problematic subjects due to the caring approach. Instead it is argued that

They have a life experience and a strength with them when they arrive. They have to be met by a structure that support their responsibility-taking, guide them right in Sweden and ensure that they get access to networks that lead to establishment. Instead they meet a social worker with a care plan. This is not ok and not the right mindset. (...) The current system does this youth a disservice that in the best case leads to delayed establishment and in the worst-case result in the creating a generation non-responsibility-taking young men that don't see their own role in the development (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen A)

The social worker under the system in place before the LMD is constructed as someone who has a direct negative impact on the unaccompanied minors. This view was one of the presuppositions and understandings that led to the creation of the LMD as its own department, as well as the role of the labour market secretary as a distinct job and not only a section or approach within the social services. The social worker still has relevance, but the profession is now limited to specific areas, areas that differ from those of the labour market secretary. One labour market secretary states that:

When people come here and say that “oh I'm meeting with the Social Services” we say “no, this is the Labour Market Department”. The Social Service Department are experts at what they do, we put people into work, that's our job.

Later on, the same person continues:

Because a specialist is a specialist for a reason. I don't think you have to be a specialist to get someone a job. I think that completely different tools are needed then. Then you have

to be a specialist to take care of addiction or take care of cases regarding sickness and so on, every day of the week. But for a person who is totally fit for work, no problems, but don't have an income there's no big interventions needed other than motivating them to have the right tools to look for a job or studies. And that easily creates worries, will this take my job, will this affect me, will my profession disappear? No, on the contrary! It becomes evident where specialists are needed!

**Interviewer:** You mean the profession of the social worker?

Yes, for example. (---) Social secretaries and social workers will always be needed to a really large extent, but you don't have to be a social worker to help people get a job.

The social perspective is viewed something that has causes negative consequences for the individuals belonging to the 85% group. However, it is an evaluation based on the assumption the those who apply for economic welfare only do that because they have no other way of supporting themselves. Assuming that the lack of employment or income is the only reason why people apply for economic welfare may conceal possible obstacles in the environment and in people's lives, both structurally and individually. However, the initiation of a department with this as its main aim is a rationale creating and intensifying power relations through the production of specific knowledge. Criticism of traditional professions are also a feature of NPM rationales, viewing the traditional welfare state as unresponsive to the needs of citizens or communities (Dean 2010:180; Hudson & Lowe 2011:137).

Creating a new department with the sole goal of getting people into work may not only conceal other social situations and structural power relations, it also demands that the subjects themselves, bureaucrats as well as people in the target group, govern themselves as subjects. The construction of the social worker as a subject and identity functions as a technology of governing. At several occasions, both in interviews and policy documents, it is not only stated that the social perspective is less successful and desirable compared to the labour market perspective, but also that the social worker itself is a problem. I argue that the creation of this dichotomy between (a) the perspectives and (b) the social secretary versus the labour market secretary is a rationale that is used to legitimate this specific way of governing. This presupposes a division of labour where the social worker is viewed as an expert on the 15% in need of further help and support, for example due to addiction, whereas the 85% are viewed as merely unemployed. This division of labour creates a demand for a labour market secretary role that is different from the previous role of the social secretary, which is regarded as too biased by their identity as social workers and the perspectives and ethics that come with that.

Hence the initiation of the LMD as an institution on its own is fundamental for the Trelleborg Model approach. Dividing citizens into certain groups such as 85/15 model suggests and establishing a new department that is separate and different from the Social Services Department is a way of rationalising and governing through the production of knowledge. The knowledge produced through this division decreases the authority of the social worker as it creates a new role, the labour market secretary, whose profession aims to find employment or

education for the welfare seekers. Not only does it establish unemployment itself as the main and often only problem in an individual's life, but it suggests that it is not required to take other social factors affecting these individuals into consideration. There is an underlying assumption that other social problems may be dissolved by entering the labour market. Limiting the area of relevance for the social perspective and thus the profession of the social worker is not only producing knowledge in form of a new profession. In this case the new profession, the labour market secretary is not only defined by what it does, but also by what it does *not* do. The labour market secretary cannot here be understood without the binary "labour market versus social perspective".

A lot of NPM influenced techniques are used for steering what kind of subjects that are shaped within the Trelleborg Model. The street level bureaucrats that are currently employed as labour market secretaries at the LMD that are interviewed within this thesis are all positive about the success of the labour market perspective and Trelleborg Model approach. The determination of conformity (in contrast to diversity) when it comes to the street level bureaucrats' approach to the Trelleborg Model is an active steering strategy used at the LMD. In a list of tips for how to implement the Trelleborg Model it is suggested to "Ignore and neglect the whiners initially – eventually it's time to deal with them" (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden) and that a good way to start is to "handpick and collaborate with the good, constructive and positive powers, regardless of their formal role in the organisation" (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden).

Not only is this expressed in form of feelings towards the work, such as happiness and accomplishment. It is also expressed through numbers and statistics. A lot of statistics are used to prove the success of the model in operational plans as well as in pamphlets. However, it is also used in valuing one's success at work. When one of the current labour market secretaries talks about his job, he states that "I really enjoy my work, I have over 90 applicants on my signature, I work actively with maybe 70 of those" and in a conversation later he talks about his goal number for this year and that he works hard to achieve it. It is also notably often emphasised how effective in terms of fast decisions and processes the department is. All labour market secretaries interviewed in the study, as well as all documents analysed exemplify the success of the Trelleborg Model with the so called "BIM" (beslut i morgon) which refers to the fast process from sending in an application to having a decision and first meeting with at the LMD. I argue that the NPM rationales are not only used to define and making meaning of the organisation, the LMD, but also in understanding one's role as a labour market secretary.

In summary, the labour market secretary is constructed as an identity that stands in contrast to the social worker and social secretary because it represents something else than the formerly dominant social perspective. The measurability of government conduct is an important rationale that allows individuals to count their performance and rationalise their actions. The importance of calculations and statistics will be further developed in 5.5.

### 5.3 The Active Citizen-Subject

Anyone who is unemployed is welcome to participate in the LMD's labour market program. It is a fundamental part of the Trelleborg Model approach that everyone is treated the same, that is, as first and foremost unemployed. As a part of the Trelleborg Model, the target groups formerly used to direct different programs to different categories of people has been liquidated on behalf of a policy aiming to treat everyone as first and foremost unemployed. The intention of this is to not create subjugated subjects by placing them in categories. When asked about what has changed compared to prior the Trelleborg Model, one currently employed labour market secretary discusses the change:

We think different about who we give the change to different activities. Before we worked a lot more in target groups. (...) So the long-term sick could be one target group and youths could be one target group... and if you um... belong to establishment on the labour market so to speak, was one target group. What we try to do is to work the same with everyone.

The liquidation of the target groups has its origin in the very core of the Trelleborg Model; that everyone (who do not belong to the 15%) who applies for economic welfare support only does this because they have no other income and that is considered the one main problem they have. Approaching them with the perspective of any other social aspects in mind would be to prejudge them and place them in categories, which could be patronising according to the logic of the model. It would be to restrict their ability to work and thus their possibility of freedom and self-realisation. In addition to this, taking other social aspects into consideration would also undermine the understanding of "the social" and society as a whole. I argue that the liquidation of different target groups and thus treating everyone as the same on the basis of their deprivation of employment is an effect of and at the same time reproducing a discourse about society as a community which one can be part of or stand outside of and that being unemployed means one is standing outside of the community. It is perceived as a binary where not belonging is discursively linked to social rejection (*utanförskap*).

Inclusion, however, is the active "citizen" actively participating in society, or with Cruikshank, maximization of citizenship (1999:48). The word active and the demand for the applicants to be active is viewed as both empowering their self-esteem and strengthening their skills and thus "human capital", but also as a condition for granted economic welfare. As one interviewee explains:

As long as you follow your [labour market] plan you're considered active and...

**Interviewer:** Active?

Well yeah, active, you always have to do everything you can to get a job or support yourself. That's the requirement for getting economic welfare support.

Being “active” here refers to participating in local government programs or activities that in other ways aim to find employment or studies. If you are not considered active, you are no longer considered deserving of economic welfare. I argue that the practice and demand of being “active” consists of two technologies of governing. First it prevents the subject from practicing or developing other identities and subjectivities than those directed towards the labour market and local government programs. Second, it suggests an undesired identity of the undeserving and non-active “citizen”, requiring subjects to discipline and regulate themselves in order to become desirable “citizens”.

Being “active” is also viewed as the only way in which the personal abilities and competencies can be realised. I argue that this constructs a subject that cannot exist without being recognised by government. If an individual’s “human capital” is not recognised by “society” they do not etymologically exist. Hence an *active* “citizen” is the only way to be a deserving and belonging “citizen” as well as a way of reaching one’s full potential, a rationale that is implemented and enhanced but the elimination of the different target groups. Employment is here linked to personal fulfilment for everyone. Regardless background or other social aspects, waged labour is the main way of reaching one’s full potential. As one current labour market secretary puts it:

we don’t ask how sick they are, but how healthy they are and what capacity to work they have, what skills there are and lifting up the positive

Another labour market secretary, when asked what his most important task is, says that

My most important task is to see the human, to see possibilities, where there’s resistance. To support and help the person to manage their challenges and continuously work with people and make them... well, reach their full potential.

First, I want to mention that I am not suggesting that focusing on people’s strengths is normatively a bad (or good) thing, but rather that it is here used solely as a way of viewing those strengths and capabilities as human capital that can be sold on a labour market and is this imposing a competitive market oriented and neo liberal subject position on the individuals. Two things become evident through these quotes. First, that a capacity to work (waged labour) is something positive and second that reaching one’s full potential is equivalent with waged labour. I suggest that this is a form of conduct with the aim of imposing the LMD’s objective, finding employment for the welfare applicant, aiming to make it the goal and aspiration of the subject itself. This suggests that being included in “the social” community is dependent on the active practice of one’s “citizenship”.

The active “citizen” is here a subject who have or is on its way towards reaching their full potential. This is also how the frequently used phrase “demands are love” (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden) should be understood. As one interviewee says about what is demanded from the welfare applicants:



Maybe you have to apply for jobs or take part in a program or you have to take an internship. Because we together with the Swedish Public Employment Service has made the judgement that 'this is the best way for you', but the person is not always on board with that. But then we have to work with motivation, so that's a big part of the job, to try to explain why this is a success factor, why we want to do this.

The demands are here understood as conduct of individuals towards "the best way" for that person. The best way is beyond that individual itself, an objective fact imposed on the welfare seeker from different authorities. If the person does not agree with this "way", motivation and emphasis on success are used to make the person actively take part in the plan. Hence, individuals can reach personal success only by subjugating themselves to the demands of governmental programs. The active "citizenship" is here also used as a form of integration. The LMD has taken over the society orientations courses from the Swedish Migration Agency and this course is now directly linked to having a labour market plan (Trelleborgs kommun 2018).

The active "citizen" is the model citizen within neo liberal ideology. Self-responsibility and the urge to maximize one's life (life here cannot be understood apart from "citizenship") is a principal strategy within modern government (Rose et.al 2006:12). Citizenship within neo liberalism is at first hand "the energetic pursuit of personal fulfilment and the incessant calculations that are to enable this to be achieved" (Rose & Miller 1992:201). I argue that the shaping of the "citizen" subjects within the Trelleborg Model does not only aim to create subjects with aspirations and life goals that align with the goals of the government but also creating or intensifying the very *determination* for these goals itself. Only *being* in the present is not seen as enough, rather one's human capital must be turned over to reach personal fulfilment and improvement. One reason welfare applicants may not feel motivated is, according to one of the labour market secretaries, that they feel their labour market plan and the activities it contains are meaningless. The motivation thus becomes not only a governing of *what* motives the subject will or should have, but a governing enhancing the motivation to strive for these motives.

Where an identity is favoured in a policy this presupposes one or several undesired identities that it is constructed as opposing. A favoured identity is encouraged because it, according to certain rationales, is considered better and thus more desirable than other identities. By attempting to promote an alternative identity among economic welfare applicants, I argue that the Trelleborg Model while aiming to constructing some specific subjects as "capable", the rest are implicitly understood as incapable. The concept of capability, like any other concept, cannot be understood without its counterpart. The identity promoted by the LMD is constructed against its counterpart, which is the identity argued to be promoted by "the social perspective".

This is one of the reasons why the LMD wants to break with the former social perspective which they argue is patronizing and creates helpless subjects (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). They intend to do this by creating new subjects that view themselves as choosing and responsible for themselves rather than dependent (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). These subject constructions are created in relation to

what they are *not*, or more accurate: what they do not *want* to be. The willingness and the objective of *becoming* is central for understanding what type of subject that is constructed within the Trelleborg Model. It is subjects in transformation that are the driving force both when it comes to the individuals subject within the employment programmes, and the institution as a whole. Constant change, flexibility and a chase for “extraordinary results” are important features of the LMD’s modes of operation and conduct. It applies to both the LMD as an organisation in constant change and the Labour Market Secretary as an important force for this.

As has been argued, what is done here is a form of governing by imposing specific identities with certain political goals and functions. It aims to bring out the inherent motivations and capacities that are assumed to lodge within these individuals. But the subject characterised by low self-esteem and inadequacy must exist prior to the contact with the LMD, otherwise these individuals would not be in need of empowerment. Hence the improved and empowered institutional self that is imposed on these individuals are, with Cruikshank’s word “the object and the outcome of the will to empower” (1999:72).

Therefore, there appears to be something of a paradox here; If the individuals participating in the labour market programmes were understood as already independent and self-realising they would not be in need of empowerment from the LMD. It is thus an ambiguous identity that is offered by the LMD. It is both troubled and capable at the same time, two aspects that are both the effect of and presupposition for the Trelleborg Model policy. The ambiguous construction requires change and transformation, here in the form of empowerment. The demand of change is also the demand of the active “citizenship”. Thus, what may at first sight seem to be a paradox, I suggest is rather a rationale enabling and promoting the active citizenship that is one of the cornerstones of neo liberal ideology. It is a construction of identities that not only the result of and presupposition for the Trelleborg Model approach, but a form of governing through the subject that deepens individual’s conformation to existing power structures.

As Cruikshank argues, the problem for the liberal art of governing is to govern without interfering (1999:45). The solution and presupposition for this is the possibility of self-regulation which is effectively practiced within the Trelleborg Model.

## 5.4 The Only Way

It is made clear that the department is designed with the 85% in mind. Those who are not subject to, for example, parental leave or long-term sickness are placed in the LMD’s labour market programmes, aiming to find employment or an education for those individuals. It is individuals within the 85% category that are addressed in

the pamphlet *10 Theses About the Labour Market* (10 teser om arbetsmarknaden) (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). This pamphlet is one of the most ideologically explicit of the documents and situations within this study and can be understood as a summary of the core values that lay the ground for the Trelleborg Model and the conduct of the LMD. The pamphlet is understood as a document that represents how the Labour Market Department and Council want to represent themselves and not as a representation of what is actually practiced, although that may be the case. As discourse is never stable it is ontologically unlikely that the self-perception and the practices would fully align. It would also be etymologically impossible to find that out taken discourses' relation to time and space into consideration.

The word necessary is used several times, often in combination with the call for drastic changes in the labour market politics. The Trelleborg Model is posing as the necessary solution that has to be implemented, as the predominant system is about to implode. For example, it is stated that there is a need to “stop being collectively afraid of, and paralyzed by not being PC [politically correct] regarding the collapse of the systems.” (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). Under the headline “A Provocative, but Necessary Proposal” is stated that

Some things will probably upset, but we readily slaughter sacred cows as long as it provides to something that works better than today's model, that in a too large extent contributes to maintaining structures and power.

At the same time as the problem is constituted as a threatening future looming at the horizon, an explicit definition fails to appear. At the same time this future is seen as inevitable.

I argue that these statements and ways of articulating the activities at the department are functioning as a saving clause for possible criticism. It has the similar ideological function as when the former Swedish prime minister Carl Bildt's (the Moderate Party) famously expressed the “only way” politics (Prop. 1991/92:100; Motion 1994/95:Fi210). The same view of development, politics and time is visible in the Trelleborg Model. This situates the Trelleborg Model as conduct that ideologically can be situated in the very core of neo liberalism (as it is understood in this thesis). It relates to an inevitable future which demands conformity and adaptation in the present. Even if the past is open for interpretation to a certain extent, it holds courses of events that we have to consider when constructing a narrative. The future, on the other hand, has a greater potential of being constituted by ideological objectives. I argue that time, and how we understand time, to a great extent is ideologically biased and shaped by historical conditions. Time in form of the present can be viewed as a stage and stepping stone towards something else, a future beyond the present.

What neo liberalism does, is getting rid of the future, making it merge with the present (Fareld 2015:173). With a globalized economy and the conduct of government in the form of governmentality penetrating deeper into people's lives, the future is less understood as something that has the possibility of holding something else than what can be constructed within the frames of the present. Neo liberal ideology has transformed the future from a horizon for change to something

that demands adjustments to forces impossible to obstruct (Andersson 2014:206). In other words, the suggestion that the future has merged with the present does not mean an absence of development. On the contrary, I argue that “development” is an essential part of this ideological construction of time. Development, here, demands a constant intensifying of its values and subjectivities. One of the current labour market secretary expresses that

We don't re-organize all the time, but we develop all the time. So, every week we have a development meeting where we look at all parts of the process: what do we do today, what can we do better. (...) And it was a bit slow at the beginning but now it's like you're assumed to always have a ball rolling

A future impossible to impact and a present determined by the future since they have both been conflated is a rationale used to legitimise changes. Policy changes are *necessary* only if the conditions given are seen as a part of an indisputable future and present. We may feel uncomfortable towards these changes, but since they are inevitable, they need us to conform, according to the logics behind the Trelleborg Model. Hence it can from one point of view be seen as a dialectic process where the Trelleborg Model is the synthesis deriving from a clash between the old administration and new structures in society.

I do not argue that change in this case is not desirable or at certain times perhaps even necessary. However, I would argue that even when change itself is normatively desirable or necessary it does not entail a *specific* change or a change in the specific direction which is being suggested within the LMD pamphlet for the Trelleborg Model. What changes that are made available or possible, even what is understood as necessary, is shaped by discourse. If, as explained and developed above (3.2), society is understood as an entity then wanting to be included in that entity is a rational goal. I therefore argue that the notion of “the social” and the social community lays the ground for specific changes such as initiation of a public administration department that only focuses on putting people into work, with the argument that it makes people participate in “society” and thus being included. Engaging in waged labour is equal to and the definition of inclusion, regardless of other forms of social stratification. It can thus be presented as necessary to achieve the common goal.

I argue that these subject identities are less a *result* of this specific policy and approach at the LMD, but rather a presupposition for the same. The LMD may aim to construct specific subjects and practices as more desirable than other, but that presupposes an already existing subject wanting to change. That is, a subject which is not satisfied with what it has or is. I argue that this logic of motion and “development” pervades society as a whole. From the individual subject to how we perceive the aim of our institutions. As one interviewee expresses it:

If there's one thing we know, it's that from the day we are born there will be development that will continue until the day when we're not a part of that development anymore. (...) Change is something positive and we have to welcome that, otherwise we'll feel really bad, if we don't want to be a part of that change”

I argue that this quote exemplifies a development discourse that presume development as change on a structural level, beyond the individual's influence. Any resistance or behaviours deviating from the hegemonic discourse of development thus become undesired and viewed as retrogressive within the discourse. Therefore, development can only be understood in one direction that includes and is based on "society as a whole". However, this conceals other futures and restrains possible actions by deeming them impossible or irrational. Or as Carl Bildt put it in a radio interview paraphrasing Voltaire: "you should make sure not to make the best the enemy of the possible" (Ekots lördagsintervju 2011).

## 5.5 The Role of the Local Government

The liberal democracy is based on the normative idea of the division of politics and administration, a dichotomy that has been advocated by theorists such as Woodrow Wilson, Frank Goodnow and maybe most prominently Max Weber (Hysing & Olsson 2012:27p). The self-image of the administration is often that of an apolitical, neutral, executing operation that stands for continuity. The traditional normative role and discourse of politics on the other hand, is that of decision-making, change, subjective and partisan (Hysing & Olsson 2012:29). However, this strict division has been contested by several notions within research and the general understand today is that these entities and their tasks are not easily distinguishable and often overlapping (Hysing & Olsson 2012:29).

As argued above, Trelleborg Municipality has with the initiation of the LMD and the Trelleborg Model approach deviated from the traditional approach to local government politics and public administration. The LMD describe themselves as bold and thinking outside the box. The main goal of the development over recent years (since 2013) is described as "going from the traditional local government [geggamoja] to a structured and systematic process-oriented operation" (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen B). The Swedish term "geggamoja" used here does not have an exact translation but refers to a sodden goo that is perceived as disgusting (Nationalencyklopedin). It is also a term that is childish to its ring. Hence there can be no doubt that it is used as an insult toward traditional ways of conducting public administration. This specific way of describing traditional public administration, using the Swedish term "geggamoja", is also used by one of the interviewees who says that

I never thought I could have this fun when I had my municipal "geggamoja" in mind. But this is so much fun. And it's also the way we work, with distinct goals, with a lot, I like the structures and systematics and how we work with people, I think that approach is tremendously attractive.

Whereas some of the currently employed labour market secretaries are more uncritical than others towards the Trelleborg Model approach they are all generally

positive, especially when it comes to the approach's main focus on waged labour. The Trelleborg Model is not only an approach that suggests certain ways of working and thinking within the department. It is a foundational understanding of the *raison d'être* of government and its role and relation to other actors and institutions within society.

The Labour Market Council suggests that the task of changing the approach is a task that should be taken on not only by the municipality. It is suggested that we should not see

the public as unique bearers in this question to see collaboration and concurrence with the local economy and non-profit associations (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden)

This issue, i.e. that of the task of local government regarding the labour market politics, is not seen as a political question (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). Rather than viewing different actors such as the local economy, public administration and political parties across the political scale as actors with possible different interests, it is suggested that there is a common public interest channelized through the Trelleborg Model. An important task for the LMD is to “increase the services to the local economy” (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017:6). It represents a neo liberal view of government capacity and purpose. As subject interests are already constructed as aligned with market rationales, the government's purpose is to “reregulate” and merge with the market, rather than deregulating or restraining the same.

At the same there is an awareness of the fact that the Trelleborg Model has received a lot of critique. The expression “PC” occurs several times throughout one of the pamphlets. It is stated that “We have to [...] /s/top ducking for unpleasant truths and instead put distinct and accentuative words on the reality we see even if this is both painful and less PC” (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden). By stating that the Trelleborg Model approach may not be politically correct constitutes it as political. Hence its self-image is one where it is both apolitical and political at the same time. I argue that the Trelleborg Model is discursively constructed as political in its content. It is understood as a radically new way of viewing local government objectives and conduct. A view proudly clashing and contradicting with the traditional. However, as a force of change, i.e. to its form, it is understood as inevitable and necessary and thus “apolitical”. When using the term political here, I am aware that what is regarded as political versus apolitical is a question of definition. What I refer to here is the understanding of themselves as something that is at the same time agreed upon and contested. It is both concealing relations of power/knowledge and highlighting itself as criticising existing power structures.

## 5.6 The Rule of Numbers

The Trelleborg Model does not only imply a shift from a social perspective to a labour market perspective. It is also implementing measuring the conduct in numbers and viewing them as evidence of success. This is not unique to the LMD or the Trelleborg Model approach, but a part of the broader NPM notion emphasising output controls, performance measuring and monitoring (Hudson & Lowe 2011:137). As has been shown above, statistics are an important indicator of personal success and significant in the labour market secretary's professional identity. Measures and results of performance and outcomes are also a significant part of how they want to present themselves in folders and pamphlets as well as in operational plans.

Numbers and measuring are surrounded by a discourse of neutrality and objectivity with sayings such as “numbers don't lie” and are according to NPM rationales a good way of evaluating public administration and its “efficiency”. I argue that these NPM rationales both promote a worldview that sees the use of statistics and qualitative measurement as particularly or solely important in terms of judging success and is at the same time a result of the same worldview. It would not be possible within the limitations of this thesis to examine all the aspect that are subject to measurement and calculations; statistics captured range from the individual behaviour of unaccompanied minors to self-sufficient young people and the time it takes to get an application approved (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen 2018). My aim here is not to evaluate whether it is “successful” in meeting targets around these measurements and calculations, rather I want to explore what happens when human life becomes subject to the same.

It assumed that this active “citizen” is measurable and that specific numbers are an indication of success. I argue that the measuring of results as a practice not only constructs problematisations of society and individuals (and problematise them), but also shape the subjects themselves. This applies both to how the “final users” of the policy, i.e. the welfare applicants and individuals participating in the LMD's society orientation courses for immigrants as well as the street level bureaucrats. Numbers are effective as proof of change and here even enhances the determination for better results when combined and in collaboration with other rationales within the Trelleborg Model. It is thus an efficient way of governing.

The active “citizen” is a subject viewed as deserving. But to be able to evaluate if an individual is considered active, in this case actively looking for a job, there needs to be technologies of control. One such technology that is very explicit is the everyday evaluation of the unaccompanied minors. When living at homes for unaccompanied minors run by the LMD they get evaluated every day on a scale from one to four looking at how they have performed within specific areas that day. Areas that get evaluated are performances in school, their internship or other responsibilities or commitments, their housing situation, health, economy and communication/conflict management (Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen 2018). Based

on their average score, the unaccompanied minors are trusted with a greater or lesser level of responsibility. For example, with a higher score it is easier to get an own apartment and thus not having to live at the collective housing solutions run by the LMD. It is a very explicit and rather obvious example of the logics of the deserving “citizen” subordinating themselves to government disciplinaries. Only through those implicitly coercive strategies can the individual reach the freedom it means to have your own apartment. Freedom and coercion are here not understood as an oxymoron but as preconditions for each other.

Efficiency is accentuated as one of the foremost qualities of the Trelleborg Model and has been a driving force in the development of the model. However, in addition to viewing this type of “social work” as measurable, there are other aspects of technologies used to deepen this understanding and interpretation of numbers. What maybe has been most contentious and publicly debated is the “robot” that has been used since 2015. The Robotics Process Automation (RPA) now handles the economic welfare applications online and it is argued that it secures the rule of law and result in correct evaluations (Arbetsmarknadsnämnden 2017). Drawing on the discussion above about knowledge production in relation to the division of labour, I argue that the use of the RPA is taking this practice one step further. It implies that the social worker, who traditionally makes these official decisions are not as secure or bureaucratically neutral as the RPA. However, machines and other forms of technology can never be constructed detached from discourse and human “biases” and must be understood as temporally bound regarding their “neutrality”. The RPA has gained a lot of attention from other municipalities and has made it possible to spread the Trelleborg Model approach. I argue that addition to the initiation of the profiled profession of the labour market secretary, I suggest that the spreading of the Trelleborg Model also should be viewed as a NPM rationale, seeking to legitimise the ways of working by expanding and exporting the Trelleborg Model approach.

One way of conducting both employees and welfare applicants at the LMD is the practice of EOR - Extraordinary results. Not only does it rationalise the ways of working by suggesting that efficiency per se is something positive in itself, it is also, maybe more importantly, a technology of government emphasising and enhancing calculability. Efficiency here is a desirable value and objective within the department. It is at the same time a goal and a rationale for legitimising the ways of working, as well as a presupposition for the same. As shown above, the LMD and the council does often present the changes made as necessary. One labour market secretary touches upon this when saying that

I think that [demanding performance] is something we have to do if we’re going to succeed with the assignments we have

This suggests that the method or practices used to reach the results are not understood as desirable in themselves, but as a necessary in order to fulfil assignments and reach goals. However, the assignment is set by the LMD itself, and thus the demands are both what creates the results as well as a result of the same. Hence the EOR becomes both a goal and a method. It is at the same time a



form of knowledge production where efficiency as value is emphasised as well as a method of governing by setting goals so high they require efficiency and technologies for measuring the conduct and its outcome.

Calculating reality is something government is dependent upon (Rose & Miller 1992:185). It a technology that make human life able to be thought about as calculable and a way of collecting information and making it transportable and possible to spread, both internally and to external parties (Rose & Miller 1992:185p). Measuring as practice and carrier of meaning enables certain social power relations to be established. Knowing the citizens through statistics makes it easier to govern, even from a distance. With Rose & Miller, I argue that even the measuring and “writing down” itself is a form of governing making people become aware of and conform to specific norms (1992:187). In this case study it becomes evident in the way the labour market secretaries understand themselves and their work, as I have shown above. It is also applicable on the unaccompanied minors whose everyday life, activities and behaviour gets measured. The measuring here offers the possibility of freedom and autonomy to be calculated and thus maximized, however what it is that will be maximized is already decided upon.

## 6 Conclusion

In this conclusion I will summarise and discuss the results of the analysis. In addition to this I will discuss these results in a broader context of research which is beyond the scope of this thesis but are nonetheless relevant and interesting when trying to understand unemployment, subjugation and relations of power.

### 6.1 Reshaping Subjects

In the analysis, I have argued that the Trelleborg model construct and presupposes a certain type of subjects. The subject position imposed upon the welfare applicants is that of a self-realising individual striving for personal fulfilment. This fulfilment is achieved by entering waged labour which is seen as the only way one can utilise one's human capital. This presupposes that personal capacities are understood as a form of capital that is to be sold on a labour market. These are neo liberal NPM rationales that force the individual to align its interests with the interests of "the social". With regards to the street level bureaucrats in this study, they agree with the Trelleborg model approach's success and the way in which it characterises the subjects involved, themselves as well as those who approach the department for welfare assistance. A part of the success of this model is based on the LMD deviating from how traditional public administration is understood.

I argue that the hardcore focus on work establishes norms and ethics where those who don't work get even more subjugated within the discourse. You are deserving only if you do everything you can to find a way to support yourself, and if you would be unable or even "unwilling" to do so you will be treated with disappointment and viewed as unwilling to participate in society, which is here ethically undesirable. It also becomes evident that integration is directly linked to waged labour. As Koch (2010) suggests, a person who is integrated within the labour market is also seen as socially integrated. Work is understood as a cornerstone in "society", something we cannot understand ourselves beyond work. The Trelleborg model offers both a "troubled" and an "untroubled" identity where they are both situated according to their relation to waged labour.

When stating that the demand for economic welfare support will always exist, it is presupposed that the future does not contain anything except what is already the case. The LMD is not aiming to reallocate assets or eliminate poverty, rather it

assumes the current circumstances will never change and certain relations of power are constant and inevitable. Even if they are addressing the individual, the collective of unemployed individuals subject to the construction of social rejection (utanförskap) are the basis of their legitimacy and conduct. Focusing on the individual creates a possibility to disclaim responsibility in case of any failures within the model. Failure is readily attributed to a case of information that did not come through or an applicant's unwillingness rather than a result of the model itself. At the same time success according to the model's outcomes is attributed to the model rather than individuals. I could be argued that success for the model is also a success for the individual, however

At its core, it is a question about the ontology of the individual and its surroundings or, as mentioned above, what the substance governed is. The LMD suggests that it is the social perspective that makes the individual situated in poverty due to the lack of waged labour (or other form of income or way to support themselves) feel helpless or incapable. The feeling of helplessness and incapability is thought to be a result of how she or he is treated in the contact with authorities rather than, for example, a result of the social stigma of poverty.

While there is indeed reason to believe that employment can help remove people from poverty in some circumstances, there is a great deal of research that has been done to explore the various ways in which people are disadvantaged or feel disempowered by their circumstances beyond simply a lack of employment (see for example Lister 2004). The work in this area examines areas such as social stigma, increasing class inequalities and other aspects but a full exploration is beyond the scope of this essay. However, no man is an island, and individuals are not freestanding from structures and relations of power. Dependency as a concept should not be taken for granted. Even though individuals view themselves and independent the collective of economic welfare applicants are still dependent in other senses. Viewing economic welfare support as form of negative dependency obscures other power relations involved within "the social", such as racial and gender hierarchies and capitalism itself. This too is taken on by Lister (2003), Weeks (2011) Atkinson et.al. (2012) Robertson (2016) among others.

In their genealogy of dependency Fraser & Gordon has shown that who can be considered a morally accepted dependent has become narrower as waged labour has become increasingly normative (1994:316). However, if we understand dependency as general social relation of subordination and not only as a distinct term referring to what is considered morally undesired, it becomes evident that the broad semantic understanding of dependency conceals the dependency between, for example, workers and capitalists. As has been shown throughout the analysis, the government is always dependent on certain discourses about the individual, self-realisation, work and the social, for example. I would suggest that the issue of dependency is not only a question about which *individuals* are considered as morally accepted dependents (for example children) but could also possibly be applied to and used to analysed collectives or groups.

As mentioned above (3.7), a collective interest may not always align with the individual interest when subject to specific rationales, although that individual

is a part of the same collective. However, those possible contradictions that suggest instability and thus possibilities for change.

## 6.2 The Art of Governing

What is a good outcome will always be contested (Smith & Larimer 2013:178). It is a product of how we view the world and what is agreed upon to be legitimate knowledge. Knowledge that will always come with a set of values and rationales. I argue that the most explicit example of power/knowledge produced through the practices and discourse of the Trelleborg Model is the creation of the LMD itself. It is the division of labour between the social secretaries and the labour market secretaries and the specific role and work assignments of the labour market secretary as distinguishable and separate from that of the social secretary. This emphasises the foundational problematisation of the economic welfare applicants as solely people lacking employment. However, this is of course situated in a wider discourse promoting and legitimising neo liberal NPM values and rationales.

I would like to add that in addition to the initiation of the LMD as an authority, the practice of imposing government values and objectives on civil subjects is also a production of knowledge by governing the very core of the subject itself. It arrogates the existence of the subject itself and the meaning of life. When reaching one's full potential is predefined to be equivalent to waged labour, then freedom cannot be existing at the same time. This thesis does not pretend to have settled the thorny problem of defining what freedom *is*, though I do argue that it is *not* co-existing with a goal of self-realisation defined by authorities. By authorities I here refer to both the meaning of it as government organisation as well as a person or institution with the capacity to exercise power.

As Rose & Miller argue, neo liberalism is reactivating liberal values about the government (1992:198). The neo liberal logics are critical towards what they see as a government that constantly wants to expand itself. This market logic of expansion is viewed as ontologically inherent (but at the same time something that needs to be promoted by the state). The LMD have recently obtained agreement to export the Trelleborg model to other municipalities (Vinnova). What is expanded and exported in this case is not extent of a local government organization, but values and governing rationales.

## 6.3 Waged Labour and Freedom

Even though the aim of this thesis has not been to unveil the strong work ethics inherent in the Trelleborg model and its rationales and technologies of governing,

it would be impossible not to comment on this as a part of the conclusion. I do not argue that becoming employed may not result in a *feeling* of freedom, rather that the feeling must be situated in a discourse about the desirable citizen (and its relation to alternative identities) and waged labour. Freedom here is restrained and only discursively enabled through certain practices, such as waged labour (if one belongs to the poorer elements of the population that approach the LMD for welfare assistance, as this would in a general discourse not apply to venture capitalists or people making money through stock exchange for example). What is important within the type of advanced liberal governing that the Trelleborg model is an example of is the imagined freedom and autonomy of the individual. As such, freedom is not restrained by or opposed by government but is here encouraged by it.

Freedom as discussed here, within a Foucauldian theoretical framework, is problematic. Relations of power can never be eliminated as they will always exist in everyday conduct. However, power in this meaning is normatively neutral and therefore not necessarily a negative force (Wagenaar 2011:122). This means that the “problem” of power needs to be a question about “how to make the inevitable asymmetries compatible with the greatest personal liberty for subjective individuality” (Dean 2011:122). Or as the American revolutionary activist James Boggs put it:

The question of the right to a full life has to be divorced completely from the question of work (cited in Weeks 2011:227)

## 7 Further Research

To go beyond what I have argued here, the most obvious area for further research that I would suggest considering is answering the remaining questions from Bacchi's WPR approach that have not been addressed within this thesis. At the beginning of this project, my intention was to analyse both the street level bureaucrats currently working at the LMD as well as those who have resigned because of the Trelleborg model. Not only in Trelleborg, but also in other Swedish municipalities such as Kungsbacka, social workers have left because of the new approach and the union for social workers, Akademikerförbundet SSR, has delivered criticism (Bolin & Loth 2018; Grahn & Rundberg 2018). This criticism is mainly directed towards the RPA's assessment "bot", though as mentioned in the beginning and developed in my analysis, the automatic assessment process used by the bot cannot be understood apart from the rest of the approach. Unfortunately, I did not get the opportunity to conduct interviews with this group. However, it is a clear example of resistance and would therefore be a worthwhile aspect to explore further.

Another interesting aspect of the Trelleborg model that have come to my knowledge during my research is the origin of the approach. The Trelleborg model was not at the beginning a result of political decision making, instead the changes started within the administration. It would therefore be of interest to explore how this has affected the policy process, and particularly contributed to reinforcing the reliance on statistics, outcomes and the perception of the administration as 'neutral', outside of the political arena in some regards, which as I have suggested earlier is in tension with other ways in which the administration regards itself).

In this thesis I have used the term "citizen" with quotation marks to include groups such as asylum seekers that do not possess a Swedish citizenship and indicate the demands and obligations that are inflicted upon them regardless of the legal status. This is an aspect of governing and governmentality that due to the limitations of time and space for this thesis I have chosen not to elaborate on further. However, I do consider it to be an interesting and highly relevant topic for further research. Particularly at present where debates around the relation between immigration and citizenship and responsibilities and rights are highly charged and fiercely contested.

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## 9 Appendix 1: Interview guide

### Questions to Street Level Bureaucrats

- Vad är en arbetsmarknadssekreterare? [What is a labour market secretary]
- Vad är syftet med ditt arbete? [What is the aim of your work?]
- Hur ser en normal arbetsvecka ut? [What does a normal week at work look like?]
- Hur ser du på dina arbetsuppgifter (betungande, svåra, givande etc) [How do you view your job assignments?]
- Hur vet du om du gjort ett bra arbete? [How do you know if you have done a good job?]
- Vad är unikt med arbetssätten på Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen? [What is unique about the Labour Market Department?]
- Hur skiljer sig arbetet nu från tidigare arbetssätt (om personen arbetat där tidigare)? [How do the current ways of working differ from previous ways? (If the person have worked there earlier)]
- Vad är din viktigaste uppgift som Arbetsmarknadssekreterare? [What is your most important task as a labour market secretary?]
- Finns det några delar av ditt arbete som känns jobbiga eller problematiska? [Are there any parts of your job that you find hard or problematic?]