
Integrating Governmentality: Administrative Expectations for Immigrant Associations in Finland

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From the first half of the 1990s, and especially after the accession to European Union in 1995, immigrant authorities and administration have emphasized the significance of immigrant associations in integration of immigrants in Finland. The purpose of the associations from the administrative perspective is to socialize and activate immigrant communities and individuals according to basic political rationalities, such as security of the society, happiness of the population and individuals, and cultural pluralism. On the one hand immigrant associations are technology through which integrative government of individuals and communities is implemented. On the other hand, associations themselves are governed through multiple techniques, mainly funding and registration. The author approaches this associational government of integration of immigrants with the “toolkit” applied from Foucauldian governmentality studies. **KEYWORDS:** Immigrant associations, integration, governmentality, rationalities, techniques of government

Individual subjects are transformed into citizens by what I call technologies of citizenship: discourses, programs, and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government.¹

Mitchell Dean argues that government of modern Western societies occurs more and more through agencies located within civil society, which enable people to be active and self-responsible in their own governance.² Especially in the social sector, linked to the questions of exclusion and marginalization, civic organizations are

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recently considered to be one of the main producers of acts of such empowerment. These “technologies of citizenship”³ call people in marginal positions (such as the unemployed, the disabled, substance addicts, and immigrants) to be self-responsible through actions that are considered acceptable for them in order to advance their participation in the fields of “normal society.”

As in many European countries, in Finland one of the “risk groups” in such marginal position is immigrants. In their case, the question of citizenship is actualized in a particular way, as none of them have Finnish nationality in the beginning. Nation-state citizenship in their case is problematic, as immigrants are typically perceived as culturally—although often also religiously, economically, and politically—different. Without programmatic governance, their difference can be thought to form a risk for the security and coherence of Finnish society.⁴ Programmatic governance of this risk does not usually touch upon all the immigrants, but only those with limited opportunities to participate in the institutions of the receiving society, that is, those “at risk”: refugees, asylum seekers, unemployed, uneducated, youth, women, elderly, and so on.

In accordance with one of the main principles of advanced liberalist ideas of government, these at-risk newcomers need civic education to the extent that they themselves can take responsibility for their own societal development, but in a manner in which the public administration intervenes in their spiritual growth as little as possible. With this premise in mind, one of the most rational avenues for people’s societal and personal development is through their own communities.⁵ The primary research question pursued in this article, consequently, concerns how this is done in the case of immigrants in Finland. What makes this question particularly interesting in the Finnish case is, first, the strong welfare-state tradition; so far, the state has been the axiomatic funder, organizer, and provider of health, welfare, and cultural services. Second, civic associations have traditionally served the role of mediator between citizen groups and the public sector.⁶ Third, a special characteristic of Finland has been the small number of immigrants and the relatively short history of immigration. However, there is one international policy trend that Finland shares with others: Advanced forms of liberal economic and political rationality, mainly in the guise of “New Public Management” and ideas about an active and self-responsible individual, have recently come to influence such existing traditions. The synergy and resonance of established traditions with this new trend is what makes the Finnish case of immigrant associations and public administration of special interest.

The focus of this article is on the expectations of the immigration administration and public authorities for the immigrant associations. The primary data used here consists of twenty-five local and national administrative documents concerning governance of migration and immigrant associations. The second part of the data consists of five interviews of migration officials in two case cities, Tampere and Jyväskylä, together with seven interviews of workers in integration projects. The third part of the data consists of the periodical *MoniTori*, the official Finnish magazine for immigration affairs, from the years 2000–2003. The purpose of the data collection has been to conceive a comprehensive view of interests of administrative bodies toward immigrant associations.

I approach the data mainly with two “Foucauldian” concepts: First of all, I explore what the administrative rationalities concerning integration of immigrants through their own associations are like. What are the broad historically developed and constructed knowledge and truth formations⁷ behind the migration work in this context? The second part of analysis consists of examining the *techniques of government* linked to the associations in administrative discourse. In what ways does the public administration promote both immigrant associations and the individuals that are their members and customers in this context? How are these actions expected to improve the immigrants’ responsibility, self-esteem, and engagement in the process of integration? In relation to Mitchell Dean’s⁸ definition, the latter question deals with the relation of government and ethics. It aims at illuminating how somewhat impersonal general technologies are incorporated into subjects’ self-formation in empirical practices, in something that can be called “governmental-ethical practices,” or “technologies of the self.”⁹

In addition to the analysis of rationalities and techniques of government, I seek to illustrate the relevance of a governmentality toolkit for understanding problematics of power in the integration of immigrants in Finland while simultaneously indicating this phenomenon as a potential site for exploring governmentality. Jonathan Xavier Inda has studied governmentality in the United States in order to show how the exclusion of “illegal” immigrants is codified as an essential and noble pursuit necessary to ensure the survival of the social body.¹⁰ My purpose is, rather, to show how the *inclusion* of “legal” immigrants and political efforts toward it are codified as an essential and noble pursuit necessary to ensure the survival of the social body in Finland, and to ensure that the sociocultural difference of the “immigrant others” is limited to the extent that they can become a functional part of the social body, “us.”

Modern Government

In modern Western societies, where something that Foucault called governmentalization of the state¹¹ has taken place, government works abundantly through complex networks of civil society, while the life-world of individuals and the government itself has become a process of self-evaluation and self-reparation. This has necessitated the mobilization of governmental techniques, which measure and regulate the everyday life and security of the population and its individuals, such as vital statistics, public health institutions and programs, and compulsory general education. Modern government aims to optimize the creative forces of citizens in the name of survival of the state and its population. Government is something that secures the social development according to institutions, practices, ideas, and behaviors that are considered normal.¹² Mitchell Dean says,

Government is any more or less calculated 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 our desires, aspirations, interests and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects and outcomes.¹³

Governmentality, then, means “the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target a population; as its principal form of knowledge, political economy; and as its essential technical means, apparatuses of security.”¹⁴ Government within the governmentality framework appears more as forms of action and relations of power that aim to guide and shape the actions of others or oneself, than as direct force, control, or domination.¹⁵

The rationality of government is a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government, that is its mentality. It “can be thought of as a necessary condition of governmental practices.”¹⁶ Rationalities (re)produce existing truth formations and contain knowledge about what are the best societal conditions and how the government should work in order to achieve and maintain them. Rationalities as such do not guarantee the achievement of specific ends in the processes of government. To be effective, government must be successful in constructing technical means for its rationalities. Techniques mediate rationalities to the human life-world. The relationship between rationalities and life-world practices also works the other way around: Particular practices are being rationalized—brought into the sphere of reasonable

thinking considering their meaning and consequences—through technologies, which consist of deliberated governmental acts guiding practices of groups and individuals.¹⁷

Techniques of governmentality are often divided into two Foucauldian approaches. First, there are, what I call, techniques of governance, which take place on the organizational level, and whose target is the individual citizen—they are techniques that aim at governing others. Here, these techniques work through collectives of citizens and aim at enabling at-risk citizens to take care of their own lives in the way that is the “normal” and the “right” way. Second, there are techniques of the self. Those are physical and mental practices with which individuals make themselves act morally, as a moral-subject.¹⁸

The Integration of Immigrants and Governmentalization of Civil Society in Finland

The Integration Law was instituted in 1999 in Finland. Its basic aim is to “promote the integration, equality and freedom of choice of immigrants through measures which help them to acquire the essential knowledge and skills they need to function in society.”¹⁹ Integration here means individual and group level attachment to the societal center, the dominant culture. It consists of the ideas, beliefs and patterns that are thought to be typical for the Finnish population, especially its basic institutions such as work, language, and nuclear family.²⁰

According to recent administrative discourses, being a member of this center requires individual activeness and willingness to social interaction.²¹ However, individual contribution in itself is not enough. There also have to be programmatic technologies of government and experts controlling these rituals that individuals have to perform show their activeness in the recognized way. Integration policy is thus a set of techniques with the purpose of controlling the multicultural development of the society in a way that could be defined as culturally and politically democratic. Due to this, integration policy cannot be explicitly coercive, but requires voluntary participation of immigrants themselves. In Finnish immigration policy, integration as a noun means “the individual development of the immigrant with the aim to participate in working life and activities of society, while retaining one’s own language and culture at the same time.”²² Integration as a verb means the measures and capacities organized by immigration authorities (mainly leading social and cultural workers of the cities) to advance integration in this sense.

In this respect, the survival of the population—to which integration policy aims at in the spirit of biopolitics—is secured through teaching newcomers Finnish language, history, everyday civil skills, and the social system (including laws, norms, and “basic values”), getting immigrants to interact with members of the majority (common hobbies and pastime events), and organizing education, work practice, and employment for them.²³

Since the 1990s, Finnish society, like many other European countries, has witnessed a renewal of the production and governance of public services. Especially after the first EU programs, the making of civic organizations as participants and their guidance by the public administration have been much more systematic and programmatic than before. This trend of extending administrative rationalities and techniques into the field of civil society can be approached as a governmentalization of the civil society. While the governmentalization of the state massively increased the proliferation of the rationalities and techniques of the government in the whole society, the governmentalization of the civil society means the proliferation of administrative steering of civil society actors more than before and an increase in the applied expertise of third-sector actors at the same time.²⁴ The transition also includes features of “marketization” of the civil society. Never in the history of the Finnish third sector, or the immigrant part of it, have auditing, performance evaluation, and cost-benefit analysis been as common as now.

This trend, which culminates in New Public Management (NPM), requires new kinds of efficiency and self-control from the civic organizations providing services. The biggest health care, social, and cultural associations have started to programmatically set targets for themselves, promulgate their standards, monitor their outputs, allocate budgets, and undertake regular audits—both economical and social ones—along the lines of a “new managerialism,” included in NPM.²⁵ For most of these associations this has also meant the “professionalization” and bureaucratization of their management. They now need people with professional knowledge in marketing and economics in their leadership.

Echoes of the governmentalization of the civil society sound strongly in the renewal of the municipal service structure, underway in Finland. After the significant reduction in state aid for municipalities in 1993, the public institutions, such as social care centers, have increasingly purchased needed services from external producers, such as private enterprises, associations, and foundations. Immigrant associations are called on to participate in the local service provision in the interest of reducing public expenditures, advancing multi-ethnic worker participation, inclusion of experts with immigrant

backgrounds, and the bottom-up principle in public administration and decisionmaking.²⁶ The Ministry of Labor now requires municipalities to incorporate immigrant associations into the local immigration work: “When integration programmes are drawn up and implemented, immigrants and NGOs . . . shall be heard.”²⁷

One method of reorganization of service provision is for public authorities and associations to partner in development projects aimed at immigrant support. In 2004 there were sixteen different integration projects for immigrants going on in the case cities of Jyväskylä and Tampere. Most of them have incorporated the participation of immigrant associations, but only one of them was directly organized by an immigrant association. What is necessary for increased participation of immigrant associations is that they “intensify their activities into a more purposeful direction.”²⁸ “Purposeful” here means cooperation with public officials along the lines of official integration.

Integration projects claim to for clarify “how the needs of integrators, third sector actors and public officials can meet each other.”²⁹ This meeting of actor groups and their interests is, however, never neutral. In fact, the projects predetermine the common values and teleologies for cooperation in themselves. Although immigrant associations are allowed to participate in the management and basic work of integration projects, they are rarely allowed to define the policies, terms, and patterns of them. The general view among public administration officials is that the rules and procedures of large partnership development and integration projects are so complex that immigrant actors lack the professional experience and language skills necessary to assume lead responsibility over them. Through this kind of rhetoric of expertness, officials maintain decisionmaking control over what is appropriate immigration work: “There are many very enthusiastic immigrant associations which want to do migration work, but then they do not necessarily have a clue of what it *really means*.”³⁰

This governmentalization of Finnish civil society relates to the form of government that Dean³¹ calls “neoliberal police.” Rationalities of advanced liberalism demand that government of normative behavior in communities be practiced by organized civil society, alongside the public sector. Associations should be “as much a component of liberal government as parliaments, public bureaucracies and judiciaries.” The functionality of “neoliberal police” requires that citizens (members of the population) and noncitizens (the excluded, immigrants, etc.) actively manage themselves so that the state government need interfere in their lives as little as possible.³²

The Recent History of Immigrant Associations in Finland

There are currently around 105,000 people of foreign nationality living in Finland. Although this number is very small when compared to most other EU countries, immigrants have formed nearly 700 associations in Finland.³³ I define “immigrant association” as a registered or nonregistered voluntary organization that is either established by immigrants or actively run by them. The present situation in the target areas of my research is as follows: There are 3,200 long-term or permanent foreign-born inhabitants in Jyväskylä (total population 80,000), and they have 34 associations, 26 of which are registered. In Tampere (total population 200,000), the number of foreign-born inhabitants is 8,200, and they have 29 associations, 27 of which are registered.

According to my research data (primarily, the 22 interviews with representatives of such organizations and 59 statutes of associations), they can be divided into nine categories: ethnocultural associations, religious associations, women’s associations, multicultural associations, youth associations, integration associations, coalition associations, art associations, and sports associations. This categorization is based on the self-definitions of the associations. They differ in participant structure, group interests they claim to serve, aims they take for their action, methods of action, and ways of cooperating with public officials (see the appendix at the end of this article).

The changes in types and goals of immigrant associations have been remarkable since the end of the 1980s when the first associations were established in the cities under consideration. Then, the idea of associations, shared by both authorities and immigrants, was the restoration of immigrants’ cultures and religions in diaspora. The number of immigrant associations clearly increased after the mid-1990s, when the number of immigrants, the sizes of immigrant communities, and the internal diversity thereof increased. The enlargement and differentiation of communities led to the mixing of interests and identities among groups. As a consequence, wholly new kinds of associations were born. One influential factor was that many community activists, who initially planned to move back to their home countries, became rooted in the country of settlement and local communities, and began to work for issues of personal significance.

Since the mid-1990s, new associations have increasingly trended toward multiethnic memberships and aimed at developing and serving transethnic interests. Some ethnocultural associations have transformed into multicultural associations or adopted some multicultural principles, aims, and activities as part of their policy repertoires.

Immigrants have also started to organize themselves more and more according to narrower interest groups. During the last few years, for example, there has been a noticeable increase in women's and youth associations, as well as associations of ethnocultural subcultures or religious subgroups.³⁴

The policy trends, practices, and discourses—mainly incorporation of associations to the administratively defined integration work—mentioned previously have, on the one hand, increased the diversity of the associations, but on the other have faced pressures of homogenization. The former is demonstrated by the many civilly active immigrants establishing new associations (such as integration associations, see appendix) in order to claim their part of the shared integration and project funds, and to influence the policies of projects and migrant work. The latter is shown in the many formerly ethnocultural or religious associations that have recently added integrative aims and operations to their policies. Most of these “external pressures” have had an unifying impact on the rhetoric of the associations. The more money has flowed into the resource markets of immigration work, the more associations have begun to represent their functions along the lines of administrative discourses. This is crucial for governmentality: Before the programmatic government is able to work in practice, its rationalities and techniques have to become shared among the associations representing marginalized people at whom particular governmental procedures are aimed.

Rationalities of Government Through Immigrant Associations

Rationalities of government of administrative discourse in relation to the integration of immigrants, and especially to the participation of immigrant associations in such initiatives, are imposed primarily in the spheres of (1) health, welfare, and happiness (of the Finnish population and of individual immigrants); (2) cultural equality, pluralism, and freedom; (3) wealth and economics (both national economics and the financial health of individual immigrants and their families); (4) security and stability of the societal whole; and (5) activeness and productiveness (of broader Finnish society, but especially of individual settlers). These rationalities are expected to become part of the working ideas of associations and dominant in the lives of immigrants through various techniques.

As one can see, most of the rationalities operate on the levels of both the population and the individual. First, the work of associations is expected to be beneficial for the wealth of the society, for example,

in binding new citizens or citizen candidates to the aim of conserving public expenditures and avoiding extravagance and dependence on subsidies.³⁵ Second, rationalities direct demands for the health, activeness, capacity, and happiness of individual immigrants. These two levels of rationalities are inseparably intertwined, and it is common that levels of collectiveness (both ethnocultural and of the whole population) and individuality are present in the same administrative utterances:

Working as a volunteer in civic organisations could be a crucial part of [personal] integration and offer a path to employment. There are innumerable organisations and associations in Finland, which offer many kinds of activities for their members. Also the immigrants living in Finland have established associations, many of which are concentrated on maintaining the group's own language and culture. . . . In such organisations, people can do things they consider meaningful and get to know other congenial people. They also give valuable information about associational activities, fund raising and having an impact on issues, all of which are necessary skills in a civil society like Finland.³⁶

It is obvious that the rationality of health, welfare, and happiness in administrative sources of integration, it is linked to the risk of individual and collective exclusion, and to the risk of social disintegration as well. The fundamental idea of this rationality is that the healthier and happier the individual immigrant is, the more they can participate in social interaction and, thus, the more integrated society becomes. There is a circle of deduction present here: The welfare of the individual immigrant depends on the welfare of their ethnic and/or religious group, and the welfare of that group depends on the welfare of Finnish society at large.

In many administrative utterances concerning health, the focus is on the mental health of the immigrants that are refugees, because of their forced dispersal and possibly traumatic histories.³⁷ The encounter with a new majority culture, and adaptation to it, is also said to include the risk of "acculturation stress."³⁸ Because these unhealthy aspects imply a risk that individuals and families exposed to them may never be successfully integrated into Finnish society, they must be taken care of. There is a discrete biopolitical reason immanent in this: Being a member of the population and having the basic rights of the citizen requires a particular degree of mental and physical health.³⁹ Moreover, risk of integration of the unhealthy mirrors "pastoral power"⁴⁰: Concern for the "body and soul" of such immigrants is another effective measure for integrative techniques and practices.

These health-related guidelines for individuals are often partly based on concern for the health and well-being of the whole (mainstream) population. In the cases of mental health and other health issues, the explicit goal is to engage immigrants in the sphere of active public life to the extent that they can contribute to the political and local economy.⁴¹

According to the Integration Law, immigrants' rights to preserve and cherish their own culture and identities have to be secured. "Immigrant organisations can by their action support especially immigrants' learning of their own mother tongue and religion, strengthening of culture and ethnic identity."⁴² The rationality from administrative sources is one of cultural equality, pluralism, and freedom. In the interest of those ideals, immigrants have the right to organize themselves along ethnic and religious demarcations, and practice and retain their cultural heritage in Finnish society. Local social and cultural departments are obligated to support them—mainly financially—up to certain point. In my data this rationality is immanent especially in utterances, which emphasize immigrant associations' significance in offering cultural home for newcomers and creating a genuine multicultural society.⁴³

This, too, often becomes justified through the functionality of administration: "Work of [immigrants] civic organisations fulfils the work of public officials and thus it has great significance for integration of immigrants."⁴⁴ This kind of attitude toward the civic action of immigrants can also mean that the cultural know-how of the immigrant is valorized for the needs of Finnish labor markets: "Finnish society can benefit from immigrants' special cultural, linguistic and professional capacities and skills by employing them in the internationalizing context of private services and in the work of integrating new immigrants in the public sector."⁴⁵ The individual and collective needs of immigrants defined in administrative sources, become, thus, justified through the contribution to the functionality and wealth of Finnish society in one way or another.

The first headline of the booklet titled "Immigrants' Integration into Finland" published by the Ministry of Labour⁴⁶ says: "Integration is participation." It crystallizes the relationship of rationality to engagement and integration: Engagement is "written within" the integration, and constitutive to it. There is no recognized integration without engagement. Not any type of civic activeness whatsoever. Usually the rationality of engagement manifests as work-related duties, which are considered to be steps toward legitimate citizenship. If immigrants want to demonstrate their engagement, they have to learn how to make themselves visible in the eyes of the public authorities. Being visible and reachable means that one has

to be available for immigrant workers to contact them and interact with them, for educational institutions to train them, for employers to get manpower or trainees and so on. The rationality of activeness and productivity includes the “duty to work” in order for an immigrant to become a plenipotentiary member of the society of settlement.⁴⁷ Just recently, Finnish administration named work-related immigration as the main focus of Finnish immigration policy in the near future.⁴⁸

The interconnectivity between the individual and the population is strong in the context of wealth and economics, too. Immigrants can best support the economy of their new country by pursuing their own economic well-being. This requires the development of basic skills and eventually participation in the labor market. This is taking responsibility for one’s own life: “Integration means that immigrants acquire such knowledge and skills that allow them to survive in Finland and participate in the working life and activities of society as an equal member. . . . Above all, immigrants are expected to be active and take responsibility over their own lives.”⁴⁹

Another important rationality behind the integration policy and integrative techniques is one of the security and stability of Finnish society. Social segregation based on cultural differences presents potential risk to the security and stability of “normal order.” The transformation of Finland into a multicultural society after a century of the widely shared comprehension that the very constitutive of the state was based on ethnic and cultural homogeneity is a process that raises sensitive questions of risks related to cultural differences and their governance. It is often the case, that migration is measured against its “risky side” before it can be effectively and legitimately governed through various technologies.⁵⁰ Risk scenarios give birth to the systematic and calculative conditioning of threats, and professions of expertise to make these risks visible, and to manage them in practice.⁵¹ Migration experts can recognize and, even more importantly, problematize risks. They create administrative practices to mitigate such risks, but they also instruct immigrant associations as “grass-roots experts” to promote integrating subjects in non-risky way.

Although ethnic minorities are those toward whom intervention in risk-preventing is directed, the entire population is the primary locus of risk. The integration of immigrants in the name of security and stability aims at the prevention of social isolation and disintegration. If the integration of others into the Finnish way of life does not take place, the risk is that the cohesion, and thus security, of the society becomes endangered: “The exclusion of immigrants involves problems, because while this kind of development

continues, immigrants are completely alienated from the Finnish way of life, which increases tensions between minorities and majority. The key to prevent marginalisation is a more effective and more participatory integration policy.”⁵²

Techniques for Making the Immigrant a Citizen-Subject Through Associations

Governing does not only entail certain ways of shaping truthful experiences of the world and the objects or zones that constitute it. It also entails certain ways of intervening with these constituted domains, ways of making them up practically through these practices of intervention. Thought becomes governmental to the extent that it becomes technical.⁵³

The study of technologies of government is an inseparable part of the analysis of rationalities. If the study of rationalities gives answers to why government works the way it does in a particular context, the study of techniques can show how it is done. Techniques of governmentality—which in many respects are based on the purpose of “doing good” for the subject by improving her/his vitality—are divided into two parts here: “techniques of governance” and “techniques of the self.” The former aim at governing others, those not directly internal to the collective structures of associations or administrative units, for instance. They are the techniques that aim at doing good for someone else. They reflect the “subjection”⁵⁴ dimension of subject making. The latter are named here as techniques of the self because they are techniques that people target on themselves according to the general moral rationalities.⁵⁵ Here one deals with the “subjectivity” dimension of subject making.⁵⁶ They are the techniques of doing good for oneself.

Experts who use the power based on management of particular knowledge have a significant role in giving rationalities technological forms.⁵⁷ Although mechanisms of self-regulation are primarily based on general knowledge, norms, and moral truths, they demand experts to guide, evaluate, and control their proper realization. Experts have professional positions from which it is possible to participate in the lives of individuals in the case that they cannot control themselves on their own. Such is the case when immigrants do not for some reason follow their personal integration plans and participate in language courses or work practice, for instance. Such experts in the context of Finnish immigration are public social and cultural workers, project managers, and teachers, and occasionally

psychologists, doctors, social scientists, consultants, and professionals of semi-institutionalized associations (such as the Finnish Red Cross and other large-scale social service associations). An increasing role is also played by those immigrant associations that have evolved in accordance with the Integration Law and which have earned legitimacy among public authorities and financiers.

Techniques of Governance

First of all, associations themselves form a technique of governance in that they educate their members and the objects of their activities on how to become and be civil in the new living environment. Participation in associations roots particular and legitimate ways of action for immigrants.⁵⁸ In this way associations help individual immigrants to understand themselves and speak about themselves as integrative subjects. By organizing education in both the mother tongue and in Finnish, hobby-groups and clubs, sports, get-together meetings for women, afternoon clubs for school children, and so on, immigrant associations support immigrants' possibilities for "full participation" in their everyday life.⁵⁹

In addition to attaching individuals to the sphere of social interaction and activities, associations have other collective integrative functions. Administrative discourse also suggests that associations open channels for immigrant groups to communicate with administrative bodies on the collective level. This role can be interpreted in the framework which, according to Siisiäinen,⁶⁰ is the traditional role of associations in Finland: They are bidirectional filters between the governmental system and civil society. As registered and thus legal actors, they provide a voice for the interests of the heterogeneous civil society to the actors of subsystems (politics, economy, culture, religion, and so on) while translating these messages into the language and *telos* of the system. In the other direction, such associations translate the administrative language and expectations to individual immigrants, developing their conceptual maps and languages. With the help of associations, integrative governance does not suffocate difference, but normalizes and harnesses it as part of the multicultural society. This technique is thought to touch upon every type of associations in administrative discourse, but most of all integration association (see appendix).

The collective integrative function is also on view in that administrative institutions see associations as beneficial for the integration of recent immigrants. This belief is based on the knowledge that new immigrants prefer to listen and cooperate with people representing the same ethnicity or the same social position as them. With newly arrived immigrants, about whom the local authorities

do not know enough or with whom officials do not have a common language, trust and understanding are not obtained easily—that is where immigrant associations come in: “The significance of immigrants’ own associations increases in the integration process of new immigrants, when the number of immigrants increases.”⁶¹

In the first half of the 1990s, most of the immigrant associations were not formally registered, and thus were beyond the reach of law and administrative practices, and not easy to interact with. After immigrant officials started to actively encourage immigrants to establish associations in the latter part of the 1990s, many already functioning associations registered themselves, and currently, most new associations register themselves at the very beginning of their formation. Registration of associations is the second technique of governance. This technique has affected all kinds of associations (see appendix). Registration means formalization, and it is the primary method of control of civic organizations in Finland. Along with registration, associations undertake to obey the laws and acts passed for civic action. After registration, members’ collective will is codified formally into a statute, which is a general formulation of intention.⁶² One may regard registration as a collective “performative”⁶³ of recognition and authorization, because as a written speech act it produces a desired state of affairs, which in this case is the recognized civic actor that follows the law in its actions.

According to interviews and administrative documents, immigration authorities see the registration of associations beneficial in two ways. First, registration allows contact communication with immigrant groups easier for officials. By registration of organization, immigrant groups make themselves and their representative bodies recognizable for officials. The other benefit is for the associations themselves. The fulfillment of the demands written within the registration has positive impacts for actors themselves in administrative discourse. Through registration, they make their way into the financing systems of the Finnish third sector, and open channels for other types of resources, too, such as knowledge and communication networks: “It is important for immigrants to organize themselves in a formal way. It helps the cooperation and eases the advancing of matters. And it is easier to make funding applications. I do not know any non-registered groups with which I have had cooperation.”⁶⁴

Registration teaches obedience of law, norms, and rules for actors, who presumably do not have much knowledge about or respect for the laws and regulations of Finland when they first arrive. “Although the obedience of rules may feel tedious and formal initially, by learning and obeying them, one can avoid many contradictions and the association can concentrate to work on behalf of its fundamental issues.”⁶⁵

During the last ten years, funding has become one of the main ways for public authorities to participate in the work of immigrant associations; thus, it is considered the third technique of governance here. While the government of public service provision was previously based totally on direct institutional control in Finland, nowadays implementation of many social and cultural services produced by “external actors” are controlled through funding as a way of “governing at a distance.”⁶⁶ The present financing system allows the funding organization to participate in the development of the goals and the principles that guide the activities of the funded actors. To succeed in the competition for funds, immigrant associations have to create cooperative relations with public officials, supporting interest groups, clients, and so on, and negotiate their principles and activities with them.

In the beginning of 1990s the culture departments of the cities in this study shared small annual funds for ethnocultural and religious immigrant associations. Due to the membership in the European Union and the increase of European Social Fund and European Road Federation funding, and finally the institution of the Integration Law, funding structures for immigrant associations increased. Municipal cultural departments are still the main local financiers for associations, but the financial significance of social service departments and nonmunicipal institutions (employment and economic development centers⁶⁷), has increased. Cultural departments do not set constraints on the activities of associations in exchange for their funding, except that associations have to follow the laws. In contrast, other regional financiers do set constraints on activities and projects. In these cases, funding is approved for strictly predefined purposes, and associations have to report the use of funding to the financiers or their representatives (such as steering groups). This technique of funding most often concerns integration and multicultural associations or big and institutionalized ethnocultural associations that are considered to represent particular ethnic groups well (see appendix). Those are usually the ones that are accepted to the integration projects as partners, and from whom administration and authorities expect actions that are equivalent to the “co-ordinated integrative actions” defined in the Law and local programs.

The fourth technique of governance is auditing and evaluation. This technique can also be defined as governing at a distance. Associations using public funding, and especially those running projects, are either asked to make their recurrent “economic, social and/or cultural balancing” or, if associations are partners of integration projects, the responsible organizations of projects do the

balancing job for them. Associations must organize follow-ups for their activities in order to clarify their economic, social, and cultural impacts. Regularly repeated self-performed audits and evaluations help associations govern themselves within the rules made for organizations connected to the integrative actions. This enables migration administration to follow the development of their actions and of integrators, especially the most difficult ones, whom they are unable to contact without associations. The purpose of such organizational “self-activities” is to make the work of associations transparent and thus ease their public monitoring. As in the case of funding, this technique usually touches upon associations that are linked to the official integration work as partners in projects, mainly integration and multicultural associations (see appendix).

Integration Law and related local programs can be considered the fifth technique of governance. Government works through them, and yet in a very effective way; they are technologies that put every other technique, which work more through human action, into practice. They also state the rules of local migration work, including how associations should be deployed so that they purposefully fulfill the official integrative actions. This technique concerns all kinds of associations, but most explicitly integration associations, which are committed to the policies of integration programs and Integration Act in their statutes (see appendix).

In addition to the major expectations concerning integration into Finnish society, administrative discourse contains expectations concerning immigrant cultures as part of the legal conceptualization.⁶⁸ As a sixth technique of governance, associations advance maintenance of immigrants’ “original” cultures and languages. The aim of this technique is to smooth the integration process for individual immigrants, to make them feel more at home and secure in the new environment, especially those “at risk”: immigrant women, mothers, unemployed, elderly, youngsters, and the socially isolated. The main thing is that people are activated to work for their social relations, and not to stay on their own, unreachable and “unhappy,” when they are impossible to integrate according to the *telos* of active citizenship.⁶⁹ This technique touches upon all types of associations that promote and cherish the “original” cultural features and language of the settlers, most typically ethnocultural associations, monocultural youth, women, and religious associations (see the appendix), and recreational events such as sports, social clubs, and celebrations.

Techniques of governance often seem incommensurable when compared to each other. This is because many of the techniques work on different levels. Some of the observed techniques relate

directly to the work or existence of associations, while the Integration Law and local programs concern a far more broader spectrum of social activities than just associations. Associations form technique with which immigrants work toward each other. Funding, for its part, is a technique with which administrative institutions conduct and control associations at a distance, although registration is voluntary for associations. Auditing and evaluation are techniques that are set by administration and funders, but self-performed by the associations. Maintenance of original cultures and languages as a technique has a mixed background. For all of the techniques under consideration, administrative and public officials believe that they promote integration of immigrants in the context of their civic action. All of the techniques of governance form a set that can be called the associational technology of integration.

Techniques of the Self

The techniques of the self mainly concern individual action. The following are techniques that an individual can perform through associations. I must emphasize that this analysis deals not with the “real self-practices” of the integrative subjects, but with the programmatic expectations of immigration authorities and administration.

First, membership, or participation in associational activities, is a paradigmatic technique of the self. According to the administrative discourse, it indicates individual commitment to successful integration and a willingness to become an active citizen. One example of this view can be found in an article in *Monitori* magazine on the establishment of a Finnish multicultural sports federation, in which immigrants played a significant role: “These immigrants [those who were active in the establishing of association] proved by their patience and persistence that it does not make sense to sit idle and wait until public officials do everything for them, but one has to start the dialogue with official actors, and then immigrants can themselves express their own wishes.”⁷⁰

The same attitude is discernible in the context of a personal integration plan, which is the second technique of the self. In order for the immigrants to get the personal integration support guaranteed in the Integration Law, they have to be able to demonstrate their commitment by participating in job-seeking, training, and coordinated integrative measures, such as the work of associations. Participation in the personal integration plan is rewarded with an integration subsidy, continuing the citizenship ritual: “In return for the subsidy, the immigrant has the responsibility to operate actively towards her/his own employment and education. Regarding this

acquaintance, an integration plan will be made for her/him. When a person carries out her/his plan, her/his income will be secured by an integration subsidy.”⁷¹

This integration plan is both a “technique of contract” and “technique of citizenship.”⁷² It is a special type of contract between the integrator and experts from the social welfare office and the employment administration, and its aim is to develop the personal citizenship skills of integrating subject through their own ethical work. “An integration plan is an agreement . . . on measures to support the immigrant and the immigrant’s family in acquiring the essential knowledge and skills needed in society and working life.”⁷³ This contract is based mainly on the rhetoric of rights. Unemployed immigrants have the right to an integration plan, that is, the right to make a contract that defines their subjectification project. “The contract acts as a kind of ‘obligatory passage point’ through which individuals are required to agree to a range of normalizing, therapeutic and training measures designed to empower them, enhance their self-esteem, optimize their skills and entrepreneurship and so on.”⁷⁴ Immigrant associations are but one, but an increasingly significant one, of a set of spaces where an individual can perform the integrative training defined in these contracts.

The third set of techniques of the self defined for associations in the administrative discourse can be called work-related techniques, including employment, work practice, work training, education, and so on, but also coordinated techniques the purpose of which is to advance the employment of individual immigrant. Education in the Finnish language and social skills organized by associations are examples of this technique. The general view in administration is that immigrants can perform integration either by working or, as in the most cases, by work-training, voluntary self-education, and participation in such programs. Whereas public institutions are sometimes seen as too authoritarian for this, according to neoliberal policy trends,⁷⁵ both semi-institutional Finnish third-sector organizations (such as the Finnish Red Cross) and immigrants’ own associations are ideal for providing such services.

All these associational assignments of “pseudo work” are rituals of redemption for immigrants in the process of becoming pleni-potentiary citizens of Finnish society.⁷⁶ Unemployment or non-integration has to be changed into “pseudo work” through activities for which a person does not get paid, but which otherwise resemble work conditions. First of all “interesting civic action can function as a springboard to working life.”⁷⁷ Second, this helps the individual maintain a sufficient level of activeness in their new living environment:

Inactivity and constant stay at home can lead to passivation and separation. Also the threshold to move to working life extends. When one cannot find a paid job, participation in voluntary work and different kinds of association activities compensate work related social relations and ease attachment to the living environment.⁷⁸

Beside work or studying, it is good to have other options that offer meaningful activity and help the immigrant to integrate and lead a rewarding and active life. Civic action can offer a possibility to goal directed and integration-advancing action. With acting in cooperation with others, the integrator gets acquainted with the structures of Finnish society, different work communities, work possibilities, and, at the same time, the third sector's opportunities to make an impact.⁷⁹

The associations' role of practicing work-related techniques must be externally controlled. This is accomplished through economic and other kinds of resource allocation. In funding and co-operational projects, administration, for instance, favors associations that organize language or personal computer lessons, "good hobbies" (normally sports), or even work practice, and to a lesser degree those that organize cultural activities relating to the ethnic backgrounds of immigrants.

In relation to skills, knowledge and other needed capacities of work-related techniques in a new living environment, a crucial thing in associations is—as already mentioned—that performed self-practices operate for *securing the mental and physical health of immigrants*. Associations are thought to offer familiar biopolitical social space for self-reflection when it comes to the self-control of the individual's body and health. Most clearly this fourth technique can be found in the administrative utterances emphasizing the encouragement of sports. The value in associations organizing sports activities is based on the significance of keeping up the physical health of participants through sports and exercises, and the mental health through social contacts, communication, and interaction.

Conclusion

In the light of the analysis above, it seems that a governmentality approach offers a relevant toolkit to understand the problematics of power in the role of immigrant associations in integration of immigrants in "EU Finland." Analyzing administrative data with the concepts of rationalities and techniques offers a way to delicately and systematically observe the reasons and means of governance of immigrants. On the other hand, it opens a new perspective to the

integration of immigrants: Although integration and the use of immigrant associations for integrative purposes are often represented as antipolitical actions in administrative discourse, there is a political and governmental dimension present. The form of political actions and thought and the use of power are merely more sophisticated and hidden in these contexts of voluntariness and goodwill than in other public administration, such as basic education or social security control. Rather than being depoliticizing, the use of immigrant associations in integration has expanded the reach of a particularly productive kind of power.

My purpose here has been very similar to that of Cruikshank's in her study on empowerment: "My goal is not to indict the will to empower [or integrate] but to show that even the most democratic modes of government entail power relationships that are both voluntary and coercive."⁸⁰ Through this citation I want to emphasize that I do not argue that this type of governmental technique of integration is necessarily to be condemned. On the contrary, I see integration and empowering governance in many ways essential for the peaceful development of multicultural societies and successful cultural hybridization.

Integration of immigrants is linked to the somewhat pan-European paradigms of new governance.⁸¹ As "advanced liberal government" favors the reduction of direct state intervention into the sphere of the social and market logic penetrates into the public and civic sectors, administrative bodies everywhere have to deploy new techniques to guarantee the empowerment of people in an appropriate manner. In Finland, as in UK for instance, associations and multisectoral partnership projects offer delicate ways of realizing these new models of governance. They enable people to participate in their own government and that of the communities (both spatial and imagined) they are living in.⁸² When implemented, they prove that individuals are capable of utilizing their own capacities to be plenipotentiary agents. This does not touch upon all immigrants: Whereas an integrated immigrant is more or less a self-satisfied subject of governmentalized power and considered capable of expressing her/his freedom, a disintegrated and at-risk immigrant is, however, more an object of external government and disciplinary power. They can be rounded up into reception centers, prisons, youth homes, and so on.

When approaching bidimensionality of subject in governmentality connected to immigrant associations, what Nikolas Rose says about modern art of government remains pertinent: "It govern[s] by making people free, yet inextricably linking them to the norms, techniques, and values of civility."⁸³ That is to say that taking advantage of

(continues on p. 221)

Appendix

FACTORS

Category of associations	Participant structure	Main human objects and interest(s) group(s)	Primary purpose	Main ways of action	Cooperating with public officials (type and % of all)
Ethnocultural associations	People belonging particular ethnicity/nationality	Ethnic or national community organizers represent, majority	Ethnocultural affiliation and maintenance of culture	Celebrations, mother-tongue education; organizing cultural hobbies; summer, hobby and family camps, exhibitions and news distribution (internet)	Common events, ethnocultural, exhibitions information services, camps, 50%
Monoethnic religious assoc.	People recognizing particular religion and ethnicity/nationality	Ethnoreligious community organizers represent, majority	Ethnoreligious affiliation, maintenance of "religious culture"	Religious education for the children, family camps, celebrations, and hobbies	Information services, 50%
Multiethnic religious assoc.	All recognizing particular religion	Religious community organizers represent, majority	Religious affiliation, maintenance of religious customs, doctrines, and ideas	Facilities for religious rituals and ceremonies, and sharing information about religion	Common seminars and events, information services, camps, 75%
Monoethnic women's assoc.	Women of particular ethnicity	Women of particular ethnicity	Ethnic affiliation and maintenance of culture	Gatherings, cultural events and exhibitions	Information services, 25%
Multiethnic women's assoc.	Immigrant women from different ethnic groups	Local immigrant women	Meaningful doing, social contacts, and activeness	Gatherings, social events, women's summer camps, trips, and cultural get-acquainted sessions	Common events, camps, education, 50%

(continues)

Appendix (continued)

FACTORS

Category of associations	Participant structure	Main human interest(s) group(s)	Primary purpose	Main ways of action	Cooperating with public officials (type and % of all)
Monoethnic youth assoc.	Youth of particular ethnicity	Youth of particular ethnicity	Ethnic affiliation and maintenance of culture	Celebrations, mother-tongue education for children, and sports	Ethno-cultural exhibitions, information services, 25%
Multiethnic youth assoc.	Youngsters with different ethnicities and nationalities	Local youth	To increase multiethnic reciprocity between young people	Youth events, summer and hobby camps, sports, and language, ADP and school homework lessons	Common events, camps, education, sports, projects, 75%
Multicultural associations	Local people (mainly immigrants and social activist)	Local people	Increase reciprocity between ethnic majority and minorities, prevent ethnic prejudices	Celebrations, meetings, seminars, Finnish teaching, sports, hobby and family camps, and information distribution (internet and magazines)	Partnership projects and common events, education, work-practise, 90%
Integration associations	Long-term immigrants and public officials	All immigrants (mainly refugees and remigrants)	Integrate immigrants to Finnish society	Teaching Finnish and social skills, arranging work-practices, jobs and education and organizing summer camps, meetings, seminars	Partnership projects, information sharing, common events, education, employment services, 100%
Coalition associations	Local immigrant associations and group representatives	Local immigrants and their organizations	Serve interests of local immigrant organizations	Meetings, seminars, and facilities for immigrant organizations, make statements to appeal to officials	Information sharing and advising, 100%

(continues)

Appendix (continued)

FACTORS

Category of associations	Participant structure	Main human interest(s) group(s)	Primary purpose	Main ways of action	Cooperating with public officials (type and % of all)
Monoethnic sports assoc.	People belonging particular ethnicity/nationality	People belonging particular ethnicity/nationality, especially children and youth	Ethnic affiliation, maintenance of culture and mother tongue, physical and mental health of the participants, and offer decent hobbies for the youth	Hobby clubs and teams around part. sports, training, coaching, games, and tournaments	Information services, common events, tournaments, and sports camps, 50%
Multiethnic sports assoc.	Local people (mainly immigrants and social activist)	Local people, especially youth and children	Physical and mental health of the participants, offer decent hobbies for the youth, and advance the formation of multicultural contacts	Hobby clubs around part. sports, teams, training, coaching, games, and tournaments	Information services, common events, tournaments, and sports camps, 50%
Monoethnic art assoc.	People belonging particular ethnicity/nationality	Local people, esp. those interested in the particular arts and arts of particular countries	Make forms of art of particular culture known in their new locality, ethnic affiliation, maintain "typical" forms of art of the ethnic group	Performances, festivals, concerts, exhibitions, shows, seminars, and celebrations	Information services, common events, shows, and festivals, 25%
Multiethnic art assoc.	Local people (immigrants and young art devotees)	Local people, especially those interested in the particular arts	Multicultural contacts through different forms of art (mainly theater) and artistic statements about minority and migration affairs	Performances, festivals, concerts, exhibitions, shows, seminars, and celebrations	Information services, common events, shows, and festivals, 25%

Sports associations

Art associations

associations and other civil society organizations in the integration of immigrants is about using formal organizational acts, which are traditionally considered to be the main participative technologies in Finland and which teach newcomers the norms and values of the new host society.

Notes

1. Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower. Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. 1.
2. Mitchell Dean, "Liberal Government and Authoritarianism," *Economy and Society* 31, no. 1 (2002): 37–61.
3. Cruikshank, note 1, p. 67
4. Markus Mervola "Kurjia köyhiä ja potentiaalisia terroristeja: 'Integroitumattomat' yhteiskunnallisina vaaroina," *Kosmopolis* 35, no. 1 (2005): 27–42. See also Jonathan Xavier Inda, "Calculated Measures: Illegality and the Government of Immigration," book and research project scheme, 2004, http://www.chicst.ucsb.edu/faculty/Personal_Pages/Jonathan_Inda/calculatedMeasures.shtml, accessed 3/14/07.
5. Nikolas Rose, "Governing Liberty," in Richard V. Ericson and Nico Stehr, eds., *Governing Modern Societies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), pp. 141–176; Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 174–176; Cruikshank, note 1, p. 70.
6. Martti Siisiäinen, "Voluntary Associations and Social Capital in Finland," in Marco Maraffi, Kenneth Newton, Jan Van Deth, and Paul Whiteley, eds., *Social Capital and European Democracy* (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 120–143.
7. Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 182.
8. Mitchell Dean, "Governing the Unemployed Self in an Active Society," *Economy and Society* 24, no. 4 (1995): 569.
9. Michel Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality. Volume 2*, rev. ed. (London: Penguin, 1987), pp. 25–32.
10. Jonathan Xavier Inda, "Biopower, Reproduction, and the Migrant Woman's Body," in Arturo J. Aldama and Naomi Quiñonez, eds., *Decolonial Voices* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2002), p. 99.
11. Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 87–104.
12. For example, Cruikshank, note 1, pp. 38–42.
13. Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality: Power and Rule in Modern Society*, rev. ed. (London: Sage, 1999), p. 11.
14. Foucault, note 11, p. 102.
15. Cruikshank, note 1, p. 4.
16. Randy Lippert, "Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime," *Alternatives* 24, no. 3 (1999), p. 296.
17. Dean, note 13, pp. 31, 23.
18. Foucault, note 9.

19. L 493/1999 Laki maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisesta ja turvapaikanhakijoiden vastaanotosta (sect. 1).

20. See Östen Wahlbeck, *Kurdish Diasporas: A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*, rev. ed. (London: MacMillan, 1999), pp. 186–190.

21. For example, Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuskeskus, *Aktiivinen sosiaalipolitiikka—työryhmän muistio 1999*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden tutkimuskeskus, 1999).

22. L 493/1999, note 19, sect. 2.

23. Randy Lippert, “Rationalities and Refugee Settlement,” *Economy and Society* 27, no. 4 (1998): 380–406.

24. Dean, note 13, pp. 102–111; Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, note 5.

25. Patrick Fitzsimons, *Managerialism and Education*, 1999, <<http://www.vusst.hr/ENCYCLOPAEDIA/managerialism.htm>> accessed 8/4/2005.

26. Työministeriö, *Maahanmuutto- ja pakolaispolitiikan kehittäminen ja yhteydet työpolitiikkaan-projekti. Loppuraportti*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Työministeriö, 2001), pp. 46, 51.

27. L 493/1999, note 19, sect. 7.

28. Tampereen kaupunki, *Tampereen kaupungin maahanmuuttaja- ja kotoutusohjelma*, 2001 <<http://www.tampere.fi/strategia/maamu/index.htm>> accessed 7/30/2002, pp. 5/2, 10/12.

29. Sari Hammar-Suutari, *Kototoiminta tutuksi kolmannella sektorilla—maahanmuuttajat mukaan kansalaistoimintaan*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto, 2003), p. 7.

30. Interview, leader of the immigration services, woman, 48 years (emphasis added).

31. Dean, note 2, p. 43.

32. See also Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, note 5, pp. 61–97.

33. Miikka Pyykkönen, “Integraatio ja maahanmuuttajien yhdistystoiminta,” in Sakari Hänninen, Anita Kangas, and Martti Siisiäinen, eds., *Mitä yhdistykset välittävät. Tutkimuskohteena kolmas sektori*. (Jyväskylä: Atena, 2003), pp. 89–120; Sanna Saksela, “Mångkulturella organisationer och invandrargenerationer i Finland,” in Flemming Mikkelsen, eds., *Invandrargenerationer i Norden* (Köpenhamn: Nordisk Ministerråd, 2003), pp. 235–282.

34. For example, different types of Kurdish cultural associations: Wahlbeck 1999, note 20, pp. 152–178. For examples of different types of Muslim associations, see Tuomas Martikainen, *Immigrant Religions in Local Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in the City of Turku*, rev. ed. (Turku: Åbo Akademi University Press, 2004), p. 238.

35. Dean, note 8, pp. 572–573.

36. Työministeriö, *The Integration of Immigrants in Finland*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Työministeriö, 2002), p. 10.

37. Jyväskylän kaupunki, *Muuramen, Laukaan, Jyväskylän maalaiskunnan ja Jyväskylän kaupungin Kotouttamisohjelma*, rev. ed. (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän kaupunki, 2000), pp. 54–62.

38. John Berry, “Cultural Transformation and Psychological Acculturation,” in Jean Burnet, Danielle Juteau, Enoch Padolsky, Anthony Rasporich, and Antoine Sirois, eds., *Migration and the Transformation of Cultures* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Toronto, 1992), pp. 43–50.

39. See Inda, note 10.

40. Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, eds., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1982), pp. 213–214.

41. Eva Biaudet, "Myös maahanmuuttajat tarvitsevat hyviä sosiaali- ja terveyspalveluja," *Monitori* 4/2002: pp. 3–4. Interview, project worker, woman, 47 years.
42. Adrián Soto, "Kotona kunnissa," *Monitori* 2/2000, pp. 30–35.
43. For example, Työministeriö, *Yhdistystoiminta–opas maahanmuuttajille*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Työministeriö, Maahanmuutto-osasto, 1997); Jyväskylän kaupunki, note 37, p. 72.
44. Soto, note 42.
45. Tampereen kaupunki, note 28, p. 12/22.
46. Työministeriö, note 36, p. 3.
47. Carl-Ulrik Schierup, "The Duty to Work," in Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Alexandra Ålund, eds., *Paradoxes of Multiculturalism: Essays on Swedish Society* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1991), pp. 21–46.
48. Valtioneuvosto, Hallituksen maahanmuuttopoliittinen ohjelma, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Valtioneuvosto, 2006).
49. Työministeriö, note 36, p. 3.
50. Sitra, *Riskien hallinta Suomessa. Esiselvitys*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Sitra, 2002), pp. 53–67.
51. Dean, note 8, p. 167.
52. Sitra, note 50, p. 64.
53. Rose, "Governing Liberty," note 5, pp. 145–146.
54. Foucault, note 40, p. 212.
55. Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in Luther H. Martin et al., eds., *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (London: Tavistock, 1988), pp. 16–49.
56. Foucault, note 40, p. 212; Cruikshank, note 1, p. 70.
57. Rose, *Powers of Freedom*, note 5, pp. xi–xii.
58. See also: Tuomas Martikainen, "Immigrant religions and Structural Adaptations," *ZMR* 88, no. 3 (2004): 264–274.
59. Lippert, note 23.
60. Siisiäinen, note 6.
61. Tampereen kaupunki, note 28, pp. 5/2, 11/12.
62. Siisiäinen, note 6, pp. 124–125.
63. Judith Butler, "Critically Queer," *Gay & Lesbian Quarterly* 1, no. 1 (1993): 17.
64. Interview, project worker in immigration services, woman, 40 years.
65. Työministeriö, note 36, p. 4.
66. Rose, "Governing Liberty," p. 160.
67. Employment and economic development centres, which are regional administrative actors between national and local level, funnel EU money for the immigration projects.
68. L 493/1999, note 19, sect. 2.
69. For example, Työministeriö, note 36; Hammar-Suutari, note 29.
70. Chime Ike, "Urheilu edistää monikulttuurisuutta Suomessa," *Monitori* 4/2000: 67.
71. Työministeriö, note 36, p. 2.
72. Dean, note 13, pp. 167–168.
73. L 493/1999, note 19, sect. 11.
74. Dean, note 13, p. 168.
75. Rose, "Governing Liberty," note 5.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 161–170.
77. Hammar-Suutari, note 29, pp. 9, 7.

78. Työministeriö, note 36, p. 9.
79. Hammar-Suutari, note 29, p. 6 (emphasis added).
80. Cruikshank 1999, note 1, pp. 3.
81. Commission of the European Communities, *European Governance: A White Paper. KOM(2001) 428 final*. 2001. <http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/en/com/cnc/2001/com2001_0428en01.pdf> accessed 4/21/2002.
82. Rose, "Governing Liberty," note 5, pp. 164–170; Dean, note 2.
83. Rose, "Governing Liberty," note 5, p. 144.

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