

**INTEGRATING GOVERNMENTALITY:
ADMINISTRATIVE EXPECTATIONS FOR IMMIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN
THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS IN FINLAND**

Miikka Pyykkönen, MSS
University of Jyväskylä/
Department of Social Sciences and Philosophy

Introduction

“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 Dean² 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 government. Especially in the social sector, linked to the questions of exclusion and marginalisation, civic organisations are recently considered to be one of the main producers of acts of such empowerment. These ‘technologies of citizenship’³ call people in marginal positions (e.g. unemployed, disabled, substance addicts and immigrants) to be self-responsible through actions which are considered acceptable for them in order to advance their participation in the fields of “normal society”.

Like in many European countries, also 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 seen mainly culturally, but 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 and its internal security⁴. Programmatic governance of this risk does not usually touch upon all the immigrants, but those with presumably weak opportunities to get into the structures of the receiving society, i.e. those ‘at risk’; refugees, asylum seekers, unemployed, uneducated, youth, women, elderly, and so forth.

As is the one main principle of advanced liberalist ideas of government, these newcomers at risk need civic education in a way that they themselves can take the responsibility of their development, and the public administration directly intervenes in their spiritual growth as little as possible. Against this idea, people’s government and investments in bettering their self-esteem through their own communities, is one of the most rational ways of conducting.⁵ *The “big research question” in this article, thus, is how this is done in the case on immigrants in Finland?* What makes this question particularly interesting in the Finnish case is first of all the strong welfare-state tradition. So far, the state has been the axiomatic payer, organiser and producer of health, welfare and cultural services. Second, is the traditionally strong position of associations as mediators between special groups of citizens and the policy sectors and ‘sub-systems’⁶. Third special characteristic of Finland is

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 liberalist economic and political rationality, mainly in the form of New Public Management and ideas of active and self-responsible individual, has recently influenced on above mentioned traditions. The synergy and resonance of these traditions and new trend is what makes the Finnish case of immigrant associations and public administration of special interest.

The focus of this text is on the expectations of immigration administration and public authorities for the immigrant associations. The primary data used in this paper consist of 25 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 the two case cities, Tampere and Jyväskylä, and seven interviews of workers of integration projects. The third part of the data consists of volumes of *MoniTorii*, 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 towards immigrant associations.

I approach the data mainly with the 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? Second part of analysis consists of examining, what are the *techniques of government* linked to the associations in administrative discourse. What kind of ways of action does administration promote both for associations and individuals as their members and customers? How these actions are expected to improve the immigrants' self-responsibility, -esteem and activeness in the process of integration? In relation to Mitchell Dean's⁸ definition, this second part deals with the relation of government and ethics. It aims at illuminating how somewhat impersonal general technologies are incorporated to subjects' self-formation in empirical practices, in something that can be named as 'governmental-ethical practices', or 'technologies of the self'⁹.

In addition to the analysis of rationalities and techniques of government, article has a "meta-aim". I hope to illustrate the relevance of a governmentality toolkit to understanding problematics of power in integration of immigrants in Finland, while simultaneously indicating this phenomenon as a potential site for exploring governmentality. Jonathan Xavier Inda has studied governmentality in United States in order to show how *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, instead, to show how *inclusion* of 'legal' immigrants and political efforts towards it are codified as an essential and noble pursuit necessary to ensure the survival of the social body in Finland; to ensure that the socio-cultural difference of the 'immigrant others' is limited in certain degree and they will become a functional part of the social body, 'us'.

Modern Government

In modern western societies, where something that Foucault called 'governmentalization of the state'¹¹ has taken place, government works abundantly through complex networks of the civil society, while the life-world of individuals and the government itself has become a process of self-evaluation and self-reparation. This has meant mobilization of governmental techniques, which measure and regulate the everyday life and security of population and its individuals, such as vital statistics, public health institutions and programs, and general compulsory education. Modern government aims at optimizing citizens' creative forces 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 behaviours that are considered normal.¹² Mitchell Dean says, that

"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 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 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 domination¹⁵.

Rationality of government is a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government, i.e. 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 works also the other way around: particular practices are being rationalised – 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 in Foucauldian approaches. First, there are, what I call as, techniques of governance, which take place on the organisational 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 risky 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 individual makes her-/himself to act morally, as a moral-subject.¹⁸

Integration of Immigrants and ‘Governmentalization of the Civil Society’ in Finland

The Integration Law was constituted at 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 means here individual and group level attachment to the societal centre, ‘dominant culture’. It consists of the ideas, beliefs and patterns that are thought to be typical for Finnish population, especially its basic institutions such as work, language and nuclear family²⁰.

According to the recent administrative discourses, being a member of this centre requires individual activeness and willingness to social interaction²¹. However, individual contribution in itself is not enough. There has to be also programmatic technologies of government and experts controlling these rituals that individuals have to perform show their activeness in the recognised 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 can not be explicitly coercive, but requires voluntary participation of immigrants themselves. In Finnish immigration policy, integration as a noun means: “the individual development of 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 for its part means the measures and capacities organised by immigration authorities (mainly leading social and cultural workers of the cities) to advance integration in the sense denoted by the noun above.

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 social system (including laws, norms and “basic values”), getting immigrants to interact with members of the majority (common hobbies and pastime events), and organising education, work practice and employment for them²³.

Since the 1990s, Finnish society, like many other European countries at the same time or already before, has witnessed a renewal of the production and governance of public services. Especially after the first EU programs, the making of civic organisations as participants and their guidance by the public administration have been much more systematic and programmatic than before. This present 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 increases the expertness of third sector actors at the same time²⁴. 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 evaluations and cost-benefit analysis been as common as now.

This trend, which culminates in New Public Management (NPM), requires new kind of efficiency and self-control from the service providing civic organisations. 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 to make regular audits – both economical and social ones – along the lines of ‘new managerialism’²⁵ included in NPM. For the most of these associations this has meant

also “professionalization” and bureaucratisation of their government. They need people with the professional knowledge in marketing and economics in their management.

Echoes of the governmentalization of the civil society sound strongly in the renewal of municipal service structure, which is going on in Finland. After the prominent deduction in the state aid for municipalities in 1993 the public institutions, such as social care centres, have started to buy more and more of the needed services from external producers, such as private enterprises, associations and foundations. Also immigrant associations are called to participate in the local service production in the name of reducing public expenditures, and advancing multi-ethnic worker structure, positions of experts with immigrant background and the bottom-up principle in public administration and decision making.²⁶ Ministry of Labour nowadays 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 way of re-organisation of services is that public authorities and associations as partners start development projects to take care of them. In 2004 there were altogether sixteen different kinds of integration projects for immigrants going on in the case cities, Jyväskylä and Tampere. Most of them have incorporated immigrant associations into them, but only one of them was organised by an immigrant association. What is required for the immigrant associations in order to get involved in cooperation 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 declare to stand for clarifying “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. As far as expertise is concerned, then, the general view among administration is that rules and procedures of bigger partnership development and integration projects are so complex that immigrant actors do not have enough professionalism and language skills to take the main responsibility over them. Through this kind of rhetoric of expertness, officials hold the competence to recognize the right and good immigration work to themselves: “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 the Finnish civil society relates to the form of government, which Dean³¹ calls '(neo)liberal police'. Rationalities of the advanced liberalism demand that government of the normative behaviour in communities is practiced, alongside the public sector, in the field of organised civil society. Associations should be "as much a component of liberal government as parliaments, public bureaucracies and judiciaries". Functionality of (neo)liberal police requires that citizens (members of the population) or non-citizens (the excluded, immigrants, etc.) actively act towards themselves so that the state government need to interfere in their lives as little as necessary³².

Recent History of Immigrant Associations in Finland

At the moment there are around 105,000 people with foreign nationality living in Finland. Although this number is very small when observed against the great part of other EU-countries, immigrants have formed nearly 700 associations in Finland³³. I define 'immigrant association' as a registered or non-registered voluntary organisation that is either established immigrants or actively ran by them. The present situation in the target areas of my research is following: There are 3200 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 8200. They have 29 associations, 27 of which are registered.

According to my research data of immigrant associations (primarily, the 22 interviews of them and 59 statutes of associations), they can be divided into nine categories: ethno-cultural 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 structures, human objects and group interests they claim to serve, aims they take for their action, ways of action, and in ways of cooperating with public officials (see appendix).

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 above-mentioned cities. 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 increased clearly after the mid-1990s, when the number of immigrants, the sizes of immigrant communities and, along with that, their internal diversity 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 very influential thing was also that many community activists, who at the beginning planned to move back to their home countries, became rooted in the country of settlement and local communities, and started to work for issues related to them.

Since the mid-1990s, an ever-increasing part of the new associations have been multi-ethnic of their participant structure and aimed at form and serve trans-ethnic interests. Some ethno-cultural associations have transformed into multicultural associations or taken some multicultural principles, aims and models of activities as part of their policy repertoires. Immigrants have also started to organise themselves more and more according to internal differences. During the last few years local Finnish milieus have been witnessing not only the appearance of women's and youth associations, but also the appearance of associations of ethno-cultural subcultures or religious subgroups³⁴.

The policy trends, practices and discourses – mainly incorporation of associations to the administratively defined integration work – mentioned in previous chapter have, on the one hand, increased the diversity of the associations, but also caused pressures of homogenization, on the other. The former occurs in that the many civilly active immigrants have established new associations (e.g. integration associations, see appendix) in order to get their part of the shared integration and project funds, and to influence the policies of projects and migrant work. The latter is seen in that many formerly ethno-cultural or religious associations have recently included integrative aims and operations to their policies. Most of all 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 started to represent their functions along the lines of administrative discourses. This is crucial for the governmentality: Before the programmatic government is able to work in practice, its rationalities and techniques have to become shared among the associations representing marginalised people at whom particular governmental procedures are aimed.

Rationalities of Government through Immigrant Associations

In relation to the integration of immigrants and especially to the employment of associations in integrative actions, rationalities of government of administrative discourse are imposed primarily in the spheres of (a) health, welfare and happiness (of the Finnish population, and individual immigrants), (b) cultural equality, pluralism and freedom, (c) wealth and economics (meaning both national economics and of individual immigrants and their families), (d) security and stability of the societal whole, and (e) activeness and productiveness (of the Finnish society, but especially individual settlers). These rationalities are expected to become part of the working ideas of associations and dominant in the lives of immigrants through different techniques (see next chapter).

As one can notice from above, most of the rationalities operate both on the level of 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 saving public expenditures, not being too extravagant or too much dependent on subsidies³⁵. Second, rationalities direct demands for individual immigrants, their health, activeness, capacity and happiness. These two levels of rationalities intertwine inseparably with each other, and it is common that levels of collectiveness (both ethno-cultural and whole population) and individuality are present in the same administrative utterances, as following citation shows:

"Working as a voluntary in civic organisations could be crucial part of [personal, MP] 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

Looking at the rationality of health, welfare and happiness in administrative sources of integration, it is obvious that 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 individual immigrant is, the more they can participate in the social interaction and, thus, the more integrated society becomes. There is a circle of deduction present here: The welfare of individual immigrant depends on the welfare of their ethnic and/or religious group, and the welfare of that group depends on the welfare of the Finnish society at large.

In many administrative utterances concerning health, the focus is on mental health of the immigrants, usually refugees, because of their forced dispersal and possible traumatic experiences³⁷. Also the encounter with a new majority culture, and adaptation to it, is said to include the risk of ‘acculturation stress’³⁸. Because these non-healthy features imply the risk that individuals and families exposed to them may not possibly be integrated to the Finnish society according to general criteria, they have to 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 health³⁹. Moreover risk of non-healthy integration mirrors ‘pastoral power’⁴⁰: Concern for immigrants’ body and soul is effective guideline for integrative techniques and practices.

These health-concerning guidelines for individuals are often partly reducible to the concern of the health and well-being of the whole (mainstream) population. Both in the cases of mental health and other health-issues, the explicit purpose is also to get immigrants to the sphere of active public life, and often so that the political economy and local economy can make a benefit from their contribution to it⁴¹.

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. Central rationality found from administrative sources is the one of cultural equality, pluralism and freedom. In the name of those, immigrants have rights to organise themselves along the ethnic and religious demarcations, and practice their cultures in Finnish society in many ways. 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 emphasise immigrant associations’ significance in offering cultural home for newcomers and creating genuine multicultural society⁴³.

But this too becomes often 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 towards immigrants’ civic action can also mean that the cultural know-how of immigrant is valorized for the needs of Finnish labour markets: “Finnish society can benefit on immigrants’ special cultural, lingual and professional capacities and skills by employing them to the internationalizing sector of private services and to the integration work for new immigrants

in the public sector”⁴⁵. Individual and collective needs of immigrants defined in administrative sources, become, thus, justified through the functionality and wealth of Finnish society in one way or another.

The first headline of the booklet called “Immigrants’ integration into Finland”, published by the Ministry of Labour⁴⁶, says: “Integration is participation”. It crystallizes well the relation of rationality of activeness and integration: Activeness is ‘written inside’ the integration, and constitutive to it. There is no recognized integration without activeness. Not any type of civic activeness whatsoever. Usually rationality of activeness implements as work-related duties which are considered to be stages in the stairs towards legitimate citizenship position. On trend in this is that if immigrants want to verify their activeness, 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 settlement⁴⁷. Just recently Finnish administration named work related immigration as the main focus in the Finnish immigration policy in the near future⁴⁸.

The bond between individual level and level of population is strongly present in the context of rationality of wealth and economics, too. Immigrants can best support the economy of their new country of settlement by most effectively pursuing the enhancement of the economic well-being of themselves. It requires the development of basic skills needed in labour market and finally participation in the labour market. This is called as taking responsibility of ones own life: “Integration means that immigrants acquire such knowledge and skills with the help of which they survive in Finland and can 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

An important rationality behind the integration policy and integrative techniques is also the one of security and stability of the Finnish society and population. Possible disintegration of ‘new people’ and cultural difference form risks to the security and stability of ‘normal order’. The transformation to multicultural society in Finland after the century of the widely shared comprehension that the very constitutive of the state was based on ethnic and cultural homogeneity is a process which raises up sensitive questions of risks related to

(cultural) differences and their governance. It is often the case, that migration is mirrored against its 'risky side' before it can be well and legitimately governed through different technologies⁵⁰. 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 practice⁵¹. Professional experts of migration can recognize and, even more importantly, problematize risks. They create administrative practices to prevent risks, but bullish trend is that they instruct immigrant associations as "grass-roots experts" to promote integrating subjects socially perform in non-risky way.

Although ethnic minorities are those towards 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 the spread of social effectiveness of disintegration. If the integration of 'others' to 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 of Making the Immigrant 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 base on purpose of “do good” for the subject by improving her/his vitality – are divided in two here: ‘techniques of governance’ and ‘techniques of the self’. The former aim at govern others, someone who is 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 pounded rationalities⁵⁵. Here one deals with the 'subjectivity' dimension of subject making⁵⁶. They are the techniques of doing good for oneself.

Experts who use the power based on management of particular knowledge have significant role in giving rationalities technological forms⁵⁷. Although mechanisms of self-regulation are primarily based on 'general knowledge', norms and moral truths, they demand experts to guide, evaluate and control their correct realization. Experts have professional positions from which it is possible to interfere in the lives of individuals in the case 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 Finnish immigration work are public social and cultural workers, project managers, and teachers, and occasionally psychologists, doctors, social scientists, consultants, professionals of semi-institutionalized associations (e.g. Finnish Red Cross and other large-scale social service associations). An increasing role is also played by those immigrant associations that advance by law integration and which have "earned" legitimation among public authorities and financiers.

(a) Techniques of governance

First of all, associations themselves form a technique of governance in that they educate their members and objects of their activities on how to become and be civil in the new living environment. Working and participation in associations roots particular and legitimate ways of action for immigrants⁵⁸. This way associations help individual immigrants to understand themselves and speak about themselves as integrative subjects. By organising teaching of mother tongue and Finnish, hobby-groups and clubs, sports, get-together meetings for women, 'afternoon clubs' for school children, and so on immigrant associations are seen to support immigrants' possibilities to "full participation" in their everyday life⁵⁹.

In spite of attaching individuals to the sphere of social interaction and activities, associations have more collective integrative functions. Administrative discourse also suggests that associations open channels for immigrant groups to communicate with administration on the collective level. This role can be interpreted in the framework which, according to Siisiäinen⁶⁰, is the 'traditional role' of associations in Finland: They are bidirectional 'filters' between the governmental system and the civil society. As registered and thus legal actors they deliver voices and interests of the heterogeneous civil society to

the actors of 'sub-systems' (politics, economy, culture, religion, etc.) while translating these messages into the language and telos of the system. On the other hand, associations translate the administrative language and expectations towards individual immigrants to 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 associations (see appendix).

Above mentioned collective integrative function is also on view in that administration see associations especially beneficial for the integration of immigrants, who have recently moved to Finland. This belief bases 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 non-registered, and in that sense beyond the reach of law and administrative practices, and not so easy to cooperate 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 nowadays, most of the new associations register themselves at the very beginning of their span. *Registration of associations is the second technique of governance*. This technique has affected all kinds of associations (see appendix). Registration means formalisation and it is the primary way of control of civic organisations in Finland. Along 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 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 recognised civic actor that follows the law in its actions.

According to interviews and some administrative documents, immigration authorities see the registration of associations beneficial in two ways. First, registration makes contact making to immigrant groups easier for officials. By registration of organisation, immigrant

groups make themselves and their representative bodies recognizable for officials. The other benefit is for the associations themselves. The fulfilment of the demands written inside the registration is 'glazed' with positive impacts to 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 organise 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 do presumably not have much knowledge about or respect for the laws and regulations when they come to Finland. "Although the obedience of rules may feel tedious and formal at the first place, 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 10 years *funding* has become one of the main ways for public authorities to make conducting interventions in the work of immigrant associations. Thus, it is *considered the third technique of governance* here. While the government of public service production was earlier based totally on the more direct institutional control in Finland, nowadays implementation of many, for instance, social and cultural services produced by 'external actors' are more controlled through funding as a way of 'governing at a distance'⁶⁶. The present financing system makes possible for the financier to get to the position to define the principles, which funded actors have to follow in their action. To manage in the competition for funds, immigrant associations have to create good cooperative relations to public officials, supporting interest groups, clients, etc. and negotiate about their principles and actions with them.

In the beginning of 1990's the culture departments of the cities shared small annual funds for ethno-cultural and religious immigrant associations. Due to the membership in the European Union and the increase of ESF and ERF funding, and finally the inception of Integration Law, funding structures for immigrant associations extended. Municipal cultural departments are still the main local financiers for associations, but the financial significance of social service departments and non-municipality institutions (Employment and economic development centres⁶⁷), has increased. Cultural departments do not set constraints to the activities of associations in exchange for their funding, except that

associations have to follow laws. In contrast, other regional financiers do, especially in the case of projects. Funding is applied from them for strictly predefined purposes and associations have to report the use of funding for the financiers or their representatives (e.g. steering groups). The technique of funding concerns most often integration and multicultural associations or big and ‘institutionalized’ ethno-cultural 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 evaluations. They can be defined as procedures of ‘governing at a distance’, too. 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-audits and -evaluations help associations to govern themselves along 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 this way 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 to the Finnish society, administrative discourse contains expectations concerning immigrant cultures, which are part of correct integration according to the legal conceptualization⁶⁸. As a *sixth technique of governance, associations advance maintenance of immigrants' 'original' cultures and languages*. The aim of this technique is to ease the integration process for individual immigrants, to make them feel more at home and secure in the new environment, especially those 'at risk' of those 'at risk', immigrant women, mothers, unemployed, elderly, youngsters, and socially separated immigrants – to whomever the particular possibilities of risks are connected. 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 citizenship⁶⁹. This technique touches upon all types of associations that promote and cherish the "original" cultural features and language of the settlers, most typically ethno-cultural associations and mono-cultural youth, women and religious associations (see appendix) and implements as sports, social clubs and celebrations.

Techniques of governance seem often rather incommensurable when compared to each other. The main reason for this is that many of the techniques work on different levels. Some of the observed techniques relate directly to the work or existence of associations, but for example the Integration Law and local programs concern far more wider spectrum of social activities than just associations. Associations form technique with which immigrants work towards each other. Funding for its part is technique with which administration conduct and control associations 'at a distance', although registration is voluntary for associations and performed by them. Auditing and evaluations are techniques which are set by administration and financiers, but performed by associations. Maintenance of 'original' cultures and languages as technique has a mixed background. Common for all the mentioned techniques is that administration and public officials believe that they promote integration of immigrants happening in the context of their civic action. Collectively all above mentioned techniques of governance form a set that can be called here as associational technology of integration.

(b) Techniques of the self

As the techniques of the self mainly concern individual action, the following are techniques that an individual can perform through associations. I must emphasize that

analysis deals not with the “real self-practices” of the integrative subjects, but the programmatic expectations of immigration authorities and administration.

First, *personal participation in associational activities or membership in them* is as such a technique of the self par excellence. According to the administrative discourse, it indicates individual commitment to good integration and willingness to become an active citizen. One example of this kind of utterance can be found in the issue of *Monitori* magazine⁷⁰, in an article about the establishing of a Finnish Multicultural Sports Federation, in the birth-process of which immigrants have had a great part: “These immigrants [those who were active in the establishing of association, MP] 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”.

The same attitude is discernible in the context of *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 Act, they have to be able to indicate their activity by participating in job-seeking, training, and co-ordinated integrative measures, such as work of associations. Passiveness in these things, and denial of monetary support justified by it, causes the interruption of 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

Integration plan is both ‘technique of contract’ and technique of citizenship⁷² at the same time. 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 her/his 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, i.e. the right to make a contract that defines their subjectification project. “The contract acts as a kind of ‘obligatory passage point’ [Callon 1986] 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 one, but ever more significant,

set of spaces, where an individual can perform integrative training agreed in these contracts.

The third set of techniques of the self defined for associations in the administrative discourse can be named as *work-related techniques*, including employment, work practice, work training, education, etc., but also coordinated techniques whose purpose is to advance the employment of individual immigrant. Education of the Finnish language and social skills organized by associations are examples of the latter. 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 participating in the courses. And whereas the public institutions and units are seen sometimes as too authoritarian for this, according to the neo-liberalist policy trends⁷⁵, both semi-institutional Finnish third sector organisations (e.g. Finnish Red Cross) and immigrants' own associations are ideal for offering such possibilities.

All these associational assignments of 'pseudo-work' are rituals of redemption for immigrants in the process of becoming plenipotentiary citizens of Finnish society⁷⁶. Unemployment or non-integration has to be changed into 'pseudo-work' through practices of activeness 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 individual to maintain the sufficient level of activeness in a 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

Associations' role of practicing work-related techniques must be externally controlled. This occurs through economic and other kinds of resource allocation. In funding and co-operational projects, administration, for instance, favours associations that organise language or computing lessons, 'good hobbies' (normally sports), or even work-practice,

and to a lesser degree those that organise 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 individual's body and health. Most clearly this fourth technique can be found in the administrative utterances emphasizing the meaning of sports. The need for associations to organise sports activities are based on the significance of keeping up the physical health of participants through sports and exercises, and mental health through social contacts, communication and interaction.

Conclusions

In the light of analysis above, it seems that 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”. Analysing administrative data with the concepts of rationalities and techniques offers 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 anti-political 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 good-will than in other public administration, such as basic education or social security control. Rather than being depoliticizing, the use of immigrant associations in their integration has expanded the reach of a particularly productive kind of power.

Thus, I feel that 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, MP) but to show that even the most democratic modes of government entail power relationships that are both voluntary and coercive”⁸⁰. By this citation I want to emphasize that I do not argue that the integration and the governmental techniques connected to it are necessarily condemnable. On the contrary I see integration and empowering governance in many ways

essential for the peaceful development of multicultural societies and successful cultural hybridisation.

Integration of immigrants is linked to the somewhat pan-European paradigms of new governance⁸¹. As the 'advanced liberal government' favour the deduction of direct state interventions into the sphere of social and the market logic penetrates into the public and civic sectors, administrative bodies everywhere have to deploy new fidelity 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 for realizing these new ideas 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 risky immigrant is, however, more an object of external government and disciplinary power. They can be penned up into reception centres, prisons, youth homes and so on.

When approaching bi-dimensionality of subject in governmentality connected to immigrant associations, it is tactilely pertinent what Nikolas Rose⁸³ say about modern art of government: "it govern[s] by making people free, yet inextricably linking them to the norms, techniques, and values of civility". That is to say that taking advantage of associations and other civil society organisations in the integration of immigrants the question is about using formal organisational 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), pp. 1.

² Mitchell Dean, "Liberal government and authoritarianism". *Economy and Society* (vol. 31, no. 1, 2002): 37-61.

³ Cruikshank, , note 1, pp. 67

⁴ Markus Mervola "Kurjia köyhiä ja potentiaalisia terroristeja – "Integroitumattomat" yhteiskunnallisina vaaroina". *Kosmopolis* (vol. 35, no. 1, 2005): 27-42. Cf. 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> 14.3.2004.

-
- ⁵ Nikolas Rose (a), "Governing Liberty," in Richard V. Ericson, & Nico Stehr, eds., *Governing Modern Societies* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) pp. 141-176; Nikolas Rose (b), *Powers of Freedom. Reframing Political Thought*, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) pp. 174-176; Cruikshank, note 1, pp. 70.
- ⁶ Martti Siisiäinen, "Voluntary Associations and Social Capital in Finland" in Marco Maraffi, Kenneth Newton, Jan Van Deth, 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), pp. 182
- ⁸ Mitchell Dean, "Governing the Unemployed Self in an Active Society". *Economy and Society* (vol. 24, no. 4, 1995), pp. 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 & Naomi Quiñonez, eds., *Decolonial Voices*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 2002), pp. 99.
- ¹¹ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon & Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect. Studies in Governmentality*. (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), pp. 87-104.
- ¹² E.g. Cruikshank, note 1, pp. 38-42.
- ¹³ Mitchell Dean, *Governmentality. Power and Rule in Modern Society*, rev. ed. (London: Sage, 1999), pp. 11.
- ¹⁴ Foucault, note 11, pp. 102.
- ¹⁵ Cruikshank, note 1, pp. 4.
- ¹⁶ Randy Lippert, "Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime". *Alternatives*, (vol. 24, no. 3, 1999), pp. 296.
- ¹⁷ Dean, note 13, pp. 31, 23.
- ¹⁸ Foucault, note 9.
- ¹⁹ L 493/1999 Laki maahanmuuttajien kotoutumisesta ja turvapaikanhakijoiden vastaanotosta (§1).
- ²⁰ Cf. Östen Wahlbeck, *Kurdish Diasporas. A Comparative Study of Kurdish Refugee Communities*, rev. ed. (London: MacMillan Press LTD, 1999), pp. 186-190.
- ²¹ E.g. Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, *Aktiivinen sosiaalipolitiikka – työryhmän muistio 1999*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 1999).
- ²² L 493/1999, note 19, §2.
- ²³ Cf. Randy Lippert, "Rationalities and refugee settlement", *Economy and Society* (Vol. 27, No. 4, 1998): 380-406.
- ²⁴ Dean, note 13, pp. 102-111; Rose, note 5.
- ²⁵ Patrick Fitzsimons, *Managerialism and education*, 1999, <<http://www.vusst.hr/ENCYCLOPAEDIA/managerialism.htm>> 4.8.2005.
- 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, §7.
- ²⁸ Tampereen kaupunki, *Tampereen kaupungin maahanmuuttaja- ja kotoutusohjelma*, 2001, <<http://www.tampere.fi/strategia/maamu/index.htm>> 30.7.2002, pp. 5/2, 10/12.

-
- ²⁹ Sari Hammar-Suutari, *Kototoiminta tutuksi kolmannella sektorilla – maahanmuuttajat mukaan kansalaistoimintaan*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Mannerheimin lastensuojeluliitto, 2003), pp. 7.
- ³⁰ Interview, leader of the immigration services, woman, 48 years (emphasis added).
- ³¹ Dean, note 2, pp. 43.
- ³² See also Rose, note 5b, pp. 61-97.
- ³³ Miikka Pyykkönen, "Integraatio ja maahanmuuttajien yhdistystoiminta", in Sakari Hänninen, Anita Kangas & Martti Siisiäinen, eds., *Mitä yhdistykset välittävät. Tutkimuskohteena kolmas sektori*. (Jyväskylä: Atena, 2003), pp. 89-120. Sanna Saksela, "Mångkulturella organisationer och invandrarorganisationer i Finland", in Flemming Mikkelsen, eds., *Invandrerorganisationer in Norden*. (Köpenhamn: Nordisk Ministerråd, 2003), pp. 235-282.
- ³⁴ E.g. different types of Kurdish cultural associations: Wahlbeck 1999, note 18, pp. 152-178. E.g. different types of Muslim associations: Tuomas Martikainen, *Immigrant Religions in Local Society. Historical and Contemporary Perspectives in the City of Turku*, rev. ed. (Turku: Åbo Akademi University Press 2004), pp. 238.
- ³⁵ Dean, note 8, pp. 572-573.
- ³⁶ Työministeriö, *The Integration of Immigrants in Finland*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Työministeriö, 2002), pp. 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 & Antoine Sirois, eds., *Migration and the Transformation of Cultures*, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Toronto, 1992), pp. 43-50.
- ³⁹ Cf. Inda, note 10.
- ⁴⁰ Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in Hubert L. Dreyfus & 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 terveystalvveluja", *Monitori 4/2002*: pp. 3-4. Interview, project worker, woman, 47 years.
- ⁴² Adrián Soto, "Kotona kunnissa", *Monitori 2/2000*, pp. 30-35.
- ⁴³ E.g. Työministeriö, *Yhdistystoiminta – opas maahanmuuttajille*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Työministeriö, Maahanmuutto-osasto, 1997); Jyväskylän kaupunki, note 38, 72.
- ⁴⁴ Soto, note 42.
- ⁴⁵ Tampereen kaupunki, note 28, pp. 12/22.
- ⁴⁶ Työministeriö, note 36, pp. 3.
- ⁴⁷ Carl-Ulrik Schierup, "The Duty to Work", in Carl-Ulrik Schierup & 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, pp. 3.
- ⁵⁰ Cf. Sitra, *Riskien hallinta Suomessa. Esiselvitys*, rev. ed. (Helsinki: Sitra, 2002), pp. 53-67.
- ⁵¹ Dean, note 9, pp. 167.
- ⁵² Sitra, note 50, pp. 64.
- ⁵³ Rose, note 5a, pp. 145-146.
- ⁵⁴ Foucault, note 40, pp. 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, pp. 212. Cruikshank, note 1, pp. 70.
- ⁵⁷ Rose, note 5b, pp. xi-xii.
- ⁵⁸ See also: Tuomas Martikainen, "Immigrant religions and Structural Adaptations" *ZMR* (vol. 88, No. 3, 2004): 264-274.
- ⁵⁹ Cf. Lippert, note 23.
- ⁶⁰ Siisiäinen, note 6.
- ⁶¹ Tampereen kaupunki, note 28, pp. 5/2, 11/12.
- ⁶² Cf. Siisiäinen, note 6, pp. 124-125.
- ⁶³ Judith Butler, "Critically Queer," *Gay & Lesbian Quarterly* (vol. 1, no. 1, 1993): 17.
- ⁶⁴ Interview, project worker in immigration services, woman, 40 years.
- ⁶⁵ Työministeriö, note 36, pp. 4.
- ⁶⁶ Rose, note 5a, pp. 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, §2.
- ⁶⁹ E.g. Työministeriö, note 36; Hammar-Suutari, note 29.
- ⁷⁰ Chime Ike, "Urheilu edistää monikulttuurisuutta Suomessa," *Monitori 4/2000*: 67.
- ⁷¹ Työministeriö, note 36, pp. 2.
- ⁷² Dean, note 13, pp. 167-168.
- ⁷³ L 493/1999, note 19, §11.
- ⁷⁴ Dean, note 13, pp. 168.
- ⁷⁵ Cf. Rose, note 5a.
- ⁷⁶ Rose, note 5a, pp. 161-170.
- ⁷⁷ Hammar-Suutari, note 29, pp. 9, 7.
- ⁷⁸ Työministeriö 2002, note 36, pp. 9.
- ⁷⁹ Hammar-Suutari, note 29, pp. 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> 21.4.2002.
- ⁸² Rose, note 5a pp. 164-170; Cf. Dean, note 2.
- ⁸³ Rose, note 5a, pp. 144.