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INTRODUCTION

Immigration, governmentality, and integration assemblages

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This special issue of the *Nordic Journal of Migration Research* focuses on how the integration of migrants in receiving societies is assembled, governed, and realized. The vast literature on integration has typically concentrated on state policies and practices; the effects of features of receiving societies on the 'successful' incorporation of immigrants (Reitz 2003), or on selected attributes of immigrant integration experiences and barriers to integration (Sayad 1999). Much contemporary research literature on integration in Europe has focused on migrants' incorporation into national labor markets (Ahmad 2005; Bisin *et al*. 2011; Silbermann & Fournier 2006) and education (Pitkänen *et al*. 2002; Zanten 2008). A large body of well-known psychological and social-psychological studies has explored immigrants' personal factors (cognitive, health, experiences, networks, and communication skills) relating to and influencing integration and cultural transformation processes (Berry 1992; Berry *et al*. 2006; Gudykunst & Kim 2003).

This issue on immigration and integration takes a decidedly different tack. It features seven empirically based articles that use concepts of 'assemblage' and 'governmentality' to explore the complex and mutating elements of integration. An 'assemblage' is a contingent and creative ensemble of distinctive material and social elements that can include forms of knowledge, ways seeing and calculating, human capacities, mundane and grand devices, kinds of authority, spatialities, and governmentalities (see below) that converge and which seek a specific outcome among those who govern and of those who are governed. This orienting concept drawn from the influential philosophy of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) promises to capture the heterogeneity, contingency and decentered nature of governance and integration as well as its 'structure-like' character (Marcus & Saka 2006). It has been since deployed with great effect in various subfields, including globalization, surveillance, and science studies (Ong & Collier 2005; Lippert & Wilkinson 2010; Latour 1993, respectively) but has been neglected in research on the complex and ever-shifting integration realm. We see assemblage as a concept that makes it easier to think about disparate elements with contingent and emergent roles but which ultimately work together to integrate immigrants, particularly when integration is understood as governance.

The notion of an assemblage highlights that integration may include elements consistent with state discourses on multiculturalism, but also unofficial, nameless, neglected, less visible and micro level forms and elements of integration operating in civil society, on its boundaries, and in myriad local programs. Thus integration may entail enlistment of professional immigrant settlement agencies, religious

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and ethno-cultural organizations, nuclear and extended families, cultural institutions, private charities, commercial enterprises, schools, youth groups, internet-based technologies, and individual migrants themselves. A major research program that this issue showcases and in which 'assemblage' is readily deployed is Foucauldian-inspired governmentality studies (Dean & Hindess 1998: 8; Rose 1999: 52; see also Dean 2007; Lippert & Stenson 2010; Rose *et al*. 2006). By 'governmentality', as several articles that follow note, Foucault meant the 'conduct of conduct'. Thus, a key attribute of these perspectives is to see governance in a broad sense, as occurring not only through state policies and practices but also through non-state associations and organizations, and all manner of facets in between. This includes the self acting on the self to achieve certain ends.

Rationality is one often used concept in this 'governmentality' literature and in the articles in this issue that follow. Some scholars see rationalities as broad ways of thinking about how to govern that are historically constructed and manifest themselves as stable discourses. Rationalities can operate and be discerned at various levels (Lippert & Stenson 2010). Recurring rationalities in Foucauldian governmentality studies are liberalism and neo-liberalism (broad macro-scale rationalities with programmatic definitions of principles of governance); security, wealth and health of population (broad rationalities that receive their precise content contextually); and much more context-specific rationalities such as activeness, civility and sociality of human subjects. Rationality is a way of thinking that strives to be as clear, systematic and obvious as possible in relation to how things are, how they should be, and what is good for those who govern and for the subjects of governance. It includes descriptions of why certain kind of government should be applied in a particular time and place and assumptions about how it can and should be accomplished (Dean 1999: 11; Miller & Rose 2008: 16; Rose *et al*. 2006: 88.)

In addition to rationalities integration also can entail particular (and peculiar) forms of local knowledge and what are called 'technologies' not limited to those of the expert and administrative variety or those closely tethered to state programs (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008: 19). 'Technologies' in this Foucauldian sense include the mundane and are not limited to what we typically understand as technology (Lippert 2010). These various devices are seen to work in lock-step with specific rationalities such as neo-liberalism. These elements come to be assembled together through creative material and discursive means. However, assemblages are seldom without problems and contradictions as they bring together diverse identities, interests, and knowledge. Problems occur in relation, for example, to multicultural centers spawned by state discourses on multiculturalism where national programs become loosely tied to local initiatives to incorporate immigrants. Alternative integration practices, such as sanctuary and related movements (Lippert 2006; Lippert 2009; Pyykkönen 2009; Lippert & Rehaag 2012), may emerge in response to state policies but may also eventually become enlisted in integration assemblages. When these various elements articulate with one another to shape integration they can engender forms of inequality but, as articles by one of us (Pyykkönen) on leisure activities, by Sine Agergaard on sports clubs, and by Linda Haapajärvi on African churches relate, they can also engender forms of resistance.

In political discourse about multiculturalism, integration has been at the forefront (Saukkonen & Pyykkönen 2008). However, as Tanja Riikonen and Fred Dervin persuasively remind us in their article in this issue, deploying universal theories of integration with linear assumptions and seeking to discern integration success is increasingly seen as questionable. Moreover, integration often works at the micro-level of the self as much as at the level of grand state policies of multiculturalism and indeed, consistent with governmentality perspectives, the two sometimes come to complement and mesh with one another. This points out the remarkable complexity of integration processes that moves inquiry well beyond the details of shedding one's original culture to replace it with the receiving country's culture over time. This also calls into doubt the nation-state as the main container and signifier of integration, and points instead to micro-politics and mundane technologies and how they can shape immigrant identity. However, given broader shifts toward what is called an increasing 'securitization of migration' (Bigo 2002) that involves authoritarian practices, integration may also blur with or counter these programs that tend to occur at the nation-state's conceptual and material borders.

Of course many elements of integration, including several discussed in this issue, are not historically new. Religious and ethno-cultural organizations, for example, have played an integration role in Nordic countries for some time and in 'settler' societies such as Canada and the United States for more than a century and have been studied with this in mind. Yet, these elements can become enrolled in integration assemblages in novel ways consonant with changes in dominant rationalities, such as, the shift to neo-liberalism (Pyykkönen 2007; Lippert 1998), or in response to the peculiarities of local or national contexts. Missing from most previous research on integration, but addressed in this issue, is investigation of connections between the micro and macro levels of governance and conduct, that is, the links between the integration programs of state governance and those of the self.

Jarmila Rajas commences the issue by examining the neglected dimension of gender in Finnish integration policies, and in particular, how the integration of immigrant women has been problematized in Finland. Her analysis uses a Foucauldian framework of governmentality to explore the way state feminist rationalities are used to measure the integration of immigrant women through specific definitions of gender equality. This article also reveals how technologies of integration are envisioned as means of bringing about gender equality for immigrant women, how these technologies come to enroll forms of pastoral power reflecting a liberal desire to govern at a distance, and how one particular power/knowledge constellation leaves out other forms of knowledge.

In the second article, Miikka Pyykkönen investigates how the leisure time of youth with multicultural backgrounds operates as an integration assemblage. By adopting a governmentality approach and by drawing on Foucault's four dimensions of the formation of a moral subject, he shows how youths' leisure activities and subjectivities are connected to 'external' expectations and conducting practices by authorities and youth workers. This occurs mostly in an adaptive manner, but forms of 'counter self-conduct' also exist. The demarcation between integration and resistance, adaptation and autonomy, is therefore mostly contextual but it depends too on ethnic background and other factors.

Sine Agergaard then casts fresh light on the diversity of assemblages in her study of sports associations as an element of the integration of immigrants in Denmark. Agergaard argues that the integration of immigrants and their descendants into Danish society is a challenge for the universal welfare state model and the nation state model. Thus, the third sector actors, like sports associations, with neutral cultural 'ontology' are needed when attempting to reconcile minority values with those values deemed to be traditional Danish. Regardless of cultural neutrality, Danish politicians think these associations are bearers of the so-called central Danish values of civility and citizenship. The article shows how civil society organizations are involved in the integration task from a governmentality perspective: sports organizations are contexts for immigrants to conduct themselves along the lines of and to integrate into official values, rationalities and orientations of 'Danishness'.

In their article Riikonen and Dervin compare Muslim outlooks and experiences, Muslim immigrants, and multiculturalism in Finland and in Quebec, Canada. Significantly these authors cover new ground by conceiving multiculturalism as a technology in the Foucauldian sense and as operative at the micro-level of the self. In particular the authors analyze Muslim discussion forums in Quebec and Finland to argue that these fora include digital forms of Foucault's technologies of the self that can reflect and challenge other technologies of power, in particular multiculturalism politics and the idea of integration. They argue that these discussion fora reveal strategies that encourage Muslims and Muslim immigrants to adopt a 'better and correctly practiced Islam', thereby helping shape their religious identity in the host society. Significantly, for this issue, they also show how integration has become more flexible and mobile than previously, which is consistent with the notion of de-territorialization that is closely tethered to the assemblage concept.

Also adopting a governmentality perspective, Randy K. Lippert and Miikka Pyykkönen next explore family in official discourses on immigration and refugees as well as in discourses of advocacy groups, churches and parishes, and civil society actors. They discover much contestation over family definitions that is typically manifest as conflict between Western 'nuclear' and non-Western 'extended' understandings. In both countries a distinction is found to center on from where newcomers have migrated and through what means. Asylum seekers and refugees (who are primarily from non-Western countries) can be accompanied by their nuclear family while many other immigrants are allowed to be accompanied by their extended family. They argue family remains an element of immigration and refugee policies and of integration assemblages because it remains thought of as an effective tool for bio-political governance of national populations. A closer reading of contestation over family in the two countries also reveals how it reflects competing neo-liberal and neo-conservative governmental rationalities situated within broader integration assemblages.

Focusing on another neglected element of immigrant integration assemblages, through fieldwork Linda Haapajärvi investigates how religious communities make vital integration elements available to their members. In particular, she explores how an African evangelical church in Helsinki and one in Paris supply members not only with a space for cultural and religious practices as might be expected, but also access to relations of social recognition and material protection. Through this the African church community in both cities contributes to the social integration of its members. Resistance to racial discrimination and poverty are significant community effects that help the church members counter obstacles to their integration in host societies.

In the issue's last article on integration, Brigitte Beauzamy and Elise Féron draw on the governmentality conceptual tool-kit to understand results of a comparative study of education policies directed at migrants in France and Denmark. Education policies are central to integration strategies in both these receiving countries. The authors' detailed examination reveals that both countries display a similar peculiar blend of integration policies that, on the one hand, are rooted in the history of immigration policies, and, on the other hand, engage discourses of hostility and rejection (construction of the 'other') that treat migrants as scapegoats. They argue that educational policies aimed at migrants in both countries are fragmentary and sometimes contradictory; leading them to suggest the shift to repressive immigration and integration policies in Europe and hostile policies against migrants is more complicated and nuanced than is usually understood. Consistent with governmentality perspectives, they argue that when it comes to integration of migrants in these countries, multiple sources of power are evident rather than only the power of the state.

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Miikka Pyykkönen is a senior lecturer in the Master's program in cultural policy at the University of Jyväskylä. He specializes in politics of cultural diversity and multiculturalism, civil society, and Foucauldian methodology and analytics of power. His recent publications have, for instance, dealt with transformations of cultural policy, theoretical conception of civil society, historical governance of the Roma and Sami in Finland and immigrant associations in Finland.

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