

**MIGRATION, CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY, AND
INTEGRATION: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF
MULTICULTURALISM AND MIGRATION IN CANADA AND
FINLAND.**



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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this thesis is to assess how the discourses of migration and multiculturalism are been depicted in the Finnish and Canadian policy documents. This was assessed by using the concept of governmentality and multiculturalism as the theoretical framework of the study. The concept of governmentality was used as a background to examine and interpret power relations and discourses in the data and how they influence contemporary debate in these societies. The result was analysed qualitatively using theoretical – discourse analysis. And the analysis of the study was mainly based on the integration policy documents from Finland and Canada.

The result of the study indicated that both Canada and Finland seeks to convert the adverse effect of migration into a resource for socio-economic development that seeks to promote and protect the continued evolution of these countries. The results show that multiculturalism in Canada is constitutionally recognised as national identity and heritage which represent multiculturalism as the same or part of cultural sustainability. While in Finland, multiculturalism as a public policy is an ongoing debate within the public domain. Some segment of the Finnish population thinks multiculturalism is a threat to national culture or monoculturalism which also serve as a component of cultural sustainability while the national policy presents multiculturalism as the best societal condition to withstand the effects of diversity. The results also presented integration and multiculturalism as a fundamental right for both migrants and citizens. And it reaffirms the claim that multiculturalism produces identity.

In addition, the study concludes that the magnitude at which multiculturalism is changing Finnish and Canadian societies can be visible and measured based on its impacts on the discourses of education and creativity, civil society and fundamental right. The study recommends a future research in a larger scale to ascertain the impact of multiculturalism on cultural sustainability. This research also encounters numerous limitations which include; time constraint, language barriers and complexity of obtaining and analysing policy documents.

Keywords: Migration, Multiculturalism, Integration, Governmentality, Cultural Sustainability and Discourse.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The world is currently undergoing a lot of Externalities such as civil unrest, climate change, unemployment, and poverty as a result of political injustice, regionalization and globalisation (Burroughs, 2012; Borjas, 1999). These aforementioned reasons have massively contributed to the rapid increase of migration worldwide (Ibrahim, 2005; Ishtiaq, 2013). Although, many studies from the past on migration has presented it as an old discourse that has existed for many decades (Bloemraad, 2012; Burroughs, 2012; Borjas, 1999). But at the same time, different regions and countries might have a different trend to migration based on the country's history or profile. Comparatively, before 1980's Finland was historically considered to be a country of emigration (Rajas, 2014). Canada is historically perceived as a country of migration due to its long history and genealogy of multiculturalism (Bloemraad, 2012).

The effects of diversity, globalisation and other international externalities have yielded changes in discourses and concepts which have led to many socio-political debates concerning which alternative should be adopted to integrate and safeguard the wellbeing and happiness of mankind from the negative consequences (UNHR, 2013; Kymlicka 2012; & Yannis, 2013). This process has also given birth to many discourses in the field of migration such as integration, assimilation, acculturation and multiculturalism etc. which have attracted the attention of many researchers both professional and academic including students from different discipline to investigate the question of how to manage and cope with it.

According to Michel Foucault (2002; 2010), discourse refers to as any discursive formation stabilise by time. Thus, power is express through the discursive formation of language and society and discourse serves as platform or mechanisms through which power operate within specific historical periods (*ibid*). The complex understanding of power and how it is conceptualised and operated through discursive techniques or strategies is well analysed and presented by Foucault's theory of governmentality (Burroughs, 2012). Dean (1999 p.11) posit that governmental rationality can be traced and analysed only in the forms of large historically constructed discourses. This definition sets the foundation for the research into migration, multiculturalism, integration and cultural sustainability because these concepts have been thoroughly discussing for many years either together or separately as a social problem and mechanism to exercise socio-political power. Culture is popularly and anthropologically

defined as the way of life of a group of people living in a given geographical area (Axelsson et al, 2013; Saukkonen, 2013; UNESCO, 1989; & World Commission on Culture and Development, 1996). And migration is also perceived as the movement of people from one geographical area to another (Donald, 2010). If sustainability is the addition of sustain and ability (dictionary online, 2016) and sustain is synonymous to preserve (thesaurus online, 2016), then joining culture and sustainability should give us cultural sustainability, which means the steps or ability of society to maintain, stabilize, and preserve their way of life – measures taken to protect and transfer heritage, norms and values from one generation to another in a way of safeguarding it from the effects of externalities like diversity, regionalization and globalisation. According to Kymlicka (2012), multiculturalism is about protecting and promoting minority rights including migrants – giving them the opportunity to live their own life according to own cultural practices.

Pre-assessing the normative meanings of the above mention discourses, they at times contradict each other in principle based on the explanation given. Even though this critical, but evidence has shown that there is less research on migration, and multiculturalism as far as cultural sustainability is a concern (Bloemraad, 2012; Burroughs, 2012; Borjas, 1999; Rajas, 2014; Pyykkönen, 2007; & Kymlicka, 2012 etc.). This evidences serves as my motivation and has also stimulated the focus of this research to look at this discourses differently using Foucauldian power analytic (governmentality framework). Based on this clarifications, the main goal of this study is to assess how the discourses of migration and multiculturalism are been depicted in the Finnish and Canadian policy documents as far as cultural sustainability matters.

1.1 History of the Current Situation (Migration and Migration Policies)

International migration has become a strong and powerful discourse globally due to the current European immigration crises today. Evidence has shown in 2013 the worldwide international migration recorded 232 million immigrants, 59 percent lived in developed regions while 41 percent of the worldwide total is hosted by developing countries (United Nations department of economic and social affairs, 2013). From 1990 to 2013, there was a rapid increase in the number of international immigrants worldwide and the figure raised over 77 million immigrants which are equivalent to 50 per cent (*ibid*). Europe hosted the highest number of international migrants that is, 72 million in 2013 followed by Asia 71 million, Northern

America 53 million, Africa 19 million, Latin America and the Caribbean 9 million and the Oceania hosted 8 million international migrants (*ibid*).

After the Second World War, international immigration to North-Western Europe increased because, the Maastricht Treaty of 1993 replaced the European Common Market or European Community with the European Union (EU), which greatly facilitated nationals of member states to seek employment and settle down in any part of the EU freely (Ishtiaq, 2013 p. 268). Although, the European countries, immigration has always been viewed as an exceptional phenomenon in many cases (Jandl *et al*, 2008 p.20). If in the form of arrivals related to colonies and post-colonial independence, this tended to be perceived as a one-time influx (*ibid*). If in the form of migration related to labour market needs, as was the case in North-Western Europe during the 1960s and 1970s, it was generally viewed to be of a temporary nature (*ibid*). Although it was mostly assumed that labour migrants, often labelled ‘guest workers’, would return home once they had accumulated the earnings they had come for or once their employment was no longer needed (*ibid*).

Jandl *et al* (2008) argue, these impressions were mostly proven wrong: governments had clearly misunderstood the mechanisms that govern migration processes in general and, overestimated the extent to which they were able to exert influence over the behaviour of migrants. To give cases in point, we know that post-colonial migration has continued to this very day, that the former so-called guest workers have settled in receiving country in large numbers and that this, together with the secondary arrivals of spouses and relatives, has resulted in sizeable immigrant and ethnic communities that continue to grow (*ibid*). From the mid-1980s onwards, new challenges to controlling immigration appeared, and European states were confronted with migrants often claiming asylum from rather unexpected countries of origin (Jandl *et al*, 2008 p.20). Prior to this influx, the origin of newcomers had been largely predictable on the basis of existing links, thus, colonial relationships or active labour recruitment, but by the end of the cold war, this was no longer the case (Doomernik *et al*. 1997).

Different factors of human mobility have also made the integration of some immigrants/ migrants more difficult and complicated as compared to others. However, I classify migrants into two section thus, the integrated migrants and the unintegrated migrants. The integrated ones are those with confirmed path to integration to the society (Pyykkönen 2009 p.22). I refer to the *Unintegrated migrants* as those Pyykkönen (2009 p.22) labelled as migrants with no

confirmed path to integration to the society, and what Dean (1999 p.168) argued as *target population* (a population that manifest high risk or are composed of individuals deemed at risk). To me, the *Unintegrated migrants* are those that have difficulties with integration system prior to their arrival and those that had unsuccessful integration which has affected subsequent generations after them. Thus those at risk and those arriving for a non-work reason or the marginalised immigrants. Such groups include refugees, victims of human trafficking, asylum seekers, families of labour / skilled migrant and the first generation of international students. This classification of migrants as unintegrated is not intended to accuse or blame migrants for their failure to integration but seeks to analyse how the system at time depict them that situation.

The Maastricht Treaty of 1993 also opened the doors to former Communist states of Eastern Europe extending to the Baltic region. However, the unintegrated or the marginalised immigrants especially, Muslims have headed mainly to the richer north-western European countries (including the Scandinavian countries), where economic prospects and standards of living are much higher (Ishtiaq, 2013 p. 269). Most countries in the world are trying to adapt to the rapid integration of cultures and economic processes while trying to increase the well-being and the welfare of their populace (Kymlicka, 2012 p.6). Human mobility (migration) has been a natural phenomenon from the very beginning of human history and the reasons and needs behind it is still the same: improved life conditions and increase in individual's utility (Borjas, 1999). Nowadays people migrate for different reasons than our ancestors and the analysis of the factors and effects of human migration has become a research topic from the beginning of the last three decades (Cornelius, 1982). Changes in time have led to the development of migration process from the necessity for survival to the necessity for better life and this varies in a different context (Cornelius 1982; Kymlicka, 2012; Sari & William 2011).

Migration and settlement patterns of immigrants in Europe have been diverse and have evolved unevenly across time and space, with some West European countries having longer immigration histories than others (Rinus *et al*, 2008 p.2). A number of European countries, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland, Norway and Finland, were emigration countries until the 1980s but since have experienced strong immigration (*ibid*). Still, other countries, predominantly among the new member states, have begun to experience simultaneously emigration, transit migration and immigration and these historical and geographic differences are reflected in the size and composition of immigrant populations (*ibid*). The key observation

made by Schrijvers *et al* (2013 p.40) is that “the economic importance of migration will continue to grow for both sending and receiving countries. In the next decade or so, total migration towards high-income countries will likely grow only modestly as these countries increasingly focus on selective migration, a further curtailing of family migration, and an ever more systematic redirecting of asylum flows”.

In the case of Canada, the immigration policy was designed to create and reinforce a European settler society. After Second World War, the focus shifted to attracting immigrants to work in the manufacturing and construction sectors (Hiebert, 2000 p. 2). The preferences of the Canadian selection were migrants from Europe and United States with particular emphasis on economic confederation. But during the 1960’s however, this longstanding system of preferences gave way to a new method of immigration selection and legislation introduced in that decade refined procedures gave way to a new method of immigration selection (*ibid*). The legislation introduced in that decade refined procedures for refugee admission and created a stream of immigration which allows Canadian to sponsor family members, and also allow another to assess independent immigrant applications on the basis of their demographic characteristics and accumulated human capital (*ibid*).

Generally, the proportion of European and U.S. American immigrants entering Canada fell dramatically in the 1970’s while those coming from Asia, Latin America, and Africa increased; and also, most of the immigrants arriving at this time found jobs quickly and enjoyed subsequent upward socioeconomic mobility (*ibid*).

The speed at which global migration has increased natural perceptions about social and cultural change and brought to the fore national identity insecurities and apprehensions (*ibid*). This emerging diversity caused by migration leads to the development of the public perception of seeing it as a threat to cultural sustainability or national culture. Axelsson et al (2013) defined culture in a way that encourages community participation to its fullest and I quote “culture is defined as a system that, maintains, communicates, and reproduce the characteristics of a society, and that allows for people to participate in it”. And the world commission on culture and development (1995) defines cultural sustainability as inter and intra-generational access to cultural resources (heritage). And cultural heritage also refers to as the entire corpus of material signs either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore to the whole of mankind (UNESCO, 1989).

Cultural adaptation is the process and time it takes a person to assimilate to a new culture. And when immigrants especially the unintegrated or those at risk normally face serious problems in adopting the new environment they find themselves and they experience a lot of cultural shocks which they did not expect (A project of Suny levin institute, 2015; Sari & William, 2011; Kymlicka, 2012).

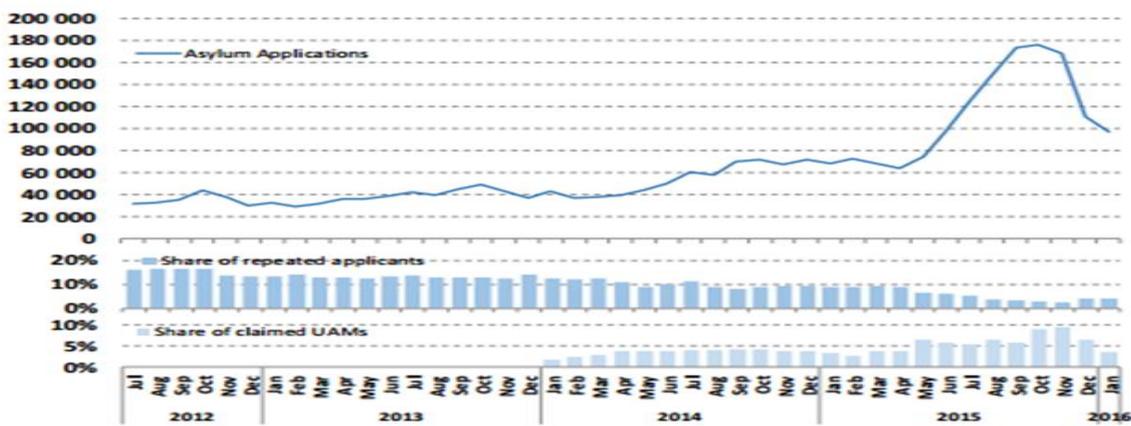
Nation – States like Canada and Finland have strong records when it comes to immigrant and minority integration as the evidence is shown in multiculturalism policy index. Evidence shows that immigrant's integration have emphasizes a lot on the economic aspect than the culture aspect as far as sustainability and multiculturalism is a concern (Sari & William, 2011; Kymlicka, 2012)

1.2 The rate of migration in Finland and Canada: the refugees and asylum situation

Evidently, the current refugee crisis across Europe shows the number of first-instance decisions issued in the EU+ continued to rise, to 76 753 decisions, a new monthly high since data collection started in March 2014 and double the level recorded in January 2015 (European asylum support office, 2016). The share of positive decisions was 58 % of total decisions in the first instance in the EU+, 3 % lower than in December (*ibid*). Syrian nationals continued as the citizenship receiving the largest share of decisions at first instance: 31 161 decisions, comprising 41 % of the EU+ total. Of those decisions, 99 % resulted in a positive outcome: 92 % granted refugee status and 7 % granted subsidiary protection. After remaining stable in December, the number of decisions issued on Albanian cases (5 824) rose again significantly by 46 %, and of these, almost all (98 %) were negative (*ibid*). The number of decisions on Iraqi cases increased by 11 % (3 946), surpassing the number of decisions on Eritrean cases. At EU+ level, 61 % of all first instance decisions for Iraqi applicants were positive, much lower than the 76 % share recorded in December (*ibid*). For the other citizenships in the top ten, the number of first-instance decisions issued in January: increased compared to December for Serbian and Kosovar applicants; were stable for Afghan and Pakistani applicants, and decreased for Eritrean and Nigerian applicants. Ishtiaq (2013) cited Constant and Tien (2011) that, Liberalisation of citizenship from the 1970s onwards in Western Europe enabled immigrants to adopt the nationality of the countries where they settled and Germany was the only exception to this.

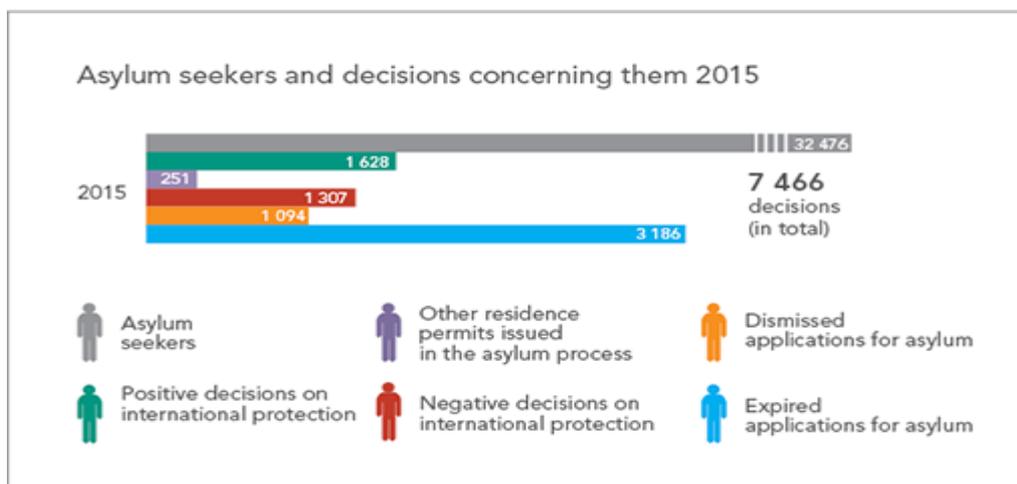
Currently, due to the political instability in the Middle East and North Africa have given a new wave to the migration and multiculturalism discourse worldwide leading to changes in discourses, migration policies and other internal laws in many countries. Syrian civil war has also created tension and various kind of policies and programs towards migration and multiculturalism globally. In January 2016, EU+ countries registered 97 222 asylum applications (European asylum support office, February 2016). This was a 13 % decrease compared to December and the third consecutive month with fewer applications. While the number of applications returned to levels last seen in June, the influx of asylum applicants in the EU+ was more than 40 % higher than in January 2015 (*ibid*) and shown below.

Chart 1.1 Asylum application in Europe



(Source: European asylum support office, February 2016).

Chart 1.2 Asylum Seekers and decisions in Finland



(Source: Finnish immigration Service, February 2016)

The Canadian case shows that Syrian refugees landed in Canada on November 4, 2015 (Statistic of Government of Canada, 2016). As of February 25, 2016, 24,092 Syrian refugees landed in Canada, 13,798 are Government-Assisted Refugee, 2,093 are blended Visa-Office Referred Refugee and 8, 201 are Privately Sponsored Refugees (*ibid*).

Choosing Finland and Canada as a case study should not be considered as an assumption that immigration and integration policies are unique in its governmentality. There are a lot of immigration studies comparing both countries. Finland is an infant country as compared to Canada in terms of immigration and multiculturalism. Relatively, Canada has a long history of taken migrants from another part of the globe while Finnish immigration policy is also young and interesting. Finland is a new immigration country, which means that the political ‘truth’ about immigration has only been debated during the past two decades (Rajas, 2014). In general, Finland experienced similar patterns of emigration to Southern Europe making the earlier migration patterns very different from many other larger European countries that experienced an influx of labour migration in the mid-twentieth century (*ibid*). The reason why I choose both Canada and Finland is because they have a different history to migration but multiculturalism can be understood as governmentalization / governmentality of migration as signified by Lippert, Walters, and Pyykkönen.

1.3 Basic of Migration policy in Finland and Canada

Multiculturalism has been largely seen as a normative framework and a set of state policies which advance tolerance and advocates the recognition of cultural difference (Howarth & Andreouli, 2013 p. 1). Multiculturalism was adopted as an appropriate framework for dealing with a cultural difference (*ibid*). Multiculturalism has indeed been a key term in Finnish and Canadian immigration and political discourse over the past few decades. Evidence has shown that Canada and Finland are among the strong countries with high multicultural policy index (Multiculturalism Policy Index, <http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>, 10 June 2013).

The chart 1.3 below shows that, although there has always been immigration to Finland, it was not until the 1980s that net migration to Finland turned positive and, moreover, during the 1980s the increase of immigrants in Finland was slow (Rajas, 2014 p.3). The increase of immigration to Finland began after the Cold War, as is seen in the increasing numbers of foreign nationals in Finland in Chart 4 below and it illustrates the impact the world have on

Finnish immigration policy. The net immigration increased massively in Finland during 1990 onward due to the arrival of Somali refugees and the collapse of the Soviet Union (*ibid*) and immigration was problematized during that time.

Chart 1.3

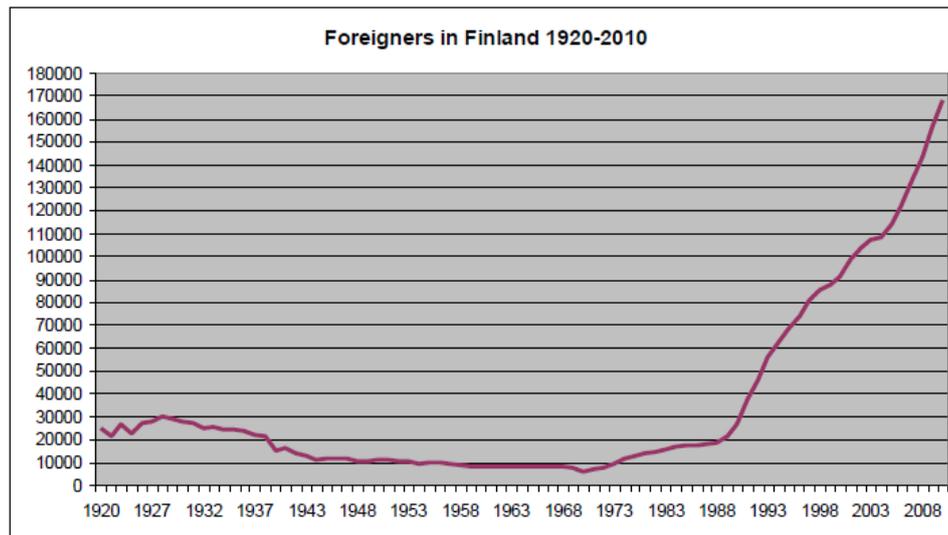
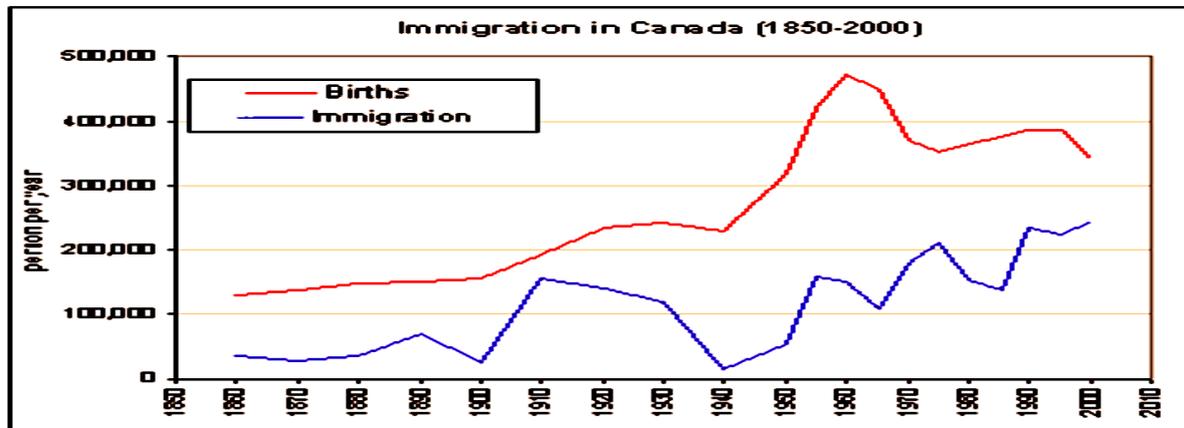


Chart A. Foreigners in Finland 1920-2010.

The graph shows the number of foreign nationals in Finland since 1920 (Source: Statistics Finland).

On the contrary, the below Chart 1.4 shows how Canada has been dealing with immigration issues since 1850's. The Canadian migration started increasing in 1890 and the trend increased massively before, during and after the Second World War.

Chart 1.4



(Source: Statistic Canada, January 2007).

The introduction of multiculturalism is seen as the best alternative way of achieving cultural and economic diversity, hence leading to the fast and smooth integration of migrants and other minorities group in the contemporary state as means of improving their socio-cultural and economic well-being (Kymlicka, 2012 p.6). However, evidence has shown that this integration policy adopted by most nation-states turn to focus on civic and economic integration instead cultural integration (Sari & William 2011).

Even though this is critical, but less attention has been devoted to addressing the position of culture in Finnish and Canadian multiculturalism discourses. These findings stimulated research to investigate the cultural aspect of immigrant integration policy in Finland and Canada.

Scholarly, the main significant is to contribute knowledge (an existing bank of information) on migration, multiculturalism, and cultural sustainability. The information generated will serve as a guide to other cultural policy practitioners and stakeholders who have an interest in undertaking migration and cultural sustainability projects. It will also serve as a guide to multicultural and integration policy formulation by the government and other policy makers. The findings of this research will also serve as the basis for further research/inquiry by the nation-state.

1.4 Aims and Objectives

There seem to be a lot of relevant studies in the area of migration and multiculturalism (Pyykkönen, 20012; Rajas, 2014; Lippert, 1998 and Saukkonen, 2013 etc.). Some of these

studies give accounts to Foucauldian approach to migration policy, actions being taken and also provides vital information to new bodies of researchers who might be interested in researching further into the concept. This study is not in any way seeking to rewrite (duplicate) existing academic works, but rather intend to enrich and contribute my portion of knowledge to those works. To achieve this, the aims and the objectives of the study are;

1. Is to assess how the discourses of migration and multiculturalism are been depicted in the Finnish and Canadian policy documents.
2. I also seek to elaborate the various rhetoric's, rationalities and technologies of governmentality adopted by modern government with reference to techniques of migration in multiculturalism.

The research question normally serves as a point of departure for research in social sciences and other disciplines in the academia. The study seeks to answer the questions posed and this leads the finding in addressing the aims and objectives of the study. Deducing from the above aims and objective, the following questions ought to be answered. Thus;

1. What is the position of culture in migration policy?
2. Does the integration policy of the host country favour the unintegrated/marginalised migrants?
3. Is multiculturalism seen as a threat to the national culture and sustainability of the host nation?

1.5 Organization of the Study

The Master Thesis is structured as follows: in the first chapter is about the Introduction, that is, I describe the both the societal background and the research objective of the study. The second is dedicated to present the theoretical framework of my research, I define the main concepts and theories which are used for studying multiculturalism and migration. The third chapter concentrate on the method of the research, I also defined the method and the reasons for choosing this method were explicitly mentioned. In the fourth chapter focus on the results and data analysis, the main outcomes of the policy documents are presented, using theoretical - discourse analysis. The fifth chapter concentrates on the study remarks, discussion and conclusion thus, it measures the impact of the study on other sectors of the society, and the

differences and similarities between the countries, policy documents, and the theoretical difference will be discussed in this chapter and tell us what the study achieved as a conclusion.

2. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this chapter is to explain in detail the main theory adopted and its related components to this study. The study combines the theory of governmentality and the multiculturalism framework for cross-analysis of how the integration of migrants works in different settings of governance. And also as a foundation for the subsequent chapters below.

2.1 THE GOVERNMENTALITY FRAMEWORK

The governmentality framework was adopted to explore how modern power flows in the integration documents. It also seeks to explain the various components of the framework and how nation-state adopts it for governing their populace including migrants.

2.1.1 INTRODUCTION TO GOVERNMENTALITY

Dean (1999) cited Foucault definition of government as the “conduct of conduct”. Conduct refers to our behaviour, our actions and our comportment (Dean, 1999 p.10). Putting conduct and government together entails any attempt to shape with some degree of deliberation aspect of our behaviour according to particular sets of norms and for a variety of ends (*ibid*, 1999 p.10). Mitchell Dean (1999 p.11) expanded the definition of government as the ‘conduct of conduct’ - the government is any more or less calculated and rational activity, undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities and agencies, employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge, that seeks and beliefs, for definite but shifting ends and with a diverse set of relatively unpredictable consequences, effects, and outcomes. Analysis of government is thus concerned with the means of calculation, both qualitative and quantitative, the type of governing authority or agency, the forms of knowledge, techniques and other means employed, the entity to be governed and how it is conceived, the ends sought and the outcomes and consequences (*ibid*). Burroughs (2012 p.32) posit Foucault’s theory of governmentality offers a more complex understanding of power and allows for a fuller conceptualization of how power can operate through discursive strategies.

Burroughs (2014 p.32) cited Gordon (1991) that, The governmentality form of power is highly effective as it is addressed to individuals who perceive themselves to be free to act in one way or another, but who are so strongly influenced by differing ‘mentalities’ that they willingly self-govern. And Mitchell Dean Split the term governmentality into two different fold and it makes it easy and simple to understand. That is, **govern** with **mentality**. Gordon (1991 p.8)

also present the term governmentality as the formation of power. Governmentality also means the same as ‘musicality’, for instance. I.e. it is a character or capability of a person, system, community etc. (Gordon et al, 1991). The two parts of the term governmentality – ‘gouverne’ and ‘mentalité’ – explain how Foucault conceptualises power (Burroughs, 2012 p.32). These two concepts underline the semantic link between the acts of governing and the modes of thought that underpin them (*ibid*). Governmentality does not operate by forcing people to obey, act or think in certain ways. It is in the course of internalisation of particular ‘mentalities’, rationalities or ideologies, disseminated through ‘knowledge’ and discourses, that individuals come to think about things in certain ways and govern themselves in ways that hold the potential to serve political ends (Dean, 2010: 18).

Rajas (2014 p.33) noted that governmentality studies focus on how ‘reason’ functions in the various phenomena of governing and the way immigration and immigrants have conceptualised impacts on the governing of immigration. Rajas (2014, p.33) argues that Integral to governmentality is the analysis of the rationalities and technology of governing, with the emphasis being on rationalities.

The notion of governmentality implies a certain relationship of government to other forms of power, in particular, sovereignty and discipline thus, it concerns the exercise of power over and through the individual, the body and its forces and capacities, and the composition of aggregates of human individuals (*ibid*). To govern properly, to ensure the happiness and prosperity of the population, it is necessary to govern through a particular register, that of the economy and a government itself must be economical, both fiscally and in the use of power (*ibid*).

The notion of power and knowledge is at the centre of Foucault analysis and this is very active in governmentality approach (Dean, 1999). The concept of governmentality implies a certain relationship of government to other forms of power, in particular, sovereignty and discipline. (Dean 1999). Foucault’s conceptualization of power provides a more complex way of understanding how power operates (Gunn, 2006 p.707-708). Burroughs (2012 p.30) argue that Foucault understands power formation and conceive of the role of discourses in the functioning of power. Foucauldian power is internal and external to the State and governmental ‘knowledge’ are produced through discourses, which enable individuals to govern themselves and his process produces individuals, ‘subjects’, and solicits compliance (Burroughs, 2012 p.30). Foucault asserts that discourses play a more significant role and he views discourses as

a system of meaning internalised by people and as elements that constitute institutions, practices, and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways (*ibid*).

To my understanding of governmentality can be seen as the ways or structures in which the nation state exercises control over or governs its subjects, objects and the body of the populace. For example, in an extended family system in Ghana, the grandfather or the family head has the power to govern the affairs of the subfamily members (subjects), so governmentality is how the family head exercise control or govern its members either directly or indirectly through the heads of the nuclear family – the populace choose how they want to be governed by the external family head. That is, Governmentality studies aim at removing “the naturalness” and “taken-for-granted” character of how things are done (Dean 1999; Pyykkönen 2007; Rajas 2014). In so doing, it renders practices of government problematic and shows that things might be different from what they are (Dean 1999: 38).

Deducting from the above example, governmentality can be seen as a technique that teaches people how to govern themselves. That is, shifting power from a centre authority (head of the extended family, state or institution) and dispersing it among the population. Governmentality retains and utilises the techniques, rationalities and institutions characteristic of both sovereignty and discipline, from them and seeks to reinscribe and recode them (*ibid*).

2.1.2 THE CONCEPT OF RATIONALITY UNDER GOVERNMENTALITY.

The term rational refers to the attempt to bring any form of rationality to the calculation about how to govern (Dean, 1999 p.11). The rationalities can be traced and analysed only in the forms of large historically constructed discourses (*ibid*). The rationality is simply any form of thinking which strives to be relatively clear, systematic and explicit about aspects of external or internal existence, about how things are or how they ought to be (*ibid*). Rationality also serves as the backbone of governance. It can be said that governmentality is both a rationality and an art of governing, which in the West has typically been identified as liberal (Rajas, 2014 p.13).

Governmental rationalities that shape the governance of populations within and through myriad programs: rationality refers to widely shared discourses that give reasons for governmental action (Lippert; Pyykkönen 2012 p.46). Mitchell Dean (1999:16) argue that “mentality is collective, relatively bounded unity, and is not readily examined by those who inhabit it. A mentality is a condition of forms of thought and is thus not readily amenable to be

comprehended from within its own perspective (*ibid*). The idea of mentalities of government, then, emphasises the way in which the thought involved in practices of government is collective and relatively taken for granted (*ibid*). The actions and practices that are not questioned by its practitioners. Our way of thinking is always drawn upon certain mentalities, that is, theories, a philosophy which is always part of the socio-cultural formation of a community (*ibid*).

Pyykkönen (2007 p.200) stated that rationalities reproduce or 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. For rationalities to be effective, the government must be successful in constructing technical means for its rationalities (Pyykkönen, 2007 p.200). Technique mediates rationalities to the human life-world (*ibid*). Examples, of governmental rationality in migration issue, can be named as the technology of migration. And under this technology, the liberal government believe the unintegrated/ marginalised immigrant need to be empowered through civic and moral training and this makes them threat-free to the larger population and also fit to be part of the normal society. Because liberal citizens are perceived to be a civilised and morally constructed subject that has a choice and freedom, then the liberal government has to adopt a technique of constructing them into a morally and civilised subject through their integration programs.

The central task of governmentality studies is to understand the underlying rationality of governing; to decentre the knowledge and technologies that are used (Rajas, 2014 p.17). Rajas (2014 p.17) explore the case of understanding the rationalities of governing foreigners through immigration control, refugee and citizenship policy and decentring the rationalities underlying these technologies.

The political rationality is a species of governmental rationality in so far as it entails thinking about directing the conduct of others or ourselves (Dean, 1999 p.211). The rationality of government is thus, any relatively systematic way of thinking about government and this includes the form of representation of the field to be governed, the agencies to be considered and enrolled in governing, the techniques to be employed, and the ends to be achieved (*ibid*). The expressions of rationalities of government can be theoretical knowledge, particular programmes, forms of practical know-how, or strategies (*ibid*) while Rationalities are things such as (economic) vitality of the population, society and individual or freedom of the citizens, and active participation etc. (Pyykkönen, 2007).

2.1.3 TECHNIQUES OR TECHNOLOGIES OF GOVERNMENTALITY.

Cruikshank (1999, p.1) argue that Individual subjects that transformed into citizens are technologies of citizenship and the discourses, programs, and other tactics aimed at making individuals politically active and capable of self-government are also referred to as techniques. According to Meriam Webster dictionary online, the technique can be defined as a manner of accomplishing a task especially using technical processes, methods, or knowledge.

As Pyykkönen (2007 p.200) see rationalities to (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. He argues that rationalities as such do not guarantee the achievement of specific ends in the processes of government. To be effective, the government must be successful in constructing technical means for its rationalities (Pyykkönen, 2007 p.201). And this technical means for rationalities is refer to as technologies or technique in Foucauldian perspective. Although Pyykkönen (2007, p.201) stated that, Techniques mediate rationalities to the human life-world. According Dean as quoted by Pyykkönen (2007), “the relationship between rationalities and life-world practices works also 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”.

So the techniques adopted by the government mediate the rationalities to enable the government to achieve its objectives. Pyykkönen (2007 p.209) stated that 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.

Pyykkönen (2007, p.201) divided Techniques of governmentality into two. He refers to the first one as “techniques of governance and technology of self”.

The technique of governance which take place on the organisational level, and whose target is the individual citizen – they are techniques that aim at governing others. The techniques of governance 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. The technology of governance is the practices of government in their complex and variable relations to the different ways in which ‘truth’ is produced in social, cultural and political practice (Dean, 1999:18). We govern others and ourselves according to what we take to be true about who we

are, what aspects of our existence should be worked upon, how, with what means and to what ends. And we thus govern others and ourselves according to various truths about our existence and nature as a human being (*ibid*).

In multiculturalist society, the technique of governance adopted by advance liberal governments regarding immigrant status in various form thus, depending on the situation and the rationale here is that, the state aim at controlling and transforming immigrant to liberal subject with choice and freedom. For example, in the case of immigrant associations, the technique of governance adopted by the Finnish government to transform immigrants into well-established self-behaving citizen is that the state recommends all the immigrants should form an association (Pyykkönen 2007 p.209). Dean (1999) classify the technique of governance under technology of agency. These technologies of government seek to enhance or deploy our possibilities of the agency. The technology of agency is about contracting-out of formerly public services to private and community agencies, agreements made by unemployed persons, learning contracts of schoolchildren, performance contracts between ministers and senior public servants etc. (*ibid*). Examples of techniques of governance in modern society with reference to migration and multiculturalism include the technology of security, apparatus of security, the technology of care, the technology of agency and association etc.

And he refers to the second one as “techniques of the self”. And Foucault (note 9) explain the technique of the self as the physical and mental practices with which individual makes her-/himself act morally, as a moral subject.

The technique of the self is about the moral behaviour of the subject- thus, how immigrant are able to construct themselves morally and psychologically (Lippert, 1998 p.387). And these techniques concern personal action. Under the governmentality of immigration, Rajas (2014 p.37) argue that, functions inside such a discursive field informed by such epistemological assumptions, which is why we see such a focus on the different definitions of the objects and subjects in immigration-related discourses: The articulation of identities of ‘things’ becomes the battlefield of truth and power; from how the immigrants’ identity is defined follows the truthfulness of immigration policy. It is because positivity becomes tied to identity that modernity culminates in identity politics (Rajas, 2014). Examples of techniques of self in modern society with reference to migration and multiculturalism include technologies of empowerments and participation, and freedom etc.

Both technology of governance and self, the rationality is to change and transform immigrant into self-helping entities capable of managing their own affairs. For instance, governmental ‘knowledge’ are produced through discourses, which enable individuals to govern themselves (Burroughs, 2012 p.31). This process produces individuals, ‘subjects’, and solicits compliance. Foucault asserts that discourses play a more significant role (*ibid*). He views discourses as a system of meaning internalised by people and as elements that constitute institutions, practices, and identities in contradictory and disjunctive ways (*ibid*). Foucault asserts that governmental knowledge produces individualisation as compared to Gramsci’s notion of power which produces consent (*ibid*).

This study contends that Foucault’s theory of governmentality offers a more complex understanding of power and allows for a fuller conceptualization of how power can operate through discursive techniques or strategies.

2.1.4 THE CONCEPT OF BIOPOWER AND TECHNOLOGY OF MIGRATION.

Foucault developed his theory on biopolitics and biopower especially in his work “The History of Sexuality”: An Introduction. Foucault (1990, 2003, and 2007) used the term ‘biopower’ to designate the mechanisms through which disciplinary strategies (enforced by producing docile bodies within sites such as the prison, the school, and the hospital) were replaced in modern times by a biopolitics whose power was the regulation of the life of populations. Biopower has developed from the 18th century onwards and can be described as the situation in which the control of the ‘social body’ becomes the end of political power (Houdt 2008, p.8). Political power means for Foucault not only the power of the state, he, therefore, goes beyond Marx and Weber because the state is merely one manifestation of political power: ‘power constitutes and expresses itself through multiple sources, of which the state is merely one’ (Cohen, 2006, p.252-253).

The effort of defending society, the state acts preventively in order to protect the population’s biological well-being, thus it must kill the other: “If you want to live, the other must die” (Foucault, 2003, p. 255). Zembylas (2010 p.35) argue that, in this way, killing is no longer perceived to be murder but it is justified in the name of security. The politics of security—“the dispositif of security” as Foucault (p. 242) calls biopower establishes a binary categorization between ‘us’ and ‘them’, or between the ‘normal’ (e.g., legitimate citizens) and the ‘abnormal’

(e.g., illegal immigrants, un-qualified refugees or bogus asylum seekers). That is, the former deserve to live while the latter is expendable (Foucault, 2003).

In this governmentality is inherently connected to biopolitics and the exercise of biopower, i.e. power over the way life is lived (Rajas, 2014). The technology of governance is the practices of government in their complex and variable relations to the different ways in which 'truth' is produced in social, cultural and political practice (Dean, 1999). We govern others and ourselves according to what we take to be true about who we are, what aspects of our existence should be worked upon, how, with what means and to what ends. And we thus govern others and ourselves according to various truths about our existence and nature as a human being. (*ibid*). This transformation in the modes of understanding the governing of state and society entails a shift from punishment to discipline, from sovereign reign to government, from conquest to security, and from the sovereign's subjects to bio-political citizen-population (Foucault 1977-78/2007; Rajas 2014). As said, bio-politics is an extension of the role of government to the governing of the population according to the administrative imperative of optimising and improving the health and welfare of populations (Rajas, 2014 p.43). It refers to when historically tax collection came to be bolstered by increasingly in-depth policy formulation; to when the King stopped merely collecting his dues and government started to aim at increasing the taxable income through governmental intervention (*ibid*).

The Advanced liberal society of nowadays is based on governmentality. Through governmentality, the (bio) political power governs, arranges, maintains and controls the population and goods (Soirila, 2011 p.58). Governmentality, therefore, enables biopolitics. States have become dependent on governance that is actualized through different practices and tactics, not through clear political decisions (Foucault 2004, p.104 -110). Having realised this, we can finally comprehend the difficult situation of the refugees and other marginalised migrants. Although authorities operating with migration and refugee issues on different levels of society aim to help migrant especially refugees and asylum seekers, this is often impossible in practice, since power is fundamentally non-subjective (Soirila, 2011 p.58). An individual or even a group does not really have much power, but power is actualized through different practices aiming for governance (*ibid*). According to Houtt (2008 p.8), Bio-power of the state in relation to migration and citizenship was illustrated by the use of formal citizenship by the nation-state. After a period in which the formal dimension of citizenship was used to include

people and as a consequence of the crisis of the welfare state and immigration as a social problem, formal citizenship is used to exclude people (Houdt 2008, p.8).

Zembylas (2010, p.41) admitted that the case of immigrants/refugees/asylum seekers is difficult to approach within the current juridical–political frame because right is interpreted primarily as citizen right so those eligible for human rights are already excluded. Papastergiadis (2006) argue that the human rights of immigrants/refugees/asylum seekers are in a zone where there is no structure that can ensure them. I argue that biopower targets the wellbeing and welfare of the larger population not individual because advance liberal government seek to eliminate any threat or obstacle that might temper the happiness and wellbeing of its population. And I think pastoral power can be the best technique to approach human and wellbeing of individuals as argue by Zembylas (2010) and Papastergiadis (2006). This contradictions and debates serve as a basis to enable me to approach pastoral power in the next subchapter.

2.1.5 PASTORAL POWER AND TECHNOLOGY OF IMMIGRATION.

According to Dean (1999 p.74), the Pastoral relationship is between God, the pastor (God representative) and the pastorate (the Christian community).

Foucault writes (1988 p.69) that, “shepherd must know what is going on, what each of them does – his public sins, last and least, he must know what goes on in the least, he must know what goes on in the soul of each one, that is his secret sin, his progress on the road to sainthood. Foucault writes, “Everything the shepherd does is geared to the good of his flock. That is a constant concern. When they sleep, he keeps watch – he acts, he works, he put himself out, for those he nourishes and who are asleep”. (*Ibid*)

Dean (1999 p.75) cited Foucault that, pastoral power targets flocks (immigrants) not land. Dean (1999 p.75) write, “the examination of pastoral power and its evolution within these societies is thus absolutely central to understanding how these societies come to give a special place to collective and secular provision of welfare state: how charity, philanthropy, and voluntary activity can be used both to buttress and also to undermine the ideal of a welfare state”.

According to Pyykkönen (2009, p.21), pastoral power refers to the ideas and practices of power that take place when some authorities, whether spiritual, secular, psychological, or social, seek to administer a group through the thorough knowledge of the souls and minds of its individual

members. Pyykkönen (2009, p22) argue in the advanced liberal governmentality, in which the pastoral term of the “flock” is referred to as the “population,” and the “member of the flock” as the “individual,” is biopolitical in its nature. Realistically, the logic of pastoral power intertwined with the ideas of the biopolitical government of the population, the perspective of and focus on the individual as a central core element of the population (Pyykkönen, 2009, p22). That is, the health and happiness of the population are seen to come from the health and happiness of the individual and this arrangement does not work if the inner soul-life of the individuals is not known and their aspiration for truth not properly conducted (*ibid*). The pastorate directs itself especially to those “at risk”—namely the unemployed, young people, children, lonely elderly people, mental patients, people suffering from depression, victims of violence, and immigrants—and especially to those with no confirmed path to integration to the society (*ibid*).

Foucault’s pastoral power is first and foremost about the “care for the life of individuals” and a “constant kindness” (Lippert, 2004 p.537). It so happens that providing care and extending kindness on a continuing, often-individualized basis, is the *raison d’etre* of the sanctuary (*ibid*). Pastoralism presence is not restricted to the sanctuary, extending as it does to target the marginalised in myriad contexts and yet it is in sanctuary practice that a pastoral rationality appears in near-exemplary form (*ibid*). While it can be given only cursory attention here, sanctuary’s theoretical relevance is partial as fertile grounds for interrogating the character of this pastoral mode, its scope, agent's, knowledge, and objects (*ibid*).

Pyykkönen (2009) posit that pastors in the migration and integration systems and processes of settlement can be divided into two levels/dimensions: the official (a state with its integration etc. systems and policies) and the civic pastorate (church, civil society organisations, individual citizens helping migrants). The governmentality of refugee resettlement in Canada states that refugee sponsors attend to each refugee’s material needs by providing food and among other things like furniture (Lippert 1998 p.395). Volunteers and sponsor seek to know what is going on by visiting refugees in their new accommodations daily (*ibid*). This key feature of pastoral power, the tendency toward individualising knowledge, is highlighted in sanctuary practice (Lippert, 2004 p.540). Pastoral governance involves the production of an intimate knowledge of the migrants (Lippert, 2004 p.540). In many instances, sanctuary practitioners related efforts to come to know the individual migrants through regular visits and during these occasions, long and intensive discussion would ensue between shepherds and sheep often initially exploring

the harm the migrants faced if deported and, later involving guidance and instructions centered on “improving” the migrants in various ways (*ibid*).

The Psy professions and post-traumatic stress professional’s uses pastoral power technique in their work as Lippert (1998 p.385) write, “the deployment of new documentation centred in major urban areas promised to make this knowledge accessible, psychiatric assessment (medical examination in search of phenomena such as scarring from physical torture) carried out at these centres for survivors were foreseen as getting all refugee conditions” already in Canada, individual refugees soul and body ruined by previous persecution abroad. That is, in both instances, the knowledge produced would then be deployed during oral refugee determination hearing (*ibid*).

In Finland, during 1950–2000, the Finnish state, municipalities, and recognised civic organisations were responsible for the “social-liberal pastorate of the souls” of the citizens and governance of the population in Finland (Pyykkönen, 2009 p.21). The flock in the welfare state has consisted of those with Finnish nationality, and very recently those with other kinds of permission to reside in Finnish territory on a relatively permanent basis (*ibid*). Those without nationality or other legal status have been external to the population, and thus to the official pastorate (*ibid*). Nowadays, the civic organisations, several Lutheran parishes, and individual church activists have emerged as pastorate to cater those excluded from the formal pastoral care (*ibid*). This informal pastorate sometimes helped immigrants for Christian and humanitarian reasons by offering them accommodation, nutrition, and legal arrangements after the state’s deportation decisions.

Pastoral power is used in both countries and that technique is mostly used by professional workers like doctors, immigration official etc. that is, they use the discourse of confession the truth. There is nothing inherent in the logic of neoliberalism that requires care of passive, needy persons like the migrants in the sanctuary (Lippert, 2004 p.541-543). Neoliberalism, however necessarily defers to other logics, including pastoral power, to render those currently incapable of self-regulation capable and then comes to indirectly rely on the care of such entities (*ibid*).

Lippert (2004 p.545) argue that pastoral governance gave way to coercive sovereign power. And this enables us to see the church, civil society, and the community that they claim a monopoly to decide the fate of migrants consistent with sovereign power (*ibid*). Both churches,

the community, and the nation-state are therefore involved in deciding who will be included or excluded from protection (*ibid*). And the question of inclusion and exclusion comes in again.

Pastoral power is geared towards the production of a truth, or the creation of knowledge through a discourse, is an exercise of power, this is the power-knowledge nexus (Ibrahim, 2005 p.164). Thus, the governmentality of migration can be examined as a discourse through which relations of power are exercised. As Foucault (1980:94) asserted that “we are also subjected to truth in the sense in which it is the truth that makes the laws, that produces the true discourse which, at least partially, decides, transmits and itself extends upon the effects of power” (1980: 94). Therefore, migration laws and policies set by advanced liberal governments like Canada and Finland are an outcome of discourse and reaffirm discourse. Against this background, the study aim at investigating how churches and other civil society including migrants association are been involve in governing migrants in the policy documents and the level of the monopoly they enjoyed by the state when it comes to governmentality of migration.

2.2 MULTICULTURALISM FRAMEWORK

This aspect of the theoretical framework seeks to explain the key concepts that play vital roles in multiculturalism approach to integration and migration.

2.2.1 INTRODUCTION TO MULTICULTURALISM

The effect of Internationalization, integration, and migration have problematized the understanding of citizenship from a transnational perspective (Lister, 2007). This emerging trend has broken into new political debates called multiculturalism. Many see multiculturalism as a political ideology and to others is a principle for ensuring fairness and justice in a given society.

According to Lister (2007), multiculturalism is an ambiguous term that refers to principles that either respect minority right or defined special rights for minority groups. Lister (2007, p77) highlighted the debate about multiculturalism and how its public policy deals with difference and diversity. That is diversity and unity which is also critical and central to the issues of migration and sustainability. Young (1990), as cited by Lister (2007: p78), suggested that group right is one way to empower marginalised social group whiles Kymlicka's (1999) notion of a multicultural citizenship has been presented as a means to protect the rights of minority groups and indigenous peoples against the majority.

Migration and multiculturalism represent a double challenge for the classic framing of citizenship in that, they force us to analyse the tension between equality and recognition of diversity and the relationship between national and transnational arena (*ibid*). And citizenship is about the inclusion and exclusion of individuals and social group in a society where struggles over rights have been closely linked to the nation State (*ibid*). Although multiculturalism target minority right in the society and my own understanding of minority group includes migrants, children, women and the aged etc.

Multiculturalism is part of a larger human-right revolution involving ethnic and racial diversity. Prior to world II, ethnocultural and religious diversity in the West was characterised by a range of illiberal and undemocratic relationships of hierarchy justified by racist ideologies that explicitly propounded the superiority of some people and cultures and their right to rule over others (Kymlicka, 2012, p.5). These ideologies were widely accepted throughout the western world and underpinned both domestic laws – racially biased immigration and citizenship policies, and foreign policies in relation to overseas colonies (Kymlicka, 2012, p.5).

After World War II, however, the world recoiled against Hitler’s fanatical and murderous use of such ideologies, and the United Nations decisively repudiated them in favour of a new ideology of the equality of races and peoples. And this new assumption of human equality generated a series of political movements, three “waves” of such movement: 1) the struggle for decolonization concentrated in the period 1948-65; (2) the struggle against racial segregation and discrimination, initiated and exemplified by the African – American civil rights movement. From 1955 – 1965 and (3) the struggle for multiculturalism and minority rights which emerged in the 1960’s (*ibid*)

Saukkonen (2013) explained multiculturalism as a positive or at least neutral government attitude towards cultural diversity; public support for the maintenance and development of cultural practices and identities; public efforts to overcome social inequalities based on cultural backgrounds or makers. That is a society which welcomes diversity within its borders in good faith. Finnish and the Canadian government are among the strong states which have responded to multiculturalism and immigration issues in good faith as illustrated by multiculturalism policy index in 2013. Pyykkönen (2007) argue that integration policy is thus a set of techniques for the purpose of controlling the multicultural development of the society in a way that could be defined as culturally and politically democratic. The rationality of the Finnish government is 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 (Pyykkönen 2007). In this context of the modern society and government rationality, As Foucault, himself wrote as cited Rajas (2014), "the concept of governmentality is linked to the state's capacity to "conduct the conduct" of the population through various rationalities and technologies that extend beyond the state.

The concept of governmentality approach offer the important techniques to understand the status of immigrants in a multicultural society like Finland and Canada. The discourse of rationality is very important in governmentality analysis. Because, everything the modern government does, there should be reasons for that. Rationality serves as the backbone for policy formulation of modern government as the term goes "govern with rationality". The technology of governance by the advanced liberal government with reference to the immigrant affair is very effective and viable in the sense that, advanced liberal government prefer to govern immigrants at a distance through their own association. That is the indirect rule in a democratic way, whereby the immigrants are allowed the participation in decisions, policies, and programs that affect them.

In multiculturalist society, the technique of governance adopted by advance liberal governments regarding immigrant status in various form thus, depending on the situation and the rationale here is that, the state aim at controlling and transforming immigrant into the liberal subject with choice and freedom. Pyykkönen (2007) explain the case of immigrant associations, the technique of governance adopted by Finnish government to transform immigrants into well-established self-behaving citizen is that the state recommends all the immigrants should form an association. Digital techniques of governance such as internet platforms also serve as a technique of governance (Riikonen; Dervin 2012). Thus, marginalised immigrants create internet pages to share information to newcomers- Muslims subjects on how to practice their religions well in the different environment and they also use those platforms as a connection to their leader in other areas on practical matters covering their religion and location (*ibid*). Lippert; Pyykkönen (2012) concluded that, in refugee and immigration policies in Finland and Canada, the family is anticipated to integrated individuals from other cultures into working life or educational pursuits. The values of the family are to create capacities through which individual migrants can cope in a political culture of liberalism and nationalism (*ibid*).

In Canada, under refugees resettlement rationality, the state create a partnership with psychological, ethnocultural, religious and professional settlement authorities and the state contract the management of refugees resettlement to this institution (Lippert 1998). The private institutions ensure the welfare and management of the refugee and the state exercise power from distance in a form of supervising, negotiating and evaluating the activities of host institutions. The psychological knowledge and professional knowledge produced during the activities between the refugees and host institutions are used by the state for formulating future programs and policy (*ibid*). Politics of multiculturalism discourse help immigrant to socialise and make new friends through the web, information is shared, and knowledge is also shared and indirect power is exercised on the new immigrants to make them comfortable and power is exercised in a form negotiation between the parties involved (Riikonen; Dervin, 2012).

In spite, the politics of multiculturalism and migration discourses, the rationality behind this whole debate is equity, equality, and justices for all irrespective of your religion, culture, and ethnicity that is, cultural diversity and unity. Rhetorically, the multiculturalism ideology and policy looks perfect and should have achieved its purpose or address the needs of minority and other marginalised groups. But with the reality of multiculturalism, the general public have different eyeglasses of seeing it. Some support it and others are against. Notwithstanding the challenges that multiculturalism has, its impacts on cultural and economic sustainability are very huge and the analysis into it on sustainable development is by comparing the goals of sustainable development and that of the multiculturalism and multicultural policy and it clearly shows the similarities between this two concepts. This study also aims at finding out how multiculturalism is been talked about with regards to culture and sustainability discourses in Canada and Finland.

2.2.2 CIVIL SOCIETY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND MULTICULTURALISM

World Bank defines civil society as the array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organisations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations (Donald, 2010 p.2). Civil society organisations are representative - they represent the particular or broad interests of their communities (*ibid*). Because of their roots in the community, civil society organisations are often well-situated to meet “human security” needs that the state cannot. (*ibid*). The role of civil society in modern governance/governmentality can be perfectly understood in relation to pastorate and

technology of governance thus, they act as an intermediate or third party between the State and migrants to ensure the welfare and integration of those with no confirmed path to integration to the society – marginalised or the unintegrated migrants.

Civil society is also as “the combined activities of all those organisations, associations, and groups that are constituted by their members in accordance with defined legal procedures. They may be registered by the state, but they do not depend on upon it and are autonomous from it. Essentially their purpose is to promote the interests of their members. These interests may be in support of or opposed to the policies of the government or any political party. The organisations and associations constituting civil society are free to publicise their interests and programs, argue for them, and lobby government in support of them” (Stuart-Fox 2005, 28). In the West, civil society is sometimes referred to as the 'third sector'. This indicates a social sphere that is outside of political and market life (Sky, 2015).

Donald (2010 p.2) posit that civil society can inform and mobilise public opinion in a constructive way because rational considerations do not always hold sway in public debates rooted in fear of displacement and loss of national and cultural identity. Civil society also contributes to multiculturalism because, civil society serve as a platform that people express their deepest values through culture and, therefore, that migration can lay the groundwork for unity based on a recognition of the shared values embedded in diverse cultures (*ibid*).

Also, If international governance of migration can be understood as a process in which the combined framework of legal norms and organisational structures regulate and shape how states act in response to international migration, addressing rights and responsibilities and promoting international cooperation (UNHR, 2013 p.8). According to UNHR (2013, p.9), the migration and development lens is much important and has over the years moved forward one aspect of the multilateral dialogue on migration, the importance, and rationality of the human rights perspective should not be taken for granted (*ibid*). The migration and human rights agenda are important discourses, crucial in its own right as well as in the context of the “multiculturalism and development” arena, because human rights are intrinsic to all human beings, regardless of their instrumental value as units of labour or agents of development (*ibid*). As many scholars hold the view that, multiculturalism is about minor rights protection, Donald (2010 p.2) argues that, there is an enduring public sense that “rights” benefit some to the detriment of others, that rights turn on state membership, and that irregular migrants have no rights. Civil society can educate the public and policymakers that rights represent a moral claim to a shared good that benefits all (Pyykkönen, 2007; Donald, 2010; Lippert, 2004). As the

Global Migration Group (2010) posit that, human rights protection is not only a legal obligation; it is also a matter of public interest and intrinsically linked to human development.

The problem of cultural differences between migrants and host nation, civil society also plays an indispensable role in instilling the cultural, moral and spiritual values that give people's lives meaning and that inform their choices (Pyykkönen, 2007; & Donald, 2010).

I believe, the concept of civil society can overturn threats and stereotypes associated with migrants and help shape public opinion on how they think about migrants and the discourse of migration in general. The study seeks to examine the impact and role the civil society play in shaping and constructing the discourse of multiculturalism and migration as far as integration of migrant is a major concern in this study. The study also seeks to identify how the rights-based approach to integration in been used in the context of multiculturalism policies of the study areas.

2.2.3 THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL & CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY

Kivitalo et al (2016), defined sustainability to the relationship between permanence and change. Although, Redelift (2005) argued that, the concept of sustainable development refers to both change (development) and stability (sustainability). Culturally sustainable development concerns the balance between rights and responsibility (Kivitalo et al, 2016). UNESCO (2005) noted that rights are seen as important in reports related to culture and sustainability. Mearns and Norton (2010) suggested as quoted by Kivitalo et al (2016) that, recognising the rights of individuals and communities and nature, the core idea of sustainability is the responsibility of nature and other people within and between generations.

William (1981) as cited by Axelsson et al (2013) defined culture in a way that encourages effective participation and interaction to its fullest - "culture is defined as a system that, maintains, communicates, and reproduce the characteristics of a society, and that allows for people to participate in it". And the world commission on culture and development (1995) defines cultural sustainability as inter and intra-generational access to cultural resources (heritage). And cultural heritage also refers to as the entire corpus of material signs either artistic or symbolic – handed on by the past to each culture and, therefore to the whole of mankind (UNESCO, 1989). The Rio conference (1992) defined social sustainability as the right to live a decent life; inter-generational, intra-generational, and international social justice; and local participation in sustainable development processes. Social welfare, safety and a healthy

environment, access to education, opportunities to learn, identity, sense of place, and public participation (Axelsson et al, 2013).

Several scholars including Colantonio (2007); Rosenström et al (2006) and Axelsson et al (2013) suggested that, in order for social sustainability to achieve its goals and objectives, social values like equity, participation in democratic life, security and health and concepts like human well-being, happiness, and quality of life needs to be incorporated into integration plan. Evidence shows today human beings have the capacities but do not have some of the capabilities (tools and skills) to understand the world and to transform it so that it becomes really sustainable (Axelsson et al, 2013). I understand social sustainability to be a sub-set of cultural sustainability because cultural sustainability goes beyond social sustainability and cultural sustainability cannot be discussed without the social aspect of sustainability.

Multiculturalism, we are told, is in crisis; it has “failed”, it is to blame for a host of social, economic and political problems (McCoy, 2014 p.6). These rhetorical statements were made by those who hold political power in Western European states (*Ibid*). The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, David Cameron, has attacked “state multiculturalism”; Angela Merkel, the Chancellor of Germany, has publicly stated that multiculturalism has “failed utterly” in Germany; Dutch Vice President of the Council of State, Piet Hein Donner, has stated, “The government shares the social dissatisfaction over the multicultural society model and plans to shift priority to the *values of the Dutch people.*” (*Ibid*). Centrist political parties of Europe had rejected multiculturalism, not only as public policy but also as an image of society: they had blamed immigrants and minorities for their social and economic problems – they had become the new nativists of Europe (*Ibid*).

According to McCoy (2014 p.6), the European crisis of multiculturalism has been accompanied by the rise of the political far-right who actively propagate racism as a means of mobilising increasingly polarised voters and achieving electoral gain. The spectre of the economic and population crisis has acted to draw together concerns over the economy and immigration and deflected blame from increasingly impotent political elites who have proven unable to manage the effects of globalisation (*Ibid*).

The effort of defending society, the state acts preventively in order to protect the population’s biological well-being, thus it must kill the other: “If you want to live, the other must die” (Foucault, 2003, p. 255). Thus, when the present of the smaller group (migrants) becomes a threat to the larger population then a biopolitical strategy is adopted to exclude such group. As suggested McCoy (2014), my understanding of the rhetorical statements made by those in

powerful position about multiculturalism is an effort to preserve cultural sustainability or present multiculturalism as a threat to the monocultural state.

According to Hellstrom (2014 p.1), Why do immigrants seemingly have an easier time entering the labour market in Canada, a selective liberal welfare State, than they do in Sweden, a social democratic welfare state? I agree with Hellstrom because both Sweden and Finland are a social democratic welfare state and this question has something to do with multiculturalism and monoculturalism and its impact on the society at large.

This study seeks to investigate how multiculturalism produces new identity and its effect on national culture and sustainability, nationalism, and monoculturalism in the policy documents.

2.3 SUMMARY

Adopting the governmentality framework to migration and multiculturalism framework to migration for this study serve as a win-win approach to governance of modern society in this era of global crisis.

The concept of governmentality aims at exercising power from distance and it's effective and practical when it is exercised on people with free-will and capable of making choice. Whiles the multiculturalism approach is seen as a political discourse aim at promoting equality, justice, and freedom for people excluded from exercising their liberty and rights as citizens and human beings.

From the above frameworks, integration of migrants can be presented as a right-based approach with reference to multiculturalism framework under this study. In that, I argue that migrants are people with limited rights and choice if they are not properly integrated. Multiculturalism framework here presents a theoretical overview of how and why migrants need to be integrated into the mainstream population. Thus, in this case, multiculturalism can be considered as governmental rationality for the purpose of this study. While governmentality framework also presents the techniques and rationality that those with entrusted power need to adopt in order to govern and integrate migrants successfully.

I believe that combining this two frameworks will provide a strong theoretical foundation for this study.

3. METHODS

The aim of this chapter is to build upon the theoretical chapter, to outline in detail the methodological approach used in this study, and to form the foundation upon which the subsequent data chapters will stand. This chapter provides reasons for the choice of qualitative research method for this study and also tries to explain reasons for using theoretical - discourse analysis (theoretical - Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)). The ethical consideration regarding corpus, coding and data analysis and interpretation of the study will be presented as well in this chapter.

3.0 Introduction to Discourse(s) in Qualitative Methods

The definition of Discourse(s) varies depending upon the theoretical traditions and frameworks that the writers and researchers are committed to and, thereby, how the concept is used. Discourse is used in linguistics to refer to the extended sample of either spoken or written language thus, it emphasizes the interaction between speaker and addressee or between writer and reader, and, therefore, processes of producing and interpreting speech and writing, as well as the situational context of language use (Fairclough, 1992 p.3). Discourse is widely used in social theory and analysis, the most powerful and influential works on discourse originated from the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault who describe discourse as different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and social practices (*ibid*) for example, the discourse of sexuality, the discourse of migration, and the discourse of medicine.

Discourses are manifested in particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms such as visual images (Fairclough, 1992). According to Fairclough (1992:8), the technologization of discourse in which discursive technology as a type of technologies of government are being systematically applied in a variety of organisations by professional technologists who research, redesign and provide training in discourse practices. The orders of discourse, relationships among and boundaries between discourse practices in an institution or society are progressively shifted in ways which accord with directions of social change (*ibid*).

Discourse analysis needs to be critical because the relationships between discursive, social and cultural change are typically not transparent for the people involved (*ibid*). “Critical” means showing the connections and causes which are hidden – providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through a change like refugees and another undocumented migrant in the era of migration crises (*ibid*). Discourses are viewed as containers of ideologies, which contribute

towards the recreation and production of collective ‘mentalities/rationalities’ in society (Barker *et al.*, 2008: 280; Van Dijk, 1993).

3.1 Introduction and Theoretical approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

The school of CDA is composed of a range of methodological, analytical and theoretical conceptualizations, ranging from the analysis of power in the Foucauldian tradition to theories of social cognition and grammar to individual concepts that draw upon larger theoretical traditions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 23). Discourse analysis is defined in terms of the question about particular forms of social practice and their relations to social structure (Fairclough, 1992 p.226). It is regarded as a method for conducting research into questions which are defined outside it (*ibid*). According to Van Dijk (2001:352), Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. According to Wodak (1996), CDA highlights the substantively linguistic and the discursive nature of the social relation of power in contemporary societies. This is partly the matter of how power relation is exercised and negotiated in discourse – it is fruitful to look at power both power in discourse and power over discourse in this dynamic term (Wodak, 1996). CDA consists of a variety of approaches to the analysis and critiquing of discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-3). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) tries to answer (critical) questions like; how is it different from other types of discourse analysis? , What are its aims, special methods, and especially what is its theoretical foundation? Also, it acknowledges the need to examine, in rather practical terms and how one goes about doing a critical analysis of text and talk (Van Dijk, 1993 p.249) thus, it takes a critical perspective towards the analysis of discourses such migration and multiculturalism. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take an explicit position and thus want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2001 p.352).

CDA seeks to expose the ways in which discourses can be utilised by those in powerful positions to exclude in a seemingly legitimate way, by leading the majority of the population to think about certain issues in a particular manner (Burnham *et al*, 2008: 252). CDA aims to unravel the mass of institutionalised and ‘dominant’ discourses by critiquing what was said, and what is ‘sayable’ (Burroughs, 2012 p.48). As discourses are only valid at a certain place and at a certain time, CDA aims to challenge ‘dominant’ discourses that claim to be definitive, ‘natural’, ‘common-sense’, and beyond all doubt (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 2-3). CDA of discourses is not only an academic investigation of power ideologies that are entwined in

discourses; it is in itself a social action of opposing discriminatory ideologies (Burroughs, 2012 p.49). CDA does so by raising awareness of the implicit and opaque ways that power is exercised and legitimised through discourses (KhosraviNik, 2008: 4).

Critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its aims: CDA research focuses primarily on, social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions; and empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure; And more specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society (*ibid*). This unrestricted framework allows for continuous debate, for innovation, and for changes in the aims and goals of CDA (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 4).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 271-80) summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows: CDA addresses social problems, Power relations are discursive, Discourse constitutes society and culture, Discourse does ideological work (rationality); Discourse is historical; The link between text and society is mediated; Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory, and discourse is a form of social action. A central notion in most critical work on discourse is that of power, and more specifically the social power of groups or institutions (Van Dijk, 2001 p.354).

The theoretical starting point of this study is the concept of governmentality and how it is critically used to explain both analytical and normative discourses in contemporary times. This theoretical approach is grounded in the Foucauldian definition of discourse and power/knowledge and has consequences for the way that discourses are defined and used in this research. Given that Foucault conceptualizes discourse, not as a logical totality of statements, that would be internally and temporally coherent and unified, but rather as an “a system of dispersion” (Foucault 1969/2002, 39) influenced by its own emergence and by its quality as an event, the discourses of migration, integration, civilization and multiculturalism must be approached in their emergence. According to Foucault, “discourse must not be referred to the distant presence of the origin but treated as and when it occurs” (Foucault 1969/2002, 25).

Foucault (1978) posit that discourse can transmit, produce, and reinforce power, but at the same time discourse can undermine and expose power, rendering it unstable and possible to thwart.

Discursive practices are practices that a subject embodies, lives, and experiences as s/he interact with discourses (Pitsoe & Letseka, 2012 p.25).

Pitsoe & Letseka (2012 p.25) argue that discourse, power, culture and language are dialectically interrelated—they complement one another. Discourses, in turn, are shaped and informed by practices (*ibid*). Discourse and practices then enter into power relations, one does not have more or less power than the other but each equally shapes the other (Foucault, 1977). Pitsoe & Letseka (2012 p.25) stated that discourses are visible in everyday practice of humans and therefore, discourse is not only text but also action.

Societal discourse mediates its power and control through institutions and elites especially those with entrusted power (Talbani, 1996: p. 67). According to Pitsoe & Letseka (2012 p.25), discourse could be a technology of power or an effect of power, as well as a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy.

As discourses and keywords like culture, civil society, integration and multiculturalism are what is made of them or how the speakers utilise them (Rajas, 2014). The limits of discourse, therefore, can never be defined, because, in light of Foucault's later writings, it is the emergent nature of discourse, the strategic fluctuation of structures of knowing, that becomes analytically more important (Foucault 1970/1981, 66-69). According to Foucault (1980, 133), discourse can be characterised as “a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements”, that vaguely limit that which can be said in reference to a discourse.

The concept of governmentality which focuses on how power operates, conceptualised, exercise from a distance and it also argues differently as the study of form and elements of the governmental discourses, which formulate more close ways of interventions and conductions (Dean, 1999; Pyykkönen, 2007; & Rajas 2014). If power is mobilised in discourses, then one can assume that aspects of power are identifiable in discourses (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 9-10).

The CDA investigation of this study explores the rhetoric and discursive representations of migration and multiculturalism texts in the policy document, as the analysis of ‘dominant’ discourses can uncover how an issue (i.e. rationalities and technique of governing migration) is framed and how it is presented to the general public or citizenry audience. Indeed, governmentality rationalities and techniques of governance of the texts (policy document) provide the parameters within which the Finnish and Canadian public gain information and ‘knowledge’ about the discourse of migration and multiculturalism. Therefore, the text in the

corpus (data/policy documents) are influential as they can direct the manner in which the majority of the public think about multiculturalism and migration.

3.2 Data

My data sample consists of policy documents, reports and other publications taken from the main web pages of the countries under this study. I purposively chose documents relating to the topic and the research problems of the study. The documents were grouped into two part, thus, the Finnish Case and the Canadian Case for coding and analysis.

The first part of the data was the English version of documents originally produced in the Finnish language. And the description of the documents used for analysis on Finland is as follows;

- “*Government resolution on the future of migration 2020 strategy*”. The document was published by the Ministry of Interior of Finland on 13th June 2013. The aim of the document is to pave the way for a more active and forward-looking migration policy. The Strategy looks to the coming decade in a situation where mobility is rising, the demographic structure is changing and diversity in Finnish society is increasing.
- “*The Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture Strategy 2020*” the document was published on June 2010 by the Ministry. The purpose of the document was to examine the general changes taking place in society which will affect the education, science, culture, sport and youth sectors.
- “*The Finns party's immigration policy*” the document was published by the Finns party for the Finnish parliament elections of 2015. The main purpose of this conduct to convince people to vote in their favour.
- “*Fair Culture? The ethical dimension of cultural policy and cultural rights*” publications of the Ministry of Education 2007:21. The purpose of the document was to explore the ethical dimensions of cultural policy, starting with cultural rights, and of outlining directions and tools for ethical evaluation of cultural policy.

And the second part of the data was Canadian documents that were originally produced in the English language, and the description of the selected data are;

- *The government of Canada's 2014-2015 Annual Report on the Operation of The Canadian Multiculturalism ACT Building a Diverse and Inclusive Society*. The purpose of this report was to highlight the initiatives undertaken in 2014-2015 by the Government of Canada to advance the objectives of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act by focusing on intercultural and interfaith understanding, shared values, civic pride and

our commitment to a peacefully pluralistic society.

- *“Integrating young Canadians of minority backgrounds into mainstream Canadian society: the case of Somali youth”* was published by Metropolis conversation of Canada in spring 2012. The metropolis conversation series brings together researchers, policymakers, and practitioners to identify and explore current public policy debates. Each conversation is a closed and highly-focused meeting promoting candid face-to-face exchanges. The gatherings are small and include carefully selected people who share common interests, but varying perspectives.
- *“Immigration to Canada: what policy for what purpose?”* The document was produced by the economics division of the parliamentary research branch of Canada on 21 January 2004. The parliamentary research branch of the library of parliament works exclusively for Canadian parliament.

This research is a comparative study. As a result of that, I read through the documents and aimed to find any description that would classify multiculturalism and immigrants into the main categories I introduced in analysis sub-chapter of the methods chapter. And I also search for any new identities that might occur within the data.

3.3 The Corpus

The corpus of this research was policy documents. The study obtained immigration, integration and multiculturalism policy documents from both countries as corpus and thus the structure of a corpus will be the availability of adequate information on the archive and how to access it.

3.4 Coding and Selecting Samples within the Corpus

The corpus will be coded according to my research questions of the study. The research problems will serve as the themes and guide when selecting the sample from the corpus. Fairclough (1992 p.230) emphasise that sample should be carefully selected on the basis of a preliminary survey of the corpus, and taking advice where one can get it from those being researched or researchers in the line of the study.

Based on the research problems, the criteria for coding and selecting the sample within the corpus will focus on the technique or technologies use by both the Canadian and Finnish governments in their policy documents and the interpretations of the selected technique of governance is also guided according to the rationalities (theory-driven analysis –

governmentality rationality) behind those technologies and my personal understanding of those technologies (data driven analysis). The overall coded and selected text from the sample will be re-group under the research problems which are used as sub-headings in the results and data analysis chapter.

3.5 Analysis

The study analyses social practice (Immigration and multiculturalism) of which discourse is a part. It involves a progression from interpretation to the description and back to interpretation that is from interpretation of the discourse practice to the description of the text to interpretation of both of these in the light of the social practice in which the discourse is embedded (Fairclough, 1992 p.231).

The data or a sample drawn from the corpus was analysed and interpreted based on the research problems. The criteria for the analysis of the study took place at three different levels - discourse as text, discourse as discourse practices, and discourse as social practice. The research questions were transformed into themes or sub-heading in the data analysis and served as a guide for policing and selecting the specific text from the corpus. Also, special attention was paid to interdiscursivity or inter-discourse and intertextuality of the text with reference to the descriptions of rationalities and technologies both States uses as a technique of governance in the corpus.

The study mainly approach or analyze emerging discourses from the theoretical point of view by which the concept of governmentality was used as the intertextuality to establish a relationship between the discourses and society – the components and techniques of governmentality were used to shape the meaning of the sample text that was carefully and strictly policed under the themes identified in line with the research problems. Using governmentality as intertextuality, enable text to create sense when its manifest and hidden meaning are read and selected with a connection to the knowledge of governmentality – the text and society were mediated by the concept of governmentality. As Fairclough (1992 p.102) argues, the concept of intertextuality points to the productivity of texts, to text can transform prior text and restructure existing discourses to generate new ones. The theory of intertextuality cannot itself account for social limitations, so it needs to be combined with a theory of power relations and how they are shaped by social structures and practices (Fairclough, 1992 p.103).

Due to the nature of the main problems or themes in the data analysis, the steps at which the study was conducted differs with reference to the categories in which the text was selected. For the purpose of this study, the analysis and interpretation of the used theoretical – critical discourse analysis. The relevant materials or information in the sample base on the rationalities and the procedures used under each theme is explained in details below;

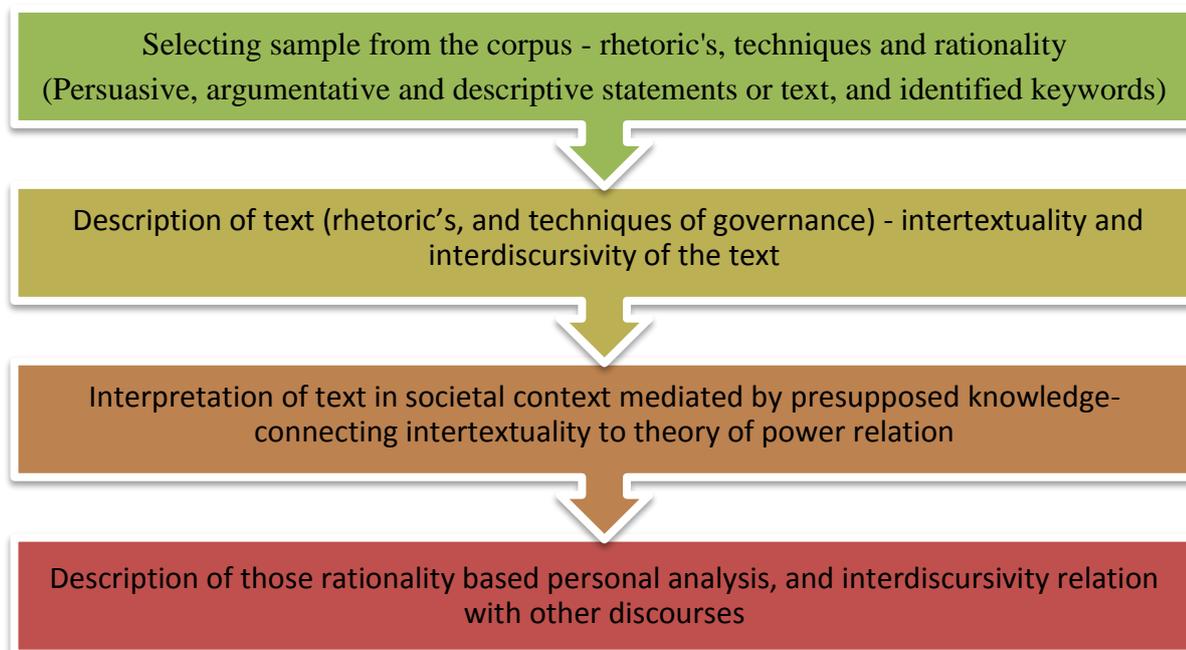
1. The position of culture in immigrant's integration policy served as one sub-heading or categorisation in analysing and interpreting data. The purpose of this category is to explore the technologies and rationalities adopted by both governments to culturally integrate migrants into the mainstream population by creating an interdiscursivity relation between the research problem and the discourse of creativity and knowledge, the discourse of civil society and the discourse of language. Priority was given to specific keywords like culture, knowledge and, language and it's wording to the discourse. Persuasive statements used as governmental techniques were also included for analysis into questions that falls outside it. Critical discourse analysis approach was used to analyse discourses under this research problem.
2. The rationale of the second theme is to describe, interpret and analyse rhetoric's, rationalities and techniques adopted by the advanced liberal State in the integration policy governing the conduct of conduct of Unintegrated or marginalized immigrants in details and this section of the analysis was categorised under the theme integrating the Unintegrated immigrant into the Finnish and Canadian society. Under this category, the strategies of critical discourse analysis were applied to analyse and interpret discourses. Thus, I established interdiscursivity relations which connected the rhetoric's, techniques and rationality of government to the discourse of civilisation, the discourse of fundamental rights and employment. That is, the relation that the discourse of migration and multiculturalism have with other discourses mentioned under this sub- heading of the analysis. The modality of texts was selected for analysis based on the discursive construction "US and THEM" and "normal and abnormal citizens". The property of text considered under this category includes persuasive statements with regards to techniques and rationalities of the text, and argumentative and descriptive form of rhetorics were also considered for the analysis.
3. And lastly, the politics of multiculturalism discourse in both countries was analysed in details and how multiculturalism is been discussed in relation to national culture and sustainability of the host nation. The analysis under this sub-section of the study was to

interpret and present how the discourse of multiculturalism is been tackled within the corpus of this study. Thus, whether multiculturalism is been approached as a threat to national culture or is part of the national heritage that needs to be sustained. This aspect of the analysis was carried out based on the organisational properties of interactions on which the orderly functions and control of interaction depend on. Thus, much emphasis was paid on both argumentative and description form of persuasive statement used in the policy documents and it relation to the discourse of multiculturalism, culture and cultural sustainability. This section used the critical approach to discourse analysis to identify and interpret discourses and keywords like nationalism, diversity, internationalisation, heritage and identity. Much emphases were based on the meaning of those keywords – the ways meanings of those keywords were worded with the ways they worded in other text really helped in identifying a good interpretation based on the wording and the concept of governmentality. Those keywords were analysed theoretically by using Foucauldian power analytic (governmentality framework) thus, both hidden and visible power relation those keywords produce and their impact on society.

The diagram below summarises the steps at which analysis was carried out for this study.

Figure 3.1

PATTERN OF ANALYSIS OF THE STUDY



Source: self-created diagram.

The main focus of the study is to find out the kind of structures, techniques, rationalities and other properties of the text, talk, verbal interaction or communicative events that play a role in the modes of reproduction found in the policy documents – the rhetoric's the policy makers use to convince the audience that their technique of governance in reference to migration and multiculturalism discourses are the best and I will find out the rationalities behind those rhetoric's and the technology of migration. For the purpose of this study, theoretical – critical discourse analysis will be used as a research methodology.

4. RESULTS AND DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter presents findings from the policy documents that was categorized and thoroughly discussed under three main sub-heading thus; (1) The cultural position of migrants in the integration policy, (2) Integrating the Unintegrated migrants into the Civilized Society, and (3) the politics of multiculturalism discourse in Canadian and Finnish policy documents.

4.1 THE CULTURAL POSITION OF MIGRANTS IN THE INTEGRATION POLICY.

The cultural position of migrants in Finland and Canada is very crucial as far as migration, diversity, and integration are a concern, but less attention has been devoted to addressing such issues in this two countries. Looking at the broader scope of integration policy worldwide, much emphasis has been placed on the labour integration forgotten that, most labour migrants normally migrate with their family who experiences a lot of cultural shocks (Bloemraad, 2012; Borjas, 1999 & Rajas, 2012). Under this sub-heading of data analysis, I seek to explore the technologies and rationalities adopted by both governments to culturally integrate migrants into the mainstream population by creating interdiscursivity between the discourse of creativity and knowledge, the discourse of civil society and the discourse of language.

The reason why this study concentrated or decided to with the above discourse under this subheading of culture position of migrants are as follows;

Firstly, creativity and knowledge to my own understanding, are elements that shape and transform our way of life. Society can be considered as perverse if they are unable to manage and raise its creativity and knowledge base. To me, culture or the way of life of both citizens and migrants serve as a system of knowledge on which society can benefit from using its creative capacity and skills. I decided to analyse creativity and knowledge as part of the culture system in order to ascertain an in-depth understanding of how both Finnish and Canadian policy maker intended to use creativity and knowledge as a tool to shape both culture within and those coming from outside.

Also, the study's choice of analysing the role of civil society under the sub-heading of culture position of the migrant is that both migrants and citizens of the host nation have a different way of life (culture) as independent people which might conflict with each other. In order to reconcile with these conflicting culture, there might be a mediator who understands both cultures. To me, that gap can fill by civil society because they are often considered as third

parties that give voice to those with no confirmed path to integration (Pyykkönen, 2007). Deducting from the theoretical framework on the aspect of civil society in this study, I consider civil society as agent of culture because they are legally recognized, they use pastoralship in understanding the needs and cultures of those coming from outside the host nation, and also help in drafting techniques for integration which at times serve as win-win to both government and migrants. For the purpose of this study, I think the discourse of civil society will better fit under this sub-heading than any other theme.

Lastly, the importance of language under this heading can never be compromised as far as the aim of this study is a concern. To me, language is embedded in culture and culture is verbally expressed through language. Language fosters interaction in every given society. So the basic question regarding the discourse of language is that, how can this study successfully analyse the way of life of a society without paying attention to the usage of language and how it contributes to the attainment of governmental rationality. I think this study would have been unjust if the discourse of language is not tackled under this sub-heading.

4.1.1 HOW DISCOURSE OF CREATIVITY AND KNOWLEDGE TRANSFORM MIGRANTS INTO A VALUABLE RESOURCE FOR CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN FINLAND AND CANADA.

According to Burroughs (2012), Foucault's conceptualization of power produces individualization. This is in line with the rationality of the both governments who consider all citizens including both skilled and marginalised migrants as a potential asset of State and should have a role to play in the mainstream society. Creativity and knowledge are the backbones of modern societies in contemporary time (Ministry of Education and Culture of Finland, strategy 2020). In order to sustain a well-advanced economy with happiness and well-being, creativity and knowledge should be the pre-condition for achieving this rationality. The advanced liberal notion of governmentality shows that, through creativity and know-how, migrants are capable of identifying their own needs and potentials for the betterment of self and the society at large.

The Finnish policy document outlines the emerging societal imbalance due to increasing changes in diversity and migration, it has become a necessity for Finland to increase its future knowledge and creativity base. With reference to the discourse of creativity and knowledge, the permanent secretary of the Finnish ministry of education and culture stated that “*the*

operational environment in our society is undergoing an intense transition” (Ministry of Education and Culture strategy, 2020 p.1).

And the Finnish ministry of Education and Culture regards itself as an expert in achieving that goal. Thus,

“The strong competency and role of the ministry in consolidating the knowledge and creativity base will be central to safeguarding the success and welfare of Finland” (ibid)

The advanced liberal rationality here is that, through education and capacity building, the Finnish society will be safe from the ongoing transition which is diversifying the society. Does culture really matter when it comes to creativity? This analytical question always links how cultural policy and agencies can capitalise on the keyword “Culture” and how it can be used as a framework for achieving broad governmental rationality of happiness and well-being. I argue that culture is a powerful factor for formalising and promoting ideas from below. The decentralised way of ensuring and empowering minority group including migrants is through the institutionalisation of their culture as part of the integration policy. I believe, it fosters their integration and also increases their loyalty and sense of belonging to their new found environment. According to the Finnish ministry of Education and Culture (2007) in its Fair culture publication that;

“Culture has always served as a tool for promoting ideas and ideologies” (Ministry of Education and Culture, Fair Culture p.33). The social significance and justification of cultural policy are derived from two pillars: democracy/ diversity and freedom ethos/responsibility ethos (ibid p.36). Democracy in cultural policy means an aspiration towards the availability of, accessibility of and inclusion in cultural heritage in the local or global community. And diversity and the promotion of interaction within a given culture and between different cultures” (ibid, p.36).

Culture and artistic activities are at the core Centre of creativity, and the Finnish ministry of education and culture argues,

“Creativity is a precondition for innovation, which refers to as application of creative ideas for use by the community and society and for inclusion in their practices. Innovation takes place where the practice of a community change” (ibid, p.36).

Analysing the way the ministry understand creativity, really tells us that through creativity the populace including migrants is capable of governing themselves, through creativity, the Finnish society can compete with another nation-state, through creativity new knowledge of expanding the economic welfare of the society is achieved and produced. Power flows through creativity and in other to ensure innovative community, the government must be reflective of itself by preparing adequate technique with creative rationality for the betterment of the whole society. Because innovation does not take place in a static society where its communal practices do not change – innovation comes with diversity and diversity also increases the number of migrants coming in.

Meanwhile, the Canadian government strategies of cultural integration are somehow different and more structured as compared to other nation-state due to its evolution of multiculturalism, as the evidenced by the multiculturalism index in the introduction of this study.

Canada is very successful with multiculturalism due to its high-level selectivity of skilled migrants. Skilled migrants are believed to be creative and well-endowed in knowledge and the nation spends less in training and improving unskilled migrants to fill the gap in the labour market.

“Acknowledging that education is the key variable in raising a population’s material living standard of living, migration must first contribute to the pool of human capital available in the economy” (Canadian Parliament research Branch, 2004 p.17)

“Canada should attempt to determine how much it should rely on immigration and how much on education to meet its requirements for skilled labour taking current labour force participation rate into account” (ibid, p.17)

If the federal government of Canada recognises the impact of education on the socio-economic development of the economy. And if migration should first contribute to the human capital pools. What about those skilled migrants coming with their unskilled family? Because migrants may feel happy and protected when their families and children are also happy and content. Cultural integration leads to the higher advancement of socio-economic development. Migrants may work hard if they are emotionally attached and belonged to their new environment. As stated by the Canadian government, competition for high skilled migrants and talented people among nation-state is becoming rampant due to their high level of efficiency and contribution

to the economy. Every country wants a better life for its citizens likewise migrant also wants a better life for family and well-being.

The advanced liberal notion of governmentality shows that skilled migrants are people with choice and freedom – they have the right to decide which country they want to go, they migrate to a place where they feel secure and culturally accepted by the society and also there is an opportunity for the development of their family. Canadian government migration policy uses cultural integration technologies such as family reunification programs, scholarship for children of skilled migrants, and interfaith and intercultural understanding programs. All these strategies are toward the attractiveness of migrants - people outside Canada may develop a good impression and perception about the Canadian society. Migrant will feel positive and culturally accepted if they move to Canada because there will be activities for their family to participate. This way, they are not culturally differentiated. Thus, from the Foucauldian point of view, the use of pastoral power to welcome newcomers into their new environment. They watch over them, attend to their daily needs and make all necessary arrangement for culturally acceptance and integration. The rationality of this technique is to increase human capital and to cut huge cost of training – using migrant as a substitute for the national training program. For example, the government may attract high skill doctors with well-structured openness, acceptance, and culturally integration program – doctors may choose Canada as their destination because of their family, cultural well-being and the government also achieve its rationality of substituting migrants doctor with the national training of new doctors.

The advanced liberal governmentality here is that, investing in inter-religious & cultural education and training of migrants and their families will help foster their integration through interaction with other citizens because the liberal government sees every individual as potential asset of the state and should have a role to play and contribute to the human capital pool now or in the future.

Both nations agreed to their policies about the significant and massive impacts of knowledge and human resource has on the socio-economic development of their nations. Liberty, loyalty and freedom of citizens in matters of decisions and choice is highly influenced by their pre-requisite skills earned. I claim that societal interest and benefits will be achieved when the populace including migrant are creative and knowledgeable. Because from the notion of advanced liberal governmentality, the Finnish government believes that through knowledge, citizens realized their essence of existence and are capable of self-governance. Thus,

*“Knowledge and know-how entail learning and application of knowledge and skills”
(Finnish ministry of Education and Culture, strategy 2020 p.2)*

In other words, when people are trained with the required skills needed for economic development and welfare of the society, the outcome of that skills will also convert the dangers of diversity into a resource that community needs.

“Creativity as a resource for societies and individuals makes for new thinking and action and enable individuals to realize themselves. Membership in communities, participation, and active social engagement consolidate the knowledge and creativity base” (ibid, p.2).

Thus, migrants bring with them innovative ideas and new ways of doing things because, working and living in different environment broadens people’s mentality, experience, and skills of perceiving and doing things. According to the whole rationality of integration, both skilled and marginalised migrants need also to be integrated so that they would do this in a right way.

The discourse of education and creativity also gives migrants the opportunity to participate in the economy and also capable of self-governance. Thus,

“... engineering research council of Canada are among institutions that enrolled their staff and management in unconscious bias training, inclusion and diversity courses in order to promote a culture of inclusion, a harassment-free environment in the workplace, fair and transparent recruitment and promotion processes, as understanding of mental health and cultural differences”(2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.25)

From the notion of advanced liberal governmentality, the government of Canada believes, through training and education on inclusion and diversity, the problem of cultural differences (**Us and Them**) will be eliminated permanently from the society and this will also ensure equity, equality, and fairness leading to transparency in the bureaucratic process of the State and understanding of psychological problem relating to mental health. In other words, through diversity and inclusive training, migrants and citizens become aware of their differences and willing to work together to achieve a common purpose for socio-economic welfare of the society. In this, the biopolitical technique of exclusion is minimised because of the mutual understanding of cultural differences that creates a threat-free environment for both citizens and migrants.

4.1.2 THE GOVERNMENTALITY OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN FINLAND AND CANADA.

Civil society is either positive or negative term with ideas of liberty, rights and individuality (Sky, 2015). The discussion of the development of civil society is complex and exceeds the goal of this thesis. but, this thesis will only focus on the role that civil society plays in integrating migrants and also how the State govern that civil society. Civil society is a discourse which cannot be ignored in this study because it is considered as one of the key components of integration and well-being of those outside the mainstream society.

As the Finnish ministry of Education sees creativity as a resource for societal development, the ministry of Interior also argues,

“Growing diversity will be a valuable resource” (Finnish Ministry of Interior, strategy 2020 p.12)

Drawing the connection between the discourse of civil society and cultural integration, I believe, the cultural integration of migrant is when they feel emotionally attached to the society irrespective of their religion, ethnicity and cultural background. For instance, one may be employed but politically and socially excluded. And the ministry of interior stated that,

“Opportunities for migrants to participate must be supported through special measures, and information on these must be provided more actively and through more channels” (ibid, p.18). Thus,

The advanced liberal governmentality here is that active interaction among a various group of the society create social cohesion and foster successful integration. The Finnish government is been reflective of itself which also serve as a technique of governance in this sense. According to the government of Finland,

“Daily dialogue between different population group will help migrants finds a role to play in Finnish society” (ibid, p.18) thus,

The advanced liberal notion of governmentality shows through the active network, migrants are capable of identifying their own needs and potentials for the betterment of self and the society at large. According to the ministry of interior,

“By taking part in civil society, migrant can create networks and accumulate skills that will help in becoming more involved as members of society” (ibid, p.18) and the rationality here is

“There must be an increase interaction between different population group and an increase in migrant participation in civil society. The ability of civil society to support the participation and integration of migrants must be strengthened” (ibid, p.18) -

Pyykkönen (2007) argued, migrant membership in the civil society also serve as a technique of governance and the civil society itself also serve as a technique of governance by the state. The ministry of Education and Culture regards itself as an expert in the management of civil society. In this case, the state authorities participate in the affairs of migrants using support and funding for the activities of civil society. The civil society is responsible for breaching the gap between the mainstream population and migrants thus,

“Civil society can also play a significant role in complementing the services provided by public authorities, and as partners in the planning and provision of services that support migrants” (ibid p.18),

For an example, migrants in Finland are required to form an association and such groups include the Ghanaian Association of Finland, Cameroon Association of Central Finland and the African Association of Central Finland etc. this association creates an active network with authority's in-charge of migration affairs. Through this network, they are able to apply for sponsorship in public organisations, initiate projects and programs for its members and also participate in major activities that take place in the whole municipality. I witness some migrant associations including African Association of Central Finland participating in the 2016 International cooking festival organised in Jyväskylä. During the event, they prepared and sold their traditional foods to other people outside their culture. In my own view, the rationality of this event is to ensure active interaction between different population groups and also learning each other's culture. Members of the association become active and creative because as they are willing to display their cultural product to others, they learn a lot by planning and preparing their local dishes. This also fosters dialogue and leads to their acceptability as members of the society.

The Finnish government adopted a technology of agency and technique of performance. Power is exercised at a distance through the agency like the organisers of the event, civil society, and

migrant associations. And the technique of performance is used to control the main affair of the agency such as audit, reports, and budgets. The technique of performance and technique of agency serve as technologies of governance and technologies of the self. Technology of governance to both the government and the association and technology of the self to the association itself and its members. The association also use membership fees and registration as the technology of governance. For an example, most civil society and migrant association organised sports activities for its members. The rationality of such activities is to create a healthy population and foster interaction between the different cultural groups through exercise. The Finnish government sponsor such activities of the civil society and the civil society and the leadership of the association are allowed to take part in the planning of how to govern migrants and they also influence the mainstream policy (Pyykkönen, 2007).

Whiles in Canada, the discourse of civil society is also regarded as a platform for transforming migrants into a free citizen with choice and liberty. The advanced liberal government notion of governmentality is, liberal citizens are individual with free will and capable of making a decision that benefits their life and the society at large, the central notion of power is invisible and exercised at a distance through a partnership with civil society and other agency. Thus, the central techniques that mediate the governmental rationalities and power flow indirectly through this activities thus,

“Striking partnership and supporting community and other organisations to undertake initiatives that enhance the ability of individuals and/or communities of diverse origins to contribute to the evolution of Canada” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.28)

The Canadian government seeks to adopt the technology of agency to transform individuals and communities in order to achieve socio-economic well-being of the whole populace. The Canadian government also employs the technology of the self thus, looking at the broader governmental rationality, *‘they will contribute to the evolution of Canada’*. The civil society will morally transform migrant through its various programs and technology towards achieving that rationality. The community and civil society itself serve as the subject of governance by the State (technology of governance). The State may use the technology of performance and audit to control the affairs of the partners – public official may participate in migrant activities using funding and power flow at a distance. They use reporting, auditing and registration of organisation as a control mechanism for which power flow indirectly without noticing. For

example, partners become vigilant and may comport themselves, follow the requirements, rule & regulation set by the State in applying for sponsorship. This process and procedures by the State ensure effective and efficient output by the partners – the partners know they are under monitoring and surveillance by the public officials and at the end of the day, an evaluation will be carried out on their conduct before approving their application for new sponsorship.

As the Canadian government is putting effort to promote cultural integration through technology of agency, the data reveals that,

“Correctional services Canada (CSC) has national and regional ethnocultural advisory boards that serve as for a to provide advice to CSC’s commissioner regarding programs and services for the reintegration of ethnocultural offenders into the community” (ibid, p.31)

“These committees strive to create connections between CSC and ethnocultural communities, as well as ensure that the make-up of the CSC workforce is representative of the diversity of the population” (ibid p.31)

The governmental rationality of this initiative is to use the advice and recommendations provided as useful tools that help guide CSC in adapting effectively as possible to the growing demographic changes in the offender population (*ibid, p.31*). the technology of agency is also adopted in this case as technology of governance and the whole process is geared towards producing knowledge and technique for reintegrating those measures adopted by the committee to bring civil society, members of the ethnocultural communities and public officials, to discuss pertaining issues affecting the well-being of such groups and this also serve as a platform where power is exercised, and as a technology of self to the affected communities. For instance, the offender's communities are able to influence policy direction which leads to their cultural recognition and acceptance by the mainstreams society, the community and its members are morally transformed by the recommendations and programs been implemented since they were fully involved in the planning of those activities. The communities feel emotionally and culturally attached to the Canadian society and also towards achieving the broader governmental rationality of creating a cohesive society and eliminating all form of racialization.

The data reveals that in 2014-2015, the Public Safety Canada organises a cross-cultural roundtable on security which brought public officials and members from different ethnocultural background for discussion, the rationality of this event is,

“These meetings enhance the ability of community leaders of different origins to contribute to the conversation on issues pertaining to national security” (ibid, p.34).

Technology of securitisation was adopted as technique of governance to carry out activities which focus on;

“..... building community capacity to prevent radicalization to violence, with communities taking the lead to develop action plans as an outcome of these sessions” (ibid, p.34)

From the notion of advanced liberal rationality, both governments believe when dialogue and discussion are encouraged within migrant’s community which focused on security and well-being of the populace will help foster smooth cultural integration and reduce prejudice and racism in the society. Through the discourse of partnership and civil society, the government adopted a capacity building techniques - to train migrants and their communities to be aware of security dangers and threat which is affecting their welfare and development. Through this measures, an apparatus of security was adopted by both state and migrants and this process increases their commitments to the realisation of the governmental rationality of creating a threat-free society for all and this also serves as a technology of self on the migrant's side. Governmental knowledge are produced through the implementation of the initiative – the action plan developed which was led by migrant communities is used as an apparatus of security for governance and cultural integration with reference to the migration and multiculturalism because, cultural issues will be clearly identified and defined in the action plan and that will be considered as threat-free if it was previously seen as an obstacle or threat to the welfare of the society.

As evidenced above, I claim that civil society serves as an essential platform for creating a cohesive and threat-free society with high acceptability of migrants cultures and values. Thus, the role of effective civil society helps bring both migrants and the mainstream population which ensure their cultural integration and belonging to the new society.

4.1.3 LANGUAGE AS A BIOPOLITICAL TECHNOLOGY FOR CULTURAL INTEGRATION IN FINLAND AND CANADA

Does language really matter to cultural integration? Culture can be verbally expressed through language. With the discourse of language, migrants are able to make use of their skills and actively participate in the daily dialogue of environment to which they find themselves.

Language barrier creates emotional depression which leads to marginalisation and separation from the mainstream population. Because both governments see every citizen including all kinds of immigrants as a potential asset of the State and should contribute or play a role in the societal development of their environment.

The Finnish ministry of Education and Culture argues,

“Migrants are active players in society” (Finnish Ministry of Education and Culture, strategy 2020 p.5)

How do migrants become active players in society if language barrier continues to exclude them from assessing jobs that match their qualification, if language limits them from interacting with the mainstream population and if language becomes a factor for their inability to participate in social events? The discourse of language here is use as a biopolitical technique to exclude a certain group from participating in the economy. If the right conditions for arrivals in Finland are not created, then migrants are indirectly excluded thus, power over the life of migrants or migrants are left to die. According to the Ministry of Interior,

“Skills in Finnish and / Swedish and personal networks of contacts are of great importance for participation in society” (Ministry of Interior strategy 2020, p.18).

In Finland, the government intend to help migrants find a role to play in society and become self-governing entity, the Finnish ministry of Interior stated that,

“Migrant employment must be supported through cooperation with the labour market organisations, especially by developing a diversity management and improving general attitude in working life” (ibid, p.18)

“There should be an increase in the teaching of Finnish and/or Swedish and other education and training organized as part of labour policy, and in the effectiveness of this education and training. The opportunities to study Finnish and/or Swedish while in employment must also be developed further” (ibid, p.18)

In other to racially abuse migrants during their stay in Finland, citizens with racial attitude at times uses language as the weapon in achieving that. Language can use for silent racism. For example, migrants are discriminated from services and interaction that goes on within society.

I have witnessed a situation where citizens who can speak the international language like English pretend as if they do not understand any language apart from Finnish or Swedish.

When a family of immigrants (both labor and other migrants) that Finland needs are racially abused and excluded from taking part in the daily dialogue, and this attitude from some segment of the population can lead to the departure of labor migrants to countries where they will feel happy and culturally integrated (Finnish ministry of Interior strategy 2020). As the ministry of Interior noted that *“Finland may lose expertise because of the happiness of their family” (ibid).*

While in Canada, the issue of the language barrier is not critical as compared to Finland because, Canadian immigration system mostly attracts skilled migrants with language proficiency before arriving in Canada, and the Canadian official languages are the two widely used international language. Notwithstanding this, language has been barriers to successful integration and interaction within some part of the Canadian society as some group of migrants suffer discrimination due to language disability. The Canadian data reveals that,

“The supreme court of Canada hosts groups of students enrolled in French immersion programs and provides tours for them in their second official language” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.26)

“They were provided in French to target the French language minority of North Bay” (ibid, p.26)

To the best of my knowledge, the rationality of this project is to exchange culture and create inter-cultural understanding between the French minority and English majority. I think migrants from the francophone side suffer a lot of discrimination and prejudice as compared to those at the English side of the country (*ibid*). In other words, the discourse of language especially the French-speaking migrants may be culturally excluded from interacting with mainstream population due to their inability to express or demonstrate their culture very well because of language. The government seeks to invest in training the youth in the French language in order to eliminate prejudice and foster cultural integration and acceptance in the near future.

Cultural integration or cultural position of migrants in Canada is implemented through the Canadian multiculturalism act with the aim of ensuring inter-religious and intercultural

understanding among different groups as presented above from the data. Both Finland and Canada place much emphasis on language ability because, I strongly believe, language serve as link or mediator between two cultures or two opposing group. Assessing the role or impact of language on both citizens and migrants directly tells how migration and multiculturalism are responding or diversifying this society either positively or negative.

4.2 INTEGRATING THE UNINTEGRATED MIGRANTS INTO THE FINNISH AND CANADIAN SOCIETY.

International migration is rapidly increasing because of work, studies, family, civil unrest and the need to look for new opportunities etc. these factors of global mobility at times create fears and panic among citizens of receiving countries with the mentality of competing for better jobs with migrants, destabilizing the existing social structure of the society and high level of crime and radicalization, which leads to discrimination and stereotyping against migrants. When migrants become victims of stereotype, warlords, and bad public perception, then such migrants falls under my classification of unintegrated migrants. The unintegrated migrants are those at risk and those arriving for a non-work reason. Such groups include refugees, victims of human trafficking, asylum seekers, families of labour / skilled migrant and the first generation of international students. Under this sub-heading of the analysis, I intend to discuss how the politics of exclusion and inclusion plays in both the Finnish and Canadian society, analysis of rhetoric's, techniques and rationality of government to integrate such migrants. Under this aspect of the analysis will connect rhetoric's, techniques and rationality of government to the discourse of civilisation, the discourse of fundamental rights and employment.

4.2.1 INTEGRATION AS AN ENHANCEMENT TO MODERN CIVILISATION IN FINLAND AND CANADA.

From my point of view, those that I classify as unintegrated or marginalised migrant in this section of the analysis are those at risk or people arriving in the country for a non-work reason. An example of such groups includes; refugees, asylum seekers, the first generation of international student, victims of human trafficking and migrants arriving for family purpose etc. The first generation of international students is classified under the unintegrated migrants because looking at the discourse and power of language at times make it difficult for them to integrate into the labour market or find jobs that match their skills during their initial stay. And

the family of skill migrants becomes excluded from participating in the society due to language and other factors during their initial stay.

As Oxford dictionary online posit, civilisation as a stage of human social development and organisation which is considered most advanced thus, the process by which a society or place reaches an advanced stage of social development and organisation.

Finland is view as a hub of civilisation, thus it embraces diversity and inclusion as a resource for societal development and as a strength of the economy. The Finnish ministry of education and culture argues,

“The increasingly complicated and differentiated society challenges the Finn’s traditionally strong commitment to the ideas of civilization and to the institutions representing it. Commitment may wane if the intellectual capital no longer works as a vehicle for social advancement or otherwise ceases to be meaningful to the individual”
(Ministry of Education and culture of Finland strategy 2020, p.3).

Rhetorically, Finland is traditionally committed to ideas of civilisation but the reality of the society as stated by the ministry is complicated and differentiated. Although, migration is no longer view as a new phenomenon but the attitude towards migrants is still hard and almost half of the Finnish population as at the year 2000 still thinks that Finnish culture should be protected from the effect of internationalisation (ministry of interior of Finland strategy 2020, p.9). To me, internationalisation and civilisation have the same dimension and effects in practices. Then how can a society who traditionally acknowledge itself to the ethics of civilisation still thinks that it should be protected from its consequences?

The new act on the promotion of integration in Finland which came into force in September 2011 required that a national integration program examines the needs of the migrant population on the basis of the mainstreaming principle in all policy sectors, especially employment, education and training, housing and social health care service (*ibid*, p.8). if migrants are actively involved in daily interaction and dialogue within society which they find themselves, it will help eliminate prejudice and foster an enabling environment for economic development that Finland needs to maintain its competitiveness and as a hub of civilisation.

It is undoubted to ignore that, mobility brings both opportunities and challenges. But a well-planned and carefully preparation must be made for dealing with social change caused by the

increasing mobility because the success of Finland's migration policy will depend not only on the country's citizens but also on developments elsewhere in the world especially Europe (*ibid*, p.11). The Finnish ministry of interior perceived migrant as a saviour to the economy because, they advocate that, the government should invest on migrant's development outside the Finnish geographical borders. The future problem anticipated by the ministry of interior with reference to changes in dependency ratio show that,

“The age group retiring from the labor market in the coming years will be considerably larger than the age groups entering working life” (ibid, p.11)

“The situation will be most critical in the social and health care sector. There will be more and more citizens requiring these services at the same time as the age groups of young people are shrinking” (ibid, p.11).

These are rhetorical or persuasive statements that show the Finnish society is at risk if proper attention and technique of governance are not adopted to address this unforeseen future challenges. This rhetoric gives relevant for the integration of the unintegrated migrants into the Finnish society.

The Finnish ministry of Interior argues,

“Migration will help to answer to the dependency ratio problem. At the same time, there will be an increase in competition between countries for skilled and innovation workers” (ibid p.11)

“To succeed in this competition, Finland must be able to attract skilled labour effectively. The need for this will be particularly acute in sectors with greatest labour shortage” (ibid, p.11)

“In addition, it will be important that migrants arriving in Finland for non-work reasons succeed in finding employment more quickly and efficiently than at present”, (ibid, p.11)

Indeed, if migrants are seen as a potential resource for solving the socio-economic problem, then the governmentality of the above rhetoric's is to transform those at risk (unintegrated migrants) into a self-governing subject that will conform to the ideas of civilisation. The Advanced liberal government believes, the unintegrated migrants are uncivilised subject because liberal citizens are considered to be morally civilised and capable of self-governance.

Also, the above rhetoric is about migrants arriving in Finland for a non-work reason directly address my idea of unintegrated migrants. Those migrants become victims of marginalisation, separation, and racialization due to their inability to participate effectively in the labour market.

The ministry of Education and culture argue that,

“Finland is in the vanguard of knowledge, inclusion, and creativity”. (Ministry of Education and culture of Finland strategy 2020, p.4)

The rationality is that the advanced liberal government believes, through knowledge and creativity, individuals are created and transform into new thinking and action and this enables the unintegrated migrant to effectively realise themselves. Knowledge and training foster their integration into liberal society and at the same time achieve the broader governmental rationality of increasing participation in society.

“Creativity, knowledge, participation and innovativeness are gaining ever more importance as factors for societal development” (ibid. p.3)

“The education and training of young people with the immigrant backgrounds is on par with the rest of society. The ministry contributes to the activities of multicultural, tolerant and encouraging communities” (ibid, p.5)

As it is believed that, the children of migrants suffers most of the consequences of discrimination in the society because, they always find themselves battling between two cultures at the same time thus, the migrant culture and the mainstream population. At times such migrants become victims of exclusion from the labour market and the larger society including their own diasporic community due to their inability to obtain a better education for their survival and construct an accurate balance between the two cultures. For example, female children of Muslim migrants will find it difficult whether to wear the hijab or not because, the non-Muslim community will discriminate against her for not been modern and if she does not wear it, her own diasporic community may also frown and discriminate against for not practising her religion well. The main question concerning the hijab issue with young migrant is about whether the child has the right to wear it. And this call for dialogue and inter-faith understanding and interaction among various groups. The Finnish government’s effort is to eliminate prejudice and discrimination among young people with migrant background with the rationality of supporting multicultural and tolerant activities. An example of such activities

includes, GLORIA (Multicultural Centre in Jyvaskyla) organises activities for volunteers and interested groups from the mainstream society to spend time with children of asylum seekers and refugees. The rationality of the event is to foster interaction which leads to acceptability and tolerance between the groups.

The ministry of education & culture argues,

“With a view to alleviating hereditary disadvantage, the programme will generate new forms of action for education and leisure pursuits which engender new beginning and new life paths. In addition, measures are taken to reduce early school-leaving and prevent children’s and young people’s exclusion according to the networking principle” (ibid, p.5)

The government of Finland believes, through active networking principle like a partnership with civil society can help combat the hereditary disease attached to unintegrated migrants and their children which hinder their smooth integration process. Because, the unintegrated migrants especially the young ones after graduation from school, finding jobs that correspond to their qualification becomes extremely difficult due to lack of information and networking in the labour market.

Meanwhile, Canada is popularly known as a country of immigration due to its exceptionalism of multiculturalism and integration. Many people see Canada as a country of attracting the majority of skilled migrants. The success story of Canadian multiculturalism is been attached to the welcoming of Vietnamese refugees who fled the communism. The Canadian data reveals that,

“The Vietnamese case is a Canadian success story because, with the help of the federal government assistance, various church and community groups voluntarily undertook initiatives to welcome and assist those who fled communism” (Metropolis convention, 2012 p.3)

In this case of the unintegrated migrants who fled communism were integrated into the Canadian society using pastoral power technique – the advanced liberal government of Canada together with community groups and volunteers attended to their daily needs including social, physical, economic and psychological needs that made their integration very successful as compared to the Somalis first generations. Thus,

“Canadians were largely taken aback by the arrival of Somalis resulting in miscommunication on both sides as migration – related trauma, limbo status and arrival to a foreign country shock Somali migrants” (ibid, p.3)

Creating an intertextuality between the above rhetoric’s on Vietnamese case and the case of the first generation of Somalis to my second research question of the study thus, “does the integration policy favours the unintegrated migrants?” the case of Vietnamese says Yes while the case of Somalis will answer No.

In line with the discourse of civilisation, where every citizen including the unintegrated migrant irrespective of your ethnicity, background, and the reason for migration give equal rights to integration into the society. Unsuccessful integration of first-generation migrants will affect the subsequent generation after them because, looking at the concept of multiculturalism and integration of children, both the parent and the state put efforts in educating their wards with cultural values thus, the parents are responsible for maintaining and teaching their own culture and the state invest in transforming them into civil subject with liberty and freedom in line with modern civilization.

With the discourse of civilization, the governmentality of the advanced liberal governance is where every citizen has a role to play and contribute to the evolution of the economy. The advanced liberal government of Canada adopted a technology to reintegrate the unintegrated migrants who were not favored by the previous integration plan from the past. The Canadian data reveals that,

“In the process of constructing an individual identity, a lack of appropriate and gender – specific mentorship creates uncertainty on how to balance cultural, parental and societal obligations” (Metropolis convention, 2012 p.5)

“This can result in an individual feeling no belonging anywhere or choose between two Canada sometimes either extreme as opposed to embracing the values of both” (ibid, p.5)

Integrating the unintegrated migrants becomes unsuccessful if they are unable to construct an appropriate balance between the two cultures during their initial stay and this affects their wards. That is, most of the unintegrated youths may face the problem of reconciling the cultural tradition of their country of origin with the norm of the Canadian community due to their inability to find mentorship that recognizes and understand both cultures. For instance,

“A major variation between Somali and Canadian values is that the former emphasizes the family unit while the latter encourages individual freedom and independence” (ibid, p.4)

In order to avoid this problem and also ensure successful integration of the unintegrated migrants in line with civilization and identity construction, the Canadian current multiculturalism report shows that,

“The business development bank of Canada (BDC) partnered with two immigrant-serving organization in Alberta to provide mentors who offer development support to new immigrants. The same mentoring program is in place in British Columbia, the Prairies and the Atlantic provinces” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.26)

The rationality of this technique is to close the tension arising in the homes of unintegrated migrants due to lack of understanding between the two cultures. The use of mentorship for the unintegrated migrants is seen as a technology of care and technology of the self in a sense that, migrant’s especially young ones will morally construct themselves as they will understand the real difference between the cultures and behavior in a way that will lead to their acceptability both at home and at the societal level. The state uses mentorship as the technology of governance and also uses pastoral power in implementing the technologies leading to the governmental rationality. This process of mentorship produces new knowledge for resettling unintegrated migrant whose case were unsuccessful.

In order to reduce racism, prejudice and islamophobia, which impede the ethic of modern civilization and democracy, and also influence public perception of certain groups including the unintegrated migrants. The media analyses of the peacekeeping mission in conflicts zone mostly present affected migrants as victims or warlords while others will also perceive them as perpetrators. An example of such incidence led to the development of negative perception about Canadian-Somalis youths as drug-dealers, and homegrown extremist (Metropolis convention, 2012 p.3-4). Thus,

“These negative perceptions contribute to a hostile environment towards Somali-Canadians in academic, employment and social settings. This seriously impedes their integration experience by directly lowering their confidence and self-esteem and providing reasons for the formation of a defensive attitude as well as self-alienation” (ibid, p.4)

Meanwhile, the current multiculturalism report also reveals the Islamic social services association organized a multicultural tea fest with the rationality of promoting inclusiveness and to building bridges between individuals and communities thus,

“The intent of the Islamic social services Association (ISSA) was to increase people’s sense of civic pride and enjoyment of living in a country where people can experience the world in their own backyards” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.14)

The federal government of Canada uses the technology of agency as the technology of governance. Thus, the association organized events with the rationality of enhancing intercultural understanding between individuals, communities and also eliminating prejudice, racism, and discrimination against the unintegrated migrants. The events organized by the association itself is a technology of self in the sense that, both members from unintegrated communities and the mainstream community learn various values and cultures of each other which transform them morally to be tolerance and diverse in respecting and accepting different norms and values. This process also increases their self-esteem and foster interaction in the Canadian society.

Deducting from the above analysis, the discourse of civilisation has proven to be very useful as far as integration and reintegration of unintegrated migrants are a concern. Because, when policymakers, opinion formers, and citizens consider themselves to be highly civilised, they embraced diversity, respect and welcome changes within the society.

4.2.2 INTEGRATION AS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT IN FINLAND AND CANADA.

Migration in the context of globalisation brings opportunities but also important challenges of vulnerability and discrimination (UNHR, 2013 p.7). If migrants lack access to human rights their ability to benefit from migration is compromised, as is their potential contribution to the development of the societies in which they live or with which they are connected (*ibid*). According to UNHR (2013), protecting human rights is important in order to promote the social inclusion and integration of migrants, thus enabling them to lead economically productive as well as culturally and socially enriching lives. As the Global Migration Group (2010) posit that, human rights protection is not only a legal obligation; it is also a matter of public interest and intrinsically linked to human development.

The unintegrated migrants like refugees and asylum seeker find themselves in Finland due to the country's openness and safety. They feel protected by the advanced liberal government of

Finland irrespective of the public perception attached to them. Security and wellbeing are very important to unintegrated migrants than any other thing and Finland as a country holds an indisputable international image in protecting the unintegrated migrant due to its commitment as a member of the international community. As the ministry of Interior stated that,

“Finland is an open and safe country. Finland is committed to providing international protection to those in need of it” (Ministry of Interior of Finland, strategy 2020 p.13)

“Finland needs young migrants who will stay in the country for the longer term and will enter the labour market” (ibid, p.13)

“through action by the appropriate authorities, the identification of victims of human trafficking, the provision of help for them and the exercise of their rights must all be conducted more effectively”(ibid. p.15).

Finland as a responsible member of the international community also means the country is ready to comply with the international laws and policy relating to migration and providing help to all those who need it. Such commitment is shown through its asylum procedures and the process of acquiring a resident permit for family reunification and students.

From the Foucauldian point of view, the advanced liberal governance uses the asylum procedure and application of resident permit as the technology of governance and at the same time as a biopolitical technology for inclusion and exclusion. The technology of governance here is that the government exercises power using the requirements and standards set for issuing asylum and permits. This also serves as a technology of self in the sense that the unintegrated migrant at that stage morally constructs themselves in order to meet the requirements set by the authority. The asylum and permit procedure is used as a biopolitical technology to identify the potential migrants that Finland needs and at the same time exclude those that will be a threat to the entire population. They use the pastoral technique to identify victims of human trafficking through interviews, testimony, examination and other public engagement. The pastoral technique produces new knowledge for enhancing the asylum and permit procedures and also serves as a guide for attending to their real needs. According to the Ministry of Interior that,

“Support must be given for the smooth transfer of young people of migrant background from education to working life, especially by devoting greater attention to the teaching of Finnish

and Swedish during their studies and to other support services. The opportunities for young people of migrant background to engage in free-time activities must also be promoted” (Ministry of Interior of Finland strategy 2020, p.19)

Creating interdiscursivity of the above rhetoric with the discourse of fundamental rights, education, and employment are everyone's rights including the unintegrated migrants. Every child has a right to education and migrants and their wards are also protected by international laws irrespective of their status.

The government of Finland believes that diversity is part of everyday life and is committed to ensuring equal rights for all its populace including the unintegrated migrants and also ready to combat all forms of racism and discrimination because Finland needs young migrants who will stay longer to ensure economic growth and the continuity of the welfare system.

“discrimination of all kinds must be prevented and combated through more effective intervention and by drawing attention to discrimination and experiences of discrimination” (ibid, p.22).

The Finnish government believed if the unintegrated migrants are transformed into self-governing subjects, they will be able to report any kind of discrimination and abuses they face during their daily interaction with society. Such technique will produce new knowledge for combating discrimination and securitization of the Finnish society. And also the authorities will be able to use sovereign and disciplinary power against those who practice discrimination. For example, they can use the fund as a disciplinary technique to punish individuals and organisation involve in such practices. And the closure of firm, limitation of rights and imprisonment can be used as a sovereign technique in eliminating and preventing discrimination in the society.

Whiles the Canadian policies reveals an interesting discussion when connecting integration of migrants with fundamental rights.

In Canada, with reference to the discourse of fundamental rights, the first generations of Somalis refugees suffered discrimination due to the changes in the immigration act of 1993 which affected their integration as revealed in the data thus,

“According to the act, convention Refugee status would only be afforded to those in possession of satisfactory identity documents leaving migrants without appropriate papers in a long period of limbo. Unable to retrieve documents due to the political turmoil in Somalia, Somali migrants waited as long as a decade to receive convention refugee status” (Metropolis convention, 2012 p.3)

A biopolitical technique was applied to exclude or delay their rights to asylum and education. Because, in many countries, before the unintegrated migrant gain access to formal education and housing benefit, will only be accepted after their refugee status has been decided. The biopower here is, the authority’s in-charge of immigration had control over the life of those who were perceived to be threat to the main society. But recently, the government adopted new technologies to reintegrate and enable them access to their citizenship rights thus,

“With the legislative change that came into force in June 2014, citizenship judges took on an enhanced role in promoting Canadian citizenship and raising awareness of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship among newcomers and established Canadians” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.20)

“At these events, judges explain that people of all origins can participate in and contribute to Canadian society because of the rights and freedoms they are guaranteed in Canada, including freedom of religion, official language rights, equality of men and women, and multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity” (ibid ,p.20).

The advanced liberal government of Canada used the technology of care and agency through the discourse of education to transform the unintegrated migrants to be aware of their own essence of existence, limitations and rights they are entitled to. The governmental rationality of this initiative is to increase interaction and dialogue through effective participation in the awareness programs organised by the state judges and its partners and also to eliminate prejudice and bias towards the unintegrated migrants as I stated above about the integration failure of Somalis refugees. The technology of agency as techniques of governance by the State, thus, the judges give lectures or participate in migrants events organised by the civil society and association. Governmental power flows indirectly through this processes. And the technology of self here is when the unintegrated migrants are morally transformed and able to

make a decision on issues that affect their life with reference to the technology of rights and education.

The data also reveals that;

“... Many minority youths who have resiliently pursued post-graduate education are having difficulty finding employment due to a lack of knowledge on how to navigate the labour market” (Metropolis convention, 2012 p.6)

“This primarily involves challenges arising from not having established support systems, connections or networks in key areas of employment as well as unfamiliarity with initiatives available through academic institution” (ibid, p.6)

Establishing the interdiscursivity relation between the above statements and the discourse of fundamental rights to employment and education, the unintegrated migrants are unable to find employment that matches their skills and qualification due to lack of active network connection in the labour market. For an example, the second generation of Somalis youth is likely to face frustration, and discrimination in the labour market because the first generation was separated and denied their rightful opportunities to education and employment. And network support that should have been created by them during their initial stay for easy integration of their successor is also weakened or does not even exist at all.

The Canadian government adopted a new technology to integrate or reintegrate the unintegrated migrants into the labour market as part of their citizenship rights as stated in the data;

“The federal internship for newcomers program provides newcomers with the opportunity to gain temporary work experience within public and private sector organizations and provides interns and their managers with cross-cultural training” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.18)

“Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) contributes to inter-departmental efforts to help internationally trained individuals get their credentials assessed quickly by providing information, path-finding resources and referral services” (ibid p.18)

The governmental rationality of the above technique was to help the unintegrated migrants to join the labour force and find jobs that match their qualification obtained abroad. The

technology adopted by the government also help establish active network and support for the unintegrated migrants especially newcomers. Because with the Canadian State complementary effort to promote multiculturalism, help creates inter-cultural understanding between employers and employees with a foreign certificate. As both government and the manager believes when the unintegrated migrants are well empowered and re-integrated into the civilised society of Canada will help continues the evolution of Canada and also reduces government's expenses to compete for high-skilled migrant with other nation-state.

Deducting from the above analysis, both Finland and Canada claim that, integration and reintegration of minority group including migrants are been regarded as fundamental rights enshrined in their constitutions and also as conventions and treaties of the regional and international agency which they are responsible members. Finland and Canada claim to protect and provide help to those who need it due its commitment and respect to human dignity and freedom without discriminations.

I claim that the discourse of fundamental rights bests explain or why policy favors minority including migrants especially this changing time. The second research problem of whether the integration policies favors the unintegrated migrants looks positive based the documents analyzed in this regard.

4.3 THE POLITICS OF MULTICULTURALISM DISCOURSE IN FINNISH AND CANADIAN POLICY DOCUMENTS.

The politics of multiculturalism has become a powerful discourse in contemporary politics and debate which have succeeded in attracting the attention of politicians, researchers and policy makers etc. Many actors argue in favour or against the discourse of multiculturalism – it is seen as the best alternative for reconciling societal differences and also withstand the effects of internationalisation. Whiles others problematize it as threats to national identity and culture which should not be promoted and encouraged. The discourse of multiculturalism is very diverse due to different opinions expressed concerning its operationalization which at times place it on a platform of discussions and argumentations which I refer to as “*politics of multiculturalism*”.

Multiculturalism refers to principles that either respect minority right or defined special rights for minority groups (Lister, 2007). As Lister (2007) argued about the debates concerning multiculturalism and how its public policy deals with difference and diversity. That is diversity and unity which is also critical and central to the issues of migration and sustainability. Multiculturalism forces us to analyze the tension between equality and recognition of diversity and the relationship between national and transnational arena (*ibid*). Integration and citizenship are about the inclusion and exclusion of individuals and social group in a society where struggles over rights have been closely linked to the nation State or cultural sustainability (*ibid*). Kymlicka's (1999) notion of a multicultural citizenship has been presented as a means to protect the rights of minority groups and indigenous peoples against the majority. And such group includes all forms of immigrants living in Finland and Canada.

Despite the success and challenges of multiculturalism and migration, this study seeks to explore how the discourse of multiculturalism is been talked about within selected policy documents as far as nationalism, culture and sustainability are a concern.

Based on the main purpose of this study, the Finnish aspect of the analysis of this subchapter was conducted by comparing the mainstream policy document of Finland and the Finns party migration policy. The reason behind this selection was to get an in-depth understanding of how the discourse of multiculturalism is been debated, represented or discussed from the different point of view within the study area. Also, the Canadian analysis of this subchapter was mainly based on analysing previous programs, techniques and rationalities of government put in place to promote, protect and sustain multiculturalism within its jurisdiction. The reason behind this selection was to get an in-depth understanding of how the discourse of multiculturalism was evolved, institutionalised and been operated as public policy and discursive element or strategy. I believe, the selected documents will foster the purpose of this subchapter by giving an in-depth understanding of how the discourse of multiculturalism is been represented or discussed as far as culture and sustainability are matters of national interest for this study.

4.3.1 THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN MONOCULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURALISM IN FINLAND.

The politics of multiculturalism in Finland is one of the most admirable and comparable to other nation-state with similar features like Canada and Sweden (Saukkonen, 2013). Although the multicultural index as indicated in the introduction of this study show how Finland has

responded positively to multiculturalism irrespectively of its short history of handling or managing migration. Because multiculturalism and migration is a new phenomenon which has come to stay within the Finnish society, this trends gives an explanation for negative views of migration and multiculturalism among some Finns, whereby globalization and internationalization of migration and multiculturalism are seen as a threat to the cultural identity and sustainability of the host nation (Finns party, 2015; Finnish ministry of Interior strategy 2020). However, it is undisputable that, racism and discrimination are very rarely when there is an opposing group against migration and multiculturalism. The ministry of Interior of Finland argues;

“Attitudes have softened somewhat since 2000, however, even so, more than half of the Finns questioned that Finnish culture should be protected from the effects of internationalisation” (Ministry of Interior of Finland, strategy 2020 p.9).

This statement or report on how citizens perceived migration and multiculturalism. The ministry admitted that the attitudes of Finns toward migrants were very bad before the year 2000, this is partly because migration during that time was seen as a new thing. Although after the year 2000, the attitude has changed towards internationalisation but still half of the populace still thinks globalisation, multiculturalism and internationalisation are a threat to national culture and sustainability.

Despite the challenges of multiculturalism and migration, Is multiculturalism part of the national culture or it is a threat to the Finnish monoculture and sustainability?

Finland has been represented as monoculture and this new trends emerging from globalisation – multiculturalism, cosmopolitanism, and migration is very new to Finns as compare to Canada, UK, and Sweden. I, therefore, like to compare the Finns party migration policy for 2015 parliamentary election and the mainstream government policy on migration and multiculturalism for easy interpretation of how this two opposing actor agrees and disagree on common discourse with reference to Michel Foucault’s governmentality as the theoretical background of the interpretation.

Cultural diversity has been an un-avoided trend which modern society and nation finds it difficult to cope due to globalisation, human rights, and civilisation etc. As I learn from my early childhood days that, change is the only thing which is constant in human life and society in general. Nowadays, International trade, mobility, and civil unrest are some few factors which

make it difficult for a nation-state to resist pressure coming from outside. The ministry of Education and culture of Finland is of the view that,

“Owing to the structural effect of the global economy and the ongoing recession, Finland needs to seek new knowledge areas in order to maintain her competitiveness. At the same time it necessary to consolidate the existing knowledge areas which are vital in terms of future competitiveness and welfare” (ministry of Education and Culture, strategy 2020 p.3)

The ministry of Education and culture acknowledge the fact that Finnish society is undergoing diversity due regionalization and other global factors and it cannot compete with other nation-states if the borders are strictly closed. Actually, the view of the ministry represents what Mitchell Dean refer to as problematization under governmentality studies – when the existing conduct of the governance is called into question. The rationality is that Finland has to embrace multiculturalism in order to achieve its goals, culture and people outside the Finnish society are those who add value and knowledge to the existing knowledge bank of the society which the ministry seek to achieve.

The ministry of Education and Culture argues,

“International mobility, a significant increase in immigration and the new modalities in networking will diversify Finnish society” (ibid, p.5)

The ministry’s recognition of mobility and its negative influence on the Finnish society and cultural sustainability in general. Because the advanced liberal notion of governmentality sees citizen as civil and capable of self-governance. The fears that crap the authorities is that, those coming into the new society are they capable and law abiding citizens? The ministry intends to turn this diversification into resources which will benefit the large population,

“The diversification will be actively and comprehensively turned into a resource and strength of Finnish society” (ibid, p.5)

The governmental rationality is that healthy and happy economy depends on the happiness of the individual citizen and group. And diversification and multiculturalism have become a powerful discourse which is very difficult to escape. In other to maintain the happiness of citizens then, the government intent to convert the problems of diversification into a resource which will serve as the backbone of Finnish society both internal and external. The ministry

employs the technology of care and happiness to deal with the problems related to diversity. Because the policy seeks to convince the audience or Finnish society that multiculturalism and diversification are not bad as other actors try to deceive citizen and make them frown against migration and multiculturalism. Thus, Finn's party argues;

“Immigration will change, irreversibly, the host country's population profile, disrupt social cohesion, overburden public services and economic resources, lead to the formation of ghettos, promote religious radicalism and its consequences and foster ethnic conflicts. Actual outcomes of these factors can be seen in many riots, brutal events and the formation of violent gangs in a number of large European cities” (Finn's party parliamentary election, 2015 p.1)

The Finns party which is part of the central coalition government in the current administration of Finland. Their technique of problematizing multiculturalism and migration clearly represent it as a threat to national culture and sustainability and they presents it as an obstacle that should not be welcome because it conflicts with the principle of advanced liberal governance. The party position also affirms the fact that, still some segment of the population still react negatively to migrants and their wards. They adopted the technology of care which shows concern for the welfare of citizens. And they seek to use the biopolitical technique to exclude a certain group which is seen as a threat to the mainstream population. They question the conduct of governance with regard to migration and see it as an abuse of taxpayer's money. They suggest that the migration policy should have control over migrants and to prevent it from causing socio-economic damages to Finland. Thus,

“It should be especially realized, during these difficult economic times, that the tax payers sense of justice is tested by the growing appropriations for migrants” (ibid, p.1)

The Finn's party also adopted the technology of justice in their policy to convince citizens that, their taxes are been misused – it is unfair or unjust to use taxpayers money to sponsor refugees / asylum seekers and their family, they are taking money which is not meant for them. The above argumentative rhetoric clearly uses functional construction which represents the racial differences between “*US and THEM or taxpayers and migrants*”.

Meanwhile, the ministry of Interior of Finland propose an alternative justification for the conduct of government in their policy thus;

“Diversity is part of everyday life. The fundamental values of Finnish society, especially the inviolability of human dignity, serve as a foundation for the acceptance of diversity. And everyone has a responsibility to engage in positive interaction and to eliminate prejudice in everyday life” (Ministry of Interior, strategy 2020 p.21)

The ministry of Interior’s justification in their policy challenges Finn’s party arguments and how they problematize migration and multiculturalism. The Finn’s party blame government and their conduct towards migration – due to bad regulations and governance are the main cause of unhappier and unsustainable Finnish society. And the ministry of Interior also stated that equality, equal opportunity, and non-discrimination serve as the key factors of fundamental and human rights – equal rights for all. The technology of justice and fairness was adopted by the ministry thus, it is unfair to torture or discriminate against minority groups, and people who migrated without any choice should be treated as such because they also are entitled to basic human rights and equal opportunity as compared to the larger population. The advanced liberal government believes the happiness of the population come from the happiness of the individual and the Finnish government seeks to achieve and protect the wellbeing of the entire population without discriminating against migrants due to Finland’s commitment as a responsible member of the international community.

The governmental rationality stated by the ministry of Interior are;

“Interaction between different population groups is one of the hallmarks of a democratic and open society” (ibid, p.22).

“In order to reduce prejudice, positive interaction must be promoted between migrant communities and the majority population and among migrants communities” (ibid, p.22).

The argumentative statements above justify why the government allows migrants to live and integrate among the entire population in order to promote and foster interaction. Because through daily interaction among different group promote socialization and prevent loneliness which leads to happiness and acceptance into the new environment.

But how Finn’s party problematize migration, thus migrants are responsible for the formation of ghettos and other crime is been regard by the ministry of Interior as the debate about migration and multiculturalism is not supported by accurate information, thus;

“The tone of the migration debate affects the general climate of opinion. Opinion formers, politicians, and public authorities, in particular, have a responsibility to provide accurate information. They must be aware of the fact that they influence people’s impressions of migration” (ibid, p.22).

In other words, those in authority especially politicians and the media has the power to influence the minds of the citizenry or the general population to think about discourse in a certain way – good or bad. The ministry of Interior believes that, in order to achieve a better economy and to embraced modern discourse of civilization, everyone has a role to play in the development of Finnish society and through multiculturalism, justice, equity, and equality can be achieved at the national level. On the other hand, the ministry of Education and Culture believes diversification, multiculturalism and migration is a natural phenomenon and it’s unavoidable like a natural disaster. For an example, some countries are better in managing natural disasters like earthquake, floods etc. than others, not because they are expert in doing that but due to the preparedness and strategic plans put in place to handle it if it occurs. Likewise the ministry of Education and Culture regards itself as an expert agency of civil society and through civil society this epidemic of migration and multiculturalism will be threat free to cultural sustainability and also encourage socio-economic development of Finland both internal and external because,

“The ministry recognizes the changing forms of communality, creates preconditions for the operation of immediate communities and reforms its procedures accordingly. The ministry enhances the capacity for renewal in its sector and supports civil society” (Ministry of Education and Culture, Strategy 2020 p.5).

“International mobility and multiculturalism strengthen and enrich knowledge and creativity in Finland. Immigrants are active player in society” (ibid, p.5).

The strategy of the ministry of education and culture serve as a technology of governance in Foucauldian perspective and the form of power intent or been exercised by the ministry is at distance - transforming migrants into a liberal citizen with choice and capacity through civil society. The governmental rationality of the ministry is that mobility and multiculturalism will strengthen existing knowledge. That is, migrants, learn the Finnish culture which can be used internationally and at the same time it also enriches knowledge and promotes creativity, the

new knowledge Finland needs to maintain or increase its competitiveness with other nation-State.

In this view, I, therefore, argue that the advanced liberal government like Finland is capable of converting the negative effects of migration and multiculturalism on national cultural and sustainability through its strategic technologies and ways of constructing migrants into self-governing subjects for the betterment of the larger population as well. As Lippert & Pyykkönen (2012, p.46) has always maintained in their study, governmental rationalities shape the governance of populations within and through the myriad program and these are shared discourses that give reasons for governmental actions. I claim that the Finnish government want to or is capable of policing migrants in order to safely incorporate them into the national economy which will make them threat free to cultural heritage and sustainability.

4.3.2 MULTICULTURALISM AS THE BEST SOCIETAL CONDITION IN CANADA.

Canadian case of multiculturalism is also one of the most admirable and successful with the principle of multiculturalism and this is attributed to long history and experience of managing and accepting migrants with a diverse background. As compared to Finland, Canada is at the stage where Finland want to be in the next coming years. The Canadian multiculturalism is recognised by law, which makes it difficult to differentiate between multiculturalism and national culture. This is because Canada has already institutionalised multiculturalism and it at a stage of nationalizing multiculturalism as part of its heritage and at the same time exporting multiculturalism to the international world. In the Canadian case, I will emphasize on the technologies and rationality the government adopted to promote and sustained multiculturalism.

The Canadian multiculturalism focuses on intercultural and interfaith understanding, shared values, civic pride and the commitment to a peacefully pluralistic society. According to Minister of Canadian Heritage that,

“In Canada, we are recognized worldwide for our successful approach to multiculturalism, which focuses on building a diverse and inclusive society by promoting and encouraging awareness, understanding and respect for the many different cultures that contribute to the economic and social wealth of our country”(2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.5)

The above statement by the minister shows, multiculturalism is one of the key assets or resources which contribute to the growth of the economy both internal and external. The international reputation gain by Canada through multiculturalism can never be ignored. Thus, every country has a specific talent or potential for global recognition and the Canadians are highly recognized by multiculturalism because the multicultural act recognizes diversification as a basic characteristic of Canadian Heritage and social identity which make it difficult to draw a distinction between multiculturalism and national culture as far as cultural sustainability matters. A survey stated in the Canadian data shows that,

“An increasing majority of Canadians identify multiculturalism as one of the most important symbols of the country national identity” (ibid, p.8)

The survey reveals how multiculturalism and minority rights are important in respect to nation building. Thus, if migrants and other minority cannot be ignored when it comes to the economic development of the Canadian society. From the Foucauldian perspective, the advanced liberal government like Canada believes, a well-revamped economy is only achieved when the individual citizens are happy and physical fit enough for productivity – the well-being and happiness of the individual are linked to the happiness of the larger population. The rationality behind this is when people are happy and fit, they contribute effectively to nation building and this makes it a necessity for the government to design and implement programs that foster this aim and objective of the economy. As argued by Pyykkönen (2007) that, techniques mediate governmental rationalities.

Bloemraad (2012) argues high immigration and high level of citizenship have created feedback loops that make it difficult for an anti-immigrant politician to gain a foothold in Canadian politics. The early Reform party, the closest to anti-foreigner populism in contemporary Canadian politics, is now part of the governing conservative party which actively seeks support from immigrants during the 2011 federal election (Bloemraad, 2012 p.13). Evidently, all of the federal Canadian political parties count at least one foreign-born Member of Parliament (MPs) among their ranks (*ibid*). This is because so many immigrants have citizenship, and so may feel part of Canadian society, they vote and shape politics (*ibid*). In order to win power, all political parties both left and right must control anti-immigration and anti-minority rhetoric (*ibid*). The above evidence really makes the Canadian case exceptional as compared to Finland. In Canada, migrants have the right to vote and to be voted (*ibid*). They influence policy direction.

The Canadian data pointed out the broad objective of the current multiculturalism as,

“(1) to build on integrated, socially cohesive society; (2) to improve the responsiveness of institutions to meet the needs of a diverse population; and (3) to actively engage in discussion on multiculturalism and diversity at an international level” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.9).

In line with the impact of multiculturalism on cultural sustainability, the Canadian multicultural objective clearly support and proof that, multiculturalism is the culture in which the government wants to sustain because the growing level of diversity and the Canadian selectivity in accepting migrants especially labour migrants have made it a little bit easy to integrate into the labour market and the community as well. Skilled migrants at times come to Canada with their family. The family of those skill migrants may lack some basic capabilities which may hinder their integration and acceptability as liberal citizens with choice and freedom. From the notion of governmentality, the advanced liberal government sees every citizen as civil individuals with socio-economic freedom and choice capable of self-governance.

In order to morally construct or transform migrants and their family into liberal citizen with choice and freedom, the government adopted key areas of activities under the objectives of multiculturalism thus;

“(i) managing a grants and contribution program called Inter-Actions which provides funding’s to not-for-profit organizations, first nations, provincial, regional and municipal governments and their agencies, individuals and international organizations to undertake project and event; (ii) conducting public outreach and promotional activities; (3) Helping federal and public institutions to meet their obligations under the Canadian multiculturalism act; (iv) and supporting Canada’s participation in international agreements and institutions such as the international convention on the elimination of all form of racial discrimination and the international Holocaust remembrance alliance” (ibid, p.9)

The Canadian multiculturalism supports the advanced liberal notion of governmentality, where power is no longer in the central unit of the state but decentralised into various organisations including civil society and volunteer’s thus, power is exercised at a distance through a partnership with civil society, community-based organisation, and other non-profit institution. These institutions work as intermediate between the state and citizen including migrants into

the society to foster an easy integration of migrants especially, the marginalised one or newcomers. The inter-action initiative by the government provides funding to organisations with the rationality of enhancing *an integrated, socially cohesive society (ibid, p.9)*. The approach also serves as a technique of governance where power is exercised using accounting, auditing, reporting and evaluation. This technique of governance is what Dean (1999) labelled as a technology of agency – public officials uses funding in participating in migrants activities which also serve a technology of self to the receiving agency and technology of governance to the State. An example of such initiative under the Canadian inter- Action projects includes the survivor testimony project, ensemble for the respect of diversity, passages Canada, youth link diversity program and black loyalist heritage society (*ibid*).

Under the Survivor Testimony project, it was revealed that;

“The Vancouver Holocaust education Centre also created complementary resources to support the use of testimonies in the classroom that are in keeping with the Centre’s reputation for excellence in the development and delivery of innovative pedagogical materials” (2014-2015 annual report on Canadian multiculturalism act, p.10).

The rationality of this project is to produce knowledge for future integration and socio-economic development of migrants with similar cases. The technology of confession is used in a form of pastoral power in this project to solicit the true story about the migrant through public confessing about one’s story. So if the survivors are able or encouraged to tell their own story in classrooms and other public places, then their real needs will be identified easily because some of the survivors have experienced terrible traumatic situations before coming to Canada and their case may require psychological treatment. An example of such survivors include victims of war, human/sex trafficking etc. through pastoral power or practice, the advanced liberal government is able to identify the root cause of their situation and this processes of pastorship also produce knowledge on how to integrate them into liberal society to achieve a socially cohesive society.

The second project under Inter-action initiative is Ensemble for the respect of diversity. It involves 25,000 secondary III student from 77 schools in the province of Quebec had taken part in the prejudice and human rights awareness workshops called Engage-toil (*ibid, p.10*). The rationality of this project is that,

“They contributed to fostering intercommunity understanding with their schools and to creating an atmosphere in which difference are respected (ibid, p.10).

The technologies employed under this initiative from the Foucauldian point of view was the technology of the self – creating the individuals from the masses. The number of students participates only a few were selected and trained very well to become a self-governing entity to achieve the broader objective of the project and that of inter-action project. The technology of governance under this particular project was the partners or indirect rule – power flows without noticing it.

“The participating schools also contributed to the project by providing the necessary logistical support for the workshops and supporting the concrete actions undertaken by these young ambassadors” (ibid, p.10)

This also serves as a technique of governance thus, the school try to control the conduct of the ambassadors in a form of financial and other type of support at a distance. Through this assistance, power flow indirectly without noticing because the schools and other partners in one way or another also practice pastorship which is in the form of attending to needs of the ambassador and also caring for their well-being which contributes to the larger goal of the inter-action project and that of the multiculturalism act of Canada.

Again, “Halton Multicultural council in Canada took a project to celebrate the multicultural day with the aim of bringing together various communities for cultural showcases, exchanges and celebration of Canada’s multicultural diversity” (ibid, p.12).

The rationality of the above project is to foster interaction between various cultural / faiths and to share their experience with others. Because the liberal government of Canada believes, smooth interaction among a different group of people leads to faster and safer acceptance and recognition into larger society through this celebration others learn something about different culture and faith which also help eliminate prejudice and racialization in the Canadian society. The data even reveals that;

“Community service provider both to help newcomers learn about available programs; corporate booths such as banks and real estate companies to help newcomers navigate the business world; and children’s / sports activities” (ibid, p.12).

The above strategy and project were undertaken by the Canadian government really show how Canada has institutionalised multiculturalism and migration. National culture and multiculturalism in Canada is almost the same as far as cultural sustainability matters because, from the goals of multiculturalism act, to its implementation and the public perception of migrants and minority groups clearly tell us that Canadian government, civil society, and ordinary citizen want to sustain multiculturalism as part of its national heritage and also as cultural export to another nation-state. As Burroughs (2012 p.32) maintain that the theory of governmentality offers a fuller conceptualization of how power can operate through discursive strategies.

In conclusion, broader goals of multiculturalism act serve as a rationality of governmentality on which Canada and Finland adopted techniques to achieve them. As Pyykkönen (2007, p.200) stated, rationalities reproduce or produce existing truth formations and certain knowledge about what are the best societal conditions and how the government should work in order to achieve and maintain them. From the above evident, I claim the Canadian government thinks multiculturalism are best conditions for society and it's putting more effort to sustained it and also export its other countries.

5. STUDY REMARKS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

Deducting from the above chapter of the data analysis, as evidenced by both countries in their policy documents especially under the politics of multiculturalism subchapter of the data analysis, multiculturalism is not only a public policy but also as the best alternative for handling problems associated with diversity.

The data showed that multiculturalism in Finland is still an ongoing debate within the public domain. Although attitude towards racial abuse has softened but Finn's party has rejected multiculturalism and blame it for socio-economic problems within Finnish community – *"multiculturalism an artificial shoring up"* (Finn's party, 2015). While the mainstream government policy in Finland on migration and integration acknowledges the effects of diversification, regionalization, and globalisation. They see multiculturalism as the best solution to overcome such issues confronting the nation including competition with other nation, age dependency ratio, and safety & well-being for both migrant and citizenry.

The Canadian multiculturalism has shown exceptionalism in the policy document as Canada is at a stage of embarking post-multiculturalism – institutionalising, exporting and showcasing multiculturalism as the best societal condition for inclusion, participation and creating social harmony.

5.2 STUDY REMARKS

This subchapter relates the main key findings of the study to the following discourses below. This aspect measures the impact of the study on other sectors of the society.

5.2.1 EDUCATION AND CREATIVITY

Education and creativity serve as a prerequisite for sustainable growth and development of contemporary society. As presented above in the analysis and discussion chapter, human resource is one of the key element at which a healthy and wealthy environment can be built without prejudice and stereotypes which leads to the continued evolution of both Canada and Finland. Both countries claim to turn migrants into a resource instead of threat or burden to the nation. Both Finland and Canada claim that creativity and education serve as a tool for

achieving the governmental rationality of converting problems associated with diversity into a resource for both civic and cultural integration of migrants.

I believe, the discourse of education is seen as one of the basic elements for measuring and analysing the rate at which multiculturalism is changing both Canadian and Finnish society as far as this study is a concern.

5.2.2 CIVIL SOCIETY

The essence of civil society for ensuring accountable and transparent governance is well presented in the study. Evidence from the study tells how the third sector or civil society serve as a mediator for reconciling two different cultures as far as multiculturalism and integration are a concern.

This study claims that civil society serves as a platform for implementing integration policies. It also creates an avenue for exercising governmental power at a distance. I believe, civil society emerged and is becoming stronger as a result of modernity and civilisation. The study proved that civil society helps promote cultural integration, enhances modern civilisation of freedom and liberty.

This study reaffirms the claim that, civil society help in creating a new identity and also produces new knowledge for socio-economic development and re-integration of unsuccessful migrants. I claim that, in order to assess the magnitude at which migration and multiculturalism are diversifying the nations under this study, civil society serve as one of the key element for governing migrants and assessing changes in society. I believe, the discourse of civil society allows multiculturalism to produce new identity within the society and also make the effects of multiculturalism more visible to both migrants and citizens.

5.2.3 HUMAN RIGHTS

Human rights is seen as entitlement for those in need of that service. Right to seek asylum or refugees rights are among the basic rights listed by the United Nation. Deducting from the analysis, the integration of unintegrated migrants were treated as such – both countries use right based approach in their integration policy and programme. The study proved how human rights can close the gap between “*US and THEM*”- which reduces racialization and creates more opened society for inclusion instead of exclusion.

Evidence from the study shows that multiculturalism is considered as fundamental right –in Canada is a national heritage and identity enshrine in their constitution whiles the Finnish policy documents categorically stated, Finland as a responsible member of the international community is open, save and ready to protect those in need. Both countries claim to embrace multiculturalism as a socio-political strategy for protecting minority rights within their societies including migrant’s community.

I claim that the reintegration of young Somali-Canadians into the mainstream societies clearly tells us how the previous generation was denied their basic needs to integration which affected the subsequent generations after them. On this basis, I claim that *human rights are not but they become*. That is, rights can be called rights if people are able to claim their entitlements.

This study maintains that human rights for migrants also serve as one of the basic factors for assessing multiculturalism and its effect on socio-cultural development and sustainability. I believe the discourse of human rights is also a key element for analysing societal changes caused by multiculturalism as far as this study is a concern.

5.3 DISCUSSION OF THE STUDY

This subchapter of the study highlight the similarities, and differences in the corpus. It also presents a summary of the above data analysis.

5.3.1 SIMILARITIES IN THE CORPUS

As shown in the data analysis, the theoretical similarity in the corpus, both countries adopted a technology of agency and partnership as the main technique of governance and the technique of self. The data analysis on Finland shows that Finland has to maintain and prove to be a hub of modern civilisation which embraces diversity and globalisation as part of everyday activities. The Finnish government intended to achieve such rationality through the use of agency such as civil society and migrants associations whiles the Canadian government also uses partnership and association to foster integration and produced new knowledge needed for the continued evolution of Canada.

Both countries have proven in their policy documents that, when it comes to governing of migration and integration, agency or civil society are better in managing and transforming migrants into self-behaving citizens with choice and liberty. As argued by Dean (1999, p.168),

the technology of agency often come into play when certain individuals, groups, and communities become what is called targeted population (migrants) – populations that manifest high risk or are composed of individuals deemed at risk. Such group including unintegrated migrants are all subjects to these technologies of the agency, the object being to transform their status, to make them active citizens capable as individuals and communities, of managing their own risk (Dean, 1999). The Finnish ministry of culture and education stated it categorically in the policy documents analysed that, the ministry regards itself as an expert in managing civil society and migrants associations. They maintain that through such technology, issues related to transparency and accountability will be achieved and also lead to another technology called technology of performance.

With the technology of performance in the corpus, both countries maintain that the agency or partnership that the state institution creates with volunteers and other organisation are capable of managing and attending to the actual needs of migrants. It also enables them to create active networks with the larger society which lead to the elimination of all form of racism, it promotes interaction and dialogue for smooth integration. The technology of performance to me, it ensures commitment and readiness both to the agency and their members. The technology of performance enables the government to fully participate and exercise power at a distance using an indirect rule or ways like funding, public lectures organised by their association. For example, during the 2015 orientation by the student union of the University of Jyväskylä organised for international students. Public institutions like the bank, police, the registrar etc. were all invited to give lectures on their services. They also educated the student on how to comport themselves outside the academic arena in Finland. Through this agency (student Union), international students will learn how and where to seek help when needed. According to Pyykkönen (2007), membership in the association or agency also serves as a technology of governance and self.

Again, the main similarity in the corpus is that both Canada and Finland seek to increase or promote community participation and interaction within the society. Both governments claim that through active interaction and dialogue within and outside the migrant community will help managed or turn the effect of regionalization and diversity into a resource that the countries need to maintain or improve the socio-economic well-being of its citizens. In contemporary time, both Finnish and Canadian government sees every individual as a potential asset of the State that should have a role to play in the society.

The analysis chapter above showed that, through active interaction and participation, migrant are able to overcome problems associated with stereotype, violence, and depression because interaction and participation in society lead to their acceptance and belonging. Thus, they may emotionally feel part of the new environment. This also leads to the attainment of the broader governmental rationality of community development and sustainability.

5.3.2 DIFFERENCES IN THE CORPUS

From the above data analysis, the study shows two broad differences between Canada and Finland thus, data/policy and theoretical differences.

Theoretically, the Finnish policy documents are more of the biopolitical technology of inclusion and exclusion for governing migrants and their dependents. The analysis showed that migrant needs to be integrated not only as a solution to the socio-economic problem but also ensure they do things right. The analysis of the Finnish data proves that language has always been a serious barrier to smooth integration and effective community participation and development. The policy documents present language as a catalyst why people are excluded from taking part in socio-economic events that go on every day. The Finnish government intends to break through the language barrier of exclusion by investing and education people, community and company about the essential of the Finnish /Swedish language. From my personal observation, the style at which the arguments are presented in the policy documents is in a form of biopolitical technology of inclusion of those excluded from the society and also by converting migrant into threat-free citizens with choice and freedom.

While the Canadian policy presented more of pastoral technology than biopolitical technique. Observing the analysis carry on the Canadian policy documents shows that, migrants are mainly transformed and integrated by third parties outside the public institutions. With the pastoral technique presented above in the analysis proved, the agency attends to daily needs of migrants in a form mentorship and multicultural events organised for them. The Canadian government believes that through pastoral technique new knowledge needed for the continued evolution of Canada are produced.

From personal observation of the entire corpus used for the analysis of this study shows that the Canadian policy document were presented in a descriptive form – the rhetorical statements employed are in a form of explaining what was done from the previous years and what need to be done in the future. The modal and wording of the discourses in the text were describing the

significant of multiculturalism and its components. While Finnish policy document used argumentative rhetoric's in justifying why multiculturalism and migrants need to be accepted into the Finnish society. The use of persuasive statements, keywords, and wording of discourses in the corpus really show why it is important to accept multiculturalism and migrants into Finnish society to avoid unforeseen socio-economic problem associated with globalization and diversification.

5.3.3 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Indeed, the study has proven that the effects of globalization and regionalization is really diversifying contemporary societies which make it difficult to maintain and operate effectively without an appropriate public policy on migration either to strictly close the borders or open it for integration into the existing norms and culture values. I see immigration as a global epidemic which cannot be undermined or prevented from happening whether attitudes turns out to be hard or soften towards immigrants. Due to the magnitude of the challenge, nation-state turns out to change discourses when it's come to which alternative is the best to handle problems associated with diversity without jeopardizing the existing social structures of the society.

Both Canada and Finland has proven in their policy document as showed in the analysis chapter that, multiculturalism is the best alternative to handle the effects of diversity because it reunites and reconciled the difference between and among various group of the population including migrants.

Looking at the first research problem, what is the cultural position of migrant in the policy document? As shown in analysis, both governments claim that migrants are a potential resource that can use to solve the socio-economic problem if they are culturally integrated into the society. From the notion of governmentality, the high socio-economic output of the nation highly depends on the happiness and well-being of individual citizens. I believe that governmentality of migration will enhance, produce new knowledge and achieve its goals if both countries continue to strengthen its cultural program that targets inter-faith understanding and differences within and outside the workplace. Because people are able to deliver their best when they are both psychological and physically sound and happy.

The second research problem – integrating the unintegrated into the normal society? The study has shown that the unintegrated migrants are the same as what Dean (1999) called “*target*

population” when describing the technology of agency. The analysis of this research problem affirms that the governance of multiculturalism in both countries produces new identity. For example, the Canadian policy uses keywords like a visible minority, Somali-Canadian, while the Finnish policy also uses geographical identity to describe specific migrants and their dependents such as Syrian refugees, refugees from North Africa etc. All these identities are produced through discursive formation stabilise by time. As Foucault himself argues in the History of Sexuality volume 1 about how sexual identity was transformed into the discourse in contemporary times thus, giving people identity through scientific study because sex is part of us, about and tell us who we are. Likewise, diversification, as shown in the data analysis chapter, is part of everyday life (Finnish migration policy). I believe, identity produces through the governance of migration tells migrants who they are. Those identities were produced by studying and discussing the discourse of multiculturalism and migration.

Lastly, Is multiculturalism is a threat to national culture and sustainability of the host nation? As shown in the analysis, the Canadians regard multiculturalism as a national identity or symbols. The Canadian government believes multiculturalism is the best solution to enhance the continued evolution of Canada and eliminate all forms of racialization in the society. While the Finnish policy showed that, multiculturalism is one of the key alternatives to enable migrant to do things right and at the same time use migrants to solve future socio-economic problem confronting the nation. Although, multiculturalism is still an ongoing debate in Finland as shown above. But I claim that both countries are capable of managing threat associated with multiculturalism if they strengthen the technology of agency and partnership. This will safeguard and foster smooth integration without fear and panic of the small group.

I believe, the discourse of migration also responds to the categorization of what is normal or abnormal to the society. Multiculturalism, diversification, and globalisation cannot be prevented or ignored but it is properly studied in order to manage it well for socio-economic wellbeing of the society. I claim that power and knowledge create discourse and discourse also create an identity. As argued, governmentality form of power is power when it is exercised on people with free will and liberty.

5.4 CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this thesis was to assess how the discourses of migration and multiculturalism are been depicted in Canadian and Finnish policy documents. The discourse

analysis of the integration policy documents presented the study in a position which allows a more flexible approach to using the concept of governmentality and multiculturalism framework to analyse and interpret key findings of the study.

This study maintains that the discourse of education & creativity, civil society, and fundamental right are intertwined with the discourse of migration and multiculturalism. Thus, multiculturalism has massively impacted on both Finnish and Canadian societies when we relate it to the above-mentioned discourses.

I believe that the effects of multiculturalism on socio-cultural and economic development is more visible and can be quantitatively measured when a critical analysis or a further research is conducted on the rate of transformations happening to education, civil society, and fundamental right as far as diversity and multiculturalism are a concern. This study recommends a further research on a larger scale to ascertain the impact and relationship between the discourses of multiculturalism and cultural sustainability. I also believe the concept of governmentality used clearly demonstrated how policy makers and those entrusted with socio-political power influence citizens on how to think about discourses in a certain way by using persuasive and argumentative statements.

This study maintains that multiculturalism as a socio-political discourse of governance is transforming Finnish and Canadian societies in a way that seek to converts the adverse effects into a resource for socio-economic development and well-being. I believe, multiculturalism has come, is here and will stay but the burden of sustainability depends on the nation which seeks to adopt and implement it as part of its public policy.

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