

Contents

Acknowledgements — IX

Part I: Framing Integration and Solidarity in Contemporary Liberal Democracies

Thomas Hylland Eriksen

- 1 The Meaning of 'We' — 2**
- 1.1 What is a society? — 2
- 1.2 The need for complex methods — 6
- 1.3 The dual revolution of the 21st century — 10
- 1.4 Tensions in the 21st century world — 13
- 1.5 Dominant relations of inclusion and exclusion — 15
- 1.6 What is integration? — 16
- References — 20

Peter Kivisto

- 2 The Politics of Integration — 22**
- 2.1 Framing the analysis: Multiculturalism as claims-making — 23
- 2.2 Diversity and integration in the Nordic social democracies — 28
- References — 34

PART II: Case Studies from the Nordic Nations

Peter A. Kraus

- 3 Democracy's Challenge: Nordic Minority Politics in the European Context — 38**
- 3.1 Democracy, the people and the paradox of sovereignty — 38
- 3.2 The challenge of minorities — 43
- 3.3 Minority politics in the Nordic context — 46
- References — 50

Sia Spiliopoulou Åkermark

- 4 Divergence and Convergence in Minority Law and Policies in the Nordic Countries — 52**

- 4.1 Introduction — 52
- 4.2 The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities and its ratification by the Nordic countries — 54
- 4.3 The concept of 'minority' in the four countries examined — 58
- 4.4 Concluding reflections — 68

Birte Siim

- 5 **Migration, Multiculturalism and Gender – a Nordic Perspective — 71**
 - 5.1 Rethinking citizenship and diversity — 73
 - 5.2 Multicultural citizenship and gender equality — 75
 - 5.3 The multicultural challenge to the Nordic welfare states — 77
 - 5.4 The Nordic gender equality paradox — 80
 - 5.5 Framings and regulations regarding headscarves in Nordic nations — 82
 - 5.6 Conclusion: Multiculturalism and gender equality - issues and strategies — 86
 - References — 88

Camilla Nordberg

- 6 **Dynamics of Recognition: Minority Ethnic Access to Transformative Power in the Nordic Welfare State — 91**
 - 6.1 Introduction — 91
 - 6.2 Recognition of social injustice — 92
 - 6.3 Institutional and cultural constraints to agency — 93
 - 6.4 The local context of agency: The 'universalist' welfare state and its ethno-cultural others — 95
 - 6.5 Dynamics of Roma activist participatory encounters in Finnish society — 96
 - 6.5.1 The rationales of political agency — 97
 - 6.5.2 The limits of the public sphere in Finland — 100
 - 6.6 State policy and Roma and Traveller mobilisation in Sweden and Norway — 101
 - 6.6.1 Social policy, education and subordinated agency in Sweden — 102
 - 6.6.2 Control, discipline and emerging resistance in Norway — 103
 - 6.6.3 Diverging trajectories? — 104
 - 6.7 Conclusion — 105
 - References — 107

Reetta Toivanen

- 7 **From Ignorance to Effective Inclusion: The Role of National Minorities within the Finnish Consensus Culture — 110**
 - 7.1 Prologue — 110

7.2	Equality mainstreaming or societal strait-jacket? — 111
7.3	Minorities in Finland — 113
7.4	Finnish commitment to equality and the practice of ignorance — 115
7.5	The Sami and the Roma in Finland: Two unlike minority populations — 118
7.5.1	Difference rights for Sámi vs. sameness rights for Roma? — 119
7.5.2	Defining minority identity in a majority context — 120
7.5.3	The public sphere as a hegemonic setting co-defines minoritisation — 121
7.6	Sámi and the denial of the right to their own culture — 122
7.6.1	International law and ways to sidestep its requirements — 123
7.6.2	National laws and ways to sidestep their provisions — 126
7.7	Roma – a persistent underclass — 129
7.7.1	Blood feuding — 131
7.7.2	The Roma language – revitalisation efforts of a secret code — 133
7.8	Power as a theory and a practice — 134
	References — 138

Niko Pyrhönen, Karin Creutz and Marjukka Weide

8	Orchestrating National Unity: An Assessment of Discourses in Immigrant Legislation and the Surrounding Parliamentary and Public Debates — 141
8.1	Introduction — 141
8.2	Framing the boundary-work of national unity – a model of discursive practices with reference to the preparatory process of the Aliens Act of 2004 — 144
8.3	Parliamentarians' constructions of national unity through the state — 152
8.3.1	National solidarity — 154
8.3.2	Costs and gains — 155
8.3.3	The strong embrace of the state — 157
8.3.4	The sound political process — 159
8.4	A macro-societal approach to immigration topics – media discourses and internet debates — 160
8.4.1	The meta-discourse: Finnishness through boundaries — 161
8.4.2	Management of the pros and cons of immigration – the instrumentalist frame — 162
8.4.3	Immigration as societal threat – negotiating solidarity — 163
8.4.4	Prioritising 'us' – the precedence of the majority — 164
8.4.5	Integration through legislative policies – immigration from a governmentalist perspective — 165
8.4.6	The media and internet discussions as a reification of the institutionalised policy-oriented discourses — 166
8.5	Concluding discussion — 166
	References — 169
	Appendix 1: Original Quotes — 172

Niklas Wilhelmsson

9	Social Capital as a Resource for Political Participation: Finland in a Nordic Comparative Perspective — 176
9.1	Introduction and research questions — 176
9.2	Political participation — 180
9.2.1	The importance of political participation and equality — 181
9.2.2	Political rights of migrants in the Nordic countries — 181
9.3	The explanatory variable: social capital — 183
9.3.1	Bridging and bonding social capital — 183
9.3.2	Hypotheses — 185
9.4	Control variables — 185
9.5	Political participation among migrants in Finland — 186
9.5.1	Organisational participation among immigrants in Finland — 187
9.5.2	An analysis of the link between organisational participation and electoral participation among migrants in Finland — 189
9.6	Civic rights, electoral participation and organisational activity among migrants in a Nordic comparative perspective — 192
9.7	Discussion — 196
9.8	Conclusions — 197
	References — 198

Index — 202