

ASSEMBLAGE OF PASTORAL POWER AND SAMENESS

A governmentality of integrating immigrant women

Abstract

The political discussions around immigrant integration in Finland have specifically problematised the integration of immigrant women. This article uses a Foucaultian framework of governmentality to analyse these problematisations. By exploring the way that state feminist rationalities are used to measure the integration of immigrant women through specific definitions of gender equality, the article shows how integration technologies are envisioned as a means of bringing about gender equality for immigrant women and how these technologies use modes of pastoral power reflecting a liberal desire to govern at a distance. The article also addresses the power/knowledge constellation that omits knowledge about other intersectionalities.

Keywords

Governmentality • state feminism • immigrant integration • pastoral power • Finland

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1 Introduction

In this article I will investigate the governmentality of gender equality and how it impacts the way the integration of immigrant women is conceptualised in Finland. Governmentality studies aim at removing 'the 'naturalness' and 'taken-for-granted' character of how things are done. In so doing, it renders practices of government problematic and shows that things might be different from what they are (Dean 1999: 38). Michel Foucault's 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 (Foucault 2002: 341). Governmentality is inherently connected to the birth of biopolitics, that is, to the historical extension of the sphere of governing to the population and to the economy, which is envisioned as an administrative imperative of optimising the health and welfare of populations. Governmentality, thus, refers to governmentalisation and to the extension of governmental technologies and rationalities into 'civil society' and our everyday lives. Governmentality reflects what we think a well-governed society should be (governed) like (Foucault 2007, 2008; see also especially Burchell, Gordon, & Miller 1991; Dean 1999, 2010; Rose, O'Malley, & Valverde 2006).

Governmentality is embedded in, achieved and improved, mostly through expert knowledge. In the Foucaultian framework it becomes impossible to distinguish policy-making or governance as independent of general power/knowledge constellations, and therefore the analytical question focuses on how 'reason' operates in governing phenomena in their empirical particularity. Knowledge is used to define and guide governmental objectives in the form of rationalities, techniques and modes of governing that translate into prescriptions of how the state, organisations, groups, families and the self should be governed. Together the rationalities and technologies of governmentality enable the liberal preference of 'governing at a distance', or governing through rights and freedoms. Governmentality is transmitted to the population and ejected into the economy through an assemblage of various technologies such as strategies, tactics and mechanisms, policies, laws and rules, training schemes, expected activities and codes of conduct relating to various aspects of (ethical, professional, civic, parental, pupil, inmate, etc.) behavior. This article discusses the rationalities evident in the ways that integrating immigrant women is conceptualised through taken-for-granted assumptions regarding immigrant

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women and their integration in Finland (Foucault 2002; see also Barry, Osborne, & Rose 1996; Rose 1999b).

2 Governmentality studies, migration, integration and gender

Research into immigrant integration from a Foucaultian governmentality viewpoint is slowly becoming a growing field, offering interesting ways to make sense of practices of immigrant integration. Typically, the focus has been on the governmentality of migration and the biopolitical rationalities embedded in regulating cross-border movements (of asylum seekers especially). To name a few examples, such studies include analysis of exclusionary rationalities in immigration regulations and visa regimes showing how such regulations as an assemblage have a rationality of making asylum seeking and immigration as difficult as 'reasonably' possible (Kasli & Parla 2009; Morris 1998; Salter 2006, 2008). By contextualising the birth of the international refugee regime, Lippert (1999) has investigated early refugee studies as a form of expert knowledge. Andrijasevic and Walters (2010) discuss the international refugee regime and its ordering practices as a mundane neoliberal governmentality. Bigo (2001, 2002) analyses the securitisation of immigration as an inherent governmentality of modern Western states (also Bigo & Guild 2005) and Salter and Maguire have focused on migrants in airports and the securitised technologies in function there (Maguire 2009; Salter 2008). Inda (2006) and Hedman (2008) have investigated how 'illegal' immigration has been created and made an object of governmental technologies by shedding light on what kind of knowledge underpins such problematisations. Gill (2009a, 2009b) and Conlon (2010) have analysed what kind of governmentalities the administering, caring and (dis)locating of asylum seekers include and what kind of power effects they have. Lippert (2005) has also focused on sovereign and pastoral forms of power used in giving sanctuary to refused asylum applicants in Canada.

The governmentality of integrating immigrants has not received as much attention as migration. Diasporas have been analysed from a governmentality perspective, but in these instances the analytical focus has been on 'emigrants' rather than 'immigrants'. Fikes (2008) has discussed how labour and market rationalities are reproduced within diasporas creating racialised and gendered practices. Larner (2007) interrogates how neoliberal governmentality can transform diasporas into networks that serve national economic competition through subjectifying ex-patriots as sources of expert knowledge. In terms of immigration, Lippert (1998) has focused on the technologies of settling refugees in Canada, asserting that volunteering practices not only use technologies of governing at a distance but also forms of pastoral power. Dahlstedt (2008) has investigated the urban technologies of empowering immigrants to become active citizens in Sweden. Pyykkönen and Kerkkänen have also analysed immigrant integration in Finland. Pyykkönen (2007a) has focused

on the way that the governmentalisation of civil society is seen in the technologies aimed at integrating immigrants through immigrant organisations and how immigrant associations are assumed to adopt and indeed follow the governmental agenda and definitions of integration work. Kerkkänen (2008) has discussed the culturalising patterns of integration policy as biopower and analysed the rationality of problematising immigrant cultures. My research extends this research tradition by concentrating on the gendered rationalities of integration.

Because governmentality functions in the biopolitical field of population, both immigration and gender become important aspects of governing. Gender does not only impact the rationalities of integration, but gendered rationalities – related to nuclear family, male-breadwinner family models, heterosexuality, etc.– play a part in informing the governmentality of immigration control (Andrijasevic 2009). Despite legislative equality, different gendered rationalities have been – and could still be – applied to men and women with residence permit and family reunification decisions through assumptions regarding 'immigrant culture' informing, for example, the evaluation of genuineness of family unification or residence permit applications (Bhabha & Shutter 1994). Lentin and Conlon have analysed the gendered governmentalities aimed at asylum seekers. Lentin (2003) describes the way that the *jus soli* rule has problematised immigrant women's pregnant bodies and Conlon (2010) has focused on the regulation of the intimate aspects of asylum seekers' life in reception facilities.

The focus here is grounded in the explicit politicisation of immigrant women's integration in the Finnish governmental discussions and texts, which can be understood against the background of how gender equality forms an integral part of the official Finnish discourses of nationalism and national identity (Holli 2003; Keskinen *et al.* 2009; Tuori 2007, 2009; Vuori 2009). Gendered logics typically play crucial roles in definitions of national culture and identity. Nationalist rationalities impose biopolitical expectations on men as soldiers and 'defenders' of the state (Nagel 1998), and on women as mothers and cultural and biological 'reproducers' of nations. These expectations have made the definitions of 'proper woman' and of 'woman's place' in society one of the key elements of national culture constructs (Yuval-Davis 1997). Also the early Finnish activists of gender equality used discourses on women as mothers of the nation (Sulkunen 1989), but since then the gender contract has changed. Today, gender equality is a key component of national identity in Finland (also Holli 2003; Tuori 2007). The nationalist gender equality discourse designates Finland as a beacon of gender equality (together with other Scandinavian countries), as one that can even 'export' gender equality to the rest of Europe. The fact that Finland was the second country in the world to grant women both the right to vote and the right to stand for election (in 1906) and that Finland had the first women members of parliament in the world (19 women elected in 1907) forms a religiously repeated nationalist narrative. Consequently, it is not surprising that gender

equality becomes problematised in the context of integrating immigrant women (Keskinen 2009, 2011; Tuori 2007, 2009; Vuori 2009). The problematisation of gender equality through issues such as veiling, forced marriages, genital mutilation, polygamy, the sending of immigrant teenage girls into the parents' country of origin, etc., is not particularly Finnish *per se*. However, as Keskinen (2009) notes, such aspects have not (yet) become major issues of governmental technologies in Finland. Rather the integration rationality of gender equality is more distinctive and less exaggerated in Finland.

3 Governmentality, state feminism, integration and culture

In liberal Western states the preference of governing at a distance has given rise to an ethos of empowerment. As Barbara Cruikshank has argued, in liberal states this conduct of the individual self – or the care of the self – is executed through an 'empowered' subject: a subject that is active, autonomous, responsible, capable and skilled enough, that is, empowered enough to lead one's life in such a way that it benefits the 'good' of society. In this context, the act of governing comes to include the act of conducting the conduct of the individual self through asserting a particular way of 'caring for the self', of 'making live' in prescribed ways. Various technologies of empowerment can utilise forms of pastoral power. Pastoral power is a power of caring reminiscent of the earlier right and duty of priests to care and guide the parish flock (Foucault 2007). This extension of the political into lived life makes the subjectifications embedded in the prescribed 'care of the immigrant self' a key way in which power is exercised over immigrants. Because governmentality proposes certain ways of being as more beneficial than others, by emphasising certain desires, ambitions, interests and beliefs as more acceptable than others, governmentality conducts the conduct of immigrants (Foucault 2002, 2007; Rose 1996a, 1999b; on empowerment see especially Cruikshank 1999; Dean 1999; Hindess 2001; Rose 1996b, 1999a).

What is the knowledge behind understanding the integration of immigrant women then? Through what kind of rationalities and technologies is it approached? In the context of Scandinavian welfare states it is typical to talk about state feminism, which refers to a 'woman-friendly' state that aims to provide women with equal opportunities to participate in civil society and in working life through universal benefit structures (the term was coined by Helga Hernes in 1987; see also Anttonen 1994, 2006; Borchorst & Siim 2008; Rantalaiho 1994). State feminism must be distinguished from radical feminist conceptualisations that did not take hold in Finland until the 1990s (Anttonen 1997). State feminist discourse is a pro-state governmentality that promotes state intervention as a technology of improving women's chances of practicing a life of equal opportunity instead of conceptualising the state as a malevolent patriarchy (Kantola 2006; Pateman 1999). In Finland,

the gender contract was in a way negotiated between the state and the woman (Anttonen 1997). Whether state feminism has translated into gender equality can be questioned, especially in the context of reductions in welfare benefits since the economic depression of early 1990s (Julkunen 2002; Lister 2009). Today the state feminist rationality can be seen in various technologies that often attempt to govern the personal sphere at a distance, for example, through establishing various criteria such as increasing the number of women in business management or dividing household work and childcare equally and then monitoring their implementation (Family Federation of Finland 2008).

Under state feminism women have become subjectified as equal breadwinners on par with men. Women's employment is conceptualised as an economic requirement in a state following a two-breadwinner-family model in which the wife's financial dependency on the husband is viewed as illegitimate (and unproductive in relation to the state). To combat the feminisation of poverty, women should care for themselves as 'single' breadwinners for their own future benefit. Women should not disadvantage themselves by doing only unpaid work and thereby ending up diminishing their pensions and risking old age poverty in case of divorce. Although women (or parents) have secured good benefits – maternity/parental leave benefits, cheap childcare or a small child home care allowance with the right to return to their position of employment inside three years after the birth of a child – the assumption that after those three years the woman returns to her job is rarely questioned. In this sense, in the state feminist governmentality women are considered to have the same rights (and duties) as men to fulfil their individual desires and to apply their abilities in working life (Anttonen 1997; Anttonen, Henriksson & Nätkin 1994; Holli 2003; Holli, Saarikoski, & Sana 2002).

What is problematic is that state feminist discourses in Finland silences more radical feminist critique and exclude discussions about both difference and the (non-)essence of women at the heart of the perseverance of gendered practices and gender discrimination in Finland (Spelman 1989). Further, in the context of integrating immigrant women, the nationalist and state feminist power constellation becomes problematic because it prevents the discussion of the failures of Scandinavian models of gender equality from finding a voice in the rationalities of integrating immigrant women. Instead, governmental sources rely heavily on discourses that affirm gender equality as a lived fact turning patriarchal gender relations into matters of 'immigrant culture', into something supposedly alien and un-Finnish.

The governmentality of state feminism has already extended the sphere of government into the personal world. In this sense, the technologies aimed at 'the multicultural' present few normative problems *per se* and instead such technologies become a 'natural' part of the rationalities of the welfare state and its management in Finland (see also Pyykkönen 2007a). In this context it is relevant to note that these technologies also have been extended to integrating

immigrant men in Finland through problematising immigrant masculinities under the governmentality of gender equality, as Tuori notes (2009). There are non-governmental trainings and support groups that are focused on teaching immigrant men how to be (come) gender equal: *Miehen Linja* (Eng. Man's Line) is a programme aimed at preventing domestic violence by immigrant men. Also cooking classes are offered to immigrant men with the aim of extending the prescribed practices of shared housework to immigrant families. Yet, the rationalities of integrating immigrant men would be better analysed through the rationalities of securitisation because the main gendered subjectifications regarding immigrant men can be found under the policy of domestic security in Finland, which among other things, includes organised crime, terrorism and Islamic radicalism, as well as both racist and domestic violence (Finnish Ministry of the Interior 2008; see also Mervola 2005).

What integration means in various countries differs. Scandinavian governmental discourses mostly refer to integration as active citizenship and active participation in the civil society and labour market (also Dahlstedt 2008; Kerkkänen 2008; Pyykkönen 2007a). This requirement is also explicitly extended to immigrant women in Finland. Rationalities and technologies of governing are organised around a project of fostering such empowered, 'rational', 'independent' and 'proactive' and 'self-governing' citizens through education and training, benefit and residence permit regulations, social programs, internships, etc. (Foucault 1990; also Cruikshank 1999; Rose 1996b). These technologies are especially aimed at those at risk of marginalisation and they encourage immigrants to develop ways of behaving that enable them to 'mainstream themselves', to become part of 'normal' society. This in itself is not a negative thing as its effects can clearly also be positive. Here it is relevant to remember that Foucault's concept of power is also positive and constitutive, that is, not defined solely as repression (Foucault 1998; also Hindess 1996). The critique in this context is aimed at the logic of normalisation and the paternalistic tone of state feminist governmentality.

4 Immigrant integration policy in Finland

The new Integration Act of 2010 defines the technologies of empowerment as "measures aimed at the immigrant for the improvement of his/her life skills and for the prevention of marginalisation". In the Finnish context, the integration of immigrants is not only left to civil society, but integration has become an enterprising field of governmental technologies (Pyykkönen 2007a, 2007b). The Integration Act provides for integration assistance, which is a monetary benefit for immigrants who are/become unemployed (normally) during the first three years of their residence in Finland. Those immigrants who receive integration assistance or non-temporary income support are obliged to follow an integration plan drawn up by job centre officials based on initial assessment of the integration needs.

For a long time there had been discussions about the benefits of extending integration plans to other groups considered to be 'at risk', such as stay-at-home mothers, teenagers and the elderly (Finnish Government 2002). Originally the Integration Act of 1999 only offered integration measures to those who received benefits, but in the new Integration Act of 2010 this possibility has in principle been extended to all foreign residents with diagnosed integration needs during the first three years of residence (or even longer for those with qualified reasons such as childcare or health issues). In addition, the Integration Act of 2010 imposed a requirement on authorities to provide immigrants with information on Finnish society in connection with various residency procedures.

The integration plans differ in content from regular personal unemployment plans in that they contain language training and integration courses offering information on Finnish society. The plans can also include additional job training to 'achieve' Finnish qualifications if an immigrant already has a qualification from another country. In addition, the plans contain skills assessments, basic, vocational or skills training and job placements typical also of regular unemployment plans. As a technology of integration, the plans have an interventionist rationality: they can include such technologies as language training in real-life situations and personal coaching (that can also be part of normal unemployment plans) consisting of assisted activities such as writing job applications and curricula vitae, finding job placements, preparing and coaching people on how to behave in the work place or in job interviews. The integration plans can at times take the liberal desire to empower and govern at a distance back to the intimate disciplinary level. It can be argued that such an assemblage of technologies is a form of pastoral power in itself, which is aimed at targeting 'the subtle aspects of...conduct in conversations, at places of work, on city buses and subways, on streets, in shopping malls, in doctors' offices and in private homes' (Lippert 1998: 395).

5 Integrating empowered immigrant women

Next will I analyse the particularities of the Finnish ways of integrating immigrant women. I have analysed the ways that the integration of immigrant women has been discussed in Parliament and in state texts (bills, programs and ministerial reports). In practice, integration plans are implemented in municipalities and the actual concrete practices of integration are as different as each social worker, unemployment official or integration trainer. However, the discussions and texts of the central government expose the way that integration is envisioned, that is, how an integrated immigrant woman is defined and what kind of technologies are assumed and prescribed to integrate immigrants.

In the context of state feminist governmentality, immigrant cultures become problematised in specific ways. In many instances in the analysed texts the 'multicultural' is disciplined through legalistic

discourses. The government Migration Policy Program, for example, asserts that 'Immigrant participation shall be promoted and opportunities fostered for immigrants to uphold their own culture within the law' (Finnish Government 2006). Statements in the parliament give advice such as the following:

a socially safe and sound Finland needs people to commit to a shared value base, that is, to democracy, equality and respect for human rights. Immigrants have the same rights and duties as the native population. Immigrants' ability to maintain their culture and their language needs to be supported, but not at the expense of basic rights, like women's and children's rights or the security and liberty of their person. (Finnish Parliament 2003, this and subsequent translations are by the author)

Also, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health notes that

there is no clear position in the Constitution or in the Integration Act ... on what is meant by respect for cultures. In the overview of the principles of integration law it has been noted that the norms of immigrant cultures can impose on women and girls contradictory duties in comparison to that which is the position of Finnish women in society. In Finnish society everyone's rights are protected under the Constitution regardless of cultural practices. Under the Constitution without acceptable reasons nobody can be put into a different position based on sex, age, origin, language, religion, belief, opinion, health, disability or other reasons related to the person. (Finnish Ministry of Social Affairs and Health 2005)

The discursive connection between immigrant culture and the constitution, which relates to the public sphere, is interesting. It is as if unequal gender relations in the private sphere could be covered by the constitution and as if 'patriarchal' practices were outlined as unconstitutional. The governmentality problematises cultures instead of concentrating on individual's actions that cross the lines of legality—as for example is done in case of Finnish perpetrators of psychological abuse or violence at home. On the whole, these statements that set limits to the multicultural are not particularly Finnish but are prevalent in the West in general.

Despite the fact that multiculturalism is an official policy in Finland, multiculturalist ways of understanding immigrant women's situation are not prevalent. Multiculturalist discourses influence discussions around the preservation of immigrant cultures and languages via educational and cultural activities, but in the context of integrating immigrant women culture is problematised. In general, as Saukkonen has argued, based on the letter of law, Finland has the most multiculturalist policy in Europe – as the Constitution guarantees a right to own culture and language also to other unspecified groups – but the actual implementation of the policy of multiculturalism is thin (Saukkonen 2010). Hence, in practice multiculturalism in Finland can be characterised more in terms of 'the multicultural' in the sense that Bhikhu Parekh (2000) and Stuart Hall (2000) mean.

They define 'multiculturalism' as the policy that asserts cultural rights whereas 'the multicultural' relates more to the actual condition of multiple cultures living together. Tuori (2007) has noted that, as in many other countries, in Finland multiculturalism resembles a discourse of domestication in which the immigrant culture is a commodity to be consumed. The culture in the 'multicultural' is an art (mostly defined as food, music, dance, etc.) rather than a culture that would be allowed to influence thinking and modes of 'making live'.

But in Finland such discursive disciplining of multiculturalism does not suffice. In the context of state feminist governmentality merely following the letter of the law is not a sufficient sign of gender equality and not an acceptable measure of integration. Instead, such questions as 'How can immigrant women be made to live gender equally?' and 'What kind of technologies can be used to achieve gender equality for immigrant women?' become relevant. Official integration plans are intended to function as technologies of gender equal integration. The Social Affairs and Health Committee of the Parliament (2002) stresses that 'European views on human rights, democracy and gender equality should be included in immigrant training in order to prevent problems'. The Committee continues that 'Whilst compiling the integration plan for the immigrant, officials will always need to make sure that the immigrant is representing his/her own will. In this regard, there have been problems for example due to cultural differences related to women's position' (*ibid.*). The government report on the implementation of the Integration Act also states that 'Informing immigrant women about their rights and about the law is important so that they can evaluate their own position in their family and in society in relation to Finnish legislation' (Finnish Government 2002). Thus, the desire to make the immigrant woman into an emancipated, empowered subject is envisioned to be implemented through various technologies such as discussions, training and information distribution at the use of integration officials (job centre workers, health professionals, trainers on integration courses, the immigration services, etc.).

Thus, the test of integration can come in the form of a soul-searching and confession, as the above statements suggest (see also Lippert 2005). As Salter (2007: 49) formulates: "Modern subjects, according to Foucault, are conditioned by a Christian notion of continual, exhaustive confession in the face of state apparatus, securing not only a docile body but also an anxious, self-disclosing citizen". The immigrant women's ability to represent her 'true' will as against the interest of the husband, the family or cultural gender roles becomes a focus of pastoral examination. The appropriate, integration-capable female immigrant is subjectified as a citizen who is capable of active agency evidenced in the eviction of 'false or oppressed consciousness' and the confession of one's 'true' desires to the integration officials. Pastoral power is about the power of enabling salvation, or emancipation in this context. The demand is that immigrant women practice their right to gender equality, subject themselves to a technology of caring for oneself that requires

her to evaluate her gendered roles and to confess to the oppression embedded in her culture. Tellingly, the Finnish government has also published a booklet for immigrants on how to be equal in Finland that details the appropriate parameters, ambitions, desires and behaviors for equal families (Finnish Ministry of the Interior 2009b; for a detailed analysis of this document see Vuori 2009).

There are many similarities between the Finnish discourses regarding immigrant women and the ways that other Western countries discipline multiculturalist notions of gender. But there are also more particular rationalities in which Finnish discourses of gender equality impact immigrant women. The definition of gender equality as a woman's right and/or capacity to be *the same* as a man, is one such rationality actualising the fact that Scandinavian countries have had the highest rates of women's participation in the labour market. Due to this, especially in Finland, there has been a remarkable lack of the stay-at-home mother culture for the past few decades (Julkunen 1994; Rantalaiho 1994). In other European countries it is more typical for women to work part-time or become housewives (Anttonen & Sointu 2006). Governmental discourses in general emphasise the need to integrate immigrants through employment (Kerkkänen 2008; Pyykkönen 2007a), and employment is used as a measure of gender equal integration as is seen below.

The government's report on the implementation of integration states that:

There are such women among immigrants for whom integration has gone well and who are part of working life, but there are also such women who need special support and encouragement in integration and in finding employment. These women may have been left without education in their home countries, they have multiple children and it has not been part of their value system that women educate themselves or have jobs. Despite whether these women work or not, it is important that they participate in Finnish society. (Finnish Government 2002)

A Member of Parliament notes:

Particular attention should be paid to the position of immigrant women. A majority of immigrant women have particular problems. A large proportion has gaps in their writing and reading skills, in their language skills and in their basic civic skills. On the other hand, their strength and their know-how is left hidden inside the walls of the home. With their children they need to resort to the protection of women's refuge centres more often than the rest of the population. The Finnish society that respects gender equality emphasises opportunities for equal educational, employment, societal and political participation for both women and men. Securing these rights to immigrant women necessitates open discussion together with men and women and many measures speeding up integration. (Finnish Parliament 2003)

Whereas the report investigating the problems related to immigrant employment states that:

The position of immigrants probably does not differ from national requirements in terms of working motivation and availability to labour markets. However, there might be cultural differences that may even be significant, for example, in childcare and related areas. The significance of these cultural factors as inhibitors of gaining employment may be great, but from the point of view of parity accepting very different treatment cannot be considered. We cannot create double standards in the law. (Finnish Ministry of the Interior 2009a)

Cultures in which women have multiple children stay at home taking care of them, submit to 'cultural' forms of domestic violence and in which cultural values do not emphasise education and career for women are presented as lamentable, problematic and regressive. The integration of immigrant women has been problematised and directly linked to culture.

The integration difficulties of immigrant women are often due to different culture-related situations at home and due to family models. The unemployment rate of immigrant women is clearly higher than that of immigrant men. (Finnish Government 2010)

The governmentality of state feminism finds it difficult to conceptualise a non-working woman as an integrated immigrant, but sees this as a sign lacking gender equality.

Power/Knowledge constellations become most evident in the knowledge they silence. In this case the silencing focuses on other intersectionalities. The rationality of gender equal integration culturalises non-working as a sign of lacking gender equality and does not consider other explanations. Gendered immigration patterns (where a woman migrates due to the husband's job) are one such explanation that compromises the woman's ability to find employment. Even the 'gender equal Finnish women' often stay at home taking care of their children when they emigrate because of their husbands' jobs. Class can also be such an explanation: it is no secret that (poor) women do most of the work in the world; hence staying at home can also be a sign of middle or upper class background. In fact, immigrants are rarely the poorest of the poor. Alternatively, not working may be a question of habit dictated more by a general lack of jobs, or lack of welfare state structures and childcare in the country of origin rather than a fundamental belief that women should not work. If Finland had not had a labour shortage after the Second World War, the move of women into the labour market could have been much slower and culturally more problematic. Indeed the early women's activists in Finland did not promote women's employment but rather viewed it as a regrettable fact caused by poverty (Sulkunen 1989). But choices of staying at home can also be related to child upbringing and psychological considerations of feelings of security of immigrant children or to rational calculations related to plans of a quick return to the home country.

Although there certainly are people who think that a woman's place is at home, even this does not necessarily speak of an abusive or oppressive marriage. There are degrees of gender equality and no clear markers to oppressive relationships as any employed, middle-class Finnish woman who is abused in her fine detached house in the suburbs can attest to. And there are Finnish women who make a career out of mothering, although on the whole, staying at home is considered an unwanted sacrifice or at least a choice that needs to be explained in relation to norms of citizenship and participation (also Kelh  2009). Also what is left unsaid in this power/knowledge constellation of gender equality and nationalism is that the justification for immigration is found in the immigrants' ability to benefit the economy: A part of 'making live' is a rationality of 'making produce', which problematises stay-at-home mothering. (Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1993; Phoenix 1998; Wobbe 1995)

6 Conclusion

Immigration puts pressure on the discursive order of gender equality by disturbing the subjectification of women as equal. Immigration dislocates the 'monocultural' gender structure of sameness – of the (fe)male – introducing additional aspects of intersectionality and creating new dynamics of identity politics. The emergence of new intersectionalities of 'race' and ethnicity – besides that of class – complicates the unity of gender equal rationality when unequal relationships do not become dismissed as matters of individual psychology but instead become highlighted as matters of racialised ethnicity.

Although my argument here is not aimed against gender equality, it is nevertheless aimed against the unproblematised measures and rationalities of integration; against the assemblage of conceptualisations of sameness utilising technologies of pastoral power to reach its goals. Gender equality in Finland is based on the woman's capacity to be a citizen and a worker in the same way as a man, which in itself reflects a lack of critical feminist thinking. It is an attempt to achieve women's equality without questioning the exclusion of 'feminine' values and 'feminine' realities from the definitions of the citizens and the worker, despite the seeming attempt not to. Instead, the rejection of values and 'emotions' culturally associated with femininity has been conceptualised as equality and not as cultural distortion, oppression or exclusion of difference (Anttonen 1994; Julkunen 1994; see Holli 2003 for a discussion regarding the changes in the formulation of gender equality in Finland).

Looking at recent choices made by Finnish women, it is evident that in Europe Finland is unique in that its trend of stay-at-home mothering is reversing. Whereas elsewhere in Europe the tendency of mothers to work has increased, Finland is the only country in Europe in which more and more children under 3 years are taken care of at home. Around 79% of children under three are cared for

at home and only some 50% of children between 3 and 6 are in day care, which is one of the lowest percentages of 3–6 year old children in day care in Anttonen and Sointu's study (2006). It is interesting how a measure of gender equality that is not unproblematic in the Finnish context is applied to immigrant women. In fact, the use of strict definitions of gender equality defined as *sameness* can lead to further feelings of exclusion and make belonging even harder for immigrant women. As Kerkk nen (2008) has noted, the 'ideal citizen' that is used as a measure of integration is a mark difficult to reach even for Finns, which is also the case with the rationality of integrating immigrant women and measuring their integration in relation to an idealised version of Finnish women.

This unproblematised figure of equal women suggests a governmentality of state feminism that has patronising aspects that overpower the logic of multiculturalism and difference. Instead of trusting an immigrant woman's capacity to make choices that suit her situation, the state feminist logic of integration makes wide-reaching assumptions about what all immigrant women are like. Gender equality defined as a right and a duty to be the same as men should not be compulsory. Rather, the Foucaultian concept of freedom should be understood as a freedom (not) to be, as Prozorov (2007) suggests, and immigrant women should be allowed a choice of not being the same as (Finnish) men. The fundamentally individualist discourse of state feminism disciplines 'family values', although in the Finnish context compromises for the benefit of the family are a mundane reality. The reluctance to make the same allowance for immigrant women and the reluctance to admit that stay-at-home mothering is not necessarily a sign of patriarchy of immigrant cultures is disturbing, although there is no denying that such cases do exist (Tiilikainen 2003; Tuori 2009). Such generalising assumptions about what immigrant women or immigrant cultures are like are not a prerequisite for dealing with abusive situations as such rationalities can lead to identity politics that is more likely to ossify repressive notions of a 'woman's place' (Lloyd 2005).

The technologies of integrating immigrant women could stop at enabling immigrants to make 'educated' choices by explaining the available possibilities and consequences of stay-at-home mothering vis- -vis the Finnish state – its regulations about residence, its benefit structures and the logic of welfare state, the labour markets, and the education and childcare systems, etc. – without succumbing to a culturalising logic of gender equality. This way the risks linked to economic and (welfare) state rationalities, which are contradictory to a voluntarily stay outside working life, would become evident. This way the risks could be vectored into the particular family's framework as a rational choice rather than as a choice of cultural belonging. Instead of making equality into something that the immigrant woman needs to be made to live by, we could make equality into something we can extend to immigrant women by taking into account the 'possibility' that immigrant women are also rational human beings.

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