

## FREEDOM, CIVILITY AND ACTIVENESS

*On the government of leisure self-formation of Finnish multicultural youth***Abstract**

This article explores the leisure time and civic activities of 'multicultural youth' in Finland. The theoretic-conceptual framework is the Foucauldian governmentality approach and Foucault's four step model of the ethical self-formation of the moral subject. This toolkit exposes how the subjectivation of the multicultural youth takes place in their leisure time activities and civic action, and connects and disconnects with the desires and expectations of administration and youth workers. The leisure time subjectivation of the youth implements on the interface of their own 'self-driven' activities and interests and more or less programmatic governance of official youth work with its integration-related rationalities.

**Keywords**

Government • leisure • moral subject • multicultural youth • subjectivation

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**1 Introduction**

Finland is not known for being a country of considerable immigration, though there is a small but rapidly growing number of foreign-born within the population. It was only in the 1990s that Finland turned from predominant emigration, to a country of immigration. In 2010, the population in Finland with foreign nationality was 167,954 and the population of those who were foreign born was 248,135. During the year 2010, 25,636 persons immigrated to Finland. Seventeen per cent of all immigrants in Finland are of a refugee background: quota refugees, asylum seekers and family reunification category immigrants. Half of all immigrants move to Finland because of work, relationships or studies. The rest are called remigrants, that is, people with personal or kinship backgrounds of Finnish nationality. A significant part (28%) of all people with foreign nationality are under 25 years old. The percentage of children and youngsters is especially high among the immigrants with refugee backgrounds; hence manifold investigations of youngsters' conditions are highly needed. Their intercultural affiliations and ethnic relations in school life are already studied in Finland (Kilpi 2010; Liebkind *et al.* 2000; Souto 2011), but their leisure, which is another very important

context of practices and negotiations for identification and belonging (Furusten 1999: 157–158), has remained largely unstudied.

Since the turn of the millennium, the public and political debate around immigration has been continuously intensifying. The integration of immigrants – especially those with refugee background – has been the guideline for the Finnish immigrant policy. However, the general tones of both public debate and official integration policy have recently changed from tolerant multiculturalism to more regulated integration and assimilation policies, like in many other North- and West-European countries (Kerkkänen 2010). Young immigrants form one of the most prominent and often mentioned target groups of the Finnish immigrant policy. Their weak labour market position, and concerns over their passiveness in education, politics and civil society participation have given rise to many projects, strategies and programmes. Recently, claims about the dominated positions of girls in Muslim communities and families have accosted political parties, administration and the public sphere. One key area in which the debated practices take place is leisure, as it is, on the one hand, viewed as the sphere of life where social contacts and basic civic skills for successful integration to the new host society are formed and achieved (in addition to school),

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and on the other hand, as the sphere of continuity of cultural traditions (Kim *et al.* 2002).

The significance of leisure as an 'integration assemblage' is mirrored also through the administrative emphasis placed on it. Youth work in Finnish policy-making is ultimately organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture and its department for cultural, sport and youth policy. On the municipal level, youth affairs are principally taken care of by the culture and/or education departments, and sometimes the youth sections working under them. Public organisations offer financing and services for youth and youth organisations, and organise national, regional or local programmes. In the case of immigrant youth, the local departments of health and social affairs and the regional Centres for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment are also among prominent public players as they plan, finance and facilitate emerging of many projects. Civil society youth organisations and associations have traditionally held important positions in the Finnish youth policy. Their role has been even more emphasised during the last ten years after the administration has outsourced its services to these organisations. In the context of immigration and multiculturalism, these organisations organise education, work training and a variety of leisure services. In addition to these, immigrant associations are also gaining more credibility and administrative recognition in organising services and activities for youngsters with immigration background (Pyykkönen 2007).

The manifold cultural backgrounds, identities, desires and expectations of the multicultural youth (from now on referred to as MCY)<sup>1</sup> and expectations, services and activities of both public and civic youth work actors form an intersectional field which I have reported in this article. I approach this field from the perspective of power, particularly modern, somewhat, liberal government, which mainly consists of the 'soft conduction' of the personal self-conduction of people, here namely the MCY. This kind of Foucauldian approach to the modern government of the self (Dean 1999; Foucault 1982, 2002: 298–325, 2007; Rose 1989, 1999) is rarely used in the study of immigrant youngsters, or youngsters and leisure on the whole. Leisure or *free* time is understood as a context in which the autonomy and freedom of the individual are at the highest point. This article deconstructs this view by studying how this autonomy and freedom are partially conducted modifiers, i.e. they include external steering, expectations and interests.

To meet the expectations of the Foucauldian approach it is important to not only study the external expectations, regulation and conduction of MCY's leisure, but also to witness what young people's own acts and ideas of leisure are, and how they resonate with the external conduction. The empirics of this article are based on the data<sup>2</sup> which was collected and analysed during two research projects: first of which was a project called 'Immigrant youth and their civic participation' (2004–2006), and, second, the project 'Changing Civil Society: Multiculturalism, Young People and the Finnish Civic Culture' (2008–2010).

Next I will introduce my theoretical approach. Then I move into the data analysis: first, I detail the questionnaire and interviews carried out among the MCY, and then the data collected from the youth work professionals and civic organisations. Then, I summarise the results of the data analysis by using Michel Foucault's (1984: 26–28) four aspect model of moral-subject's practices of the self as an interpretative tool to show how the MCY's leisure ethos formulate in the interface of external and self-conduct. Finally the conclusion being made is that leisure time is an important context for both eligible and integrative self-conduct, as well as more non-regulated 'counter conduct' of the culturally different youths.

## 2 Freedom, government and subjectivity

My theoretical framework, which connects government and freedom, is based fundamentally on the Foucauldian notion of governmentality. According to Foucault, governmentality denotes "the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target a population; as its principal form of knowledge, political economy and as its essential technical means, apparatuses of security" (Foucault 1991: 102). What is important for the modern governmentality is not only the governance and conduct of other people or groups through various techniques and their settings (technologies), but also the governance that people and groups, such as national and ethnic groups, practice among themselves; "this encounter between the technologies of domination of others and those of the self I call 'governmentality'" (Foucault 2000: 225). The word 'government' here signifies a conduct of conduct (Dean 1999: 11): the external conduct of peoples' and communities' self-conduct. As already mentioned, this does not usually work at the present time through the coercion of the body, mind and soul, but rather through persuasion and the presentation of some choices as better and more favourable to others.

This idea of government has its basis on Foucault's bi-dimensional understanding of the subjectivity (Foucault 1982, 2005). Government shapes subjectivity externally in education, guidance, consultation, disciplining, norms, moral regulations, cultural patterns and so on, but these never transform one's behaviour and thinking as such, but an individual – or a community – translates them to one's own thinking and actions by proportioning them to previous thoughts and patterns of behaviour. This part of subject making is called the subjectivation. It is the area of one's ethical work on the self; more or less as systematic thoughts on the self in the world and how one should behave, and the actual ways of behaving towards oneself (see also Milchman & Rosenberg 2007).

How should this bi-dimensional subject formation be studied concretely? I think one inspiring and delicate way to do this is to

apply Foucault's (1984: 26–28) four aspect model of ethics; what should we pay attention to when studying how one makes himself/herself a moral subject? First, one observes the *ethical substance*. This means studying the guidance and regulations, which make individuals choose a particular part or parts of oneself as the prime material of his/her own moral conduct, that is, external advice and guidance concerning the personal features, which need to be paid special attention. Then, the researcher considers the *mode of subjection*, meaning the way in which the individual establishes one's relation to the rule and recognises oneself as obliged to put it into practice. One can, for instance, start to deliberately work upon one's leisure activities so that he/she would be more active and look more "normal". Third, the study focuses on modes of the *ethical work*, that is, the ways how one thinks and acts upon himself/herself so that he/she controls one's own behaviour in accordance with some given rule. Fourth, the researcher can analyse the objective of this action for both the external forces and the person himself – the *telos* of the practices for becoming a moral subject.

Nikolas Rose (1999: 68–69) states that people are, above all, governed through and for their freedom in Western regimes of advanced liberalism. By saying this he refers to a particular liberalist way of exercising power, the one which is systematically linked to the freedom of the individual. This means, first, that people are governed exactly through those activities or sphere of activities which seem to include the most, freedom, freedom of: choice, individuality, consumption, free time, networks, civil society and association. The steering of those takes place 'at a distance' (Rose 1999: 49–50) through persuasion, invoking reason, and organising and funding activities.

People are not governed through just any kind of 'laissez faire' freedom, but a particular kind of responsible autonomy. They must know and recognise how to be free in a convenient manner, otherwise they are not recognised as able to practice their freedom. This means that they need to be governed for freedom, to gain a certain level of self-assertion and self-responsibility for practicing freedom properly. Rose (2000: 144) writes that the modern art of government "govern[s] by making people free, yet inextricably linking them to the norms, techniques and values of civility". However, as Mitchell Dean (2007) notes, the ways of external conduction of people's thinking and behaviour is not necessarily liberal at all, in the case where people do not behave in the way expected and required. The control and discipline of marginalised people and those at risk, have increased in all societies recently, also in those claiming to be the most liberal, and liberal anti-authoritarian governance is paralleled by liberal authoritarianism (*ibid.*: 108–130). People can be harshly governed *for their own freedom*, if they cannot see what is best for them or refuse to act in accordance with the given rules.

Nikolas Rose (1999: 61–97) writes that it is exactly the double nature of the liberal government of subject, which leaves an open door for the possibility of resistance and doing things differently – or "not being governed quite so much", as Foucault puts it. One

must not see the modern government and its technologies as all embracing forms of external steering. There are ways of performing one's subjectivity differently on occasions, which relate to the formation of a free, self-governing subject (Binkley 2009). Those are especially present in the spaces and contexts of loose authority and control, like leisure. In the case of MCY, leisure is relatively free from the restrictions of parents, traditions, and the host-society's requirements and norms. Young people form their subjectivities and conduct themselves differently in these contexts, than in the ones controlled by adults.

Next I will turn my attention to the leisure activities of the MCY and their views and desires accompanying them, in order to identify the subjectivation side of both becoming a moral subject of leisure and performing inconsistently to what the expectations and morally eligible leisure ethos would require.

### 3 The leisure activities of the youngsters

As described in the introduction, the data exposing the MCY's leisure activities, experiences and expectations was collected through a quantitative survey of the MCY (n=1385) between 13 and 25 years of age, and further interviews of 39 of these young people who replied to this survey. Issues of special interest for the research project's data collection were the characteristics of hobbies and leisure spending customs, things that the MCY identified as important in their leisure, the role of civil society organisations, and political, social and cultural participation. I will not go into detail in describing all the variables in the data, but highlight them as explanatory factors accounting for the internal differences when necessary. Background variables are used to indicate differences between the youngsters according to age, ethnic background, immigration status, citizenship or duration of their stay in Finland.

For most of the youngsters, meeting old friends is the key reason to participate in leisure activities. This seems to be especially important for those who have many friends, and long-lasting and diverse social networks. These youngsters have lived in Finland for their entire life or at least a long time. They are the ones who have been adopted into Finnish families or the ones, whose parents have, or either one of the parents has, immigrated to Finland from a European country to pursue a job or as a result of marriage. Young people who recently immigrated to Finland as refugees or remigrants, are those who seek new friends and friendships through leisure activities. The main obstacles in finding new friends and acquainting with Finnish youth through leisure activities are: language barriers and prejudices, difficulties finding information on the activities, and a lack of money. Both the meeting of old and new friends engage face-to-face interaction, and internet-based communication and hobbies. These can be labelled interactionist and collective reasons serving the social need of the youth. Popular 'individualistic' reasons for practicing and participating in leisure

activities are happiness, rest, mental and physical well-being, and artistic creativity.

One part of the questionnaire asked the MCY what young people find important and what is less important when they participate in multicultural leisure activities organised by the civic and municipal youth work: 77% said that they participate for personal gain and because the participated activities might be useful in life later on, 75% find fighting racism important, 73% think that nice supervisors are important, 72% want to learn new languages and 71% find 'being with friends' important.

The popular leisure activities are well varied within the data: sports (jogging, floorball, basketball, football and skateboarding), music (listening and playing), reading, watching television, house work, computers and internet, and "hanging out". A clear majority of the youngsters in this study hang out in their leisure most often. This is the case regardless of the youngster's background, but it varies with whom the hanging out is done. Those who have lived in Finland for their entire life or a long time, hang out with Finnish youngsters and in multiethnic groups, but those who have lived in Finland for a short time and immigrated as refugees, hang out in mono-ethnic groups. Hanging out takes place mostly in shopping malls, streets, cafés and school yards.

The questionnaire and interviews also contained questions about MCY's desires and wishes; activities that youngsters wish to participate in if given the possibility. It is striking that although the MCY do not actively take part in civil society organisations, they would like to do so. The MCY would especially like to take part in organisational activities concentrating on environmental, human rights and multicultural issues. Almost 20% of the questionnaire's respondents would like to participate more in collective action related to these themes. Only 8% of the youth are interested in

enhancing their participation in organisations devoted to cultural heritage or religious issues.

Analysis of the data reveals that the clearest differences among the young people appear, first, due to the means and reasons of immigrating to the country: the youngsters with the refugee or remigration background were in a remarkably weaker position in participating and accessing organised leisure activities than those who were adopted or whose parents (or one of the parents) have moved to Finland following a job or a spouse. Second, another related clear demarcation can be found from the youth's region of origin. For those who have origins in Africa, the former Soviet Union, the Far-east and the Middle East, the access to organised leisure activities and related networks is clearly harder than to those with European origin. Third, differences arise from the duration of inhabitation in Finland. Those who immigrated to Finland within the last three years do not find their way into organised activities as well as those who have lived there longer, have better Finnish language skills, and have found stable social networks. A fourth difference is witnessed according to gender: girls are more active in their leisure and satisfied with their leisure activities. These differences are summarised in the Table 1.

I am not going to examine this table in detail; however, I will highlight two major differences it indicates: first, the table shows that young people with refugee background are less able to participate and access organised individual or group-based sport and artistic activities. Instead, these youth participate more in "ethnic-based" activities, organised by the members of their own ethnic, national or religious groups, and unorganised activities, like hanging out. However, it is worth mentioning, that the youngest with refugee backgrounds actively use youth houses in their leisure. Second, activities organised by the civic and municipal youth workers are most

Table 1. Six most common forms of spending leisure time among the MCY classified according to the key background variables (n=1385)<sup>3</sup>

Qualities/ character/ context of activities	Immigration status	Region of origin	Duration of inhabitation in Finland	Gender	Age (years)
Hanging out	All; most common among refugees	All	≥ 10 years	Boys & girls; especially boys	19–22
Organised sports & sport events	Other than refugees	Middle-, West- and South-Europe	≥ 10 years	Boys	< 18
Artistic activities	Other than refugees	Middle-, West- and South-Europe	≥ 10 years	Girls	> 20
Youth houses	Refugees	East Europe, Middle East	5–10 years	Both	< 15
Student activities	All	Africa, Far East	All	Girls	> 20
Religion, cultural heritage and multiculturalism	Refugees	Africa, East Europe, former Soviet Union, Middle East	0–10 years	Both	> 18

easily accessible to the youth who comprehend Finnish language, society, youth work practices and networks, and do not remarkably deviate linguistically, religiously, culturally or by their skin colour from the white Finnish or Swedish speaking majority. I will come back to these results shortly in the conclusions.

#### 4 The goals and expectations of municipal and civic youth work

Both municipal and civic youth work actors think that the most common and “convenient” actions offered for the MCY relate to familiarising and their integration to Finnish society and culture. Other key goals are to increase tolerance among the youngsters and in Finnish society, the rectification of attitudes of both youngsters with Finnish and foreign origin, and the enhancement of interaction and dialogue between youngsters with different ethno-cultural backgrounds, that is, the goals of the external conduction of the MCY pertain to reaching the youngsters and becoming able to somehow control their personal qualities and mutual interaction.

How are these goals reached then? The most common actions offered for the MCY – and viewed as convenient for the youngsters – relate to familiarising them with the ‘normal’ Finnish leisure participation: club and group activities, courses, excursions and journeys, youth camps, youth houses and events such as concerts, discos and sports. The main methods that municipal and civic youth actors use to reach the MCY is to advertise the activities they offer through web-pages, email and social media, brochures, personal contacts and bulletins through schools. The municipalities and organisations favour normal ways of communication when disseminating information about their activities and universalistic policy-principle in general. Only very few municipalities and organisations use special forms of information dissemination to invite the multicultural youth to their programmes or special activities, aligning with ideas of ‘particularistic policy-making’.<sup>4</sup> Actually, almost 70% of the municipal actors think that there should not be special activities for the multicultural youth. Less than 10% of the civic actors have organised special attractions, information sharing or other activities for them. Although the municipal youth workers and the civic organisations have noticed that this kind of universalistic approach is not very successful in integrating immigrants into their activities, they are not willing to change their orientation, because of the fear that special activities for some groups would cause inequality for others.

Civic youth organisations and municipal youth workers think that what attract the MCY to their activities are contacts, friends and meaningful activities – exactly those, which youth also value as the most important attractions. However, youth’s desires do not meet with the desires of civic youth organisations and municipal youth workers, because of the lack of knowledge dissemination. The activities they organise poorly reach MCY, especially those,

who have lived in Finland just for a short time and have immigrated as refugees from outside Europe. What is ironic is that these are exactly the youngsters that civic and municipal youth workers see as the most challenging group and the ones, who especially need to be integrated into their actions.

Role models hold a great significance in alluring youths to ‘good leisure activities’. Young, well integrated immigrants, who have a wide range of good leisure activities, such as sports, educational and artistic hobbies, often appear in the media, professional magazines of social and cultural sectors, youth magazines, and speak in schools and youth events. The purpose of their wide-range public appearance is to disseminate the message among the MCY that when they try hard and are active, they can succeed. The statement by the refugee woman of the year 2009, Fatbardhe Hetemaj, solidifies this orientation well, by exclaiming “Get a grip on yourselves immigrant youths!” in the cover of the youth theme-issue of the magazine *Pari & perhe* (Couple & Family), which is the magazine of the Family Federation of Finland.

Analysis of the opinions and attitudes given by the civic and municipal youth workers reveals that they identify the qualities and attitudes of the youths or their parents as the most problematic barrier to integrating them into the organised youth work and its goals. Almost 50% of the civic organisations and 60% of the municipal youth actors think that the youths’ cleave to their own cultural groups which makes the multicultural youth work difficult, and 50% of both of them think that the parents of immigrant youths look negatively at youth work, due to cultural reasons. Youths’ ignorance towards youth work and lack of Finnish civic skills are also seen as major obstacles to increasing participation and activeness in Finnish society.

The expectations of the civic and municipal actors follow the present Finnish policy programmes on activation, youth, immigration and civil society policies (Opetusministeriö 2006; Sosiaali- ja terveystieteiden ministeriö 1999; Valtioneuvosto 2006), as the hope is to influence young people’s orientations, attitudes and qualities insofar as that they would practice ‘reasonable hobbies’ in their leisure, participate in the civic organisations and manifest accepted political activeness. However, these expectations do not really match the leisure activities, hopes and desires of the youth, because the young people do not participate in traditional politics or youth organisations, and they are not very interested in doing so even if provided with better possibilities.

There is a clear normalising aspect in the expectations and directions, but not in the strict controlling and disciplining sense, the historical descending of which, for instance, Michel Foucault (1975) conceptualises in his book *Discipline and Punish* and his works on psychiatry and justice (Foucault 2003, 2006), but in this sense and through technologies of freedom, education, capacity-building, advising and role model construction; aspects of normalising through and for freedom are made evident. The intention is to bring the aspects of spiritual growth towards free and integrated citizenship

into most personal realms of the everyday life of the MCY – their private leisure.

## 5 Four aspects of becoming a ‘moral leisure subject’

The two-sided empirical results depicted above can be drawn together by using the four aspect model of becoming a ‘moral leisure subject’ (cf. Foucault 1985: 26–28)<sup>5</sup>. The moral requirements for the MCY’s leisure subjectivities are mainly due to their passiveness, ignorance, sociality, foreignness and ‘strangeness’. The following analysis is realised by comparing the expectations of the civic and municipal youth work organisers and the youth’s own orientations.

According to the data collected from the civic and municipal youth workers, the determination of the *ethical substance* – that is, the way in which an individual has to constitute this or that part of himself/herself as the prime material for moral conduct (Foucault 1985: 26) – links most clearly to activeness or passiveness. Due to the municipal and civic data, MCY need to work upon himself/herself to be active and to avoid passiveness in their leisure. A young person who wants to spend his/her leisure in accordance with the ethos of ‘good leisure’, has to carefully think of his/her leisure activities and continue to practice this introspection during leisure and show the activeness, not only to oneself, but to the outsiders as well, especially to the ‘shepherds’ of youth work. Activeness means that one seeks meaningful and socially and self-developmentally ‘orthodox’ activities and is active in finding contacts and contexts for leisure. Socially good activities are those that promote both integration to the new host country (media, arts, languages, sports in Finnish clubs, etc.) and its social networks (finding friends and useful contacts for their ‘career development’), but also to the family and kin of the young people. Activeness also means that a young person has to be able to recognise and debar from ‘bad’ or ‘unhealthy’ activities. Requirements concerning ethical substance do not come only from the Finnish youth workers or teachers, but many times from the young people’s parents, who often promote educative leisure activities. The similar pattern holds true with other substances: one is expected to work upon his/her thoughts, existence and activities to avoid ignorance, to be civil and healthy, and to be socially and culturally integrated enough, at least to comprehend a certain level of Finnish language. Without some comprehension of Finnish language he/she is not able to properly learn the necessary information about the organised leisure activities, and ends up in ‘miserable leisure’. The success of this *ethos* of activeness, avoidance of ‘bad activities’ and the notion that ‘everything depends on yourself’ can be clearly observed from most of the interviews (n= 39) of MCY (see below modes of subjection and ethical work).

All these forms of ethical substances for multicultural youth work indicate the moral regulations. Being self-responsible, active and not passive or ignorant, being healthy, socially and culturally

integrated are all key moral regulations of today’s good citizenship in Finland (Saastamoinen 2010). If one is able to match his/her modes of ethical substance with these moral regulations of citizen(ship), then the liberal government works towards him/her through ‘soft techniques’, such as encouragement, support and guidance, or, at its best, it does not have to interfere in the lives and activities of these subjects at all (Cruikshank 1999: 8; Rose 1999: 84). But if the modes of ethical substances of particular subjects do not match the moral regulation, one is at risk of exclusion and becomes most probably a target for more disciplined forms of external conduction (Cruikshank 1999: 2; Dean 2007, 108–129).

The *modes of subjection*, which can be observed from the interviews and survey answers of the MCY, relate strongly to the expectations of the youth workers, which conceal the modes of ethical substance. Most of the MCY under study highlight the importance of being active in seeking meaningful leisure activities. Those who have multiple leisure activities and wide social networks, emphasise that these were a result of their own activeness.

It depends on the person. When I started playing floor ball, I did not know anyone from there. And I got along with everyone well there. I mean, it practically depends on yourself. If you just withdraw from social contacts, you cannot survive. So it depends a lot on how much you talk and participate in the making of teams and so on. (23 years old Swedish-Finnish girl, translated by MP)

This leads one to interpret that passiveness in organised activities by those with refugee backgrounds might be seen as personal failure in the eyes of the more active youngsters and youth workers. Other modes of subjection presented in the MCY data also relate to personal activeness. In line with the administrative and youth workers’ inspired expectations, the MCY see learning a necessary level of Finnish language and basic civic knowledge as skills important for themselves, so that they can achieve as full competence as possible in the leisure fields, achieve friendships, find good hobbies and social networks.

Well, first of all you have to know where you could find friends. I guess that it is really difficult to find good friends from bars or pubs. But, for instance, from summer jobs you can find them or indeed from hobbies. I still am in contact with many ice skaters. We say hello, chat and sms. You find meaningful contacts from different hobbies. (18 years old Iranian girl, translated by MP)

The depiction of the level and content of *ethical work* somewhat repeats the above: the modes of subjection are exactly the ways in which the clear majority of the young people try to bring their self-conduct into compliance with the ‘rules’ and ‘norms’ given by the youth workers, school and their parents to influence their own behaviour so that it is possible for them to view themselves as ethical subjects. As seen from the interview quotations above, MCY want to be active in their leisure and try to achieve social relations,

also without too many cultural barriers. Indeed in practice, 'ethical work' is implemented through participation in activities organised by municipal and civic youth workers, and for instance, the practice of physical conditioning, artistic skills and Finnish language skills.

Popular hanging out is of course part of young people's ethical work. However, in the light of the expectations of youth workers and parents, it can be viewed also as a 'counter' or 'alternative' mode of subjection. Hanging out is not something in which MCY take their self-conduct into compliance – at least not directly – with the rules, norms, and moral justifications, but in some manner create a new context with unique norms and rules, inspired by the world of youths themselves, but often also markets activities, since hanging out usually takes place in commercialised spaces. Interviews with the MCY reveal their approach to hanging out as very rational and they often itemise its normality and moral features and sides:

Hanging out is really important. It is interaction and time spending and it is nice when you get to know different people and their thinking a little. And you get a chance to live your ideas... all the humour and such. It is a small community in a way. It is very important for the personal development. (25-year-old German-Finnish girl, translated by MP)

When we hang out we play together and spend time together. Sometimes we go out to eat together and... well such that we spend time together. Normally, in a normal way. (19-year-old Korean-jordanian girl, translated by MP)

The leisure action is not moral only in itself and its own particularity, but because it relates to the behavioural ensemble, the ensemble of being active and a self-responsible citizen subject, which does not mean only a good result for the sake of the societal entity (the vitality, well-being and productivity of the population), but simultaneously for personal success and well-being. This *telos* of the moral leisure subject is evident in both the data sets. The civic and municipal youth work actors see certain kinds of leisure activities, such as sports, creative hobbies, campaigns and youth exchange programs, as appropriate because they serve the subjectivity-related goals of integration, youth and activation policies – development of youths' language skills, social participation, social and political influencing, and forming active labour market actors. In a similar manner almost two thirds of the MCYs said that they view leisure activities as important, because they benefit their future in the educational, labour and other markets.

## 6 Conformity with deviations

Foucauldian governmentality approach and the bi-dimensional understanding of subjectivity are foundational in what Rose (1999: 170, 188) calls ethico-politics. It is concerned with how individuals – and groups and communities – understand themselves, conduct

their existence and shape, for instance, their values, beliefs and moralities in order to be active and responsible citizens. "Ethico-politics concerns itself with the self-techniques necessary for the responsible self-government and relationship between one's obligation to oneself and one's obligations to others" (*ibid.*: 188). The core of ethico-politics lies in the problematics of how one should shape oneself in accordance with the external expectations and how much in accordance with one's own inner wills and desires.

According to the above perspective the leisure of MCY is a context of ethico-politics par excellence. What these young people do, according to the survey and interviews, is exactly that they proportion their subjectivity and behaviour to external expectations, and often more or less directly apply external *ethos* suggestions. The data collected among the MCY indicates that they mainly appreciate convenient and conformist types of leisure subjectivities and activities. Similar to the external expectations, the ideal young multicultural leisure subject is active, social and socially and culturally integrated. He/she knows what to do, where to find organised activities, has enough money, has social networks and friends with whom to be active, and has a certain level of language comprehension. This 'normality' is not, however, open for all MCY. Those with refugee backgrounds who are culturally and religiously most different from the majority are the 'drop outs' – or at least possible drop outs – of this leisure 'dispositive'.<sup>6</sup> The ones for whom the organised Finnish leisure activities are poorly accessible, are also the ones who favour hanging out the most.

As Foucault (1982, 2008, 2000: 303–320) and several Foucauldians (Binkley 2009; Haman 2009; Rose 1999; Thompson 2003) have noticed, the advanced liberal governance, which is based mostly on the freedom and self-responsibility of the citizens, always leaves an open door for the collective or personal 'counter-conducts' and occasions of 'not being governed quite so much'. However, this does not mean that the permissive nature of liberal governance explains all unexpected or subversive behaviour of people in general or in this case of the MCY. Although liberalism and its emphasis on responsible freedom, are indeed very powerful in the *ethos* discourses of today's western societies, they are not all encompassing for people's personal self-conduct, which can get inspiration also from cultural, national, communal, lingual, age-related, gendered, class-related, religious, political, and peer groups' sources and reasoning. This is often the case among the MCY.

As always in government, the lives and leisure activities of the young people are not completely in line with the expectations and directions of youth work's more or less liberal governing of *ethos*. In addition to the expected modes of subjection, many youngsters favour activities or, should it be said, 'passivities', which are not favoured in the '*ethos* manuscripts' of the experts and 'shepherds'. Examples of this are the popularity of hanging out and the relatively non-determined appreciation of cultural hybridity. From the Foucauldian perspective, hanging out is the most powerful form of resistance, because it is a context which includes the less acknowledged and

direct conduct of the youths' beings, acts, thoughts, speech and so on. The subjectivation while hanging out is relatively unimpelled from the valuations of the adults and institutions aiming at the care and education of youth. From the perspective of the youth workers, this is a dubious form of leisure, because it is unforeseeable and difficult to successfully guide softly. It does not take place in the space which is governable in accordance with some teleological ideas and technologies, like music teaching or sports coaching, for instance. From the point of view of functional governance, the youngster just hanging out in his/her leisure is what Foucault (1988: 125–151) would label as a 'dangerous individual', because he/she is silent about his/her subjectivity, and does not reveal enough about himself/herself in terms of his/her subjection to the moral codes and thus does not necessarily "play along any given rules".

Whole-hearted appreciation for cultural differences and hybridity are topics that are broached in the interviews of the youngsters. Interviewed youngsters look for ethno-culturally diverse leisure groups and settings, and seriously question the ideology of nationality or mono-ethnicity in their stories about leisure (cf. Harinen & Ronkainen 2010). When MCY meet people with different ethno-cultural backgrounds, they negotiate with their families and communities over traditions in attempts to cope with assimilation pressures coming from the majority and its institutions, and as a result create something new, fresh and unexpected. However, the studied data reveals that this normality of cultural hybridity is not accessible for all. Although youngsters with refugee backgrounds, coming from the Middle- and Far-East and Africa, prefer to spend their leisure in hybrid and multicultural groups, they rarely find their ways into them. And even if active cosmopolites claim that they highly respect cultural differences and that nationally based or ethno-cultural features do not bear great significance on their identities, network formation, friendships and leisure activities, their concrete activities and networks are actually very much in line with the ideals of socio-cultural integration, or sometimes even assimilation. They are the ones who have lived in Finland for a long time (or their entire life), are culturally integrated, speak Finnish as their first language, are well educated and have established social networks, that is, they are the ones that youth workers try to construct as ideal for integrated MCYs.

Youngsters' adaptable leisure actions and forms of leisure subjectivity often tell about the conscious rational choices for wanting to gain acceptance, recognition and – defined by the external powers – meaningful activities and forms of leisure existence. The resisting actions and modes of *ethos* work – mainly hanging out or promotion of cultural hybridisations – are often more unconscious and are not based on 'rational choices' in the sense, that rational choice refers to a premeditated choice for one's best interest. These choices are based on doing what feels good or right or 'natural' as some of the interviewed MCY articulated. However, striving for culturally hybrid social networks and subjectivities are sometimes conscious, and the youngsters claim that they resist monoculturalism this way.

Some youngsters also consciously hang out in the streets, cafés and bars instead of practicing leisure activities, even though these would raise their activeness in the eyes of the youth work 'shepherds'. There is also the possibility that adaptable leisure actions can be more or less unconscious, especially when they take place through following peers and role models.

Whether conscious or unconscious, rational or 'irrational', both sets of actions, and their external conduction, can be approached through the liberal matrix of government and freedom. Adaptable actions are examples of actions and improvements to oneself along the lines of being free in a self-responsible and active manner. 'Counter-conduct' and related forms of subjectivation are aspects that the 'unclosing character' (Binkley 2009) of the liberal government of freedom enables; they are allowed, especially because they take place within *personal* leisure time. However, these actions and forms of subjectivation are not necessarily in line with the liberalist ideas of self-governing and actually often stem from rather non-liberal ideas like ethnic or age-related collectivity. Official youth work does not applaud these modes of leisure existence, although they are allowed. From the perspective of 'not being governed quite so much' these activities and modes entail the most uncontrolled levels of freedom and possibilities for creating autonomous forms of doing and being.

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## Notes

1. One justification for this term is found in the research projects' background for this article which highlights the cultural diversity of the lives of youth, who have multi- or bi-cultural backgrounds, and challenge the often used and taken for granted category of immigrant youngster, which is also given to those who do not have an immigrant background themselves, but are the children of immigrated parents (second generation immigrants). Another purpose of this term is to challenge the binary categories of Finnish/immigrant, majority/minority and so on, and show that there are a lot of multicultural features, qualities and influences in the lives of the youngsters, who are often considered as mono-ethnic/-cultural, Finnish, Kurds, Swedish, Russians and so on (see e.g. Harinen 2005; Honkasalo et al. 2007a; Honkasalo et al. 2007b; Harinen et al. 2009.) In Spring 2005, when the sample for the quantitative part of the first

research project was decided, there were 24,500 youngsters from 13–25 years of age and with foreign or multicultural family backgrounds living in Finland. In addition to nationally Finnish, the most common nationalities were Russian (17%), Estonian (9%), Somali (4%), Swedish (3%) and Iraqi (3%). This information for the research project was collected from the Population Register Centre.

2. The data used was formulated from (1) a survey of the MCY (n=1385) between the years 13–25 of age, (2) interviews with the MCY (n=39), (3) a survey of the municipal youth work officials (n=226), (4) individual and group interviews with the municipal youth work officials (n=42), and a survey of the central, regional and local youth work civil society organisations (n=146). The data was collected during the above mentioned two research projects.
3. The commonality in the mentioned activity characters and contexts is represented through incorporation and elaboration of the variety in given responses. Thus the expression of the respondents per character is difficult to formulate very precisely.
4. Particularistic policy refers to the special practices of the groups in weaker social or cultural positions, which try to enhance their possibilities to participate, access services and implement their cultural rights.
5. When applying Foucault's model to the analysis of the present, one has to bear in mind, that it is constructed due to the analysis of ethos and practices of the self in Antique. Thus, the quality of actual practices and thoughts, which the elements of the model signify vary remarkably, although the form of procedure could be understood as transferable to the modern times.
6. "What I'm trying to pick out with this term is, first, a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions in short, the said as much as the unsaid. Such are the elements of the dispositif. The dispositif itself is the system of relations that can be established between these elements." (Foucault 1980: 194)

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