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THE SECURITIZATION OF IMMIGRATION POLICY :  
THE CASE-STUDY OF FINLAND

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### **Abstract**

In the last decades of the 20th century large-scale migration had a deep influence on the sociopolitical process all over the world. It became the catalyst of serious changes in sphere of mass consciousness, social structure, political culture, institutionally-legal bases of the state. Simultaneously migration became a subject of political discussions devoted to the protection of the domestic stability, structuring the public order within the welfare state. A key point running through these discussions was that migration became a threat to the national security of the state. The «other» was found within. In such eschatologically simplified world migration became a new subject for the internal security field, a key-issue facilitating the social structuring of the state, overlapping and binding the national security logic with emerging cultural challenges of the welfare state. Migration became a floating signifier, a meta-issue within the European political discourse.

In this relation, Finland is no exception. Refusing the policy of forced assimilation prospered during the 20th century, but leaning on historically shaped institutes of the state, to accelerate the process of integration of new ethnic minorities, the government of Finland influenced by the supranational European politics began to implement the politics of controlled inclusion, called as political strategy of multiculturalism.

Such process occurred through the securitization of migration makes it possible to suppose, that securitization became an instrument to control the ethnocultural management, to structure the rationality and the logic of modern welfare state.

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# Introduction

Modern world represents a wide historical mosaic of the people. They are various of the language, religion and race. Practically all modern states are polyethnic, however the degree of polyethnicity is different. All members of the polyethnic society, whether they are the representatives of the ethnic majority or the ethnic minority, should have the same rights and duties before the state and the state in turn is obliged to protect its citizens. The ethnocultural variety, caused by the various reasons became a reality of modern Europe.

For the International Relations (IR), the perception of particular phenomena had a great value. For a long time, scientific approaches proceeded from the positivistic installations. Nevertheless, it gradually became obvious, that studying of particular phenomena from the positivistic point of view is not always productive. The ideas of the orthodox (neo)realist and neoliberal approaches in IR not always find the acknowledgement in practice – that leads to idea of deeper consideration of these phenomena in international politics. As a cardinal step made in this direction, was the transfer of the research center to the cognitive subject, the idea of constructing the world around us, our perceptions, meanings of the words, state-systems, and also the international system as a whole.<sup>1</sup> From this point of view, current object of IR loses its stasis and turns into dynamic system of interrelations.<sup>2</sup>

According to the author, the formation process of national image, its structuring is one of such systems.

As a consequence of the modern national state formation, there was the numerous debates, devoted to the possibility to combine various regional, language or religious identities. How is possible to unify such universalist ideology with cultural and historical legacies of particular nation-state? The multicultural strategy became a possible tool. As a scientific concept, the multiculturalism is mainly applicable to those nation-states that tend to relative territorial, linguistic and cultural heterogeneity. Thus, the multiculturalism became the

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<sup>1</sup> Wendt, Alexander, (1992): *Anarchy is What States Make of it: The Social Construction of Power Politics* // *International Organization*, vol. 46, no 2, pp. 391-425.

<sup>2</sup> Adams, Paul, (1998): *Network Topologies and Virtual Place* // *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 88. No.1., p. 90.

answer to attempts of the state to organize cultural management, including into political community all minorities on equal terms.

However, it is impossible to assume absolutely, that everywhere in European states peacefull multiculturalism prospers. Arising ethnic tensions and conflicts demonstrate the imbalance between cultural elites within the European society. Thus, on the one hand multiculturalism allows the equal rights and possibilities for cultural identities; from the other – it is criticized by artificial tribalism, neocolonialism and considered as a threat to integrity of the national state. Nevertheless, at present, the multiculturalism became the one of the successfully applied concepts to construct the ethno-cultural image of the state, that causes an urgency of this research.

Simultaneously, since 1980s migration increasingly became a subject of policy debates devoted to the protection of domestic stability, structuring and preservation of public order within the welfare state. A key point running throught these debates was that migration became a danger to the domestic security. Migration became a nodal point in the internal security field, became a key issue which facilitates the social structuring, interaction between the professional security practices with wider multicultural questioning. Thus the multicultural process in modern Europe occured through the securitization of migration, that makes possible to suppose, that securitization became a sort of instrument to control the ethnocultural management.

Thus, the immigration policy of Finland is the main object of this research; a subject – the securitization of immigration. The object and subject of research are defined in such manner to put forward a hypothesis, that the process of social securitization serves as an instrument to control and construct the multicultural image of modern european state. According to the author, the confirmation or the refutation of such hypothesis will help to reveal the institutional apparatus and the mechanisms of ethnocultural management in Finland, that is also a purpose of the research.

This way formulated research objectives demands certain answers on uneasy questions.

Thus, among the primary goals of the research it is necessary to note the followings:

1. To consider the theoretical grounds of securitization, desecuritization, logical rationalization of modern european state.
2. To form an understanding of political discourse generation process.

3. To study a genesis of immigration policy in Finland.
4. To shape own definition of political discourse in Finland in context of an immigration policy.
5. To consider a political discourse as a main factor influencing the formation of ethnocultural image of Finnish state.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to notice the presence of certain difficulties related with manipulation of such concepts, as securitization, immigration, immigrant etc. Such difficulties arise in different contexts, due to the various treatments of these concepts, the uncertainty and the misunderstanding among the researchers, the ambiguity of carrying out judgements, framing the environment, which O.Wæver wisely noticed, «the field toying with the researchers».<sup>3</sup>

Thus, the author met an uneasy problem to shape the appropriate conceptual apparatus which will be used in research to avoid the ambiguity of obtained results and conclusions. During research, using the formed conceptual apparatus, the review and the analysis of Finnish ethnocultural management will be carrying out.

Large quantity of publications in scientific, annually publishing monographies and magazines devoted to the complexities of multiculturalism<sup>4 5</sup>, official and nonofficial statements of politicians testify that challenge of migration became extremely urgent.

Migration and integration are discussed throughout many years, at the same time, well-known multicultural policy that was a solution to many ethnic problems, shows its inconsistency and forces the researchers to come back to debates. At the same time, a number of scholars is trying to analyze the multicultural process from another prospective, they devote their researches to the questions of *rationalization* of ethnocultural management, *governmentality*, *securitization and desecuritization* of national and ethnic minorities.

In spite of the fact, that such question is well elaborated, according to the author, «white stains» nevertheless still remain and demand careful and scrupulous research. So,

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<sup>3</sup> Wæver, Ole et al., (1993): Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe. New York: St. Martin's Press. Wæver, Ole, (1995). Securitization and Desecuritization // Ronnie Lipschutz, ed., On security. New York: Columbia University Press, p.57

<sup>4</sup> Hall, Stuart, (2000): Conclusion: the Multi-cultural Question // Un/settled Multiculturalisms Diasporas, Entanglements, Transruptions ed. by Barnor Hesse. New York: St Martin's Preëss Inc.

<sup>5</sup> Tuori, Salla (2009): The politics of multicultural encounters : feminist postcolonial perspectives. Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press.

reckoning with described above dynamics of the considered problem, analyzing the logic of modern state, seems important to pay attention to the contextual features of its formation, namely, considering the discursive process of unique, cognitive perceptions of immigration policy of the separate state - Finland.

Thus, the research will consist of the introduction, three chapters (a theoretical part, a methodological prospective, case of Finland), conclusion and references.

The first chapter of research is consist of the basic theoretical approaches: positions of various schools and researchers, various concepts, used by the author. Thus, the author will try to shape the basic concept of *securitization* in context of immigration policy. In this connection it is important to note the influence of securitization theory, formulated by Ole Wæver<sup>6</sup> and Barry Buzan<sup>7</sup>, attempts of the other scholars to develop that analytical model – works of Bill McSweeney<sup>8</sup>, researches of Didier Bigo<sup>9</sup>, Jef Huysmans<sup>10</sup>, Paul Roe<sup>11</sup> Among

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<sup>6</sup> Wæver, Ole, (1995): Op.cit., pp.46-86

<sup>7</sup> Buzan, Barry, (1983): People, States and Fear. The national security problem in International relations. Wheatsheaf Books. Buzan, Barry, Wæver, Ole & Japp de Wilde, (1998): Security: A framework for Analysis. London: Lynne Rienner. Buzan, Barry, (2009): Evolution in Security Studies. New York: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>8</sup> McSweeney, Bill, (1996): Identity and Security: Buzan and the Copenhagen School // Review of International Studies. Vol. 22(1). McSweeney, Bill, (1999): Security, identity and interests: a sociology of international relations. Cambridge University Press.

<sup>9</sup> Bigo, Didier, (1998): Sécurité et immigration: vers une gouvernementalité par l'inquiétude // Culture & Conflits, #31-32. Bigo, Didier, (1998): Ethnicity, State and World-System: Comments on the way of making history // International political science review. Vol.10, no.3.

<sup>10</sup> Huysmans, Jef, (1995): Migrants as a Security Problem: Dangers of "Securitizing" Societal Issues // Migration and European Integration. The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion. Edited by Robert Miles and Dietrich Thranhardt. Pinter Publishers, London and Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, Madison & Teaneck, Pp. 57-70., Huysmans, Jef, (1998): Security! What Do You Mean? From Concept to Thick Signifier // European Journal of International Relations. Vol.4, no.2. Huysmans, Jef, (2000): The European Union and the Securitization of Migration // Journal of common Market Studies. Vol.38, №5, pp.751-77

<sup>11</sup> Roe, Paul, (2004): Securitization and Minority Rights: Conditions of Desecuritization // Security dialogue, #35, p. 279

Finnish researchers is important to notice the works of Mikko Pyykkönen<sup>12</sup>, Matti Jutila<sup>13</sup>, which have analysed the *securitization* process in Finland. Further, it seems important to define the concept of *state rationality*, concepts of *governmentality*, *dispositif*, *performativity*, so important for *securitization* analysis. In this connection, is important to consider the theoretical approaches of Michel Foucault<sup>14</sup>, Jean Francois Lyotard<sup>15</sup>, Paul Virilio<sup>16</sup>.

The second chapter of the research contains the main research strategy, the basic restrictions and difficulties met by the author and which will probably influence the quality of obtained results. So, the methodological basis of the research consists of the following groups of methods - general scientific methods - analysis, synthesis, deduction and induction, special political methods, namely, system approach to the analysis of political process, in our case - the immigration policy, and other scientific methods – the method of critical discursive analysis, typical for lingvopolitology, structural linguistics and semiotics. Considering the dynamic of observable processes, carrying out the analysis of functional logic of rational state, and the processes of securitization the author proposes to use the postpositivistic methods. So, earlier described process of “writing security”, construction of new contextual values, author will consider using a methodology of poststructural semiotics, namely the

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<sup>12</sup> Pyykkönen, Miika, (2007): Integrating Governmentality: Administrative Expectations for Immigrant Associations in Finland // Alternatives, #32

<sup>13</sup> Jutila, Matti, (2006): Desecuritizing Minority Rights: Against Determinism // Security Dialogue, №37, 2006, pp.167-185, Jutila, Matti, (2006): Playing Politics in the Existential: «Politics» in the Study of Securitization. Paper prepared for the COST Action A24 Seminar: Critical Approaches to Security in Europe II: Constructing Insecurity and the Political. Tampere, 29th of September - 1st of October 2006.

<sup>14</sup> Foucault, Michel, (2009): Security, Territory, Population. Lectures at the college de France 1977-1978. Palgrave macmillan, Foucault, Michel, (1991): Governmentality. The Foucault Effect Studies in governmentality ed. by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller // The University of Chicago Press. Foucault, Michel, (1980): Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977 Ed. by Colin Gordon trans. by Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper. Pantheon Books, New York.

<sup>15</sup> Lyotard, Jean Francois, (1979): The postmodern condition, trans. of: La condition postmoderne // Theory and history of literature, Vol. 10

<sup>16</sup> Virilio, Paul, (1991): The lost dimension. Trans. by Daniel Moshenberg, Semiotext(e), New York: Columbia University press. Virilio, Paul (1994): Bunker Archeology. Trans. by George Collins Princeton architectural press.



phenomena of *floating signifiers*, formulated by Claude Levi-Strauss<sup>17</sup>, works of the anthropologist Marsell Mauss<sup>18</sup>, theory of the symbolic exchange elaborated by Jean Baudrillard<sup>19</sup> and Stuart Hall<sup>20</sup>, and, finally - postfreudian psychoanalysis defined by Jacques Lakan.<sup>21</sup>

In the third chapter, having considered the theoretical foundations of securitization process, rationalization of modern state, and also having defined the methodological base necessary for elaborating the mechanism of discourse generation, the author will consider the genesis of the Finnish immigration policy, will try to shape its own definition of Finnish political discourse in context of immigration policy, will consider the “new public management” as a main factor of ethno-cultural image formation.

Having analyzed the aspects, mentioned above, author will pass to the conclusions that will confirm or refuse the research hypothesis.

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<sup>17</sup> Levi-Strauss, Claude, (1987): Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

<sup>18</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): The gift : the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies. London: Routledge

<sup>19</sup> Baudrillard, Jean, (1993): Symbolic exchange and death. Theory, Culture & Society. Sage publications.

<sup>20</sup> Hall, Stuart, (1997): Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices. The Open University: Milton Keynes.

<sup>21</sup> Lacan Jacques, (2006): Les Écrits, the first complete edition in english. New York: Bruce Fink W.W. Norton & Company.

## 1.1

### The rationality of modern state

*Of thine eye I am eyebeam*

*The Sphinx* <sup>22</sup>

As was mentioned in introduction, the rationality became a main feature of the modern european state. Thus, according to the author, the rationality of the state-system consists in competent governmental control of the discourse.

Quoting Fred Riggs, french researcher Didier Bigo highlights that the instrumentalisation of single parts of the whole national discourse through their politicization must be considered as a modern phenomena, as a product of modern nation-state evolution. Thus, for Bigo «le discours... devient une technologie politique, une modalité de la gouvernmentalité contemporaine.»<sup>23</sup>

Herewith, dealing with discours, Bigo uses a concept of *governmentality*, proposed by Michel Foucault. By which Foucault supposed:

«The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex of power, which has as its target - population, as its principal knowledge - political economy, and as its essential technical means - apparatuses of security.»<sup>24</sup>

Thus, the *governmentality*, we are interested, is that linked to the developement of the modern, and late-modern societies, where the population became a main target of government, and the process of governing takes place through the «whole set of already established institutions, a whole set of given realities.»<sup>25</sup> And if earlier, in modern states, power was associated with divine sovereign, dichotomy between oppressor and oppressed,

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<sup>22</sup> Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1914): Poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson. London, New York : H. Milford, Oxford University Press. p.1

<sup>23</sup> Discours became a political technology, a modality of modern state. Bigo, Didier, (1998): Op.Cit., p. 307

<sup>24</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1991): Op.Cit., p.102

<sup>25</sup> Foucault, Michel, (2009): Op. cit., p.286

master and servant - today the power of state is not only negative and oppressive, it became productive «it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but...it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be thought of as a productive network which runs through the whole social body»<sup>26</sup>, which is «the stronger medium than all the media».<sup>27</sup>

Thus, as Bigo<sup>28</sup> pointed out, the postmodern liberal state transmits the forms of obedience and coercion through the education processes. Such process was clearly described by Ernest Gellner.

Thus, the nationalization process in Gellner's theory, is accompanied by two centrifugal tendencies - differentiation and standardization. On the one hand rapid change, high social mobility becomes the feature of the modern society. On the other lies "the general imposition of school mediated, academy supervised idiom, codified for the requirements of bureaucratic communication"<sup>29</sup>. Such "basic training"<sup>30</sup> (in terms of Gellner) becomes one of the main institutions of the modern society. Henceforth, "it is not mother tongue that matters but the language of *école maternelle*".

«In other words, from childhood on, human beings never encounter nature in the universe as science understands it; the social order intervenes between the individual and the world with' a whole universe of ritual practices and also of discourses, sayings, proverbs, all structured in concordance with the principles of the corresponding habitus, all of which make the world conform to myth and turn history in to nature.»<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1980): Op. cit., p.119

<sup>27</sup> Baudrillard, Jean, (1983): In the Shadow of the Silent Majorities. New York: Semiotext, p.44

<sup>28</sup> Bigo, Didier, Guild, Elspen, Carrera, Sergio, (2010): Delivering Liberty and Security? The Reframing of Freedom // Europe's 21st Century Challenge: Delivering Liberty. Ashgate Publishing. p. 278

<sup>29</sup> McCrone, David, (1998): The sociology of nationalism: tomorrow's ancestors. London: Routledge. p.66

<sup>30</sup> Gellner, Ernest, (1983): Nations and nationalism I Ernest Gellner. introduction by John Breuilly -2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. p.56

<sup>31</sup> Mander, Mary S. (1987): Bourdie, The Sociology of Culture and Cultural Studies: A Critique. // European journal of Communication. Vol.2, London: Sage. p.429

Therefore, state creates a reality, an absolute «truth», «myth», «doxa», that some people make their own. Such «truth» settled on the form of the scientific discourse and the state institutions producing it:

«It is produced and transmitted under the control, ... of a few great political and economic apparatuses (university, army, writing, media)... it is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation («ideological» struggles).<sup>32</sup>

This way, the modern society generates the conditions within which it flourishes. Elaborating this idea, in his latest work "Conditions of liberty"<sup>33</sup> Gellner talks about the "Modular man"- "...self assembled like a furniture, equal in culture as well as basic social status." Benedict Anderson has underlined, that the theory of Gellner well demonstrates the essence of nationalism - the process of "fabrication" of nation in spite of "creation" and "invention". Thus, the nation became a kind of «imagined community», «adeep, horizontal comradeship»<sup>34</sup> binded by common shared social, cultural and political identity.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, «Each society has its regime of truth, its «general politics» of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as *true*, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned... the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true.»<sup>36</sup>

Considering the state as a separate information system or, speaking the language of Semiotics, - separate *semiosphere*, it would be important to pay an attention to its distinctive feature - logical discreteness.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the language of the state reminds the programming language<sup>38</sup>, consisting of separate symbols, modalities, possessing binary values (0 - 1, good -

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<sup>32</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1980): Op. cit., p.132

<sup>33</sup> Gellner, Ernest, (1994): The Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and Its Rivals. London: Routledge.

<sup>34</sup> Anderson, Benedict (1991): Imagined Communities. London: Verso. p.7

<sup>35</sup> Buzan, Barry and Hansen, Lene (2010): Op.Cit., p 26

<sup>36</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1980): Op.cit., p.131

<sup>37</sup> Thus, for example the discrete logic of cybernetic systems was described by Y. Lotman - Лотман, Юрий (1992) Мозг - текст - культура - искусственный интеллект. Избранные статьи. т.1. Талинн: Alexandra

<sup>38</sup> Thus Miika Pyykkönen used a concept of “programmatic governance” – Pyykkönen, Miika (2007).Op.cit., p.198.

bad, useful - harmful, black - white etc.). Such *langue* <sup>39</sup>, *doxa* <sup>40</sup>, *myth* <sup>41</sup>, *narrative* <sup>42</sup> forms a certain code, according to which the state system works. Moreover, separate state institutions act as separate sources of original «code», «own knowledge». Thus, for example, D. Bigo describes the formation process of discrete logic by the state apparatus of security:

«Ce sont ces institutions de sécurité qui créent leur objet comme objet légitime de discours en y investissant des hommes, du temps de travail, des appareils statistiques, des routines qui donnent corps aux labellisations politiques: l'immigration à maîtriser, l'environnement à protéger, le terrorisme à combattre, la population inquiète des barbares environnants. Cette relation dialectique fait que les institutions ne font pas que répondre à la menace, elles déterminent ce qui est menaçant et ce qui ne l'est pas.» <sup>43</sup>

Bigo notices that being guided by following dialectic, state institutes not only react to threats, but also define what is the threat, and what - is not. As a consequence - certain conflicts appear, which Pierre Bourdieu has called a «symbolic violence»:

«Briefly, symbolic violence is exerted whenever any power imposes meanings and imposes them as legitimate by concealing the power relations which are the basis of its ability to impose those meanings.»<sup>44</sup>

In such situation language becomes a weapon, and possibility to speak - an ability to resist and to fight («to speak is to fight»). Similar ideas is possible to find in the works of Jean François Lyotard. In book «Postmodern Condition» he uses the concept of "language games", through out which the "writing" of the state "meta-narrative" is carried out. According to

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<sup>39</sup> A term of Ferdinand de Saussure

<sup>40</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre (1977). Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>41</sup> «Michel Foucault a proposé une alternative à la description des relations de pouvoir en terme de souveraineté. Il suffit de comprendre que tous les hommes politiques vivent dans ces mythes, qu'ils structurent leurs comportements. Cela ne signifie pas qu'ils croient forcément aux mythes qu'ils propagent à propos de l'immigré, de l'islam et de la transgression des frontières car ils en savent les limites et la part de fable. Seulement, ils ne peuvent les remettre en cause parce que ces mythes leur servent de cadre routinier d'explication simple du monde social dans leurs rhétoriques politiques et que, de plus, ils sont parfois instrumentaux pour casser certaines résistances populaires aux changements voulus par les dominants.» – Bigo, Didier, (1998). Op.cit. p.7

<sup>42</sup> Lyotard, Jean Francois, (1979): Op.cit., p.10

<sup>43</sup> Bigo, Didier, (1998): Op.cit. p.8

<sup>44</sup> Mander, Mary S. (1987): Op.cit., p.432

Lyotard, «language games» became a basis of social relations in modern society, a sort of discursive play of chess shaping the new meanings to the system of *langue*.

«It is useful to make the following three observations about language games. The first is that their rules do not carry within them - selves their own legitimation, but are the object of a contract, explicit or not, between players (which is not to say that the players invent the rules). The second is that if there are no rules, there is no game, that even an infinitesimal modification of one rule alters the nature of the game, that a "move" or utterance that does not satisfy the rules does not belong to the game they define. The third remark is suggested by what has just been said: every utterance should be thought of as a "move" in a game.»<sup>45</sup>

Thus, the appearance of new phraseological units, metaphors, which Bigo has defined as «les surgies de nulle part»<sup>46</sup> or «problems from nowhere», lying out the rules of the game, becomes a consequence of such «language games». It is important to notice that, in spite of state apparatus *performativity* - the importance of the goal (for example - well-being of a society), the process of its achievement seems more important as the sense of existence of whole state system. For the state-system contingency is the matter, paraphrasing Bigo «The ‘ object ’ ... is only the periphery. The practices and the making of... are more central.»<sup>47</sup>

It is interesting that process of the goal-search, its achievement, in many respects depending on finding the legitimacy by the state, represents itself a certain *feedback loop*, a situation, then, as Lyotard told, the state legitimates itself:

«Power is not only good performativity, but also effective verification and good verdicts. It legitimates science and the law on the basis of their efficiency, and legitimates this efficiency on the basis of science and law. It itself-legitimizing...»<sup>48</sup>

To sum up, it is possible to notice, that being rational, European state, possesses its own discrete, performative logic, produces and transmits over society its «*true knowledge*», creating the environment where it flourishes and controls the discourse. Moreover, separate institutes within the state-system generate their own «*truths*», contradict each other in «*symbolic violence*», creating a sort of semantic entropy that renovates the state-system.

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<sup>45</sup> Lyotard, Jean Francois, (1979): Op. cit., p.10

<sup>46</sup> Bigo, Didier, (1998): Op. cit. p.9

<sup>47</sup> Bigo, Didier, Guild, Elspen, Carrera, Sergio, (2010): Op.cit., p.284

<sup>48</sup> Lyotard, Jean Francois, (1979): Op. cit., p.47

However, it seems interesting how certain institutes generate its own *knowledge*, how they control it. Thus, according to the author, the securitization process, could be the one of the powerfull instruments to control and structure the migrational discourse.

## 1.2

### The instrument of securitization

*There are...things that were, things that are...  
and some things... that have not yet come to past.<sup>49</sup>*

As was mentioned above, the *securitization* represents a sort of smattering solution. Thus, the concept of *national security* recognizes the state as the the main actor *a priori*. Thus the national security can be characterized by strict hierarchy of subjects, objects and their targets. In a schematic way that hierarchy presents as follows: state, society, people. Along with the security of the state, its territorial integrity exists, and also the preservation of current political system. Moreover the purpose of national security embraces also social and individual security.

It is obvious that the interrelation between migration and security has a two-way nature: migration can be a source of threats for the security of state, society and people of accepting or sending country, and for the migrant - him(her)self.

Thus, any migratory movement from one area to another contains a security call to itself. The call is not equivalent to the threat, the security threats are not creating by every migration flux. However, the migration can create a real or potential threats almost to any aspect of security. In a pole of arrival, migration becomes a threat to individual or group security of the accepting society due to competition on the local labour markets, housing, monopolization by immigrants certain sectors of economic activity, collision of ethnic and sub-ethnic stereotypes, norms of behavior, social and cultural marginalization of immigrants, their criminalization. To accepting society migration can be a cause of social tensions, local flashes of ethnic conflicts, xenophobia growth, political radicalism and extremism.

Nevertheless, dealing with the influence of transnational migration on social security, is impossible to admit two things: certain dichotomy "security-migration", and also the negative perception of migration consequences. In short, security is not the only thing that state can worry.

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<sup>49</sup> The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring, 2001. At <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0120737/>  
Accessed on 03.02.2011.



According to the orthodox (neo)realist theory dominating in IR from 60s to 90s, external geopolitical or military threats were the main subject of researches in the field of security. Other challenges, including migration were less significant. Thus migration, admitted by the realists as a semipolitical problem, was not a subject of national security researches.

From the realists viewpoint the IR is «a struggle for power among self-interested states...»<sup>50</sup>, where the security has been understood as referring to the military threats of the state.

For example, according to Realists, existing or possible conflicts between states, especially of military character, directly influence the immigration policy. From the one hand – they promote immigration, and from another – restrict it.

Thus, 1917, to limit the influx of european immigration, USA published a Literacy Test Act according to which, for the European citizens visas required. Another important example is the post-war France of 1945 which has opened the borders for the immigration.

Emphasizing on studying the conflicts, national security, strategic planning, Realists considered the immigration as something secondary, derivative, they don't pay an attention to internal social conflicts accompanying the immigration. Thus, according to realists, quoting Michel Poniowski - «security cannot be divided!»<sup>51</sup>

However, so-called divided model of "sector security" appeared due to the works of Copenhagen School scholars - Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver.

Buzan has expanded the traditional concept of national security, including 5 basic sectors: military security, political security (stability of political system, government), economic security (financial stability, market stability etc.), social security and ecological security. Thus, according to Buzan, the main referent object of any threat type of security is the state and five aforementioned sectors are only the directions of danger. However «sector security» model was too broad, as Arnold Wolfers pointed that «security was an ambiguous symbol»<sup>52</sup> that may not have any meaning at all. Realizing that fact, Buzan notices the danger of broadly defined concept of national security, which «offers scope for power-maximising

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<sup>50</sup> Walt, Stephen M. (1998): International Relations: One World, Many Theories // Foreign policy, p.31

<sup>51</sup> Virilio, Paul (2006): Speed and Politics. Trans. by Marc Polizzotti. Semiotext(e)., p. 138

<sup>52</sup> Buzan, Barry, (1983): Op. cit., p.4

strategies to political and military elites»<sup>53</sup> and makes people «the irreducible basic unit to which the concept can be applied».<sup>54</sup>

Later, that point was elaborated by O.Wæver. The emphasis on social sector caused the broadening of the security concept. Thus, in his book «Identity, Migration and the New Security Agenda in Europe»<sup>55</sup> Wæver defined a concept of social security as «the ability of a society to persist in its essential character under changing conditions and possible or actual threats».<sup>56</sup>

Thus, if earlier, in «sector security» model the state was the main referent object for 5 sectors of external threats, now, as Wæver supposes, «the society is constituted the referent object for societal security».<sup>57</sup> Paraphrasing President Giscard d'Estaing: «alongside the supreme means of ensuring security» the state needs «the presence of security». In other words, state «needs to *have a social body organized around this need for security.*»<sup>58</sup>

However, if political, military, environmental and economic sectors of security were quite obvious and clear, internal societal security still remained an «ambiguous symbol». Moreover in broadened positivistic ISS<sup>59</sup> occurred a certain shift towards postpositivism and constructivism. Postpositivists offered the constructivist approach towards security, they underlined the importance of political discourses. Thus a certain answer was found, for Wæver security became «not of interest as a sign that refers to something more real»<sup>60</sup>, it became a successful construction. Security became an instrument of discursive control.

Henceforth the utterance itself became a securitization act, «by uttering «security», a state representative moves «a particular development into a specific area, and thereby claims a special right to use whatever means are necessary to block it.»<sup>61</sup> As a result, the high-ranking politicians, capable to influence the public opinion and decision-making on important

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<sup>53</sup> Buzan, Barry, (1983): Op.cit., p.4

<sup>54</sup> Buzan, Barry, (1983): Op.cit., p.18

<sup>55</sup> Wæver, Ole et al., (1993): Op.cit.

<sup>56</sup> Wæver, Ole et al., (1993): Op.cit., p.23

<sup>57</sup> Wæver, Ole et al., (1993): Op.cit., p.26

<sup>58</sup> Virilio, Paul (2006): Op.cit., p. 139

<sup>59</sup> The International Security Studies

<sup>60</sup> Wæver, Ole, (1995): Op.cit., p.55

<sup>61</sup> Ib.id.

political problems became the basic actors of securitization, after the utterance of certain problem in security context, the problem started to be perceived as a security threat for the state, paraphrasing Paul Virilio «in politics, unlike physics, *perception became a fact*».<sup>62</sup>

Such fusion of modern nationalism (that was partly mentioned in chapter 1.1) with state apparatus had several implications for how security became conceptualised within ISS debates. Security became constructive and discursive. Aforementioned fusion, became a certain kind of sovereign dissolving within a society, its institutions and actors. Security acquired a new meaning, often independent of the state at the level of the individual actor. It brings together the referent object and the source of the threat. New technologies of security appeared - «...security within mechanisms that are either specifically mechanisms of social control, as in the case of the penal system, or mechanisms with the function of modifying something in the biological destiny of the species.»<sup>63</sup>.

Security became a *sui generis* Galtung's structural violence. Being rational, dissolved in society and discourse, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science - (logic, mathematics), state started to use its own «truth» «to justify or legitimize direct or structural violence.»<sup>64</sup> Securitization became a *dispositif* - material, social, affective, and cognitive mechanism of the production of subjectivity, «a structural effect of a multiplicity of practices.»<sup>65</sup>

Henseforth, the way to study *securitization* shifted towards studying discourse. «When does an argument with the particular rhetorical and semiotic structure achieve sufficient effect to make an audience tolerate violations of rules that would otherwise have been obeyed?»<sup>66</sup>

Hereby, for Copenhagen school, the process of *securitization* was quite clear, it was represented by two-way process: *securitization* - then the referent object is shifted from the «normal» to «emergency» politics and *deseuritization* - then the issue moved out of threat-defence dichotomy into the ordinary public sphere.

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<sup>62</sup> Virilio, Paul, (1991): Op.cit., p.29

<sup>63</sup> Foucault, Michel, (2009): Op.cit., p.25

<sup>64</sup> Galtung, Johan, (1990): Cultural Violence // Journal of Peace Research, vol.27, no.3, p.291

<sup>65</sup> Huysmans, Jef, (2000): Op.cit., p.758

<sup>66</sup> Buzan, Barry, Wæver, Ole & Japp de Wilde, (1998): Op.cit., p.25

Nevertheless, the concept of social security developed by Buzan and Wæver confronted with certain difficulties. Thus, for Copenhagen school the referent object of securitization was considered from positivistic point of view, while the securitizing utterance was notable by its static, instant exceptionality. Thus the most prominent criticism of traditional social security concept was directed to cultural identity. Identity for Copenhagen school scholars was a kind of fixed, primordial entity used in governmental discourse, a set of ideas and practices that identify individuals as a members of social group.

The main claims was build upon a conceptualization of identity as constructed object. According to Bill McSweeney identity «is not a fact of society; it is a process of negotiation among people and interests groups ... it is often an outcome of a labeling process which reflects a conflict of interests at the political level.»<sup>67</sup>

Thus, *securitization* became a tool to *othering*, simplified social organizing, cognitive structuring. If earlier, security was only directed to external *others* - other states, alliances etc., social security began to find the internal others often «located in different sites of ethnicity, race, class, gender, or locale»<sup>68</sup>.

Another claim was directed to instant, exceptional nature of securitization. As was mentioned above, for Buzan, securitising utterance had detached, instant controllable effect. Critique, coming from D.Bigo and J.Huysmans consisted in conceptualization the process of securitization through the continuous rather exceptional effects of power. Built upon the mentioned above concept of *governmentality* and *biopolitics*, Bigo's and Huysmanns's social security, like the Copenhagen School's concept was distinguished by its discursivity, biasing towards poststructuralism though.

Thus, the conceptual complexity of social security revealed in its self-reinforcing character. Social security became a certain self-fulfillment agency, a kind of *lock with no keys*, that closed once stills impossible to open:

«Where societal security dilemmas occur, management is about “mitigating” or “ameliorating” them, not transcending them. ...managing the securitization of minority rights

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<sup>67</sup> McSweeney, Bill (1999): Op.cit., p.73

<sup>68</sup> Campbell, David (1998): National Deconstruction. Violence, Identity, and Justice in Bosnia, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. p.143

will not return the issue to normal politics in the Copenhagen School sense of it – that is to say, the situation will still be marked by the language of societal security.»<sup>69</sup>

Writing about the amelioration, Huysmans gives three possible approaches to «normalize» the securitized object: the “objectivist strategy”, the “constructivist strategy” and the “deconstructivist strategy”. Objectivist strategy, by Huysmans, supposes the direct teaching the natives that the migrant is not dangerous<sup>70</sup>, quite similar to Copenhagen school strategy. Constructivist strategy «builds on a separation between understanding and handling. One first has to understand the causal processes, and then one can start, with the help of acquired knowledge, to try to handle the process».<sup>71</sup> This way, constructivist strategy reminds the desecuritization described earlier by O.Wæver. Deconstructive strategy «builds on the principle that to tell a story is to handle the world.»<sup>72</sup>, in contrast to previous strategies, reflects the contingency of the *securitization* process, its *elusive* nature<sup>73</sup>, presents a kind of the «remedy to defective communication» in Habermasian thought.

To conclude, security discourses and technologies became embedded into the modern European migration agenda. Migration became a subject of policy debates about the protection of domestic stability. Such mentioned trend, considered within the concept of social security in which immigration is frequently positioned as a source of the threat, should cause the anxiety because it is a question of one of the basic freedoms of the citizen - a freedom of movement.

Problematic character of securitization is that in the modern democratic countries the migrants are one of the least protected groups of society. Thus, considering the concept of social security we encounter the complexity of the «the silent security dilemma». If, in IR, the main referent object of securitization is the «other» state - the actor, which has a possibility to

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<sup>69</sup> Huysmans, Jef (1995): Migrants as a Security Problem: Dangers of “Securitizing” Societal Issues // Robert Miles & Dietrich Thranhardt, eds, Migration and European Integration: The Dynamics of Inclusion and Exclusion. London: Pinter (53–72). p.66

<sup>70</sup> Huysmans, Jef (1995): Op.cit., p.65

<sup>71</sup> Huysmans, Jef (1995): Op.cit., p.66

<sup>72</sup> Huysmans, Jef (1995): Op.cit., p.67

<sup>73</sup> Bigo, Didier, Guild, Elspen, Carrera, Sergio, (2010): Op.cit., p.284

answer, ««security as silence» occurs when the potential subject of (in)security has no, or limited, possibility of speaking its security problems.»<sup>74</sup>

The securitization theory is the important tool, with which help it is possible to observe the interrelation of migration and security within governmental discourse. The main argument of the theory is follows: securitization is a speech act; simply saying a word "security" (towards a problem) we can achieve a particular result. It is important to notice that characteristic feature of problems, related with securitization, is the impossibility of their solving within the limits of the existing law. Thus there is the situations where the state has no choice: if not undertake any measures all the rest will simply lose the meaning.

Thereby securitizing actor applies for the right to struggle against the threat with the emergency measures, which are beyond the standards of common accepted democratic practices. In this case dangers are exposed to the rights and freedoms that makes securitization problematic. Moreover the real presence of threat is not important for successful securitization, the securitization can be successful than the threat is invented. This way, the process of securitization reminds the artwork «*Give Us Today Our Daily Terror*» by Martijn Hendriks<sup>75</sup> - made of the Hitchcock's 1963 film «*The Birds*», from which all birds have been erased.

The potential actors of migration securitization are the head of the state and the ministers dealing with the migration policy and national security, such as a Minister for the Interior, ministers of the economic block and social policy, Minister for Foreign Affairs, so-called agents of national security etc. The members of the Parliament, and also active political and social figures are capable to affect in this way the policy of the state. Paraphraser Alexander Wendt, "la sécurité est ce que les professionnels en font".<sup>76</sup>

However, security, made by the experts, can be of different kind. As was mentioned above, there are different practices of security. *Securitization* is one of them. Although, the *securitization* perrepresents a lock with no keys, once securitized issue can't be moved back to the normal politics. In this connection, ordinary practice of *desecuritization* simply loses its

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<sup>74</sup> Buzan, Barry, (2009): Op.cit., p.216

<sup>75</sup> Hendriks Martijn, 2008, Give Us Today Our Daily Terror. At <http://www.burnaway.org/2011/04/authors-on-art-fear-and-influence-in-martijn-hendrikss-give-us-this-day-our-daily-terror/> Accessed on 01.04.2011

<sup>76</sup> Security is what experts made of it - Bigo, Didier, (1998): Op.cit., p.13

meaning that makes possible to suppose that the deconstructive securitization<sup>77</sup> represents the more usefull alternative to the ordinary practice.

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<sup>77</sup> Hereinafter referred as *desecuritization*

## 2.1

### The ambiguity of securitization

*In the early spring of 1890, being in Central Park, young pharmacist Eugene Sheifflin has realeased to the sky of New York 40 couples of starlings. Exactly in the same place, a year after, he has released 40 couples more. Thus, E. Sheifflin admired with poetry, wanted to open to the "New World" all birds mentioned in sonnets of W.Shakespeare. Today, more than hundred years later, population of starlings numbers nearly 200 millions of birds all over the territory from the north of Canada to the south of Mexico.*

Considered the rationality of the european modern state, analysed the importance of *securitization* as a tool to control the governmental discourse, prior to analyze the functional mechanism of state logic, the author would like to give an short example of discursive instrumentalisation, ordinary practice of possible *securitization*

Thus, the author have decided to use the articles by Whit Gibbons<sup>78</sup> - "Starlings are still unpopular immigrants"<sup>79</sup> and George Laycock - "There are U.S. immigration laws for birds and animals - and for very good reasons "<sup>80</sup>. *Ex facte* they lie out of sphere of the political analysis, or the researches in the field of International Relations. One of them is printed in magazine "Boy's life", focused on teenagers-boy scouts, another - is published by the prominent professor on website of the Georgia University. At first glance, the article of Gibbons amazes with deliberate anthropomorphism. Starlings in his opinion are bad

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<sup>78</sup> Whit Gibbons is the Senior Professor of Ecology at the University of Georgia's Savannah River Ecology Laboratory in Aiken, South Carolina.

<sup>79</sup> Gibbons, Whit, (2004): Starlings are still unpopular immigrants. at <http://www.uga.edu/srel/ecoviews/ecoview040229.htm> Accessed on 10.12.2010.

<sup>80</sup> Laycock, George, (1969): There are U.S. immigration laws for birds and animals - and for very good reasons. // Boys' Life. August 1969 #8, p.15



mannered, they shout loudly, eat much, frighten other birds, imitate them, don't clear up, and also pose a potential threat for the air-transport.

Laycock don't limit himself by the starlings, he tells about the carps, catfishes, rabbits, deers, and also the mongooses menacing to the fragile ecological balance of the North-American nature. Reading these articles, devoted to the world of wild nature, already from the first words feel difficult not to catch yourself on thought about the obvious isolationistic rhetoric, probably not being the primal goal of the authors.

In this connection, the headings of these articles, in many respects define their further context, play the leading role, than their content. It is remarkable that both of them contain ambiguous symbols (further - *signifiers*<sup>81</sup>) - "immigrants" and "immigration", borrowed, or being on brink of several *langues*, or speaking the language of semiotics - *semiospheres*<sup>82</sup> - biology, anthropology, politics. In this connection, the headings, and partly the content of these articles, not at will of the Authors, become a vivid example of the phenomena formulated in the beginning of the 20th century by French anthropologist Marcell Mauss<sup>83</sup> and further developed by Claude Levi-Strauss<sup>84</sup>. This phenomena (further - *floating signifier*<sup>85</sup>), operating with language of the structural linguistics, represents a certain rupture between the symbol - *signifier* and what it symbolizes - *signified*, or according to Jean Baudrillard, a separation the object from subject:

*«Object separated from subject, signifier separated from signified.»<sup>86</sup>*

Independent *signifier* continues to exist separately and moreover interacting with *similars* (through so-called *chains of signifiers*) starts to form and define new, frequently absurd, as in our case, meanings.

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<sup>81</sup> les signifiants

<sup>82</sup> Лотман, Юрий, (1992): Избранные статьи. т.1. Талинн: Alexandra

<sup>83</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit.

<sup>84</sup> Levi-Strauss, Claude, (1987): Op.cit.

<sup>85</sup> First time Levi-Strauss used this concept in «Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss»

<sup>86</sup> Baudrillard, Jean, (1983): The Ecstasy of Communication. Trans. John Johnston from the french "L'extase de la communication.". The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture, 126–134. Ed. Hal Foster. Seattle: Bay Press., p. 127

*«Like language, the social is an autonomous reality (the same one, moreover); symbols are more real than what they symbolize, the signifier precedes and determines the signified.»*<sup>87</sup>

Thus, alienated *floating signifier*, in our case - “immigrant” can obtain any meaning, depending on a context. Its semantic field becomes extremely wide, henceforth it embraces organic cells<sup>88</sup>, animals of different species, people of different nationalities and races<sup>89</sup>.

Describing the "width" of *floating signifier* in contexts of the securitization theory, and immigration policy Jef Huysmans<sup>90</sup> used the term *thick signifier*. Semantically overloaded term “immigrant” loses its defined meaning, it demands new translations, interpretations, generating newly created meanings. Such floating signifiers as "nation", "culture", “security”, once escaped, became free and uncontrolled as well as those starlings which have been released one hundred years ago by philanthropist E. Shefflin.

Thus, paraphrasing the quote from the commercial movie “Tron”: *«All that is visible has grown beyond itself and extended into the realm of the invisible.»*<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Levi-Strauss, Claude, (1987): Op.cit. p.37

<sup>88</sup> Gastrulation theory of I.I.Mechnikov

<sup>89</sup> Fassin, Eric (2010). Pourquoi les Roms? at <http://www.mediapart.fr/club/blog/eric-fassin/120910/pourquoi-les-roms> Accessed on 10.12.2010.

<sup>90</sup> Huysmans, Jef (1998): Op.cit.

<sup>91</sup> Tron, 1982 at <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0084827/> Accessed on 10.02.2011.

## 2.2

### The mechanism of state rationality

*Les Étrangers partout!*<sup>92</sup>

Since its first publication in English in 1954, Marcell Mauss's *Essai sur le don* has been acclaimed as a classic among anthropology texts. In this work, considering the organization of primitive societies Mauss investigated the tradition of gift exchange. According to Mauss, the system of gift exchange represents a certain cohesive social structure. Thus, for example, speaking about *potlatch* — system of gift exchange, widespread among North-American indian tribes, Mauss assumes that "potlatch is also a phenomenon of social structure: the gathering together of tribes, clans, and families, even of peoples."<sup>93</sup> According to Mauss the obligation to reciprocate a gift constitutes the essence of the *potlatch*. "To refrain from giving, just as to refrain from accepting, is to lose the rank — as is refraining from reciprocating."<sup>94</sup> "To give is to show one's superiority, to be more, to be higher in rank, *magister*. To accept without giving in return, or without giving more back, is to become client and servant, to become small, to fall lower (*minister*)."<sup>95</sup> Hence, the system of «potlatch, the distribution of goods is the basic act of "recognition", military, juridical, economic, and religious in every sense of the world.»<sup>96</sup>

Such comparative analysis of Marcell Mauss in many respects has defined the development of the European sociological science. The gift as a perfect example of what Mauss called a total social act, became a basis for development of theories considering the reciprocity and solidarity in the European societies.

Nevertheless, one of the major components of the theory of Marcell Mauss distinguishing its work from the researches of other anthropologists, for example, Bronislaw

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<sup>92</sup> *The Foreigners are everywhere!*

<sup>93</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit., p.38

<sup>94</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit., p.41

<sup>95</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit., p.37

<sup>96</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit., p.40

Malinowski, has been lost by scientific sociologists. Studying social and economic systems of primitive societies Marcell Mauss paid much attention to *magic, myths* and *rituals* - necessary prerequisites for consolidation of societies under the systems of *Potlatch* or *Kula* (system of inhabitants of Trobriand Islands). According to Mauss «The various... activities, for example the market, are suffused with ritual and myths.»<sup>97</sup> In this connection, studying the algorithm of exchange, Mauss was the first who has paid an attention to a role of spiritual forces, such as *mana, hae, orenda*, etc. which were necessary catalysts of consolidation.

In *Introduction to the work of Marcel Mauss*, Claude Levi-Strauss developed in details the idea of Mauss. «I see in *mana, wakan, orenda*, and the other notions of the same type, the conscious expression of a semantic function, whose role is to enable symbolic thinking to operate despite the contradiction inherent in it.»<sup>98</sup>

As was mentioned above, according to Levi-Strauss, influenced by the theory of structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, the social became an autonomous reality, the reign of symbols, «the terrorism of the code»<sup>99</sup>.

Thus, for Levi-Strauss *mana, wakan, orenda*, and the other notions of the same type became so called *floating signifiers*, self referential *signifiers* with absent *signified*. "In the system of symbols which makes up any cosmology, it would just be a zero symbolic value, that is, a sign marking the necessity of a supplementary symbolic content over and above that which the signified already contains, which can be any value at all, provided it is still part of available reserve, and is not already, as the phonologists say, a term in a set.»<sup>100</sup>

Hense semiotically, Saussure's nexus signified/signifier becomes broader, signifier becomes independent, as Jean Baudrillard wrote, object becomes separated from subject, signifier becomes separated from signified. «There is no longer any system of objects. ... the object ... taken as sign, but as sign still heavy with meaning.»<sup>101</sup>

In this connection the "abstract art" of the early decades of the twentieth century is a bright example of such *signifier* detachment. First of all "abstract art", mostly inspired by

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<sup>97</sup> Mauss, Marcel, (1990): Op.cit., p.72

<sup>98</sup> Levi-Strauss, Claude (1987): Op.cit., p.63

<sup>99</sup> Baudrillard, Jean, (1993): Op.cit.

<sup>100</sup> Levi-Strauss, Claude (1987): Op.cit., Op.cit. p.64

<sup>101</sup> Baudrillard, Jean (1983): Op.cit., p.126

ideaplastic primitivism (It is well known that one of the main proponents of so-called abstractionism Wassily Kandinsky was inspired by the carvings of Cameroon people in the Ethnographic Museum in Berlin<sup>102</sup>) and was perceived, first of all, as a profound break with old-tradition representation of visible reality. In the parlance of modern criticism such tradition was called "The Tyranny of the Object" that sounds similarly as «The Tyranny of the *signified*».

Thus during the epoch of modernity a variety of self-referential *floating signifiers* appears. Moreover, due to the rise of European nation-states such universal *floating signifiers* as *identity*, *nation*, *security*, etc. emerged. The nation-state as *dasein* starts to create its own *langue*, its own system, the leading role in which, probably unconsciously, assigned to *floating signifiers*.

Hence, the tyranny of the *signifier*, the violence of its law moves forward.

As a consequence, the notion of *nation*, its meaning, purpose, interaction with *others* was changing. As Aafke Komter writes "The former mutuality and reciprocity in the interaction between strangers and indigenous people has clearly got lost. Hospitality has become depersonalized, massified and commercialized, and has lost its original moral meaning of being obliged to take care of the needs of your fellow human being, whoever he or she may be."<sup>103</sup>

*Others* become *floating signifiers*, the Muslims, the Romas, the immigrants<sup>104</sup> find a new sense within the *chains* of other *floating signifiers* — *identity*, *security*, etc.

In this connection, as was mentioned above, Jef Huysmans proposes to interpret the concept of *security* as a *thick signifier* (a synonym of *floating signifier*). "What is important is that this does not imply that the signifier "security" is a neutral device that can be used to express everything. Uttering "security" articulates such a register of meaning, which we will

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<sup>102</sup> Barasch, Mosche (1998): Modern theories of art, 2: from Impressionism to Kandinsky. New York: New York University Press. p.280

<sup>103</sup> Komter, Aafke (2005): Solidarity and sacrifice; An analysis of contemporary solidarity. In L.M. Stoneham (Ed.), Advances in Sociology, Volume 2. New York: Novascience Publishers. p.4

<sup>104</sup> Fassin, Eric (2010). Pourquoi les Roms? at <http://www.mediapart.fr/club/blog/eric-fassin/120910/pourquoi-les-roms> Accessed on 10.12.2010.

call a security formation. This aspect provides the intelligibility of "security" — that which makes security mean something. This is what "thickness" refers to."<sup>105</sup>

Similarly, *identity* formed within a national discourse becomes *floating signifier*. Bill McSweeney suppose that unlike sovereignty of the state, "identity is not a fact of society". For him identity is a discursive phenomenon. "Collective identity is not "out there", waiting to be discovered. What is "out there" is identity discourse on the part of political leaders, intellectual and countless others, who engage in the process of constructing, negotiating and affirming a response to the demand — at times urgent, mostly absent — for a collective image. Even in the times of crisis, this is never more than a provisional and fluid image of ourselves as we want to be, limited by the facts of history."<sup>106</sup>

However semantic meaning of such universal *floating signifiers* like *identity*, *security*, *nation*, etc., narrated and developed conditions remains clear only in their *dasein of origin* - logic of modern state-system. Here, as Jean Baudrillard said: "We are no longer a part of the drama of alienation; we live in the ecstasy of communication. "<sup>107</sup>, where pluralism of semantic meanings, reduces us to being an *other among others*, it is not a recognition as Marcel Mauss wrote about, but a reduction of difference to absolute indifference. In such interaction, using the same *floating signifiers* but with different meanings "when we discover that there are several cultures instead of just one and consequently at the time when we acknowledge the end of a sort of cultural monopoly, be it illusory or real, we are threatened with the destruction of our own discover. Suddenly it becomes possible that there are just *others*, that we ourselves are an "other" among others."<sup>108</sup>

That is interesting, that from this point of view, the problems often related with interaction, integration of *others*; misunderstandings of multiculturalism; often contradictory notions of immigration, immigrants, refugees, etc. are deeply rooted in symbolic dimension - interplay of *floating signifiers* in different national context. Moreover, here could be found an answer for many internal problems of modern nation-state - the problem of minorities, feminist's issues etc. as quite often we ourselves, living in our modern cosy welfare - states,

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<sup>105</sup> Huysmans, Jef, (1998): Op.Cit., p.228

<sup>106</sup> McSweeney, Bill, (1996): Op.Cit., p.90

<sup>107</sup> Baudrillard, Jean, (1983): Op.cit., p.130

<sup>108</sup> Ricoeur, Paul, (1965): Civilization and National Cultures, History and Truth. Trans. Chas. A. Kelbley. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. p.278

without help of the *others*, become alienated, "Les étrangers ne sont pas ceux qui viennent d'ailleurs, ceux qui sont d'une autre "race"... Les étrangers sont partout, il est vrai, mais nous mêmes nous sommes des étrangers dans les rues et les couloirs du métro sillonnés par les hommes en uniforme."<sup>109</sup>.

To sum up, observed the mechanism of the state-system rationality the logical question arises - Why the foreigners are everywhere for the state? Why state-logic so differs from the individual psyche? According to the author, the state-system could be considered as a *conscious* object. Thus, the *othering* represents the basic way of self-consciousness, *le sentiment d'existence*. In this relation, everything *unconscious* is the other for the state. Moreover the state-system represents a multiplicity of human practices. The social, as Levi-Strauss noticed, reminds the language, it is partially based on linguistics, its products - *signifiers*. Therefore, in state-system logic there is no place for *signified*. It consists of state symbolism which use the *signifier* as symbolic denominator. Thereupon, considering the logic of conscious state-system we are drawing to the Lakanian psychoanalysis.

Thus, Jacques Lacan, assumed about the primacy of the *signifier*<sup>110</sup>. According to him, the *signified* is not the thing or object in reality to which the *signifier* refers, but instead the meaning.<sup>111</sup> The signifier is the name of discourse as a whole, within which, the *signifiers* floating. Moreover, within such system «meaning only refers to meaning», «the *signifiers* always refers to other *signifiers*»<sup>112</sup>, migration refers to security and vice versa, that undermine the traditional de Saussurian nexus of signifier-signified.

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<sup>109</sup> Fontaine, Claire (2005). Étrangers partout. at [http://www.clairefontaine.ws/pdf/etrangers\\_partout.pdf](http://www.clairefontaine.ws/pdf/etrangers_partout.pdf) Accessed on 15.12.2010. p.2

<sup>110</sup> Lacan Jacques, (2006): Les Écrits, the first complete edition in english. New York: Bruce Fink W.W. Norton & Company.

<sup>111</sup> Lacan Jacques, (2006): Op.cit., p.32

<sup>112</sup> Lacan Jacques, (2006): Op.cit., p.137

## 3.1

### The legacies of the past

Historically Finland was the state with homogeneous ethnic and language structure. There is not a lot of ethnic minorities in the country. 300 thousand of «the Finnish Swedes» make about 5,5 % of whole population. Samis also concern as a minority, they make 0,03 % of population. The Lappish population possesses the status of the indigenous people which is fixed in the Constitution (chapter 2 §17). The Roma, Jews, Tatars and Russian are migrant minorities.

The period till the end of 1940s in the history of Finland can be considered, perhaps, only from the point of view of interethnic relations of two people: Finns and Swedes. Moreover Finland was the country of extensive emigration (especially during the 1860-1930 and 1950-1970 <sup>113</sup>). For this time the country was left by 1 million person. The same situation is traced in the Swedish emigration statistics.<sup>114</sup> For Northern countries of the first half of 20th century this tendency was traditional.

The Swedish minority which has appeared in the middle of the ages mainly settled in Ostrobothnia - a southwest part of Finland, on the coasts of the Gulf of Botnia and Finnish Gulf. On the Åland islands the number of Swedes estimates 96 %<sup>115</sup>. The Swedish language is the second national language of Finland, it is fixed in the Constitutional Act of 1919, and in the Constitution of 1999<sup>116</sup>. The Governmental proposals brought on consideration in Parliament, as rather other documentation connected with the legislation, are made in Finnish and in Swedish languages.

Citizens speaking the Swedish language possess a wide cultural autonomy. The education at schools is conducted in Swedish. The Higher education in language of minority

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<sup>113</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Mapping Minorities and their Media: The national Context-Finland at <http://www.lse.ac.uk/collections/EMTEL/Minorities/reports.html>. Accessed on 12.04.09, 21:46

<sup>114</sup> Runblom, Harold, (1994): Swedish Multiculturalism in a Comparative European Perspective // Sociological Forum. Special Issue: Multiculturalism and Diversity. Vol. 9. (№4). p.631.

<sup>115</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op.cit.

<sup>116</sup> The Constitution of Finland (1999), §17



exists only in Finland (earlier such practice was applied in Iraq – to Kurds).<sup>117</sup> In Turku Swedish university exists (Åbo Academy), and in Helsinki – the Swedish Institute of Trade. At the University of Helsinki and in the Higher professional schools teaching is also conducted in Finnish and in Swedish languages.

The Swedish National Assembly is the advisory body, consisting of 75 delegates, representing all directions of political spectrum. The assembly gathers once a year and discuss the problems related with the rights of Swedish population in Finland, particularly the language, education and the mass-media.

Swedes have a political party – the Swedish people party (Svenska Folkpartiet - Ruotsalainen kansapuolue). The Swedish party created in the end of the 19th century to maintain the official status of Swedish language, was organized into the Swedish people party, participating in the first elections to Eduskunta in 1907. Later, till the end of the Second World War it possessed more than 20 places in Parliament. During the post-war period, the support level of Swedish party significantly decreased, however it took part in the formation of 29 from 39 post-war governments. At the present it possesses 9 places in Eduskunta.<sup>118</sup>

Other autochthonic minority group are the Samis. Specificity of their status consists in the fact that they are both the indigenous people, and the ethnic minority. At present, the main challenge for social development of Samis, as well as other indigenous people, are the right to self-determination, self-governing within the national state, the right to control the land and the water within Lappish territories. The population of Samis in Finland estimates 7 thousand of people. One third of them lives within so-called «Lappish territory», located in the North of the country and including the municipalities Enontekiö, Inari, Utsjoki, and also the northern part of Sodankylä.

Since 1996, the status of Samis as indigenous people with the guaranteed cultural autonomy within "Lappish territory» is fixed by the Constitution.<sup>119</sup> Saamis have their own

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<sup>117</sup> Кокшаров, Николай (2003): Международный опыт решения культурных аспектов этничности // "Credo New"- теоретический журнал. №1. стр 76.

<sup>118</sup> Party results. Elections. 2011. //URL: [http://192.49.229.35/E2007/e/tulos/tilos\\_kotimaa.html](http://192.49.229.35/E2007/e/tulos/tilos_kotimaa.html) (22.06.2011, 22:17)

<sup>119</sup> The Constitution of Finland (1999), §17

representative body - Lappish parliament created in 1972.<sup>120</sup> That was a kind of achievement confirming a recognition of a role of Samis in the social life of Finland. 21 Member of Parliament are selected among Samis on the elections arranged every 4 years. In its competence lie the questions connected with language, culture and position of Samis as indigenous people. In 1980 the Lappish received an official status at primary schools. It is possible to communicate on Lappish in the official bodies, especially in Lappish municipalities. There are several magazines issued in Lappish. Saamis have their own channel broadcasting in Lappish.

However Samis did not achieve the right to control the earth and the water of the ancestors. Non-recognition of this right in Finland, and also in Norway and Sweden proved by «terra nullius» principle according to which the state is the main proprietor of non-cultivated lands. In Finland such «the state earths» estimates 90 % of the Lappish territory.<sup>121</sup>

Finland differs from other European states that during the post-war period there was no labor immigration. By 1980s immigrants made only 0,2% of all population. The majority of them consisted of migrants from other European countries due to strict immigration policy. During the post-war period till the 1970s Finland was almost a closed state. It was authorized to immigrate only to the people having the Finnish roots. Immigration occurred in frameworks of the Soviet-Finnish friendship and cooperation pact, accepted in 1948. Basically that were Ingermanland-Finns who immigrated from the USSR. The first refugees who have arrived to Finland in 1973 were from Chile where the junta led by A. Pinochet came to power. Since 1973 to 1977 Finland has accepted only 183 refugees<sup>122</sup>, many of them have been directed to other countries or deported home.

During this period refugees and immigrants were considered as an element of the big game in a world policy. The immigration policy was strict till 1989 when Finland has entered the Council of Europe and ratified the European convention on human rights in 1990. Since questions of human rights began to play a prominent role in the Finnish migration and nation policy.

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<sup>120</sup> Куропятник, Михаил, (1999): Саамы: Современные тенденции этносоциального и правового развития // Журнал социологии и социальной антропологии. 1999. № 4. с.172.

<sup>121</sup> Куропятник, Михаил, (1999): Ук. соч. с. 176.

<sup>122</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op.cit., p.6.

But if during almost all 20th century Finland was the country of extensive emigration, since 1989 the vector of migratory processes has got an opposite orientation. Considerable emigration has led to shortage of labor, and Finland began to import it. The socialist countries was the main source of manpower. In 1990, to Finland began to arrive political asylum seekers, refugees, namely – Somalis, Vietnamese, Kurds, Thais, refugees from the former Yugoslavia, basically – Kosovan Albanians and Bosnians, etc. Hence, with inflow of immigrants began to be formed new segments of a society.

The Somali group was the first group of refugees from Africa. In 1990 to Finland arrived 1440 persons.<sup>123</sup> It is necessary to notice that for a year before only 170 refugees<sup>124</sup> have arrived to the country. Growth of number of immigrants has been caused by uneasy events in this East African country. From the middle of 1980th Somalia has entered into the sharp internal crisis caused by military expenditure, and inflation - excessive for the small country. The bloody civil strife that has begun in 1992 and instability of the power during struggle for political domination the different ethnopolitical groups have created a situation of dangerous instability in the country and have led to hunger. Nobody expected that immigrants from Africa will choose northern Finland, but Somalis became the most numerous Muslim group from Africa.<sup>125</sup> The Somali group is typical diasporal community. For today in Finland lives about 6500 thousand of Somalians. Community differs by its active organizational activity. By 1997 in Finland has been created more than 40 organizations. All of them are united in the union, representative body - Suomen Somaliliitto – Finnish Somali Union which has been based in Helsinki in 1997 (<http://www.somaliliitto.fi/english/news.htm>).

Simultaneously, from the beginning of the 90s repatriates had formed another group of immigrants in Finland. That was Ingermanland-Finns who have started to emigrate from the countries of the former USSR to the historically native land. Ingermanlandians – the ethnos close to Finnish, historically living in the territory of Leningrad region and Kareliya, and also in some areas of the Pskov province. As provided by the peace of Tartu of 1920, the Soviet Russia was obliged to provide their cultural autonomy. There were Finnish schools, there were newspapers. But in 1930s mass deportation of ingermanlandians to the remote areas has begun : to Vologda, Kola peninsula, Ural Mountains, Kazakhstan. Rehabilitation of

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<sup>123</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op.cit., p.6.

<sup>124</sup> Ib id

<sup>125</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op. Cit. p.12.

the Russian Finns has occurred only in 1993 under the law accepted by the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation.<sup>126</sup> According to it, they were allowed to reside in St.-Petersburg. Migration has been legislatively resolved by special position of the president of Finland Mauno Kojvisto from the April the 10th of 1990, guaranteeing granting of apartment and support in studying of the language.<sup>127</sup> However, there wasn't any special program at the governmental level on the social adaptation of repatriates. That's why the municipalities was made to develop the most comprehensible programs for Russian-speaking immigrants.

The events which have occurred in the world on the treshhold of 20th century, have introduced a corrective amendments into national structure of the country, broken homogeneity of the Finnish society. Crash of colonial system, a socialism collapse, political and social instability in many regions of the world made active migratory streams, growth of refugees. The influx of immigrants has caused radical changes in the Finnish society. As shows examples from different countries immigration was accompanied by xenophobia. In spite of the fact that Finland is among the countries with the democratic forms of government, with strong institute of a legal society and safe economy, it was not possible to avoid these tendency. With influx of immigrants in 1980-1990s Finns had an anxiety of loosing national identity, there was a growth of hostile activities against immigrants. Thus, «The society of the Finnish people» (Suomen Kansan Jarjesto – SKJ), was founded in 1989.<sup>128</sup> Less than in a year, one of the first nationalist organizations in Lahti «Aryan German brotherhood», in a consequence renamed in «the Patriotic organization right» (Isaanmallinen Oikeisto) has been formed. They extend nationalist ideas through the Internet, organize concerts of neo-Nazi music . Essentially such splashes of intolerance were caused by the economic situation in the country. So, for example, polls demonstrated that during economic recession in 1993 – the relation to immigration in the Finnish society has sharply worsened, mainly it was considered as a burden, as a threar to the Finnish state.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Постановление ВС РФ от 29 июня 1993 г. N 5291-I "О реабилитации российских финнов" - М.: 1993.

<sup>127</sup> Ланко, Дмитрий, (2000): Органы местного самоуправления в Финляндии как фактор межэтнического согласия // Клио. №2 (11). стр.36.

<sup>128</sup> Лайдинен, Эйнар (1999): Националистическое движение в современной Финляндии // Север., №2. стр.15

<sup>129</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op. Cit., p.10.

Thus Finland faced with an urgent problem – maintenance of comprehensible coexistence of different cultures within the limits of one country and, finally, private world and stability.

## 3.2

### The rationality of the Finnish state

*«We need discussion, no doubt about it. The immigration authorities will have to be urged to cooperate. Multiculturalism has become a swear-word, which is against all that I have been fighting for».<sup>130</sup>*

Considering the features of the Finnish state system logic, it would be desirable to make accent on consideration of intercultural interaction system, as one of the important clusters of modern information society. Ethnic and cultural variety became an undisputable reality practically in every European state. However many countries of Europe have not reacted on occurring changes at once. In many respects it was explained by the perception of immigration, as temporary phenomena, after which, all workers and refugees will come back home shortly. Nevertheless, having realized that process of formation of new ethnic communities has already begun, many of the European states began to introduce and develop a policy, directed to integration of "newcomers". Thus, in some countries which had traditional homogeneous structure of society, the adaptation to the realities of ethnic and cultural variety has just begun. One of such countries was Finland.

It is possible to assume that large-scale ethnic migration of the last decades of 20th century has had deep influence on sociopolitical process in Finland. It became the catalyst of serious changes in sphere of mass consciousness, society, in political culture, institutionally-legal bases of the states. Having refused a policy of the assimilation prospering in 20th century, and leaning on historically shaped institutes of the welfare state, to accelerate the process of integration of ethnic minorities, the government of Finland embeded the political strategy of multiculturalism, developing the structure of *«new social management»*.

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<sup>130</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. Will an immigrant ever be accepted as a real Finn? At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/How+soon+will+immigrants+assimilate+into+the+mainstream/1135263652415> Accessed on 15.03.2011

It is well known, that the primary goal of policy is the organization and deregulation of certain spheres of life in society. A policy organizing the cultural and ethnic variety is a bright example. However, it is necessary to notice that such form of ethnocultural management, is not always a consequence of prolonged ethnic conflicts, uncontrolled migratory streams, difficulties related with integration of foreigners. On the contrary, it represents traditional line of political thought in modern «polyethnic» european liberal societies. As public policy, a policy of the ethnocultural organization defines, encourages, or forbids certain forms of cultural self-expression, creates necessary conditions and allocates required resources. Since Plato, political organization remains to one of the basic problems for the political science: how to predict the appearance of social problems, contradictions, the conflicts arising as a result of the economic inequality, inability to understand each other, ethnic distinctions of individuals?

As was told in previous chapters of the research, one of the main features of the modern european liberal states became the rationality of state apparatus. Finland in this connection is not an exception.

Thus, multiculturalism became a part of the Finnish national policy in 90s, namely in 1995 when Finland has entered the European Union. Since, the multiculturalism, as the all-European tool of intercultural dialogue, became a basic principle of the Finnish immigration policy.

However, for this there were also the internal reasons. As was mentioned above, due to extensive emigration and demographic problems Finland faced with the lack of labour force. Therefore the high economic conjuncture has caused the import of labour force. Proceeding from pragmatismal reasons, reacting to inquiries of the economy, Finland began to let in foreign workers that simultaneously with the streams of refugees, has caused sharp growth of the foreign population – if in 1990 in Finland lived 26 255 foreigners<sup>131</sup>, by 1997 this figure has increased almost four times – 80 600 persons<sup>132</sup>.

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<sup>131</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op.cit., p.6

<sup>132</sup> Ib id

In 1997 the government developed «the Immigration Policy Program»<sup>133</sup>. Heretofore any document defining the immigration policy in Finland didn't exist. Henceforth the Finnish immigration policy, was considered as «a policy of controllable immigration»<sup>134</sup>.

In 1998 the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations was set up by the Council of state. The main goal of this political platform was to conduct the interaction between Finnish authorities, parties and ethnic minorities. As a result at the legislation level appeared «Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers» which has come into the force in May of 1999. In the second section of the first chapter is given the definition of integration:

1) the personal development of immigrants, aimed at participation in work life and the functioning of society while preserving their language and culture; and 2) the measures taken and resources provided by the authorities to promote such integration.»

For today a number of the Finnish ministries is engaged in immigration policy, namely, The Ministry for Foreign Affairs issues visas and residence permits. The Ministry of the Interior supervises the entrance and departure from the country, and also engaged in citizenship questions. Among other institutes working with immigration it is necessary to mention the Directorate for immigration, The Finnish customs and Finnish Police which work under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, the Institute of Minority Ombudsman, and also the Ministry of Employment and the Economy.

Carrying out a course of a multicultural policy, the Finnish government was guided by experience of the nearest neighbor - Sweden. As well as there, the basic emphasis has been made on development of language, educational programs, and also a policy of mass-media. From the beginning of carrying out of a multicultural policy, the language and educational politics - the main conductors of governmental *knowledge* became a cornerstones of it. Both of them have been directed to the children of immigrants. Moreover immigrants acquired a possibility to study not only the Finnish language, but also their native language to preserve their national identity.

Today the mass media are considered as a tool of realization of the nation plan on struggle against discrimination and racism «Towards Ethnic Equality and Diversity» (also proposed by the Advisory Board for Ethnic Relations), which has been accepted in March,

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<sup>133</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2001): Op.cit., p.17

<sup>134</sup> Ib id



2001. According to this plan, mass-media had to use articles of foreign journalists, interview representatives of ethnic minorities, allocate the separate columns provided for consideration and discussion of problems of immigrants. The state actively keeps development of minorities mass-media. For today in Finland there are hundreds of immigrant newspapers, radio stations, etc., financed from the budget.

Considering the state system of Finland, researcher Miika Pyykkönen notices that in 90s the rationality-level of Finnish state-system has passed to the new level, level of «New Public Management»<sup>135</sup>:

*«Since the 1990s, Finnish society, like many other European countries, has witnessed a renewal of the production and governance of public services. Especially after the first EU programs, the making of civic organizations as participants and their guidance by the public administration have been much more systematic and programmatic than before.»<sup>136</sup>*

One of the basic lines of New Public Management according to Pyykkönen was the «programmatic governance». So for Pyykkönen, programmed control became the main tool for incorporation of immigrants, and also realization of the Intercultural communication:

*«Without programmatic governance, their difference can be thought to form a risk for the security and coherence of Finnish society. Programmatic governance of this risk does not usually touch upon all the immigrants, but only those with limited opportunities to participate in the institutions of the receiving society, that is, those “at risk”: refugees, asylum seekers, unemployed, uneducated, youth, women, elderly, and so on.»<sup>137</sup>*

Thus, speaking about programmed control, Pyykkönen notices that it is the consequence of aforementioned governmentalization:

*«This trend of extending administrative rationalities and techniques into the field of civil society can be approached as a governmentalization of the civil society.»<sup>138</sup>*

Thus Multicultural politics represents a bright example of programmatic control, a sort of «subordinate inclusion»<sup>139</sup>, discursive system of checks and balances. Considering the aforementioned system of institutions dealing with multiculturalism in Finland it is possible to highlight different types of the institutional actors - securitization, desecuritization

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<sup>135</sup> Pyykkönen, Miika, (2007): Op.Cit.

<sup>136</sup> Pyykkönen, Miika, (2007): Op.Cit., p.202

<sup>137</sup> Pyykkönen, Miika, (2007): Op.Cit. p.198

<sup>138</sup> Pyykkönen, Miika, (2007): Op.Cit. p.202

<sup>139</sup> Tuori, Salla (2009): The politics of multicultural encounters : feminist postcolonial perspectives. Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press. p.62

actors, empowered actors-conductors of governmental *knowledge*. Moreover the individual politicians, experts, researchers play the aforementioned roles.

As was mentioned above, *learning*, the educational system and policy, youth activities are the main mediators of governmental *knowledge*, multicultural *doxa*. Different utterance, ecarts distinctifs, clearly demonstrate it. Thus, Leena Nissilä, an official representative from the Finnish National Board of Education, describing the situation in finnish, told about the «learning multiculturalism in a natural way»<sup>140</sup>, «learning of integration»<sup>141</sup>. How is possible to learn integration?

On the other part, the president President of National Coalition Party Youth Arm - Wille Rydman criticises current Finnish integration policy: «It is not acceptable that people have different standards. The rules and laws have to be the same for all»<sup>142</sup>. The production and the preservation of national *knowledge* within the state-system is well demonstrated by the debates on naturalization procedure. At present, Finland does not have any procedures to evaluate the potetntial citizen's knowledge of governmental doxa - «country customs and core values»<sup>143</sup>.

In 2003 the issue was written into the Aliens act (adopted in 1991) - the requirement that immigrants should have a knowledge of Finnish or Swedish languages was included<sup>144</sup>. In interview, Jorma Vuorio, Director-General of The Finnish Immigration Service (MIGRI)

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<sup>140</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 10.1.2011: Poll: One in three in Uusimaa region would set maximum quotas for immigrant children in schools At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Poll+One+in+three+in+Uusimaa+region+would+set+maximum+quotas+for+immigrant+children+in+schools/1135262946651> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>141</sup> Ib.id.

<sup>142</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 23.2.2010: President of National Coalition Party Youth Arm criticises Finnish immigration policy. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/President+of+National+Coalition+Party+Youth+Arm+criticises+Finnish+immigration+policy+/1135253175074> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>143</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 29.10.2010: Regional daily: Finnish Immigration Service is considering citizenship tests. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Regional+daily+Finnish+Immigration+Service+is+considering+citizenship+tests/1135261264212> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>144</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 12.11.2010: Ingrians to lose returning migrant status. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Ingrians+to+lose+returning+migrant+status/1135261593664> Accessed on 15.03.2011

suggested about the urgency of naturalization test: «The citizenship test would show from one angle how well integration has succeeded»<sup>145</sup>

Concerning securitization and desecuritization actors it seems important to consider the interaction between Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Migration and European Affairs - as the main desecuritizing actors and the Ministry of the Interior, Finnish Customs and Police - as a sources of securitization.

Thus The Minister of Foreign Affairs - Alexander Stubb actively promotes and defends multiculturalism in Finland: “Finland needs to be international and multicultural”<sup>146</sup><sup>147</sup>, «The point of view that is critical to immigration, the extreme part of it, dominates debate. The debate is excessively one-sided. It reeks of racism, nationalism, populism, and xenophobia. It is very unpleasant»<sup>148</sup>.

Minister of Migration and European Affairs - Astrid Thors taking part in immigration debates told that she is very disappointed with the quality of public debates: “Many politicians taking part in the debate have given erroneous impressions on what we politicians can do.... Mobility has increased and we are committed to international obligations in our policy on asylum seekers”<sup>149</sup>

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<sup>145</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 29.10.2010: Regional daily: Finnish Immigration Service is considering citizenship tests. Op.cit.

<sup>146</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 19.3.2010: Foreign Minister Stubb defends immigration and multiculturalism. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Foreign+Minister+Stubb+defends+immigration+and+multiculturalism/1135254813307> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>147</sup> In this connection, seems important to remember the article of Andrew Geddes «Lobbying for migrant inclusion in the European Union». According to Geddes, European multiculturalism should be considered from neoliberal institutionalists point of view. Thus the arguments for migrant inclusion, free movement, immigration and asylum should be analysed within the process of European integration offering a potentially progressive counterbalance to lowest common denominator decision-making. This way, the interest of the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Minister of Migration and European Affairs becomes self-evident.

<sup>148</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 19.3.2010: Foreign Minister Stubb defends immigration and multiculturalism. Op.cit.

<sup>149</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 22.3.2010: Thors: Deliberate deception in immigration debate. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Thors+Deliberate+deception+in+immigration+debate/1135254872824> Accessed on 15.03.2011

The utterance of experts also play an important role in desecuritization. Thus, for example, the interview of Paasi Saukkonen<sup>150</sup> - researcher from the University of Helsinki the reveals the real daily problems of integrating immigrants. Another example - is a bright article «Helsinki: city of immigrants»<sup>151</sup>, consisting of stories, telling us about the daily-life «new-citizens», including the interview of Sirpa Wrede another researcher from the University of Helsinki.

As major securitizer of the migration, is possible to notice The Ministry of The Interior. Thus, the Police service often demonstrates good results in investigations of immigrants criminal activity, human trafficking<sup>152 153</sup>.

The challenge of human trafficking became a kind of neurosis for The Ministry of The Interior, at present it seems The Ministry tends to associate the possibility of family unification with human trafficking and illegal immigration as well. On the contrary, Astrid Thors proclaimed that this question is of Finnish migration service competence and unification procedures should be investigated by MIGRI <sup>154</sup>.

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<sup>150</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 8.6.2010: Immigrants and the difficulties of integration and getting into the cultural mainstream. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Immigrants+and+the+difficulties+of+integration+and+getting+into+the+cultural+mainstream/1135257413956> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>151</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 2.3.2010 Helsinki: city of immigrants. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Helsinki+city+of+immigrants/1135253387643> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>152</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 30.8.2010: Finnish immigration officials overwhelmed by Somali family unification requests. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Finnish+immigration+officials+overwhelmed+by+Somali+family+unification+requests/1135259750237> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>153</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 12.2.2010: Sharp rise in illegal immigration. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Sharp+rise+in+illegal+immigration/1135252839940> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>154</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 31.8.2010: Immigration Service to investigate suspicions of human trafficking among Somalis. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Immigration+Service+to+investigate+suspicious+of+human+trafficking+among+Somalis/1135259776141> Accessed on 15.03.2011

Another silent securitizer - the Ministry of Employment and the Economy, that periodically publishing the statistics of foreign workers remittances abroad<sup>155 156</sup>. Thus, it is often told about «transferring money abroad», «transferring very large sums of money».

Considering the securitization discourse within Finnish state-system seems important to take an attention to the concept of the *empowerment*, partly mentioned in the first chapter. *Empowerment* is a great programatic tool for governmental «desecuritization», aforementioned «subordinated inclusion». *Empowerment* in modern rational state became a sort of affective practice, it became «a dominant ideology as part of funding programmes, and is often associated with an uncritical emphasis on so-called «authentic» *knowledge*»<sup>157</sup> Thus funding programs, immigrants unions, «parliaments», cultural centres tends to be the instruments of programatic construction, the controlled inclusion, quazi-desecuritization.

The debates on Immigrant Parliament in Finland illustrate clearly the ambiguity of such idea. The idea of creation of Immigrant Parliament in Finland was supported by the Ministry of the Interior. The Chief of Staff at the Ministry of the Interior - Ritva Viljanen announced that «the parliament could issue statements on legal projects, make initiatives, and serve as a link between immigrants and decision-makers.»<sup>158</sup>. However, such fine gesture on behalf of the Ministry reminds the situation with *secretly working* Saami parliament<sup>159</sup> that is *de facto* chunked out of mainstream political discourse. The main opponent of the Immigrant Parliament - Veronika Solovian wisely notices that “this alienates immigrants from real elections and decision-making bodies. Immigrants should not be isolated into a separate

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<sup>155</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 14.12.2010: Finland's immigrants sent EUR 18 million to their countries of origin in 2009. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Finland's+immigrants+sent+EUR+18+million+to+their+countries+of+origin+in+2009/1135262379809> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>156</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 7.6.2010: Remittances from Finland to immigrants' countries of origin increase. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Remittances+from+Finland+to+immigrants'+countries+of+origin+increase/1135257373035> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>157</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2009): The politics of multicultural encounters : feminist postcolonial perspectives. Åbo : Åbo Akademi University Press. p.177

<sup>158</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 07.12.2010: Possible delay in launch of Immigrant Parliament. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Possible+delay+in+launch+of+Immigrant+Parliament/1135262204366> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>159</sup> Salla Tuori analyzing the situation with Saami minority from post-colonial prospective, calling the colonisation of the Saami people as a «welfare state nationalism»

group. They should be equal among Finns with the same rights and obligations as others”<sup>160</sup> This debate clearly associates with the ambiguity of desecuritization of collective minorities, formulated by Paul Roe, and then elaborated by Matti Jutila. Thus, as was mentioned above, the desecuritization works well only on individual level and becomes a weapon of assimilation dealing with collective minorities.

Another bright example of the empowerment is the plethora of non-governmental, governmental organizations, cultural centres etc. From this prospective Salla Tuori analyses the activity of Globe project<sup>161</sup>. Similar example represents the history with the cultural center Caisa that has been based in 1996 to strengthen the comradeship between finns and foreigners, to solve the current problems of immigrants, and to promote the formation of Helsinki, as multicultural capital.

10 years after its foundation, the analysis made by the Helsinki Council in the beginning of 2007, demonstrated that Caisa occupies the leading position and covers spheres of culture and art of ethnic minorities.<sup>162</sup> By the autumn of 2008, in the center was organised 3568 activities to promote the formation of intercultural dialogue.

However Caisa’s activity provoked a vivid discussion. So, for example, Mia Toikka asserted that interaction between indigenous population and immigrants carries superficial, and moreover - artificial character<sup>163</sup>. According to Mia Toikka, Caisa promoted the «Multiculturalism in which cultures have been presented as certain abstract *symbols*, without creation of strong communications between individuals and the cultural groups»<sup>164</sup>.

That is interesting that Caisa has been located in building of Helsinki Council being its structural division. However, the head of Council in interview on question "What is the Caisa activity concerned?" has answered that "the work related with integration of immigrants

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<sup>160</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 07.12.2010: Possible delay in launch of Immigrant Parliament. Op.cit.

<sup>161</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2009): Op.cit.

<sup>162</sup> Pyykkönen, Mikko, (2008): Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity in Finland // International Journal of Cultural Policy. Vol.2., #14, p.15

<sup>163</sup> Ib. Id.

<sup>164</sup> Ib. Id.

is not in the Council competence, and is a prerogative of the Ministry of Education "<sup>165</sup>, shifted The competence on other state institute and having deformed the mission of Caisa.

The case described above shows the semantic conflict within the state-system. As M. Foucauld assumed: «The different forms of power also *support* each other or cause *contradictions*»<sup>166</sup>.

Within state-system different branches and forms of "power", generating new discourses, can be in consensus, or in conflict condition of «symbolic violence»<sup>167</sup>, Creating conditions for the entropy of state-system.

Nevertheless, the full consensus seems to be unachievable and the consent between elements of state system is unlikely guarantees the achievement of proclaimed objectives. More likely the artificial homogeneity of "discourse" will lead the system to stagnation. So, Rosalyn Deutsche sees dispute, conflict, aforementioned entropy as a sense of existence of democratic space.

*«In the end, I contend that conflict, far from the ruin of democratic space, is the condition of its existence ».*<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> Joronen, Tuulla, (2003): Helsingin ulkomaalaispolitiikan teoria ja käytäntö // Helsingin kaupungin tietokeskuksen verkkojulkaisuja. №17., p.99.

<sup>166</sup> Foucault, Michel, (1980): Op. cit. p.69

<sup>167</sup> Mander, Mary S. (1987). Op.cit., p.432

<sup>168</sup> Deutsche, Rosalyn, (1996): Evictions: art and spatial politics, Chicago, Graham Foundation for Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts; Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, p. Xii

## Conclusion

In the beginning of XXI century, under conditions of growing globalization, the large-scale migration caused by the various reasons, became a reality of modern Europe. Influx of the emigrants leaving native lands, labor migrants, refugees and asylum seekers, students and tourists have mixed up. Hence, it is quite difficult to assume that migratory streams are carried freely and unhindered. The problem of illegal immigration an example of that, — despite the attempts of the European states to transform EU in «an unassailable fortress», on its territory "breaks" annually about 2 million foreigners that exceeds the scales of legal migration in to the USA (about 700-800 thousand persons per year).

Moreover, new forms of state-logic and international system to response this phenomena emerge. Thus, since 1980s migration increasingly became a subject of policy debates devoted to the protection of domestic stability, structuring and preservation of public order within the welfare state. A key point running through these debates was that migration became a danger to the domestic security. Thus, *the other* became a main threat to European social security, a challenge to the welfare state and to the national culture. In principle, nothing new didn't happen. In fact, european states started to use the same algorithm, as one used in international environment.

In such eschatologically simplified world migration became a nodal point in the internal security field, became a key issue which facilitates the social structuring, interaction between the professional security practices with wider political questioning.<sup>169</sup>As Jef Huysmans noticed «Migration» and related labels such as «foreigner» and «asylum-seeker» became politically powerful signifiers in contemporary Europe.<sup>170</sup> They acquired a capacity to bind the internal security logic to the macro-political questions of cultural and racial identity, challenges to the welfare states. Migration has become a meta-issue.

Finland in this connection was not an exception.

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<sup>169</sup> As Bill Mcsweeney noticed such «spillover» of immigration perception occurred due to the shift of «the loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre» security centre

<sup>170</sup> Huysmans, Jef, (2000): The European Union and the Securitization of Migration // Journal of common Market Studies., Vol.38, #5, pp.761



As was mentioned above it is evident that large-scale ethnic migration of the last decades of 20th century has had deep influence on sociopolitical process in Finland. It became the catalyst of serious changes in sphere of mass consciousness, society, in political culture, institutionally-legal bases of the states. Having refused a policy of the assimilation prospering in 20th century, but leaning on historically shaped institutes of the welfare state, to accelerate the process of integration of ethnic minorities, the government of Finland influenced by the supranational european politics has found a quite simple solution - the politics of controlled, subordinated inclusion called as a political strategy of multiculturalism.

Thus, considered Finnish state-system of intercultural management, without applying for completeness and absoluteness of the obtained results, for the author seems possible to draw the following conclusions.

Firstly, modern european state represents a rational, *conscious* system, possessing its own logic, language, producting its true, unique knowledge. In this connection, the efforts to structure, manage the multicultural society, throught the *othering* - the cognitive process of separation of the *unconscious*, reminds the functioning of the human psyche. The state possessing its *sentiment d'existence* resembles the photographs of Gilliam Wearing<sup>171</sup> and works according to easy logic of *signs that say what you want them to say and not signs that say what someone else wants you to say*.<sup>172</sup> Thus the state simply has not any possibilities to understand the *others*, to understand *the unconscious*. Securitization in this connection, is used as a tool to generate, to control the discourse, becomes a process of governmental thinking, analysing, trying to understand and structure the unconscious.

Secondly, the logic of state system, considered in chapter 2, differs from human perception of the environment. Mostly, the logic of state relies on symbols and signs, *consisting only of signifiers*. Thus, it seems possible to assume, that state system logic represents a sort of *meta-semiosphere* using the products of social mind. In this connection, state-system is absolutely dependent of social mind, it can't generate new symbols, just combines them. The whole logic of state as Baudrillard wrote, "loses its determinacy and begin to turn around itself, slipping *en abyme* towards a reality that cannot be found. This is

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<sup>171</sup> Wearing, Gilliam, (1992-1993): Everything is connected in life. At <http://www.tate.org.uk/servlet/ViewWork?workid=27086> Accessed on 11.02.2011

<sup>172</sup> Ib. id.

where we are today: indeterminacy, the era of floating theories, as much as floating money...”.<sup>173</sup> Considering the securitization process from this point of view, it is possible to say, that as many semantic acts, it is realized with modalities. In our case, such modalities are simplified.

Thus, according to the author, the *securitization* act possesses negative modality, and *desecuritization* - otherwise - positive. The effect of such utterances (positive or negative sense, depends on situation) depends on the existence of unique, social pre-signs, a sort of legacies of the past. Thus, as was correctly noticed by Jef Huysmans, we should analyze separately each case of securitization within the state- system logic.

Moreover, the securitization process, as the process of discursive control, made by the state-system often tends to be unclear. To acquire the necessary effect the state easily manipulates the modalities, their correlation with the past etc. In this connection the securitization of the migration became a structural consequence of the multiplicity of governmental practices, practices which turn migration into certain modalities by mobilizing specific institution and expectations. Thus, the aforementioned strict relations between securitization and desecuritization become blur, that determine the end of the drama of otherness, since otherness becoming «socio-dramatic, semio-dramatic, melodramatic»<sup>174</sup>.

The example of Finland is not the exception in this sense. Current state system of Finland represents itself modern rational apparatus, that obviously uses the instrument of securitization to control and structure the multicultural society. As it was already mentioned, in Finnish multicultural discourse both securitization and desecuritization have a place. However, it is urgently to notice that, in view of specific past of Finnish state (pre-signs of Finnish semiosphere), the process of migration securitization is more successful in Finnish society. In this case, the aspect of the colonisation of the Saami people, discrimination against and racist attitudes towards the Roma, the relationship between colonialism and eugenics make the multiculturalism “an element that comes from outside of Finnish society”<sup>175</sup>. The

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<sup>173</sup> Baudrillard, Jean (1987): *Forget Foucault*. New York: Semiotext(e). p. 12

<sup>174</sup> Baudrillard, Jean (2009): *The Transparency of Evil Essays on extreme Phenomena*. Trans. by James Benedict, Verso. p.142

<sup>175</sup> Tuori, Salla, (2009): *Op.cit.* p.36

opinion pools well demonstrates the rhythm of Finnish migrational discourse, that tends to securitize the migration.<sup>176 177</sup>

According to the author, desecuritization in Finland works quite well, moreover it represents a successful instrument of integration. However, as was mentioned in chapter 3, desecuritization has its positive effect, concerning only the individual migrants, in relation to the collective minorities it becomes a weapon of assimilation.

At the present, Finnish multicultural model could be considered as a performative product that has a task: namely to spread the information about the work done in the Globe, Kaisa, Stoa etc. in order to establish certain *dispositif* - understandings, policies and practices in multicultural environment.

In the end, it seems to note the suitability of acquired results. Thus, poststructural analysis allows to understand the mechanisms of the state-logic. Moreover, dealing with multiculturalism, is obviously to assume, that culture in spite of «the reactionary rhetoric which advocates immobility as a social ideal»<sup>178</sup> has its *elusive* nature, simply the culture is not a Walt Disney, it is impossible to cryogenize the social change phenomena, that's why the usage of postpositivistic views in this research obviously proves its value.

According to the author, the *desecuritization* of immigration in poststructuralist sense, seems to be the key, from the conceptual interregnum, that was described by A. Gramsci.<sup>179</sup> However, time will show us but in the meantime «we are the creatures of the words, as well as their creators».<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 31.3.2010: Survey: More than half want tighter immigration controls. At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/Survey+More+than+half+want+tighter+immigration+controls/1135255790386> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>177</sup> Helsingin Sanomat. 15.3.2010: Survey: Finns' attitudes toward immigration have become more negative At <http://www.hs.fi/english/article/1135254422096> Accessed on 15.03.2011

<sup>178</sup> Bigo, Didier, (1998): Op.cit., p.308

<sup>179</sup> «'The old is dying,' Gramsci wrote, 'and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum there arises a great diversity of morbid symptoms'» - Booth, Ken, (1991): Security and emancipation // Review of International Studies #17, p.315

<sup>180</sup> Booth, Ken, (1991): Op.cit., p.314

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