

betona vardagserfarenheter i skolans demokratiuppdrag ger hennes studie en intressant och unik dimension i forskningen om skolans demokratiska uppdrag. Kompletterat med en kontrasterande analys med hjälp av ett något bredare anlagt begrepp för skoldemokratierfarenheter hade denna analytiska poäng sannolikt blivit än mer tankeväckande. Jormfeldt hade kunnat skapa utrymme både i enkätformuläret och i avhandlingstexten för detta genom att lyfta bort analysen av de s.k. sekundära effekterna (dvs. analysen av i vilken mån elevernas demokratierfarenheter leder till ett bättre lärande och till en starkare röstningsbenägenhet). Med detta då också sagt att analysen av de sekundära effekterna inte passar in i Jormfeldts annars så väl genomtänkta forskningsdesign.

Jormfeldts avhandling är välskriven och väl strukturerad. Det är lätt att följa framställningen och genomgående präglas arbetet av ett gott metodologiskt hantverk. Avhandlingen är till detta väl förankrad i den forskningstradition som behandlas. Jormfeldt rör sig i ett gränsland mellan statsvetenskaplig och utbildningsvetenskaplig forskning och avhandlingen utgör därmed ett bidrag även till samhällsvetenskapens didaktik. Avhandlingsresultaten bör få stor betydelse, inte bara för skolforskningen som sådan, utan även för praktiker i skolans värld. Jormfeldt antyder själv på flera ställen i avhandlingen att det skulle behöva göras fördjupade analyser i olika avseenden. Studier av skolans demokratiuppdrag utifrån ett jämställdhetsperspektiv synes ännu vara i sin linda och det finns flera olika uppslag i avhandlingen som rimligtvis bör leda till fler projekt inom området. Behovet av kvalitativa studier inom detta område må betecknas som mycket stort.

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Anmälan av Paul Nesbitt-Larking

Sarah Scuzzarello's thesis is grounded in a set of now-familiar challenges that have occupied thousands of policymakers and academics as well as the broader public over the past few decades: How to integrate an increasingly diverse immigrant population into the political, economic, social, and cultural fabric of existing European nation-states.

The thesis brings together a theoretical elaboration of the concept of multiculturalism with an empirical study of institutional dynamics and policy narratives related to integration in three European cities, Malmö, Birmingham, and Bologna.

Scuzzarello's argument unfolds in four principal sections: The Theory of Multiculturalism; Research Design; The Broader Setting of the Study at the Level of the Nation-state; and the Empirical Findings

#### THE THEORY OF MULTICULTURALISM

In her introduction, Scuzzarello notes the rise and recent fall of multicultural approaches toward integration of immigrant minorities in Europe. Her research puzzle is to explain why multiculturalism has not worked very effectively as a set of policies designed to integrate immigrants into European nation-states.

In order to open up this question, Scuzzarello returns to the theoretical bases of multiculturalism and articulates a contradiction at the heart of the theory: that between recognition and validation of cultural differences among the communities, on the one hand, and the quest for common citizenship and shared national identity, on the other hand.

Her response to this challenge is to propose what she calls "Caring Multiculturalism". Bringing together the feminist critique

of multiculturalism with the tradition of caring ethics and a narrative-based version of social psychology, she identifies the key challenge as breaking through overgeneralizations, stereotypes and attributions by actually paying attention to what women and men living their immigrant lives in specific setting actually want to say about their experiences and their aspirations.

With the feminist critics of multiculturalism, she shares the perspective that it is men who characteristically become cultural entrepreneurs and that women's capacity to express themselves within cultural communities or if necessary to exit from them is compromised to the extent that Western states grant traditional male leaders the authority to speak on behalf of their communities. This is what she refers to as "the power of problem setting": who gets to define the needs and aspirations of a community?

Given Scuzzarello's determination to reject overgeneralizations and to insist on deep scrutiny, her chosen ontology is relationist rather than substantialist. In other words, she is concerned to explore deeply how people actually make sense of their lives rather than assuming that it necessarily corresponds to whatever group or community that may be attributed to them.

Scuzzarello develops three key characteristics of the practice of Caring Multiculturalism: attentiveness to context and circumstance; responsiveness to others in their own terms; and responsibility toward the actual outcome of policies on the lives of those targeted by them.

When it comes to attentiveness, Scuzzarello stresses the need to pay attention to multiple strands of experience, not just cultural, but those related to class, gender, ethnicity and other social relations. In the end, attentiveness means talking to people about their actual needs.

Responsiveness allows for feedback and evaluation of policies in close detail. A dialogical and interactive setting is critical to the

development of policies and programmes that people really need.

Responsibility means moving away from the "one size fits all" detached approach of public bureaucracies and zeroing in on the actual consequences of policy choices and implementation.

While Scuzzarello is aware that a policy of Caring Multiculturalism can become paternalistic, especially in asymmetrical power relationships, she argues that it has the potential to be a transformative force overcoming intransigent conflict through the construction of shared narratives, of positive reciprocity, dialogue, and humanization of the Other.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN

The setting of the study consists of an examination of both institutional practices and policy narratives around integration in Malmö, Birmingham and Bologna between 1997 and 2007: "This dissertation's empirical aim is to understand to what extent three local contexts, Malmö, Birmingham, and Bologna, hold the potential for adopting caring multiculturalism." (p. 79)

Scuzzarello divides her questions up into three broad enquiries:

Firstly, at the institutional level, how do the public officials in Malmö, Birmingham, and Bologna address the challenges of voice and participation among the immigrant populations of their cities?

Second, how do public narratives in immigrant policies and programmes define integration?

Third, how do the public officials in Malmö, Birmingham, and Bologna conceive of immigrants?

While her research design pays attention to individuals and to the micro-level of political analysis and is relationist, Scuzzarello adopts a view of the self as already constituted in social relations. In other words, her approach deliberately avoids an individualistic or psychologically reductionistic approach. Reflecting a research design that brings

together both structure and agency, and the social with the individual, Scuzzarello distinguishes between discourses and narratives.

Discourses are systems of meaning that both explain and justify the world in certain ways. Narratives are coherent and plausible stories about particular aspects of individuals and communities that have been derived from the broader assumptions of available discourses.

#### **THE BROADER SETTING OF THE STUDY AT THE LEVEL OF THE NATION-STATE**

In order to understand the dominant narratives and policy options exercised in each city, Scuzzarello situates each one in its national context. Here, her methodology is structural, institutional, and macrological. Among the factors affecting attitudes toward immigrants and therefore their capacity to integrate, she lists the following:

...citizenship regulation, legal frameworks for community and institutional organization, the nature of a country's political system, the degree of centralization of institutional power, as well as its national self-understanding. (p. 107)

Scuzzarello identifies three distinct national contexts when it comes to immigration and citizenship regimes:

Britain has the longest-standing experience of postcolonial immigration and has developed both multiculturalism and a race relations apparatus.

Sweden's reception of immigrants, more recent and with proportionately more refugees and asylum seekers, is grounded in a strong social-democratic welfare state and corporatist tradition. As in Britain, multiculturalism has been a dominant approach, but since the late 1980s it has diminished in emphasis, giving way to a more integrationist approach.

Italy's experience of immigration is relatively new – only becoming salient since the 1990s. On the basis of a decentralized regime, regions have been able to develop their own

institutions for integration. But the Italian reality is also characterized by both strong narratives of criminalization of the immigrant and a familial welfare system that has encouraged the immigration of relatively large numbers of single female workers. While immigrants in Sweden and Britain have the right to vote in local elections and to stand for office, in Italy, they are denizens, with certain socio-economic rights, but no easy passage to citizenship.

#### **THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS**

Corresponding to Scuzzarello's three broad enquiries are three chapters that present and discuss the empirical findings.

The first of these concerns the degree to which each of the cities has developed institutional opportunities that promote Caring Multiculturalism.

Malmö's institutional support for integration and liaison with immigrant groups is ad hoc and much of it works through contact with immigrant associations. While many immigrants have the right to vote, there has been a sharp decline in voter turnout among immigrants. Scuzzarello points to a pervasive lack of attention to this challenge of civic engagement on the part of the city council. The corporatist tradition in Sweden has led to a de-emphasis on immigrant representation in the policy process.

There is a reticence on the part of Malmö's council to grant formal representation to immigrant associations because they are skeptical about the legitimacy of their leaders to speak on behalf of those they supposedly represent. Despite this, the council encourages membership in voluntary organizations as places to learn how to be good citizens.

Birmingham recognizes and works with BME (black and minority ethnic) communities. Over the decades, BME communities have become active as candidates, activists, and voters for the Labour and Liberal Democratic parties. There is a formal apparatus of city consultation. In the 1990s, a range of BME

and faith-based umbrella groups were organized into a Standing Consultative Forum that met with the council. As in Malmö, however, there was increased skepticism at the fidelity with which the leaders of these BME groups actually spoke for their communities. Despite this, a more recent Community Cohesion Forum, established in 2005, has repeated the problems. Again, in a similar manner to Malmö, there is a range of semi-formal opportunities for citizens to consult with elected officials at the ward and neighbourhood level.

Bologna has created a series of local and regional opportunities for immigrants to express their viewpoint, including the Forum and the Consulte. Despite the absence of legal rights of citizenship, there is a Migrants' Provincial Council at the regional level. This is a kind of parallel assembly and through it immigrants are able to exert more power than they can through the Forum and the Consulte.

The second empirical chapter investigates policy narratives on integration in each city. When it comes to the construction of narratives in each city's policies and programmes, Scuzzarello identifies three or four dominant ones for each locale.

The central problematic according to Malmö's policy statements has to do with the lack of integration. Four narratives express this in further detail:

Firstly, the Employment Narrative that regards paid employment as a solution to the social, economic, and cultural ills of immigrant isolation through reliance on assistance;

Second, the Community Engagement Narrative that stresses the importance to the development of civic and democratic skills of engagement in voluntary associations;

Third, the Council's Responsibility Narrative that promotes employment equity for immigrants within the public sector, but also models hiring immigrants to the private sector; and

Finally, the Meeting Spaces Narrative promotes the creation of common meeting

spaces where immigrants and majority Swedes can mix.

In Birmingham, three policy narratives predominate:

Firstly, the Community Cohesion Narrative attempts to foster a post-multicultural integration, bringing diverse people and communities together through encouraging greater equality in health, education, social care, employment and housing, enhanced community engagement, dialogue, and active citizenship;

Second, the Community Engagement Narrative is an attempt to go beyond the top-down approach of Community Cohesion and to get people to develop their own initiatives; and

Finally, the Anti-discrimination Narrative promotes anti-racist measures through employment equity and through measures to confront discrimination in housing, education, social care, health, and community safety.

Finally, in Bologna, there are four dominant policy narratives on integration:

Firstly, the Narrative of Security stresses the links between immigration, crime, and welfare fraud and proposes greater policing and surveillance;

Second, the Narrative of Housing seeks to address the challenges of providing housing beyond the hostel-type for immigrants and to address problems of crime and illegality related to the existing accommodation centres;

Third, the Narrative of Cultural Diversity under the left promotes cultural integration and exchange and under the right demands that immigrants assimilate to Italy's existing culture and values; and

Finally, the Participation Narrative promotes integration, responsibility for the political community and civic participation.

In her final empirical chapter Scuzzarello explores policy narratives on the constructions of immigrants: How are migrants thought of and what characteristics are attributed to them?

In Malmö there are three principal constructions of immigrants:

Firstly, the Employed Migrant Narrative stresses the socio-economic and cultural importance of work for integration;

Second, the Narrative of Competitiveness regards immigrants as significant economic resources because of their human capital skills; and

Finally, the Migrants as Strangers Narrative delineates two major cultures, one Swedish and one immigrant, requiring “link-workers” to bridge the division.

In Birmingham, Scuzzarello identifies a concentration on two dominant constructions of immigrants:

Firstly, the Community Cohesion narrative is grounded in the race relations model of bringing ethno-racial and religious communities into contact; and

Second, the Working Asylum Seeker Narrative constructs the asylum seeker as eager to work.

Bologna’s dominant policy narratives construct immigrants according to three principal characteristics:

Firstly, the Criminal Alien Narrative constructs immigrants as mainly deviant and a threat to core cultural values;

Second, the Economic Resources narrative considers immigrants to be a strong source of labour for routine occupations; and

Third, the Participating Migrant Narrative promotes the perspective of the immigrant as full and engaged member of the political society.

When it comes to institutional opportunities, Scuzzarello concludes that both Malmö and Bologna exhibit top-down and paternalistic modes of consultation. Immigrants are seen as ignorant of democratic policies and practices. She concludes that: “In Malmö and Bologna these kinds of institutional opportunity structures are not likely to support the adoption of caring multiculturalism.” (p. 181)

In Sweden – as in Britain – immigrants can vote and run for office. Despite this, the

Migrant’s Provincial Council in Bologna exhibits elements of the attentiveness that cuts across cultural narratives and thereby offers forms of representation that better approximate caring multiculturalism than the Standing Consultative Forum and Community Cohesion Forums of Birmingham.

In general, when it comes to institutional structures, Scuzzarello finds those that cut through to the real needs and desires of citizens living in their fullness, those that are attentive, responsive, and responsible, work best. She highlights the Birmingham ward system in this regard as well as the Bologna Migrant Provincial Council. She also praises the individualized approach to immigrants’ needs that is practiced in Malmö.

With regard to policy narratives on integration, Scuzzarello points out that no city goes far enough in facilitating truly transformative models of integration, grounded in attentiveness, responsiveness, and responsibility that would inform caring multiculturalism. She says:

The relegation of the activities of cultural preservation to the private sphere, as in Malmö and Bologna, risks maintaining interpretations of culture and religion that oppress some segments of a group. (p. 237)

Even in Birmingham, despite its ward system and full integration of BMEs into the civic electoral process, Scuzzarello argues: “The race relations framework is still an important determinant for the management of community cohesion policies.” (p. 238) This means that despite talk of post-multiculturalism, there is still too little attempt to integrate on the basis of deep enquiry into the multiplicity of experiences of those identified as immigrant.

Policy narratives that construct the immigrant tend to essentialize and overgeneralize in each of the three cities. In Bologna and Malmö, the economic resources approaches superimpose models of independence instead of enquiring into how immigrants, notably women, regard their own needs,

dependencies, and contributions. In all three cities there are tendencies to present immigrants as a homogeneous group, defined solely by their ethno-racial characteristics. In Bologna, these stereotypes include a great many negative references, but in Malmö they are paternalistic and in Birmingham trapped in a decreasingly relevant race relations model.

#### **COMMENTS ON THE THESIS**

This is an outstanding thesis in many ways and it contributes at least two major innovations and advances toward the academic discipline of political science:

Firstly, the deepening of theories of multiculturalism through Scuzzarello's innovative development of Caring Multiculturalism. This is grounded in the creative bringing together of feminist critiques of multiculturalism with research traditions in the ethics of care, and discursive and narrative social psychology.

Second, a genuinely comparative study of patterns of integration across three distinct European settings, grounded in a thick-descriptive anthropological approach, made possible by Scuzzarello's mastery of three languages and three political cultures.

Integrating advanced theoretical analysis with a critical and detailed macrological investigation into three states/cities as well as a sophisticated qualitative analysis of narratives and discourses, incorporating a range of methodologies is a major achievement. To accomplish this with apparent seamlessness and the demonstrable capacity to integrate levels of analysis is outstanding. Scuzzarello's thesis is excellent throughout, it is very well-organized, packed with relevant and insightful material, and a pleasure to read.

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