(RE)ASSEMBLING INTEGRATION
Swedish for Truck Drivers as a Context for Integrating

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I. Abstract

‘Integration’ is often referred to in Swedish policy documents and analyzed by measures of effectivity and structural adjustment, assuming acculturation and essentialization of populations. This thesis explores how integration is practiced and defined within the context of professional adult education for newly arrived immigrants. The main case study focuses on Swedish for Professionals (SFX) and specifically, the Swedish for truck drivers (SFL) program as sites where the lifeworlds of teachers and students emerge as an actor-network of integrative forces. By relying on ethnographic methods including semi-structured interviews and participant observation the informants’ own narrative of entering society surfaces. Actor-network theory and community of practice theory lift the informants’ actions and accounts to assemble a community of integrators located within a network of integration. Tracing the voices, actions and interactions of the participants at SFX and SFL in particular, results in a contextual version of integration that relays their subjective experiences and explains the social and material processes involved in them ‘coming into society.’ The lived-in experiences of integration offered in this thesis both compares and contrasts to forms of integration offered in political and scholastic discussions.

Keywords: integration, Swedish for professionals, actor-network theory, driver-car, community of practice
II. Acknowledgements

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1.0 Introduction: On Integration

Me: Nothing formal, I just want to hear about your work. I heard that you were one of the people who started Swedish for truck drivers.

Björn: Yeah, it began in 2008, actually earlier but it was hard to start because there was nobody who was interested in providing financing. It really started at the school I was at as an SFI teacher with my colleague, and we thought that we needed a revitalization,¹ we couldn't keep going in the same tracks. We needed something that would stimulate the students, motivate them to come to school. Something that would give a better result concerning learning the language. They had bad attendance. What should we do? It has to relate to something. We can’t just give Swedish lessons. But when we do this it has to relate to something that the students are interested in, that they feel they can benefit from in the future. Everyone understands that they have to learn the language, but it’s not so darn fun to just learn the language! You want to communicate, language is only communication. Then you can communicate about something while you learn the language at the same time right?…You learn the language for something that is real and authentic, that you can benefit from in the future. Then we thought that they were adult people, they don’t have a job, many are on welfare benefits, so what do they want? Most of them want a job. So we made courses with professional content. And we started different concentrations that the students could choose from. We started with the transport professions, boutique and merchandise, childcare, and then we had another for a while. There were different groups you were interested in…we got some cash-registers for boutique and merchandise, and we got things like crayons for childcare, you know, really tried to make it as concrete as possible. And this got really popular! There got to be lines to these groups! ‘Cause this was something that they thought was for real.³

¹ förnya oss
² handla om
³ äkta
Björn is a middle-aged man from the Stockholm area who was involved in starting the Swedish for truck drivers program (SFL). SFL is one of the nine Swedish for Professionals (SFX) programs in the greater Stockholm region (Länsstyrelsen, 2017). When he started Swedish for truck drivers, Björn was a Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) teacher. Today Björn is the development strategist for Integrated professional and language education for Immigrants (YFI⁴), which as he explains is a kind of revamped Swedish for professionals. When I asked him why he works to innovate professional adult language education he answered, “I am interested in other things too, not just the verb and the predicate. Isn’t it better to read about Göran who drives a truck at a warehouse?”

1.1 Aim of Research

Like Björn, I am convinced that there is something extra to gain from learning by doing. For the purposes of this thesis, I attempt to disentangle the concept of ‘integration’ from abstract forms to traceable “real, for real” and “concrete” situations, by applying anthropological methods in the context of Swedish for Professionals. Although there are many other terms to describe such processes, I use the term ‘integration’ because of its prominence in contemporary Swedish policy documents and societal debates, i.e. Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications 2002, Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality 2010 and in recent news articles in Dagens Nyheter 2019. The main focus for this thesis are the people who I call ‘integrators’ who employ integrative efforts, as well as the ‘integratees’ respectively, whom participate in such programs. Borrowing from Björn’s description of learning language, I question if this is a topic made up of “verb[s] and predicate[s]” or if it is also experienced in a “concrete” way. I spent eight weeks with the Swedish for truck drivers program in order to find out.

In my thesis I delve into integration as a social phenomenon and follow the work of integrators and integratees to uncover how integration is practiced in context. My initial research questions were: how is integration practiced? Who and what puts this concept into action? During my time in the field, I discovered an alternative to ‘integration,’ rooted in my informants’ contextual practices and accounts. This finding led to the more specific questions, first, how do integrators and integratees think about and carry out integration efforts? And

⁴ Yrkesutbildningar för invandrare med integrerad språkutbildning
second, does the work such integrators do align with the term ‘integration’ used in political and social fields?

1.2 Current Research on Integration

The movement of foreigners entering new lands has been scrutinized through various optics, from colonial times and the building of nation-states to post-colonial and post-national eras. The term ‘assimilation’ surfaced in the 19th and 20th centuries during great immigrant waves to the US and elsewhere (Schneider & Crul, 2010). Then, immigrants adopted to the host society in order to become more similar to the mainstream (ibid). As Schneider and Crul argue (2010:1144), the concept of ‘assimilation’ is one-sided, where immigrant is expected to change their own identity to adapt to the host country. It simplifies the host country’s population and immigrant groups as unified masses lacking variety or growth. In contrast, ‘integration’ has been conceptualized as a two-sided relationship, where the immigrant retains some cultural aspects from their homeland while adopting to the host culture (Kimberlin 2009: 768). In both cases these processes involve adjusting policies to incorporate immigrants into education and labor sectors. Regardless of the processes involved, there are various ways to study the incorporation of immigrants into host countries.

Oftentimes, the issue of integration is studied through measurements in effectiveness of labor and economy (Bevelander 2011, Alba & Foner 2015, Irastorza & Bevelander 2017, Kimberlin 2009). This point of view offers ways for immigrants to adjust to a new society by

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5 Major immigration countries continue to tell the history of the nation through their great immigration waves, as with de Tocqueville noting a mass of individual emigrants different from each other in his 1835 book ‘Democracy in America.’ Contemporary works on the topic oftentimes begins with a great narrative not dissimilar to the following:

…over the last six decades, millions of immigrants have arrived in the wealthy democracies of Europe and North America. Despite increasing restrictions, the volume remained high as families reunite, asylum seekers find safe havens, undocumented workers cross borders, and residents of the new accession states the European Union travel west. The current economic crisis may slow these flows, but they will resume with recovery. Immigrants from many different countries have diverse motives…(Hochschild & Mollenkopf, 2009:3).

This serves as the introduction to the anthology ‘Bringing Outsiders In,’ which collects the works of prestigious interdisciplinary scholars on integration (2009: 363-366). Despite the attempt to show the immigrant trajectory through multiple lenses, the image is clear: an unfathomable number of migrants are coming to rich democracies often overwhelming capacity and restrictive immigration policies. The immigrants are relentless and motivated to find a better life. This example shows common elements in the grand narrative of immigration. The topic has a long history, cumbersome statistics, involves the global north vs. global or global west vs. east, and a story of a “seeker” who “finds safe havens”. The purpose of this thesis is to counteract such grand narratives, offering a contextual narrative of integration, based on encounters with the involved integrators and integratees.
gaining employment to contribute to the national economy, and secondarily acquire social networks. Some contemporary trends in migration studies include ‘transnationalism’ and ‘super-diversity,’ which consider the identity of an immigrant through her relationship to both host and native countries and how those relationships are transformed by social mobility and technology in ways that exceed national borders (Kimberlin 2009, Gryzmala-Kazlowska and Phillimore 2018).


Urry (2000) offers flows and networks to explain a fluid relationship between immigrants, societies and nations, maintaining that social phenomena should be restated as ‘sociology of mobility’ based on networks and movements (2000). Ryan (2017) advances on this claim in his investigation of immigrants’ reasons to stay in a country longer than anticipated, finding that local and global relationships play a role in such decisions. Similarly, Brubaker (2006) and Glick-Schiller (2009) criticize the essentialization of migrants based on national origin and claim that other factors play larger roles in the process of integration. They argue that categorization of people based on national origin overlooks socio-cultural and economic diversity within both host and native populations, excluding other identity factors such as gender, language ability, migrant status, education and profession (Brubaker 2006, Glick-Schiller 2009).

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⁶ This does not provide a comprehensive overview on ethnographical and anthropological literature on immigrant experience, but rather some examples of similar topics about immigrants lifeworlds and experiences in integrating in contemporary times.
I agree with the aforementioned claims and therefore take an ethnographic approach to contribute to recent findings in migration studies by offering additional definitions and ways of integrating in context. I propose to grasp a more nuanced perspective of this complex topic by applying actor-network theory to account for and assemble experiences of the integrators and integratees at Swedish for professionals. In doing so, I aim to bring the reader closer to actual encounters with those who either work with or live through their own understandings of integration. I focus specifically on the term ‘integration’ because of its prevalence in policy directives in Sweden, cited by both political and academic debates and even used (although sparingly) by my informants themselves.

1.3 Integration in Sweden

The political use of ‘integration’ in Sweden dates back to the 1960s. The term is still used today. In this section I will discuss a brief history of immigration and integration policies in Sweden. I will also introduce Swedish for Professionals and Swedish for truck drivers as the main research sites for this thesis.

Sweden’s shifting integration policies are rooted in 1960s efforts to improve social rights and welfare protections, which have since undergone substantial transformations. According to Skodo (2018), the original intention of these policies were to provide full working rights and a sense of belonging to newcomers, two baselines for citizens to join Sweden’s strong welfare state. By 1975 Sweden introduced multiculturalist policies, which supported cultural and religious expression at institutions like schools, cultural associations and elderly care for immigrants (Solano, 201-). In 1997 Sweden adopted their first integration policy and established the Swedish Integration Board (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications 2002). In 2002, a comprehensive integration policy document 'Swedish Integration for the 21st Century' outlined the Swedish vision for integration policies, targeting entrance into the workforce, establishing democratic values, gender equality and combatting racism and xenophobia (ibid). The document aims to do so by claiming that “[t]he integration process is mutual in the sense that everyone is involved and must make a contribution. It is conditional, for example, on mutual respect for cultural differences, so long as these do not conflict with the fundamental democratic values of society” (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications 2002). Despite these lofty statements, the proceeding sections focus
mainly on “a labour market for all,” and outline the various immigrant employment efforts (ibid).

By 2008 Sweden’s economy was burdened with an ageing population and increasing employment shortages in trade and service sectors. The center-right government in power updated immigrant labor policies, encouraging migrant workers to quickly obtain permanent residency while discouraging collective bargaining agreements (Skodo, 2018). In 2009 the ‘Swedish integration policy’ updated it’s goals, identifying faster introductions for new immigrants, flexible work, language and adult education and common values as key areas to improve (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality). Immigrants in need were given establishment funds during their job-search (Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). The Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality (2009) claimed that the integration policy aimed to supply manpower to the labor market and “… create quality and equality in schools”.

The above reformations change the original vision of integration from multicultural inclusionary efforts to a strong focus on economic adjustments, mainly aimed at incorporating newly arrived immigrants into education and employment sectors. Such “efforts to promote employment and enterprise” translated to the highly government subsidized ‘step-in job’ program that gave unemployed immigrants temporary work as they searched for jobs, introduction dialogues aimed at matching the immigrants’ skills to the job market, mentorship programs to support skill-building and social-networking, and various education and vocational programs (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009).

Between 2015 and 2016 the infamous ‘refugee crisis’ struck Sweden, when a record-breaking 163,000 refugees entered Sweden in 2016, mostly from Syria, Iraq and Iran (Statistiska centralbyrå, 2019). This historical influx of refugees influenced immigration discussions. One influence was the increased popularity of the anti-immigration party, the Sweden Democrats, who gained a historical 17.6% of the national vote in 2018 (Skodo, 2018). The Sweden Democrats’ xenophobic rhetoric affected immigration policy most concretely with the 2016 temporary asylum and reunification law. This law hindered refugees from obtaining residence permits by decreasing their asylum protection from three years to one. In order to gain full asylum, refugees were forced to prove economic self-sufficiency (Skodo, 2018). This

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7 See appendix sections 4.0- 4.1 for statistics on Swedish immigration from 2000-2018
right-wing gain swayed societal debate by normalizing more isolationist and exclusionary immigration policies and statements, usually targeted at Muslim immigrants. As discussed later in section 1.4, this values-based discussion influenced my choice to focus on a group of majority Muslim immigrant students.

Throughout these changes in policy, a change in definition emerges as integration took on new forms when it entered labor and education sectors. Integration started to be used as a synonym for ‘introduction’ and ‘establishment,’ relating to fast tracks to learn the language and acquire jobs that “make use of the skills of newly arrived immigrants” (Minister of Integration and Gender Equality, 2010). In such instances, it seems that the terms ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ were conflated, and the focus was to incorporate immigrants into the host population instead of multimodal adjustments to immigration. Until recently immigration policies were under the responsibility of the Social Democratic Labor and Establishment Minister, Ylva Johansson. In her 2016 - 2019 policy, she priorities fast tracks to immigrant employment as well as reception and education efforts (Regeringskansliet, 2016).

SFX: “a straighter path to work within your profession”

The education of newly arrived immigrants is a municipal responsibility. Swedish for professionals is a part of municipal education, otherwise known as Komvux. Komvux began in the early 1900s and is unique to the Swedish welfare state, offering free vocational programs for adults to learn job-skills. The initial aim of municipal education was to increase the economic wellbeing of low-skilled workers by re-educating them for better-payed jobs. Nowadays, 45% of students in these programs are adult immigrants, compared to just 20% in the 1990s (Dahlstedt and Fejes 2019).

Swedish for professionals responds to this demographic change by catering to the adult immigrant population. Most Swedish for professionals programs require previous experience

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8 On April 13, 2019 Dagens Nyheter’s front-page article reported on an update to the World Values Study finding that non-european immigrant values in Sweden are “going in the right direction” as they start to align with Swedish values.

9 After the 2018 election and the rebuilding of the Social Democratic government, the Minister for Equality with responsibility for work against discrimination and segregation Åsa Lindhagen was appointed to the policy field including establishment of newcomers (Regeringen, 2019).

10 “en rakare väg till arbete inom ditt yrke,” motto provided on homepage http://sfx.se
or professional educations in students’ home countries, and intermediate Swedish language skills ranging from Swedish for Immigrants (SFI) C or D. Swedish for professionals works as a complement to SFI, aimed at immigrants who would like to pursue professional education rather than general language education (Länsstyrelsen 2017:8). The Swedish for professionals concept is defined on their homepage as a cooperative effort between 26 municipalities in the larger Stockholm region to make use of immigrants professional competencies (SFX, 2018). Swedish for professionals works in cooperation with participating municipalities, the Greater Stockholm regional government (Länsstyrelsen), and the municipal association of Stockholm county (Storshlml12). The agreement between the municipalities and the regional government is that the municipalities pay for enrolment costs and new programs are agreed upon between Storshlm and the municipality with a program idea. Each program includes intensive professional Swedish language lessons and sometimes internship opportunities. This innovative educational model aims to quickly employ immigrants in their previous professions and has even inspired ‘Snabbspåren,’ the Swedish government’s fast-track program for newly arrived immigrants (SFX, 2018).

In 2017, Greater Stockholm regional government evaluated the Swedish for professionals program and individual professional programs, including Swedish for academics, Swedish for bus drivers, Swedish for economists, jurists and social scientists, Swedish for entrepreneurs, Swedish for handymen, Swedish for architects and engineers, Swedish for educators, Swedish for IT programmers and Swedish for truck drivers (Länsstyrelsen, 2017)13. The report provides a detailed overview and analysis of Swedish for professionals as an organization and as specific programs, using different measures of effectivity based on the vision of the program. The overall goal of the organization is stated as such:

A Swedish for professionals education aims to intensify learning relevant knowledge to get established on the labor market. One goal includes starting with the individuals’ existing professional knowledge in order to better match the job market. Faster establishment on the job

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11 the publishing date for the Swedish for professionals website is not written, but the latest uploaded document was in 2018 (accessed 11-2-2019)

12 Storshlml is the coordinating organization for Stockholm County [http://www.storshlml.se](http://www.storshlml.se)

13 Today there is Swedish for Bakers and Swedish for Roofers (Swedish for professionals, 2018).
market profits not only the society but also the involved individuals who get the opportunity to create a community and establish themselves in the Swedish society.\textsuperscript{14}

This document outlines familiar aspects of integration covered with Björn, the field of migration studies, and Swedish integration policies. Swedish for professionals aims to employ newcomers in order to foster societal involvement and grow social networks. As Björn notes in the opening quote of this thesis, his immigrant students wanted a job, and Swedish for professionals provided avenues for them to get a job by combining communication and professional skills. As such, the Swedish for professionals’ goal responds to both the ‘Swedish Integration for the 21st Century’ policy, the redrafted vision in 2009, and the 2016 policy on effective establishment calling on vocational schools to provide expedited introductions into the workforce through language and skill-building (Regeringskansliet). Simply put, Swedish for professionals serves as a site where integration is practiced.

1.4 Theoretical Frameworks to Assemble Integration

As Björn suggests, Swedish for truck drivers offers something “concrete” that immigrants “can benefit from in the future”. In this context, learning a profession, understanding how to work with its tools, and speak the professional language serve as ways to integrate. Through my time in the field, I discover that such integrative processes had further effects, like gaining a sense of self-worth and agency, and developing an intimate relationship with the truck as a vehicle into society. In order to better understand how integration is produced at a professional education course, I apply actor-network theory (ANT) and community of practice as phenomenological approaches to integration, exploring how the social world of integration is traced, constructed, practiced and negotiated by the integrators themselves. I use Fox’s interpretation (2000: 864) of these two frameworks which together interweave how networks take form and inspects what happens within and among nodes in that network.

\textsuperscript{14}“En Sfx-utbildning syftar till att intensifiera inlärningen av kunskaper med relevans för etablering på arbetsmarknaden. Ett syfte är även att utgå från individernas befintliga yrkeskunskaper för bättre matchning på arbets- marknaden. Snabbare etablering på arbetsmarknaden innebär vinster inte enbart för samhället utan även för de berörda individer som får möjlighet att skapa ett sammanhang och etablera sig i det svenska samhället”.

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As a compliment to ANT and communities of practice, I rely on Merleau-Ponty’s concepts of ‘embodiment,’ ‘habit-body,’ and ‘phenomenological field’ (1979). I interpret how students learn to build new driving habits and how teachers foster this process through phenomenological concepts. These concepts are useful to scrutinize the orientation of humans in the world as they are interacting with their social and material surroundings. This will be further explained in chapter four.

**Actor-Network Theory**

Actor-Network theory is rooted in Science and Technology Studies (STS) and emerged in the 1980s. It emerged from the work of social theorists Bruno Latour, Michelle Callon and John Law, who argue that the increased materiality in late modernity necessitated an ontological shift from a preoccupation with describing social forces to the conception that social and material connections are interwoven and must be disentangled and reassembled (2005). ANT understands the relationship between humans and objects, especially innovations, as entrenched in our everyday social lives. In actor-network theory, social and material objects are regarded as actors, or according to ANT, ‘actants,’ or objects and humans that influence others to act (2005: 4). As Dant has claimed (2005), this line of thinking is well-established in sociology and anthropology, particularly in theories of materiality, technological affordances, embodiment, and being-in-the-world. Dant connects the early philosopher Martin Heidegger and psychologist James Gibson to later works of philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, to ANT grounders Bruno Latour and Michelle Callon as well as Tim Dant himself.

Much like Anthropology, actor-network theory examines power dynamics and social phenomena as they happen in situ (Fox, 2000: 858). Furthermore, it is inspired by the ethnographic method of following local actors’ accounts and definition of their own world (Latour 2005: 41). Actor-network theory identifies actors within a social phenomenon to understand informants’ own interpretations of their world, as opposed to the researcher’s projections of hidden social forces (ibid, 60). The goal is to lift the actions of the actors themselves and unravel their connections to other actors and networks while maintaining their own accounts of the phenomena. One critique of actor-network theory is that theory lacks substance when its role is basically to mirror reality without adding analysis. But the substance lies in these complex and intermingled webs of social accounts, which begin to form a concrete discourse as more accounts are involved (ibid, 61).
In addition to the above premise, actor-network theory implies that there is no theoretical difference between actors and networks, rather the two are dynamically intertwined where nodes within a larger network can be attached to other networks and therefore stand as actors as well (Latour 2005:128). An example further explored in chapter four is the ‘driver-truck,’ where a truck with a driver in it create singular actor transporting. At the same time the ‘driver-truck’ is connected to the human’s force on the truck’s pedals, which work to varying degrees, are connected to the engine, running on gas that might come from Russia. The point is that actors and networks are interchangeable terms based on how far one decides to trace the connections to the entity.

This flat ontology has been criticized for being vague and amoral because it considers all actors, human and non-human indiscriminately (Oppenheim, 2007). However, actor-network theory does differentiate between what Latour calls ‘intermediaries’ and ‘mediators,’ where intermediaries relay messages without changing the content of the message and mediators change meanings (Latour 2005: 39). How actants act on other actants is significant to actor-network theory. At Swedish for truck drivers, there are material forces (laws, trucks, toy trucks, money) that shape the teachers and students’ lifeworlds by relaying information to them in different ways. For example, the toy truck is used to model a real truck and therefore does not change the meaning of the truck, but rather reinforces it. In this instance, the toy truck acts as an intermediary. In other instances, traffic laws communicate rules that change how the driver drives, acting on the student driver with a magnitude similar to how a teacher changes the student drives. In this instance, traffic laws act as mediators. This distinction will be fully explained in the ethnographic chapters two to four.

The important distinction for Latour is the nature of the interactions within a network rather than their predetermined scope. The actor-network approach begins with a localized site as a starting point that connects to other ‘nodes’ in the network through the actions that take place there. Rejecting micro and macro-level distinctions, actor-network theory emphasizes how actors act rather than an imagined magnitude of each actor-network. This myopic perspective allowed my research on contextual integration to follow the connections in this actor-network as they trace back to both micro and macro worlds through a series of connections. This connection between contextual and international actions has been argued with the previous ‘driver-truck’ example and will be clarified in the ethnographic material in chapter five. Oppenheim argues that actor-network theory’s spatiotemporal approach to local and global forces is comparable to anthropological notions because it rejects a priori
conceptions and instead makes the social scientist reconceptualize all involved actants being-in-place and experiencing empirical findings (Oppenheim 2007).

To clarify some of the technicalities in actor-network theory, let us return to Björn, and see how actor-network theory could be applied. Björn states that his ability to act is contingent on “financing” or money. He says, “it was hard to start [SFL] because there was nobody who was interested in financing”. Until Björn receives money, SFL only exists as an idea. In this instance, money and the bureaucratic process of receiving grants works as a ‘mediator’ that acts on SFL changing it from an idea to a project and later a permanent program. In this instance SFL begins to take the shape of an actor-network, where it can be seen as an actor itself, changing immigrants from students to qualified truck drivers as well as a network of actors including teachers, bureaucratic regulations, money and the necessary tools. Some of these tools, like the “cash registers” and “crayons” Björn mentions, interact with the students to teach them new skills in context. These objects are therefore considered actants because they make students do things in order to reach the higher goal of coming into society via their profession.

Community of Practice

Community of Practice is a theory rooted in learning and cognitive theories in the 1980s, which understands learning as an everyday practice done in social contexts (Fox, 2000:853). Community of practice emerged as its own theory in 1998 as an offshoot from Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger’s ‘Situated Learning Theory’ (Lave & Wenger 1991, Wenger 1998). Community of practice addresses any group who relates to actions and people through a shared set of activities, which Lave and Wenger call ‘practice’ (Lave & Wenger 1991: 50). Participation in a practice entails members experiencing and understanding the world together, which in turn negotiates meaning in the COP (ibid, 51-2).

This approach complements my phenomenological focus and use of actor-network theory because it provides a deeper account of SFL as a community of practice through the shared lifeworlds of the participants. Schools and workplaces are typical sites for COP because they represent an everyday setting that is informal, familiar, and unite members around their common goal. Applying COP to Swedish for truck drivers interprets the interactions and activities that take place as social processes that contribute to the common goal of entering society with professional and language skills. While members usually unite for personal reasons like getting a job, they come up with ways to withstand the day-to-day processes that
help them reach their goals. This can take ‘explicit’ forms like routines, social roles, identities, language, jokes and using tools as well as ‘tacit’ forms like norms, embodied understandings, worldview and cues in body language (Wenger 1998: 47). Through explicit and tacit activities, communities of practice make meaning in their practice and in their life, which I will uncover throughout the course of this thesis.

A main focus in communities of practice and my research is the ‘practice’ itself, which Wenger defines as “first and foremost, a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful” (1998: 51). At SFL, this translates to the everyday activities that take place, such as their ‘fika’ routines, the teachers’ morning and lunch routines, driving lessons and feedback that engage the members with the practices at school. This cooperative participation and recognition from other members make meaning for the community as they co-create a ‘shared repertoire’ of material and experiential understandings of the practice (ibid, 51-5). Like actor-network theory, community of practice relies on the interaction with material items, claiming that meaning is made by participating in activities and forming experiences with objects (ibid, 58). In the case of SFL, the participants routinely interact with each other and the truck to create a shared sense of meaning. This meaning emerges as a kind of entrance into society.

To clarify, Swedish for truck drivers is a community of practice built on the relationship between members (students and teachers) and materiality (classroom objects and the truck) to reach the shared goal of becoming truck drivers in Sweden. Their common practice, driving a truck, unites a community of ‘integrators’ and ‘integratees.’ Here, the meaning of the program is negotiated and produced through the members’ engagement with the material of learning how to truck-drive while building relationships with each other as classmates, students and teachers. A kind of mutual responsibility takes place in both the class’ and the teachers’ efforts to work together to reach their goals. Over time, the shared experience of being at SFL to teach or to learn to drive trucks creates coherence, or a ‘shared repertoire’ in the group (Wenger 1998: 52). In the ethnographic chapters to follow, I will unpack how this happens in the field.

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15 Swedish coffee breaks
1.5 Tools to Assemble Integration: methods and ethics

In accordance with actor-network theory that relies on careful transcribing and retracing actants’ accounts, my methods rely on observed, recorded and transcribed accounts of integrators and integratees. My data comes mostly from ethnographic findings\(^\text{16}\) and also relies on policy documents and news articles that serve as further accounts of action. I chose to include secondary sources because they serve as actors’ written accounts of integrative processes that connect a more thoroughly assembled actor-network theory of integration. This application of actor-network theory, where written accounts are considered actants is common in social work and organizational studies that use actor-network theory (Callon and Muniesa 2005, Pianezzi and Grossi 2010, Adkins 2017).

To investigate the practice of integration in context, I rely on participant observation and semi-structured interviews. There are some exceptions to these methods however, where I am instead launched into central teaching and admissions roles by my informants. These methods relate to ANT’s emphasis on understanding the lifeworlds of actors by following how they make meaning in their life through their interactions with objects and actors alike (Latour, 2005: 35). This approach echoes ethnography’s focus on learning and understanding the local use of language to gain insights on the members’ worldview and strip extraneous translation and encoding from the research process (Malinowski 1922, Davies 2008). This meant ‘hanging’ around teachers and students at Swedish for truck drivers, conducting fieldwork in Swedish, and participating in classroom settings, practice drives and professional training (like fire safety, union and job presentations) from November 2018 to January 2019. Participating in daily activities at SFL exposed their routines and interactions between and among objects and people (Ehn et al., 2016: 1-7). This immersive approach was central to understanding SFL as a community of practice, where each member takes on certain roles and co-construct their social context to define the meaning of their practice (Lave and Wenger 1991: 53). However, the scope of this study was limited to the aforementioned time in the field, and results could have been more robust with more time and informants.

My decision to pursue the Swedish for truck drivers program as my fieldwork site had a few reasons, both practical and theoretical. Practically, the program is one of the shortest

\(^{16}\) Most ethnographic material is written in the narrative present, not to convey a sense of permanence in those settings, but rather to throw the reader into those situations. I acknowledge that the described contexts are not static and may have changed since my fieldwork took place.
offered at Swedish for professionals (21 weeks) and I started my fieldwork in the middle of this period, managing to follow its course from admissions to commencement. In addition, I managed some follow-up conversations with students after they graduated from the program. This provided a complete picture of SFL and allowed for a more thorough comprehension and analysis of how boundary, membership, participation and practice shape a community of practice over time (Wenger, 1998). In addition, the school was in commuting proximity to where I live, allowing more time and flexibility in the field, which was beneficial for the short-term duration of this research (Davies 2008: 95).

Theoretically, truck driving makes clear connections to an object (the truck) and a practice (driving), which relate to the flat ontology in actor-network theory. As an amateur, it was relatively easy to observe improved driving skills, as opposed to more theoretical or computer-based professions. This helped to observe how this community of practice developed over time. Despite limited driving and mechanical knowledge and Swedish as a second-language, I used my naiveté to ask many questions about what was going on in the field. Lastly, the demographics of this group was of interest to me, as all of the students came from Muslim countries and were pursuing a career in truck driving. As mentioned in the previous section ‘1.2 Integration in Sweden,’ Muslim immigrants are a target in immigration debates, at the same time as truck driving is cited as a job sector with huge shortages in Sweden according to Dagens Nyheter (Persson, 2018). As such, the identity of Muslim truck drivers posed an interesting contradiction in societal debates on integration.

Once I became acquainted with the members at Swedish for truck drivers, they connected me to their colleagues, including SFL retirees, founders (Björn), and previous teachers who now work in other capacities. These leads presented themselves as connections within the social worlds of my informants, which I considered appropriate to pursue in light of my theoretical interest in their lifeworlds and networks. In sum, I conducted semi-structured interviews with a Swedish for academics teacher, Swedish for bus drivers teacher, course administrator for Swedish for truck drivers, language teacher, retired bus and truck driving teacher, co-founder of SFL and current strategy developer for professional Swedish programs; as well as two students who completed the program. During interviews, I focused on a set of

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17 Furthermore the class was completely male, which I initially thought would provide a gendered experience of integration, but this assumption turned out to be wrong. This point will be taken up in the next chapter.
themes concerning what they work with, why they do their job, how they ended up doing this job, and what they see as the purpose of their work.

My intention throughout interviews was to let the informant speak freely without imposing ideas in order to gain their perspectives in earnest. In turn, this approach exposed what they found important to talk about, which helped to reveal their social realities (Davies, 2016). However, getting informants to this level of comfort demanded preparation in various ways. In some cases we had already met at a Swedish for professionals conference and started talking there, otherwise through mutual contacts from previous interviews. Regardless, I always disclosed personal information about myself (ibid, 113), including my field of study and where I come from (which was hard to avoid because I have an Anglo-Saxon name and an accent in Swedish). These moments of self-disclosure were crucial to having an interactional interview and capturing my informants’ lifeworlds (ibid, 110-6).

Ethical Considerations

All semi-structured interviews were recorded either with written or verbal agreements. Most interviewees chose to do interviews at their workplace, which provided familiarity and convenience that seemed to relax our conversations, as they were ‘hosting’ me. Unstructured interviews occurred continuously throughout fieldwork and were mostly unrecorded due to institutional access barriers. When interviewing immigrant students, I received both written and verbal consent and explained my research more extensively in order to reconcile for possible misunderstandings due to language barriers. All of the following names are pseudonyms except for a few who insisted on their real names being included. I do not explicitly state who is who in order to protect the identities of my informants. Although many of my informants could speak English, I decided to keep all fieldwork in Swedish to gather cultural and linguistic insights from the use of the local language as well as to even out power dynamics when speaking to other immigrants whose English was poor (Malinowski 1922, Davies 2008). I conducted all fieldwork and interviews in Swedish, then translated and transcribed them to English myself. English is my native language and Swedish is my second language, so in places where I am unsure of translations I provide the original Swedish version. Regardless, language limitations may have acted as a barrier to participant observation.
1.6 Disposition of the Thesis

In ethnographic chapter two I describe my entry and the students’ entry into SFL, relying on the spatial and social attributes as actor-networks that expose identity and positionality in this context. This chapter finds borders and peripheral participation as key parts of SFL as a community of practice.

In chapter three I present the driving forces for the participants at SFX. This chapter relies on ethnographic material to uncover students’ and teachers’ motivations to participate in the program. This chapter relies on informants’ lifeworlds to uncover actor-networks of integrative forces that influence actors’ participation in the program.

Ethnographic Chapter four focuses on the specific relationship between the truck and its driver and how that develops throughout the course of SFL. This results in students embodying new professional and driving habits as well as the ‘driver-truck’ actor-network that emerges as a vehicle of integration.

Chapter five is the final ethnographic chapter presenting the statement “coming into society” as a collective statement used by most of my informants. By assembling my informants’ accounts of the statement, this chapter results in a contextual definition of integration.

As I’ve discussed, this thesis explores the practice of integrating at Swedish for truck drivers and Swedish for professionals at large. From my ethnographic findings, I conclude that the contextual version of integration at SFL relates to current literature and usage yet adds psychosocial and multi-modal aspects to sociopolitical discussions. The phrase “coming into society” results as a contextual version of integration, offering a more applicable description of my informants’ experiences.
2. “Stig på\textsuperscript{18}”: Entrance versus ‘Validation’

I take the red line from my stop in the city center as far south as I could. Then a bus for 20 minutes. The bus takes me through an industry and car-sales area. I get off at my stop on the side of the highway and have to walk under the highway to get to Stockholm’s Transport and Car Mechanic High School (STFG)\textsuperscript{19}. On the right there is a building that looks like it was built to be a car-sales office, but it is now a car workshop called “MAN\textsuperscript{20} Truck & Bus Center”. I chuckle to myself, knowing I was about to enter a male-dominated classroom. I enter the building and call Jan, the course administrator and truck-driving teacher I met at the Swedish for professionals teachers conference a week earlier. He answers promptly and brings me into his office, using an electronic passkey. His desk is the only standing set-up situated next to one other teacher in the dimensions of a hallway, attached to a room with five other teachers. Some teach bus and others truck driving. Jan begins to tell me about his class and the program, abruptly excusing himself to take a phone call before class started.

While he talks on the phone, I roam around the bigger room attached. There are pictures of different kinds of trucks on the wall, a tiny kitchenette furthest in, and calendars, desk supplies, photos and computers on every desk. The space is tight, and I’m not sure where I should sit without taking over somebody’s office. I decide to not take out my notebook. I don’t want to mark my territory. When he hangs up he explains that he was talking to a student who did not pass their truck driving test and wanted to come back to practice driving. The problem is that students can only take the program once. He says there’s nothing he can do, yet he did just eagerly return the call to the student to try and come up with a solution. Jan speaks with energy in his voice and body language.

\textsuperscript{18} This is a phrase that the truck drivers would say to me to get into the truck. It translates to “get in” or “step in” referring to coming into places like trains, cars, buses or even homes in some cases. In this sense it stands for both the physical act of climbing aboard the truck, but also my entry into a new field, and the students coming into a new program and country.

\textsuperscript{19} Stockholms transport och fordonstekniska högskola

\textsuperscript{20} I later learned that MAN is a truck and bus manufacturing company, which may be intentionally marketing to men, as the profession is a male dominated field. However, this observation is purely speculative.
2.1 Spatial cues about the Social

In ‘Exploring Everyday Life: Strategies for Ethnography and Cultural Analysis,’ Ehn et al. suggest (2015: 21-24) that the objects and activities occupying a setting describe the social context. I had this in mind as I entered STFG. These initial details were important to build further interpretations about SFL. The use of the electronic passkey, the teachers’ desktop possessions, and the structure of the office relate the people that occupy this space to their setting. However, in some cases my initial observations were flawed. The assumption that my experience would be affected by my gender proved to be wrong. In spite of being one of four women in total at this school, the gender difference was a surprisingly undistinguished feature.

When I entered the building, I was exposed to the setting through the details in the space, everyday objects and activities. Each room including the bathrooms were secured with electronic passkeys. This communicates that the school is exclusive for its teachers, staff and students, and if you are not one of the above you must gain access to the school through one of the students or employees who possess keys. Later that day I went to the front office and attained a visitor’s pass, and a couple of weeks later received my own electronic passkey.

Once I had entered the space I realized that the objects strewn around the teachers’ room mark the teachers’ territory and mark their identities. Many of the pictures displayed family members and trucks, which I assume are valuable parts of their life that they want to display for their colleagues and be surrounded by at work. A couple of the teachers own traffic schools and have merchandise or pamphlets about their schools on their desks. The calendars and desk supplies are typical of any office, but at a closer inspection render how their days look and how their time is filled at work and what they want their colleagues to see.

In addition, the structure of the office characterizes the teachers who inhabit this space. Jan stands closest to the door, while Kerstin sits furthest in. This means that Jan is always on his feet and acts as the face of SFL, opening the door to visitors. However, he covers his window with a panel curtain that allots him some personal space. The fact that he stands suggests that he is concerned with his health to some degree.21 Meanwhile, Kerstin sits furthest inside the office, next to the kitchenette at a desk that is covered with papers both from her jobs at SFL and her driving school. She is a person who prefers to stay out of the spotlight, and

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21 Later discussions with Jan confirm that he uses the panel curtain as a hiding space and that he stands because he thinks it is better for his body.
whose coffee mug is an extension of her hand. As her papers display, Kerstin juggles jobs, often extending her work into weekends.

Lastly, multiple activities at school are in action; some starting, some finishing, and some ongoing. In Latour’s words, this is the point where one should enter the field and take careful accounts of what happens ‘in medias res’ or “in the middle of things” (2005: 123). The teachers are occupied with previous students who have not passed their test and call them about extra driving lessons, at the same time they are preparing for the next lesson. The students at SFL are also ‘in medias res.’ On the receiving end of Jan’s phone call was a student. He has already finished the program and continued with other enterprises yet has the ongoing problem of test driving in order to take and pass his test. He pleads to get more driving lessons at school to avoid renting an expensive truck for private practice driving. The final driving test costs 2,300 SEK, the mandatory safety control test costs 1,600 SEK and the professional competency test costs 250 SEK. In most cases students retest in one or all of the areas. As one student, Hakan, explained to me, he failed his first driving test because he was thinking about how much the test costs instead of focusing on driving. He explains this by imitating himself thinking about mental math by pointing to his head and pretending to solve a long-addition problem, then said “mathematics! I was doing calculations instead of driving!”

**Assembling SFL into an actor-network**

This scene depicts the processes at SFL with agencies that gather in nodes and can be retraced and assembled into actor-networks (Latour, 2005: 44). In the above example, a collection of multiple actants (teachers, students, passkeys, telephones, program regulations and lesson plans) act upon the actors in this setting (ibid, 75). As such, this would not be possible without the interaction between objects that exert force, such as program regulations and the costs of tests, and the social interactions such as Jan’s telephone conversation with a student about retaking the test. Latour claims that a ‘social force’ is tautological if it does not include non-social forces, and the ‘social’ occurs in temporary states when all of the associations assemble together. Hence, the material and the social are inseparable (ibid, 63-86).

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22 Yrkes Kompetens bevis (YKB)
To further unpack this actor-network, let us return to the objects initially observed in the teachers’ room. First, there are electronic passkeys that each member owns and carries attached to their bodies in order to gain access to all rooms in the school. According to actor-network theory such ‘key-students’ or ‘key-teachers’ could be considered the most basic actor-network, uniting objects and people in order to exert force and connect actants. These keys are objects that exert force on the actor (students) who exert force on other objects (like doors) to gain access to actors (teachers) who hand out objects (worksheets) to actors (students) who will complete this object (by filling it out with another object, that is a pen) and interact with other actors (students and teachers) to make sense of the object (worksheets). Similarly, one could not imagine that the student on the phone would plead for driving lessons if there was not a regulation preventing him from re-enrolling in the program, low availability of trucks at school and high test-costs. Thus, by retracing the connections that this student has to other human and object forces, one can understand more about the student’s incentives and position in a network of interactions related to becoming a Swedish truck driver.

In this section, I have explained my entry into the field and interpreted how the material gives cues about the social contexts (and vis-a-vis) by assembling these interrelated forces into an actor-network. However, there are some shortcomings to this assemblage. The above actor-network does not fully account for identity and positionality aspects at SFL. In the next section I explain how those components influence my research.

2.2 Identity and Position: hometown queries

In my entry into the field I am placed in a central position, gaining a more intensive participation in the field by intervening in SFL’s main activities. From the beginning, I am welcomed into the teachers’ personal space instead of asking to wait outside until class starts. The truck drivers in this setting are informal, straightforward and improvisational, which allows me to participate more actively and get to know more about them in a relatively short amount of time. In Pink & Morgan’s article ‘Short Term Ethnography: Intense Routes to Knowing’ they suggest to

   go beyond observation to create short-term research engagements that benefit from the production of forms of intensity [and] empathy…Indeed to achieve this we often need to intervene in peoples’ lives in new ways that are intensive,

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potentially intrusive, and involve asking what they might think are irrelevant questions (2013: 353).

In my experience in the field, this was a two-way process, where the field intervened in my life just as much as I did theirs. Indeed, this made for more intensive and empathetic interactions.

Jan starts asking questions about where I come from. He has a lot of questions about my hometown, and even asks what my address is in the US to check it out on Google Maps. He calls Buffalo “rustbelt” and tells me that “these are interesting places”. He says my childhood home is a “classic English style”. He is right, my city was once a major steel producing hub, which is now part of a range of mid-western cities where steel industries have closed down and therefore rust, hence the nickname ‘rustbelt.’ My home was an old Tudor house. Jan thinks this identification game is so much fun that he invites his colleague to come and see my house on Google Maps. I am suddenly the object to study. Soon enough other teachers join and the conversation moves on to somebody’s recent kidney operation, and another’s stomach problems. The talk is open and personal, there is no masking who they are just because I entered the room.

After the fika23 break, the students and I return to the classroom and sit. Jan comes in and starts googling the name of my hometown with a smile on his face. These images are projected on the projector screen for the whole class to see. He asks me what our city flag stands for, and makes jokes about Trump in the minutes before class starts. Then he realizes that he forgot his teaching material, so he asks me to present my hometown to the class while he left to get his lesson plans. Here I was trying to lay low. This is, after all, the first day on the field. I walk to the front of the room, blushing and nervous. I google a map of Buffalo, and tell the class that this is where I come from. The students are silent for a moment and asks me if this is in Sweden. Someone else shouts “Canada!” To which I answer “Yeah Canada is close! It’s the USA, but right on the border of Canada”.

I point out the Niagara River dividing Canada and the US, which also acts as a border. Next, I get into some familiar landmarks, like Niagara Falls

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23 coffee
and city hall. I choose to focus on geography because it is so impersonal. I try hiding behind the pictures I can google. For once in my life, I am thankful to know something about Buffalo’s geography. Finally Jan comes back and I run to my seat in the back of the class. He thinks this is entertaining. “I noticed some Native American names around Buffalo, got any of those? Or did you shoot them all?” I nod and acknowledge my country’s terrible treatment of indigenous people.

Jan’s interest in my hometown initially seemed like an invasion of personal space but I soon understood that the truck drivers are interested in places, and that this was my initiation. He correctly classifies the style of my childhood house and city, shows interest in flags and some knowledge about Native American history. Place is a common conversational topic here. In another hand, I realise this is perhaps unsurprising as these truck drivers have been to many places in their career and currently teach students from around the world. Many conversations at SFL dealt with the most effective commuting routes to and from school, where the teachers and students come from, and where the truck drivers had driven. Naturally, my origin was also a point of interest.

Jan uses the Native American comment to bridge into a discussion about the Sámi people in the Sapmi regions of Scandinavia. This leads to the history of the four Swedish minorities and a conversation about the Roma. The topical transition from trucks to geography to the ethnic history of Sweden occurs extemporaneously. Regardless, the students and the teacher are engaged and interested. The students ask clarifying questions and add their own commentary based on their experiences with minorities in Sweden. I realize later that these tangents are typical of the classroom setting.

To make sense of this situation, I turn to Wenger’s concept of ‘social learning’ (1998: 12-3). Wenger establishes the social theory of learning at the crossroads of social structures and situated experience on the one axis and theories of practice and identity on the other, where social structures are norms that come from history and culture and situated experience refers to personal agency and interactions of people in their context. This axis underpins the practice and identity axis, as in routines that happen in this group, or formative issues for an individual. Wenger argues that learning is situated where both axes meet (ibid, 13). As displayed in the SFL classroom, the history and culture of Sweden acts as a social structure on one end of the former axis. On the situated experience end, we discuss geography and culture, which are embedded in social structures. Underpinning this scenario are the routine practices of the
classroom, that one person in a teaching position stands at the front of the class and lectures about something to engage rows of students in the material.

These classroom interactions are relevant to Swedish for truck drivers because routines produce meaning for the community (Wenger 1998: 52). Classroom routines have patterns of social interaction, and the community negotiates meaning by reproducing and renewing these routines (ibid, 51-4). Producing meaning comes from social interactions and imposition that necessitates the renegotiation of what these routines are and what they mean (ibid). In the social theory of learning, this ad hoc interaction is considered ‘interactional choreography’ and ‘improvisation,’ where individual agency coordinates with the context and other members (ibid, 13).

In the above ethnographic entry, a small imposition arises when Jan forgets his lesson plan and I stand in to discuss my hometown. This interaction continues to unravel as the teaching material becomes improvised. This kind of ‘interactional choreography’ was typical to practices in the SFL classroom, where teachers often explained personal stories, current events and Swedish history, all ascribing personal identity and meaning beyond the profession of truck driving. The students engaged with the improvisations and a social interaction arises where learning occurs in the middle of social structures and situated learning. In such moments, the meaning of the practice at SFL renews itself as the class engages in a lively discussion about their experiences in Sweden. In turn, SFL defines itself as not only a place to learn to drive trucks, but also to learn about Swedish society culture, and the world.

Furthermore, actants are shaped by their interactions according to actor-network theory. One gains their identity from interactions in specific contexts, which Latour calls ‘plug-ins,’ as in plug-ins one must download to continue to surf on certain webpages (2005: 207-8). This metaphor relates to how participants acquire their identities at Swedish for truck drivers from interacting with other actants, which in the above case are students, an outside visitor, Native American names, the projected images, and the context of Sweden.

In this case, SFL is considered a ‘locus of face-to-face interaction’ within an actor-network, where a combination of agencies become a concrete action because an actor interacts face to face with other actants (Latour 2005: 47-55). As such, agency remains speculative, yet action embeds both global and local connections and can be traced in an actor-network form (ibid, 55). In this ‘locus of interaction,’ the ongoing activity is influenced by faraway places, involve long and short-acting processes, and some agents’ participation more than others (ibid,
200-1). Here, the classroom activities are influenced by faraway and nearby places within a chain of connections, as the topic reroutes from Buffalo NY back to Sweden. One long-acting process is to learn about Sweden, while a short-acting process is to learn facts about Native Americans or Sámis.

Overall, my entrance into the field discovers how the Swedish for Truck Drivers program encloses a community of practice, and how this community of practice is situated within an actor-network as a locus of interaction. Inside the walls of the school, a social world emerges as students and teachers participate in Swedish for truck drivers to learn in a social context that embeds cultural, political, and social structures that interact with members to contribute to identity making and learning processes (Wenger, 1991). By participating in the classroom activities, various identities and interests emerge. In this section, I have described how such situated social learning among all members renders SFL a community of practice and a locus of interaction within an actor-network. Next, I will explain how students gain membership to this community of practice.

2.3 ’Validation:’ the students’ entry

The admissions process to Swedish for truck drivers is called ‘validation.’ The word itself evokes horror stories of proving one’s legitimacy to intimidating authorities. However, the process at SFL means providing certifications and proving language and truck driving proficiencies. Validation is run by current and retired teachers from SFL. First, applicants apply online by filling out a form with their personal information, language abilities, truck driving experience, and years of school (SFL, 201924). Acceptance into the program requires the completion of intermediate SFI (C or D levels) but no further studies, a Swedish drivers license for personal vehicles, at least one year of experience driving a truck in one’s home country, and a Swedish truck driving permit. In order to receive the truck driving permit, one must first pay a fee and send in medical certification from a doctor. This preliminary process can take up to three weeks total (SFL, 2019).

Applicants who meet all of the requirements receive a phone call to come for validation testing. Validation takes all day and students must pass all three parts in to be admitted. First,

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24 accessed date on SFL homepage on the Swedish for professionals website
applicants take a Swedish reading comprehension and writing test suited to the truck driving profession, a traffic theory test, an interview, and a truck driving test in the school’s parking lot. Assessment and selection are done by the teachers, based on the applicant’s overall driving and communication abilities. During validation, I first followed and observed the process, and eventually was an active participant, positioned as a test auditor and interviewer. While this may raise ethical questions, I was asked to do this by the teachers who needed an extra set of ears and eyes during these processes, I was not responsible for the assessment or selection of applicants. Rather, the teachers who asked for my help thought the process might be “anthropologically interesting”. Again, being temporarily placed in the center of the action, I was exposed to the social realities of this situation (Pink & Morgan, 2013). I will present this process in greater depth through the following ethnographic material and interpretations of the students’ portal of entry in accordance with communities of practice.

**Boundary Objects: certifications, permits and tests**

Jan starts with the routine welcome and run-through of the day. Then everyone walks upstairs to the testing auditorium where Jan takes attendance. He stops at one middle-aged man from Syria who he has written to telling him that he is not eligible to be here today, but the applicant showed up anyways. Jan is frustrated, but later calms down says in a dejected tone that “they chance it25, they come anyways, and they want a job”. While listening to him bark at the applicant who struggles to understand what Jan is telling him, I wonder if Jan may be enthusiastically shouting simple words because he is trying to communicate clearly.

Jan: “You! You need a driver’s license permit! Here in Sweden you need the permit. I wrote to you, this takes 3 weeks to get. Do you know what I am talking about? Not the driver’s license, but the drivers license permit also!”

Syrian applicant: “I have it from my country”

Jan: “That doesn't matter here”.

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25 “De chansar”
Jan shakes his head and continues reading off of his roster. The Syrian man looks nervous and confused, biting his lip. Then everyone receives a test and the room turns completely silent, except for the turning pages and scratching pencils. I ask the teachers how much time they allow, and they say the test should be 30 minutes to an hour, but this group takes at least one hour in the morning and may continue to write for another hour after lunch. The teachers discuss the fact that this group is old and language is harder the older you get. I ask if they are allowed to give this much extra time, and say that usually there is another testing group in the afternoon but today there is not because too many applicants were missing credentials. Of course they give them more time in the afternoon, and they actually do so even when there are new groups in the afternoon. While the applicants take the test, Jan, Hasse and I conduct interviews. On our way to the interview room, Hasse says:

There are so many super good drivers. They’ve done this in their homeland, but they don’t get through the theory. You see, it takes a heck of a long time with the language, especially if you are old and tired. I’ve seen this so many times…the biggest problem we’ve had ever since we started this program is finding a good test that measures what we want to find out, and that’s almost impossible to construct. First off, the student material. There are so many new individuals who have driven for a long time who want to have a Swedish driver’s license. We have new arrivals who know too little Swedish but can drive. And then the cultural, they believe they can bluff us!

According to communities of practice, boundaries are controlled with boundary objects and the participation of members and non-members with each other and those objects (Wenger 1998: 104). Boundary objects are put in place to coordinate different perspectives by rendering a boundary and a meeting point in the object. This object, usually a document, should communicate the process to the outside world and to the involved interlocutors (ibid, 106). The objects involved in the validation process include the online form, language certifications, driving permits and licenses, written validation tests and truck driving test. In the above

26 elevmaterialet
instance, the objects being negotiated are the student’s driving permit and most importantly, the written validation tests.

As depicted in the above material, the application form, acts as a boundary object interpreted by different people in different ways. On the one hand, the teachers are frustrated with this applicant who they consider “chancing it,” or “bluffing” (Jan, Hasse), they repeat the application questions as they are written on the forms, and asks if they are being understood. On the other hand, the applicant explicitly states that he has this document, albeit in his home country. According to Wenger, this ‘one-on-one boundary encounter’ is a blunt attempt from both sides to advance their interests in the community (Wenger 1998: 112). In the case of entrance into the community these interests become blatant, either this applicant does or does not fulfil the requirements, and therefore will or will not be admitted to SFL.

When Jan and the applicant confront each other they are exchanging their convictions about what the terms of entrance are, resulting in a heated exchange. The boundary object in this instance is the test that coordinates oppositional perspectives. As soon as the test is handed out, the atmosphere and behavior in the room changes from emotionally loaded to quiet and focused. This object is pivotal to potential students’ admittance to the program. In the end, the student passes all of his tests, and proves himself a legitimate member of the truck driving community.

**Brokering the SFL Boundary**

Throughout this process, the teachers administering the tests are brokers, traversing the borders of the community. They act as both gatekeepers and messengers, translating the terms of the program to outsiders while at the same time, trying to align perspectives between the regulations and the applicants (Wenger 1998: 109). Effective brokering depends on the ability to connect their experiences with others, linking similarities in perspectives (ibid). The teachers do so by maintaining empathy for the applicants and communicating a sense of legitimacy to those applicants in order to influence them. For example, Hasse’s legitimacy lies in his title as a returning retiree and co-founder of SFL, as well as his years of experience as a truck driver and teacher. Hasse understands the applicants’ struggle with the language because he is their contemporary and may empathize with the struggle to learning new languages. Furthermore, Hasse recognizes that many of the applicants are competent drivers from his own experience as both a truck driver and teacher.
In Wenger’s words, ‘an occupational hazard of brokering’ is the feeling of ambivalence that emerges from shifting between groups and growing somewhat attached to both (Wenger 1998: 110). Both Jan and Hasse feel ambivalent when they follow the rules as they see fit. They have empathy for what it’s like to learn new skills at an older age, as both are over 60 years old. Instead of 30 minutes, students received all the time they needed to complete the language and theory tests. Let us return to Jan’s encounter with the applicant lacking a driver’s permit. In this situation, ambivalence is implicit as Jan expresses both frustration and empathy, scolding the student for not fulfilling the requirements while also understanding that the applicants try to get a job however they can.

It is worth mentioning here that Wenger addresses power relations as an assumption of human interaction, intertwined in social structures and relations (ibid, 15). There is an obvious imbalance of power in the relationship between the teacher and the applicant throughout the validation process. The teacher has the authority to admit students and speaks the language fluently, while the students must prove their legitimacy and are learning the language. This dynamic obstructs the terms of entry between the administrator and the applicant.

Validation Interviews to Legitimize Truck Drivers

The interview routine was the same: we introduced ourselves and Jan searched through his binder to make sure all the papers were there (driver’s license, SFI certification, and permit for driver’s license). If they provided original documents, Jan made photo copies because these papers can be useful for applicants to keep. While Jan photocopied, Hasse and I proceeded with the questions. This group of mostly refugees in their 40s to late 50s had previous careers in their home countries and struggled to find the Swedish words to explain their experiences. The teachers reacted to the kind of truck they drove, they thought this was fun and interesting. Usually the trucks in the applicants’ homeland were old, manual and used heavy gear systems. Both parties bonded over the retro trucks and the interview relaxed in these moments. The questions continued, focusing on work experience, personal economy and family in Sweden. The applicants needed assistance communicating their answers. If Jan thought that the applicant had potential, he added what he called “personal questions” to get an indication of feasibility for the applicant to take the course.

27 See Appendix section 2.0 for complete list of interview questions
I participated in approximately 25 validation interviews over 5 days, and eventually the above procedure emerged as a routine. This process grants legitimacy through ‘legitimate peripheral participation’ in the community of practice (Wenger 1998: 100-1). Applicants must prove their legitimacy, then teachers assume that they would join Swedish for truck drivers and tried to insure the proper conditions for them to do so. After the interview, the applicants test drove as a way to ‘participate peripherally,’ proving that they belong in SFL. According to Lave and Wenger legitimate peripheral participation means participating in the community at its margins by testing out it’s activities. This action moves towards more intense engagement while at the same time holding participants from full participation (Lave & Wenger 1991: 36). Throughout the validation process, applicants were kept in this ambiguous position, testing the different parts of the curriculum: driving, language, theory and speaking, yet only at their peripheries.

In order to proceed with legitimate peripheral participation, the interviewers first verified the applicants’ legitimacy. This meant asking questions about the person’s name, county of residence and civil registration number. Then they asked for the required documents. In order to continue, a sense of legitimacy in the form of documentation and eligibility had to be confirmed (Wenger 1998: 100-101). This process hinged on some doubt and suspicion until legitimacy was proven both verbally and physically. In the previous case of the applicant lacking his truck drivers permit but “chancing it,” the teachers expressed not knowing how to start the interview and explained how to apply for the permit to him. The applicant insisted that he was a truck driver and gave them his license from Syria. The teachers were unfamiliar with such a license, passed it to each other with suspicious looks and mumbled under their breath. Finally they figured out how to read the card and apologized to both the applicant and to me as a witness of their apprehension. Similar interactions occurred concerning applicants’ civil registration numbers, residence permits, age and driving experiences.

When the teachers approved the applicants’ legitimacy, the mood in both parties relaxed. The teachers were most interested in the applicants’ truck driving experience and verbal communication as forms of legitimacy that determined membership in this community.

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28 Test driving is a central part of determining students’ entry into SFL, but due to safety precautions I did not participate in this process. In addition the processes of interviewing and giving written tests occur at the same time test-driving occurs. As described in this chapter, I was participating in the former processes. Therefore I do not further discuss the specific process of truck driving further than it serving as a kind of peripheral participation in the community.
of practice (Wenger 1998: 100). If the interviewers presumed the applicant’s acceptance, Jan asked “personal questions” like how many kids they had, how old the kids were, if they lived in Sweden, if they had a wife, a job, and how he would provide for the family and attend school full time. These questions anticipated the applicants’ potential attendance and engagement in the program. The teachers told stories about students who were running in and out of class to pick up and drop off their kids or falling asleep in class because they were working nights to provide for their family. The intention with their stories was to minimize these situations so that incoming students had the proper preconditions to become full members of the SFL community (ibid). According to Wenger, this anticipation of members’ commitment is called ‘peripherality’ (ibid, 100-1). Peripherality can occur through questioning and storytelling, as it did in this interview, or by ‘peripheral participation’ as it did in the truck, where the potential member observes and participates in the practice of the community as a way to test their membership (ibid). During the driving tests, the participants were able to show their competency by driving a truck in a controlled, safe and skillful way that teachers approved of.

Proving legitimacy becomes obvious in the validation process, where the interaction between teachers and potential students was back and forth, creating a dialogue negotiating acceptance into the program. It was also in these instances that a locus of interaction was created, unveiling an entangled actor-network. Potential students were required to show their legitimacy both with documentation and verbal explanations of their status in Sweden, ability to drive, and communication skills. They do so by handing over documents that account for their experience from other parts of the world or country and involve complex processes to acquire. During validation however, the permits and certifications were used as an intermediary, they convey a message without making actors act (Latour, 2005).

2.4 On Entrance: juxtapositions and implications

The story of entering the unknown is central to anthropology. In this chapter, I offer my entry in juxtaposition with the students’ entry into the SFL program and community. I discuss research choices, positions, and identity that evolve from the field based on assumptions, impressions, observations and participation. I analyze the space and objects to provide interpretations of the school and the classroom setting according to the theories of actor-networks and communities of practice. This collection of teachers interacting with objects in
order to perform their daily routines relates to actor-network theory’s figuration of objects, where objects reify social connections (Latour, 2005: 75).

In both my and the students’ entries, objects were considered active participants that bare influence and meaning on the setting (Latour 2005, Wenger 1998). Border objects like certifications, driving permits and test results determined the students’ entry into SFL while google maps, images, and passkeys mediated my entrance. Latour claims that power, hierarchies and asymmetries are produced when material actors are involved (2005: 65). This point is exemplified through the difference in entries depicted in this chapter. On the one hand my hometown, house and geography exerted power to enter the field in a central participatory role, where the teachers asked me to teach the class about my origin. On the other hand, permits, certifications, written tests, and the truck interacted with both the students and the teachers during the validation process to discern how legitimate the member was. Thus, the above border objects interacted with central actors (teachers) to assign positionality (legitimate or illegitimate, central or peripherally positioned).

Although the potential students and I are both immigrants interested in gaining access to SFL, we were met with different boundary encounters, and certainly have different levels of participation in SFL. Where they sought to become full members (enrolled students), I remained a visitor. According to Wenger (1998: 112), my entry was immersive, first seen a visitor questioned about my background, later advanced so far into the interior that I become positioned as a test auditor with the teachers. Meanwhile, the students’ entry was a delegation process, where a group of students encountered a group of teachers in a two-way exchange attempting to negotiate meaning and convince the other side of their legitimacy (ibid).

I offer my entry into the field to illustrate interactions between the material and the social aspects of identity and positionality at SFL. I present teacher identities by considering their space, actions and interactions with the class and myself. The identity I was given on the field was marked by my education, American background and immigrant status in Sweden. Class and cultural capital, rather than my initial assumption about gender29 ended up defining my identity. Having an academic American background often put me in a position of power, able to play central roles while also fluctuating between student and teacher. Through this identity on the field I got acquainted with the social world at SFL. This identity was formed by

29 referring to first ethnographic material in this chapter
interactions and participation in the field, related to Latour’s ‘plug-in’ identity (2005: 204) and Lave and Wenger’s observation that participating in a social world requires close attention to individual identities that interact in a community of practice (1991: 52).

It is worth noting that communication also played a role in entrance. For the applicants, their language abilities disadvantaged them, as they relied on the teachers’ assistance to communicate their ideas, and in some cases fostered suspicion within the teachers. Swedish is also my second language and truck driving terms are foreign to me in all languages. This meant being extra attentive to language and to subtle cues in body language, utterances and movement. I have taken university level courses in Swedish, so my reading and conversational language is fluent. Language ability therefore positioned me in-between a teacher and a student. Students would ask me questions about language and Sweden. They sometimes assumed I was Swedish, despite my introductory geography lesson. In class, I sat with the students, wrote notes in a notebook, and asked questions to clarify terms and language as the students did, positioning myself as a student. During truck driving lessons, I sat in the back seat interviewing and taking notes, occasionally tape recording, clearly positioned as an anthropologist in these instances. Depending on the topic at hand, my identity was in flux, halfway between student and teacher, otherwise seen as the ‘other’ (Abu-Lughod, 1991:466).

The aim of this section has been to explore how entries into SFL occur by walking the reader through both my entry and the students.’ It reflects simultaneously on the members and my own positions and identities because the two develop as interwoven processes. This interaction or ‘assemblage’ of actors in a network as Latour would say, builds a kind of ‘phenomenological lifeworld’ or ‘community’ in Wenger’s words, built on identities, positionality, social and material interactions (Latour 2005, Wenger 1998). In the next chapter I will delve deeper into the participants’ lifeworlds by uncovering their motivations for participating in SFL.
3. “Driving Forces”

Moutassam is from Syria, where he worked for the government selling landline telephones. Moutassam told me his story while we waited for the SFL commencement ceremony to begin and I asked him why he wanted to be a truck driver in the first place. He came to Sweden three years ago with his family via car and boat. We happened to be standing next to a map when he explained this to me, and he showed me how they travelled here—through Lebanon into Turkey by boat. From Turkey they drove through Serbia, Hungary, Austria, then Germany, where his brothers live, finally to Sweden. The journey took them one-month total. When he first arrived in Sweden, he took SFI and a course for newly arrived entrepreneurs and small business owners where he learned some business laws and words, and the practical aspects of opening a business in Sweden. Initially, he wanted to open a phone repair shop because he knows a lot about telephones, but the startup costs were too expensive, and he would have had to borrow all of the money from the bank, which would have been too great of a risk. Instead, he decided to take Swedish for truck drivers.

As with Moutassam, the motivations for students and teachers to become truck drivers are multifaceted but tracing them with actor-network theory starts to connect a network of material and social forces that influence their decisions. In an interview with Hasse, he explains his “driving forces” to start the SFL program, referring to family expectations and a strong desire to combine teaching theory with practical applications, among other motivations. Stressing the use of actors’ own words and accounts (Latour: 2005), I chose to continue to use the term ‘driving forces’ to explain what influences affect participants’ decision to partake in SFL. Furthermore, the term addresses both human and non-human actors acting with force onto other actants in a way that the term ‘motivation’ does not capture as well. Hasse’s phrase denotes a sense of will and movement into or through something and implies a driver as well as a vehicle to drive, similar to actor-network assemblages. In the context of SFL, students and teachers have intentions with this program that span beyond the confines of the education, which I will explain throughout the course of this chapter. Unlike SFI, students and teachers are not only motivated by language, but also by driving a truck, becoming a professional, developing others, and getting credentials that will propel them further into society. This

30 drivkrafter
31 nyanlända företagare
chapter assembles an actor-network containing snapshots of the integrators’ and integratees’ driving forces through their own accounts and dialogues.

### 3.1 Integratees’ Driving Forces

This section is built on validation interview material, when the interviewer asked the applicant why they want to drive trucks. The following interviews do not specify the names of the interviewer because we interviewed in a group (Hasse, Jan and me). Throughout the interviews, there were often cases of finishing each other’s sentence or multiple interviewers repeating or reformulating the questions to reassure the respondents’ comprehension of the question. I therefore use the generic title ‘interviewer’ to focus on the dialogue.

Ahmed, 54-year-old Syrian man

Interviewer: “How many years did you drive a truck?”

Ahmed: “From 2011, I worked for 2 years...I studied economics at the university, and I worked for 16 years as an economist, accountant then cashier too”.

Interviewer: “Why do you want to work with trucks if you are an economist?”

Ahmed: “With the war, I moved to a village in 2011, then I worked with trucks. I worked for a company that delivered chicken around the city”.

Interviewer: “Why don’t you go to Sfx for Economists?”

Ahmed: “I asked my supervisor at the Labor Board and he said I needed 3 [more] years”

Interviewer: “No no [shaking his head to emphasize that this is wrong information]. Have you sent your grades to UHR so they can translate your grades?”

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32 See Appendix section ‘2.0 Interview questions during Validation Process’ for full list of questions.

33 I was not allowed to tape record during interviews because of the vulnerable identity of the respondents, all of the provided material comes from careful note-taking during the interview.

34 Universitetes- och högskolorådet is the Swedish national agency that evaluates and translates foreign transcripts into Swedish equivalencies.
Ahmed: “Yes, but I can’t continue, because my kid has autism. I need money”.

Ahmed represents many of the immigrants I met applying and enrolled in Swedish for truck drivers. They were middle aged or older and have had at least one professional career. Other informants included previous state employees, businessmen, accountants and engineers. Many of whom came to Sweden as refugees and explained that they adapted their careers after the situation in their country, often driving trucks to transport items, like this respondent. Respondents like Ahmed express a common motivation to get a job quickly, rather than build on his previous career. While some respondents told us explicitly about their personal circumstances, others communicated an implicit need to make money.

Hamid, 50-year-old Iranian man

Hamid: “I worked for 12 years driving truck and 2 driving bus. I want to be a truck driver!”

Interviewer: “Why?”

Hamid: “I want to have a job…in my country if you want to be a truck driver, you have to be a mechanic too. So I am also a truck mechanic. Because they are old [trucks], you have to [be able to] fix them”.

Interviewer: “How will you take care of your economy while studying?”

Hamid: “I will work nights and study here”.

Interviewer: “You know about study funds? Because you really can’t be up all night and then come to work, that won’t work here”.

Hamid: “No I’m not taking CSN,35 I’m not taking a loan…I came to Sweden to get a job, I’ll get through this myself…working day to night is not a problem for me”.

Hamid implies that he needs money directly and communicates this with his tone and insistence on not taking loans and working nights. Like other applicants and enrolled students at Swedish for truck drivers, Hamid is an experienced truck driver who is used to driving different kinds of trucks over long distances. The teachers were impressed with his truck driving background and bonded with him over the kind of old gears and models he drove.

35 Centrala studiestödsnämnden, National Board of Student Aid
However, when the interviewer mentions him taking study funds in order to complete the program, the respondent insists that he can do this alone, without funds or loans. This was often a sensitive point in the interviews because the applicants were reluctant to take ‘welfare benefits.’ In an interview with Jan, he explains this point.

I know that they are influenced by society’s debates. I mean there are many students every semester who we ask ‘aren’t you going to take the study funds? The state pays, you actually get a few thousand kronor to yourself, for free’ [and they say] ‘no no no, I don’t want to take benefits!’ They don’t want to take welfare benefits, and we almost have to force them to do so because it’s such a high pace here. But then they do extra stuff and can’t manage…we’ve had such students, and it doesn’t work. We actually have a student standing in a kitchen till 3 a.m. I don’t know how that’s gone with all the tests, but we think they should be here.

Me: ‘What do they think about these welfare benefits they could get?’

No most don’t like that, right? I don’t know, most want to work. I believe that’s human nature, you want to activate yourself. When everyone else does something, you yourself want to participate. They want to work and come out! They don’t want to be on benefits, not even study funds. So we have to nag them. I mean they want to be a part of Swedish society. They want that.

Jan’s interpretation of this situation is that his students do not want to take welfare benefits because they are affected by ‘society’s debates’ that depict immigrants coming in and taking money. Although this is speculative, there were many applicants who support this claim. They rarely wanted to take study funds and insisted on working while studying full time. These situations also fostered brokering (Wenger, 1998), where the interviewers tried to convince the students and vis-a-vis. At the same time, the immigrant experience becomes apparent as they may feel like they are not full members of society but rather inferiors in the native Swedish population (Barrie). In some cases, they may struggle to trust the state, especially if they come from war-torn countries. The teachers discussing such topics with consideration and empathy, but ultimately wanted to ensure that the participants would have the preconditions to succeed in the program (Wenger, 1998), as mentioned in the previous chapter.

Jan says that it is ‘human nature’ to want to work and working fulfils a person because it is both ‘activating’ and fosters ‘participation’ in society. This type of participation relates to
Wenger’s definition of participation, which “describe[s] the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises” (1998: 55). Wenger continues to explain that participation occurs in everyday situations and concerns a sense of actively belonging to a community and shaping personal identity (ibid, 56). With the next respondent, we can see how getting a job as a way of participating in society and shaping one’s social life influences his identity.

**Barrie, 31-year-old Sierra Leonean man**

Barrie: “In Sweden people judge me, they see I have dreads [and] think I smoke marijuana. So I wanted to prove that I’m not like that, I don’t hang with people like that. I got a job as a carpenter and only hang with svennar. But now I’m bored with carpentry, I want to do something else”.

Interviewer: “But you are an academic actually, you went to Sierra Leone’s best university…why not translate your grades?”

Barrie: “But I can do a lot! It’s never bad to try new things. I have other goals too. My friend and I want to start a truck driving business!”

Barrie pursues professions in carpentry and truck driving as ways to legitimise himself in a society that perceives him as illegitimate. He gets a job and surrounds himself with Swedes in order to take on a professional identity and become a part of society. Barrie wants to rid himself of his predetermined identity that he gained in Sweden based on his appearance rather than his actions. He talks about his long-term plan to start a business once he obtains a truck driving license, which like many other applicants, uses this program as a means for him to fulfil larger goals. Other informants (as Moutassam) wanted to get a well-paid job truck driving to support themselves while they go back to study at the university. Others want to drive long distances abroad, see new places and enjoy Europe. Further reasons included completing High School level Swedish language for their personal record, job applications, or obtaining their truck license to get other licenses (like bus or taxi).

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36 slang for Swedes
3.2 Integrators’ Driving Forces

My first encounter with this group of integrators was at a Swedish for professionals teachers development conference where they met to discuss their profession, listen to lectures, and exchange ideas in workshops. I was invited to this event by the SFX coordinator Katarina and attended the afternoon workshops and lectures. Participation in the conference provided an initial understanding about what integrators working in different professional teaching sectors do and what they find most important in their work. Situated among the teachers, I was exposed to their commentary, conflicts and discussions about their work.

In one workshop, we were split into groups of mixed-professions and told to rank a list of issues we thought were most pressing to the future of teaching Swedish for professionals. These issues printed on strips of paper included ‘digitalization,’ ‘the political situation,’ ‘global economy,’ ‘democracy,’ ‘human rights’ etc. One teacher started the discussion with a provocation, saying that digitalization is irrelevant because most students come from places where there is no electricity. His group members countered this claim by discussing digital solutions that come from places like Africa and pointing out that he may just have western prejudices about technology. The tense atmosphere quickly silenced discussion, so I took the opportunity to ask them, “Why do you do your job?”

Craftsman\(^{37}\) teacher: “Honestly, because there is a job market for it”.

Medical professions teacher: “I think its super fun!”

Truck driver teacher (Jan): “I have grateful students. In Sweden, everyone is critical and that’s gotten to be excessive. But students that come from other countries are motivated and thankful…they get to come into society!”

Medical professions teacher: “Highly educated students are motivated and thankful”.

Bus driver teacher (Tony): “I think lower educated students are more motivated than others, they come from a lower class and want to learn! I can share so that they get integrated, in a good way. They are thankful and have more respect for teachers, most Swedish students aren’t like this”.

\(^{37}\) hantverkare
Craftsman teacher: “I think language is fun…comparing language with other languages”

Language teacher: “I’m feeling some tenseness between the academics and the practical fields and I think we should leave that behind us. I think that school contributes to people being isolated in society…I think it’s really important to see what every person can contribute. I got this job because I like to be with people”.

As the language teacher points out, prejudice and power dynamics emerged in this group between the academic and practical professions as well as ‘highly educated’ versus ‘lower educated students.’ According to Davies (2008: 110), “differences, such as those based on gender, class, age, status have implications for differential access to power in the wider society [that] will affect the interview”. In this case, class and professional statuses create a conflict in this group dynamic. Although the above dialogue does not fully develop their perspectives, it does introduce motivations that came up in later fieldwork findings.

Hasse is a retired SFL teacher and co-founder. He started off teaching SFI but after a while got bored with teaching just theory and wanted to challenge himself by combining theoretical subjects with practical subjects, “when I worked with academics, I always wanted to show that I was a worker also, I wasn’t just a brain worker, I was a muscle worker. So, I had these kinds of driving forces also”. He connects this ambition to his childhood growing up in a working-class family with a father who idolized professionals that worked in practical subjects. When Hasse was in school, he sometimes felt discouraged because his father couldn't understand why he would spend so many hours a day studying something abstract like ‘antiquities’ and at the end of the day still remain a student. He sums up his motivation to teach truck driving with the phrase “learning by doing—and that’s unbelievably clear in truck driving. You can talk about how you drive in a round-about then you go out and drive in a round-about and understand immediately what we had talked about”.

Björn is the co-founder of SFL and current development strategist for other vocational schools for immigrants. He also started his career as an SFI teacher but grew bored and tired of the material and assumed his students did too. Björn started looking for ways to improve language acquisition for immigrants. He began with teaching a computer course because he thought it would be relevant for jobs in the digital era. Then he continued to think about what else would be job-relevant material, and came up with nursing, daycare and truck driving-based
Swedish courses. When I ask him why he still works in the same field after twelve years, he told me he is “luck[y] to do something that means something for other people, and that means something for society. I think that’s fun, and I get the chance to try new things! I’ve always been interested in trying new things”.

Tony is a previous SFL teacher and current Swedish for Bus drivers teacher. Tony was originally educated as a gym teacher, but when he started working in Swedish schools he decided “[n]o I don’t want to work with these kids.’ They know their rights, but they don’t know their obligations, you have to fuss with them all the time”. After working with many other professions including floristry, and real estate in Spain, he moved back to Sweden and decided “to work with older immigrant students who have respect for teachers”. Tony enjoys working with this group because he feels he can watch them “develop” their language and job skills so that they get a job.

I like people. I learn lots from them too! I learn a bit about their culture, their customs, someone can have some smart idea that I hadn't thought about. I myself am learning and developing at the same time I develop them. That’s actually the goal, and I enjoy doing it. Otherwise I’d go back to the business world, where I was a boss in various branches.

Samuel is an SFL teacher and owns a traffic school with his wife. Samuel started working at SFL a couple of years ago because a friend and colleague asked him for his help. Prior to SFL, Samuel worked long hours as a private tour-bus chauffeur, which he liked because it was social, but had to quit in order to spend more time with his family. During a driving lesson he tells the student to drive to ‘Tom Tits Experiment.’ When we arrive, he tells the driver to park the car and tells his students to take their kids here because “there are a ton of experiments just for kids”. Later in the lesson we stop at a gas station for coffee and there he tells me, “I’ve been thinking about it for a while now, and I like to teach this! You get to see people develop. People learn things and that is fun”.

Jan is the course administrator and traffic theory teacher at SFL. He has worked as an educator in various ways for over twenty years and holds an all but dissertation in Political Science. When I asked him why he works at Swedish for truck drivers, he says

I worked at another place, at a higher pedagogic level. But the bigger pedagogic challenge is to get newly arrived people who come from Ethiopia or Eritrea, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Latin America etc, to understand our Swedish system—school
system, culture, and everything. And then come out and get a job. That’s kind of hard and it’s kind of fun too.

As we continued to talk, he repeats that his job is “fun” and said that he enjoys his driven and “straightforward” colleagues who “want to do something,” the “exchange” he has with his students, and the “satisfaction of work and payment”. After our interview, he texted me that he thinks “it’s really enriching to get to know other cultures, customs and traditions”.

Xin is a Swedish for Academics teacher. Xin’s initial response was “really, I didn’t make an active choice to work with academics, because that’s not really interesting for me. For me it’s really interesting to work with those who are new to society”. Xin moved to Sweden from China, and began working in elderly care, then at a High School. His last job was at a summer school for newly arrived immigrants from Afghanistan. As we continued talking Xin says:

I want my students to realize that they are also actors in integration, it’s not just suiting themselves to a bigger mass, but rather they *themselves* are a part of a bigger society that we are situated in now. They will also change society, maybe in a small way. So it’s something I wanted to communicate, that they themselves have to take responsibility and they can also choose different things they want and don’t want to do.

When we first met at the Swedish for professionals teachers conference, Xin told me that he learned Swedish because he wanted to integrate himself into society. He later decided to work in the field of integration because was curious about how others experienced integration. Xin has a Bachelor’s degree in sociolinguistics and is considering going back to school.

### 3.3 Assembling the Forces

This chapter explores why students want to become professional truck drivers in Sweden and why the Swedish for professionals teachers want to teach immigrants. As Latour puts it (2005: 23), “the task of defining and ordering the social should be left to the actors themselves, not taken up by the analyst”. His assumption is that causality should not be ascribed by researchers but rather retraced through the accounts of the actors themselves. I attempt to understand integration as a Latourian social phenomenon, which I trace through the actors and objects that are involved. Assembling an actor-network means first tracing non-human and
human connections to the phenomenon, then discovering actors’ lifeworlds, and finally mapping out how these lifeworlds and connections relate to each other in a network collective (ibid 21-25). In this section I attempt to assemble this group of integrators and integratees from the above accounts as suggested by actor-network theory.

In the above ethnographic material, integratees lack capital to start their own business (Mouttasam), higher education credentials (Ahmed and Barrie), information about the Swedish system (Ahmed), money (Ahmen and Hamid) and legitimacy (Barrie) which motivate them to apply to Swedish for truck drivers. Ahmed needs money as a means to a better quality of life where he can provide for his family. Hamid connects his desire to drive trucks to his past career as a truck mechanic and driver, where the material of the truck in Iran necessitates more interaction and knowledge from the driver, which shapes his career and motivation to continue working with trucks. This is a clear instance where an actor’s social interactions with material connects him to his current pursuits. Similarly, Barrie cites his dreads while explaining his motivation to pursue carpentry and truck driving. His dreads communicate a message to society, which returns to Barrie as a prejudice and discourages him from interacting with certain people or professions in society. In turn, this interaction encourages him to become a carpenter. After a while, Barrie grows bored of carpentry and discovers that his friend has trucks (another material force) and decides to pursue a career with trucks. Barrie's retraced connections delineate the material and social forces that drive him to SFL, and into society.

According to Jan, this group of immigrant truck drivers are influenced by societal debates, which affect their interactions with material actants. In this instance, welfare benefits are actants, acting on the integratees, connected to a network of societal debates that dissuade them from accepting these material benefits. Instead the integratees look for more direct routes to earn money, which sometimes leads them to multiple routes simultaneously. For example, working nights while going to school to earn both short-term and-long term incomes. As I have discussed, the integratees experience multiple social and material forces that drive them to pursue careers in society, based on their family situation, need for money or credentials, and social pressure.

Similarly, the integrators explain their driving forces that retraces an actor-network as well. Many of the respondents said that they were bored with their previous jobs and wanted to try something new, which stemmed from other connections like not feeling fulfilled (socially) or working hours that they could not withhold (material). These forces made them change their course of action. Björn and Hasse thought pure language lessons were boring so
they combined language with professional material, while others were interested in Swedish for professionals because they thought teaching newly arrived students would be an exciting change (Tony, Björn, Jan, Xin). Björn expands on this point, claiming that the synergy between theoretical (driving theory) and practical information (driving in traffic) accelerates learning processes. Meanwhile, Samuel ended up working at Swedish for truck drivers to assist his friend and because of his lifestyle as a father seeking more regular daytime working hours. The above list of common elements integrators define as driving forces include social, emotional, and material interactions.

Some common connections for integrators include thinking it was fun, getting bored, enjoying working with immigrant students, and wanting to ‘develop’ people and learn together with them. In actor-network theory however, these social-based claims are tautological if we do not further trace connections, because the social forces the social. By returning to Samuel in particular, one begins to grasp how each specific actor is also its own network, motivated by social and material influences working in tandem. Samuel is a traffic teacher who expressed his will to develop people. On the road, Samuel instructs the students throughout the drive, pays attention to the moving traffic and the truck’s movements, talks with me and explains to to us that Tom Tits Experiments has brought joy to his children. This interaction with both material and non-material objects eventually brought him to the conclusion that he does his job because he enjoys developing others. His days are spent presenting how a driver navigates traffic rules, by interacting with cars and responding to the surrounding traffic objects as well as interacting with his students. ‘Developing’ therefore is connected to the students’ ability to properly maneuver the truck and its mechanics, as well as personal growth. Like the other social motivations listed38, the social phenomenon ‘development’ is thus interconnected to both object and human activity, forming an actor-network.

Further retracing uncovers material actants that influence integrators’ participation in Swedish for professionals, while simultaneously contribute to ‘societal debates.’ On the Swedish for professionals homepage there are links to news articles concerning the program, one of which entitled ‘Professional skill-sharing should be at the heart of refugee inclusion’ is

38 I do not retrace the other reasons, such as “fun” and “boredom” due to the scope and focus of this thesis, but the teachers’ accounts provided explain how these social forces interact with material forces to make them change their course of action.
written by the Swedish for professionals coordinator, Katarina Stiessel Fonseca (2016). In this article Katarina39 claims that educating this new workforce for Sweden and equipping newly arrived immigrants with employment skills is an attempt in “inclusion’, instead of the more insidious ‘integration’” (ibid). I highlight Katarina’s article because it acts as a mediator, exerting force on both societal debates as well as on Swedish for professionals itself, defining the goal of the program. In correspondence with her role as the coordinator, Katarina’s article acts both as a promotional and recruitment tool and articulates the boundaries of Swedish for professionals. This actant exposes further connections in the network of integration, which could be traced through shares, likes, comments, and other relations that Katarina may have to other integrators in the community.

Although this chapter assembles an incomplete actor-network, it collects the forces where agents meet in the same group because of human and non-human forces. By following these accounts closely, the actants’ involvement with integration becomes clear, either explicitly stated (Tony and Xin), implicitly using their own terminology but describing what the societal debates deem integration (Jan, Hasse, Björn, Samuel) or rejecting the term and offering their own (Katarina and Jan). In the next chapter we will explore the ‘driver-truck’ as another vehicle for immigrants to come into society.

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39 I refer to the coordinator of SFX by first name in order to maintain equal treatment of my respondents, as she also acted as a gatekeeper and informant in my fieldwork.
4. ’Being-in-the-truck’

During the validation, Hasse, Jan and I went outside to watch the applicants test-drive. One teacher Leonard stands in front of two trucks, facing a handful of applicants to explain the test-course. First, they have to do a three-point turn to back into a loading dock,\textsuperscript{40} zig-zag forward through orange plastic cones and then zig-zag backwards through the cones. The truck is parked with about the same dimensions the truck takes up on either side of it. From here, they start with a three-point turn. Close by, the zig-zag course has maybe 2-3 meters between each cone. The course is confining, and I am nervous for them just looking at it. Leonard says “We are looking at how you handle the automobile. Be nice to it, don’t vroooooom” He says while imitating stepping hard on the gas pedal and holding the wheel tight to accelerate, then he shakes his head, this is what \textit{not} to do. “Okay? Take it easy”.

The first driver climbs into the truck and starts the vehicle. Hasse and Jan watch attentively. They inspect and commentate on how he moves his head and body, what he is looking at while maneuvering the vehicle, if he moves frantically or calm and controlled. The driver’s behaviour inside the truck is just as important to them as how the truck moves through the test course. While observing the applicants, Hasse tells me:

You always have to have your eye on your back wheel, if you don’t, you’re way off!\textsuperscript{41} That’s the most important thing, always know where your back wheel is. And look at your mirrors. You see there are three mirrors on the door [points them out]. You’ve always got to know where your back wheel is when you’re backing up, then you have to know where your bum is. But you see this guy has no clue!\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{40} backa till kaj

\textsuperscript{41} är ute och cyklar

\textsuperscript{42} In Swedish, the impersonal ‘one’ tense is common, but Hasse uses the ‘you’ tense instead. In this way he describes the truck as if it is an extension of the body. ‘You’ have to keep ‘your eye’ on ‘your back wheel,’ instead of ‘the back wheel.’ As well as ‘know where your bum is,’ which is a common phrase among the teachers, where ‘your bum’ is the backside of the truck.
Jan continues to inspect his driving skills and reaches a speculative conclusion about this driver. “He maybe has ridden in a truck, been a lunchbox to someone driving—I mean passenger. We say lunchbox to mean the passenger who rides along with the driver”. He says looking to me who is attentively watching them watch the applicants.

This material involves many actants that connect the driver and the truck. According to communities of practice, this interaction allows for marginal participation in the practice of truck driving. Briefly put, the objects involved, such as the cones, the loading dock, borders of the driving course, and the teachers next to the truck delineate the field that the applicant has to prove his legitimacy as a driver. Furthermore, Leonard’s instructions force the applicants to drive through the course in a certain way. Similar to how Dant (2004) explains the ‘driver-car,’ the applicants’ interaction with the truck through the driving course acts as an embedded actor-network where the actor is the driver and the network is made up of the parts of the truck and their function. The ‘driver-truck’ connects to the teachers at SFL because they are watching the interactions between the test obstacles, driver and truck, to make judgements.

Latour suggests guidelines to trace group formations (2005: 33), one of which is to observe how the actors themselves create the boundaries of their group. In the case of the truck driving teachers, their judgements create boundaries to the group of truck drivers by assessing and selecting applicants based on their interaction with the truck and the driving obstacles. This situation is unique because of the amount of accounts and actors involved in the validation process and my presence as an unknowledgeable spectator, forcing teachers to explain what they observe. After the validation stage, practice driving at Swedish for truck drivers occurred in groups of three, and the ability to move the truck according to Swedish traffic standards depended on the relationship between the truck and its driver rather than to make accounts of what they are doing, as relied upon in ANT.

The goal at Swedish for truck drivers is that the students start to embody the movements of safe Swedish driving in order to enter society as professional truck drivers, which they learn through their experience and practice at SFL. As I’ve shown, this process entails actor-networks. However ANT relies on written or spoken accounts of action that can be collected in networks, while on the contrary, I observe the driver and the truck cooperating to make traffic maneuvers without iterations that would make traceable accounts. Latour claims (2005:43) that “action is overtaken” in actor-networks, meaning that actions come from associations with other material and social forces that should be retraced carefully enough to
find connections to that action (ibid, 4-7, 21-23, 33, 47, 82-83, 105, 120-128). However, the observation of driver-truck interactions present a case where the intimate connection between a human and an object demands more intimate frameworks to explain how these two actants relate to each other and vary based on the subjective experience of the driver. In this chapter I suggest that the embodied maneuvers I observed in the truck drivers can be explained by concepts rooted in phenomenology.

I therefore turn to Merleau-Ponty and his predecessors to better explain this intimate relationship through the concepts of ‘embodiment,’ ‘habit-body,’ and ‘phenomenal field.’ The title of this chapter ‘being-in-the-truck’ is inspired by Heidegger’s concept of ‘being-in-the-world,’ as well as many other theorists who have considered the close-knit interactions humans have with things and automobiles (Malinowski 1922, Gibson 1938, Mauss 1950, Merleau-Ponty 1964, Heidegger 1977, Callon 1986, Latour 2005 Dant 2004). What I call ‘being-in-the-truck,’ refers to a specific orientation of the driver in the truck gaining perspective through embedded knowledge that surrounding obstacles teach the ‘driver-truck.’ This relationship involves using the truck and classroom objects as tools with which one acts on the environment. Similar to what Heidegger calls ‘thinghood,’ where things are assigned person-like qualities because they are applied as extensions of the person using them (Dant 2005: 85-6). Aspects of ‘thinghood’ and ‘being-in-the-truck’ are presented in the above ethnographic material, where for example, “bum” shows an object taking on person-like qualities and “lunchbox” shows a passenger taking on the role of an object that the truck driver owns.

In Tim Dant’s assemblage of the ‘driver-car’ he describes the relationship between a driver in a car as an actor-network, where the vehicle is set in motion due to the interaction between the driver’s capabilities and a network of the car’s parts and functionality (Dant, 2004:69). His construction of the ‘driver-car’ ascribes both constituencies with their own agency that temporarily unites in the ‘driver-car’ constellation (ibid, 62). Dant acknowledges shortcomings in actor-network theory’s ability to account for the complexities of the close-knit driver-car relationship. Dant therefore turns to Merleau-Ponty’s concept of ‘embodiment’ in order to better grasp the habitual maneuvers, embodied knowledge and perception of the ‘driver-car’ (ibid, 72-4). In this chapter, I too will draw on the concepts of ‘embodiment,’ ‘habitation,’ and ‘habit-body’ to illustrate the relationship between a truck and its driver as observed at SFL (Merleau-Ponty, 1979). By applying a phenomenological perspective on these connections, I aim to more thoroughly explain the processes witnessed in these connections between objects and things.
4.1 Embodying the Truck

In ‘Phenomenology of Perception’ Merleau-Ponty puts phenomenological ideas about perception to one’s surrounding in action with her concept of ‘embodiment’ (Lock & Farquhar, 2007). Where Heidegger and actor-network theory focus on the type of connection between the thing and the person acting on the thing, Merleau-Ponty examines the subjective relationships between the body and its surroundings in order for a person to perceive and learn (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). A common feature in both perspectives is the placement of knowledge, which lies in the acts themselves. Heidegger uses his classic example of the hammer hammering, where the environment in which the hammer hammers is oriented to the action in undertaking, and the hammer joins the actor with its surroundings, so that knowledge is embodied in the practice of using the hammer (Dant 2005: 86). Similarly, imagine the truck driving, where the steering wheel, pedals, gears and controls in the drivers nearest surroundings orient the person to its surroundings. As the driver is being-in-the-truck he embodies knowledge of the truck. In both of these instances, there is an actor-network taking form, either as a hammerer-hammering or a driver-truck. Both actor-networks exert force based on their subjective experiences that the hammerer or driver has to their respective object or tool.

This subjective relationship is what ‘embodiment’ elucidates. Merleau-Ponty claims that one registers her surroundings through her own bodily sense and perception, which fosters the processes of learning and knowing (Dant 2005: 92). To return to the truck drivers, their driving capabilities come from the repeated actions involved in driving that become internalized in the driver’s driving. Hasse embodied the truck when he explained every angle and part of the truck, where its mirrors, backside, and wheels are, while standing in a parking lot outside of the truck. This kind of knowledge lies in his bodily memory of perception in the truck, which he has built up with years of driving experience. As depicted in the previous ethnographic material, neither Hasse nor Jan were physically in the truck yet describe it through their embodied knowledge of the truck and its position in space and motion.

This recollection of every angle of an object one grows familiar to is what Merleau-Ponty coins ‘habitation,’ meaning the more time one spends in a truck the more one starts to build habits in the truck (Dant 2005: 96). Things we inhabit we start to know intuitively, meaning knowledge lies in our body. To clarify, consider the truck drivers as they climb into the truck, open the door, blow the alcohol lock, and start the truck in an automatic fashion where muscle movement precede other cognitive processes. In comparison, my first experience climbing into the truck relied on the truck drivers’ instructions on how one properly climbs
without falling, how the door handle works and what an alcohol lock is. This contrast shows how the truck drivers have clearly incorporated the experience of being-in-the-truck into their bodily actions, as opposed to my reliance on verbal instruction and explanations.

During the validation driving test, the teachers looked for calm, controlled movements that seem to come automatically, or in other words embodied knowledge of being-in-the-truck. They constantly inferred the drivers’ ability by considering his head and body movements, checking to see if the driver will look in the mirrors when he is supposed to, back up his “bum” to where it needs to be in order to place the truck in the next position and so forth. The teachers did so by imagining the truck from their own experiences of being-in-the-truck and embodied knowledge of how to properly handle it. In other words, the teachers have developed a clear sense of ‘habitation.’ As such, they look for bodily movements from the driver that convey how much experience he has driving.

This process continued throughout the Swedish for truck drivers program. The students practiced showing how they could accelerate, merge, turn, pass, park, and back up. In other words, they worked on attaining a level of driving where the knowledge of these actions lie in the student’s body, embodied in the practice of driving. At the same time teachers anticipated these actions, they watched the student who was watching the road, checked their speedometer, and kept their eyes on the students’ hands to see what the next move in traffic would be. Students often asked questions while driving, making sure they were doing the right maneuvers, but as the course continued, they were encouraged to drive as if they were alone. This constant and incomplete process of redirecting verbal accounts into action, has the end goal of the students embodying the practice of driving. Even in the final days of SFL, the embodied knowledge of the students did not match that of the teacher and they disagreed about how to drive although both parties were truck drivers, albeit from different countries. In the next section I will explain how the differences in driving styles emerges.

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43 The truck drivers explained that they must blow an alcohol lock that measures any alcohol in the system. They must be completely clean of alcohol before they can turn on the transmission.
4.2 ’Habit-body’

“You did well at your internships! Some of you drove too fast and have to remember to follow the rules, ease up on the gas, and remember the right-of-way rule.”

Does anyone remember the trick?” There are various indistinct murmurs that swarm the classroom but no distinct answer, so Jan starts to mime the scene. He stretches his arms straight out at 10 o’clock and 2 o’clock and swerves them as if driving a truck. Then he sways bobs his head as if he’s listening to the radio and enjoying the ride until he gets to a round-about. He hesitates and looks left and right, to the other imaginary driver approaching, he waits a second and looks at the ceiling to convey boredom. Then he imitates remembering what he should do in these instances by shooting up his hand in the pointer position. He lowers his right hand on the imaginary wheel and flicks his middle and ring finger together twice adding sound effects “ch-ch, ch-ch”.

He ended the scene and looks around at the class for any signs that his improvisation communicated the trick. After waiting a long five seconds, he gives in. “It’s called flashing the brights. When I was young it was used as a warning signal but today it means ‘go ahead.’ Okay that’s the trick! I’m not sure if its official, you’ll have to ask Kerstin about that, but it works”.

Jan reviewed the right-of-way rule in light of the students returning from their internships. Like most internships, these opportunities allowed the students to sample professional life in Sweden, and try to get their foot in the door for future jobs or references. Their supervisors reported back to the teachers that the students performed well overall but drove too fast and didn’t follow all of the traffic rules, as depicted above. This glimpse of the classroom captures the right-of-way rule as an example of the traffic rules the teachers taught repeatedly throughout the course of the program. The teachers walked the students through traffic rules by embodying the driving process, miming scenes, and discussing traffic rules and theory. Sometimes they included drawings of the road or signs, wrote terms and definitions on the board, and added personal stories. The teachers said they were tired of repeating themselves and the students say there are so many rules to learn. The students struggled to follow the right-

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44 högerregeln
of-way rule even in the week of their final driving exam, yet for the most part they were able to explain when the rule should be followed in theory. The question is, if they can reiterate the rules then why couldn’t they follow them?

In this context, traffic sites frame what Merleau-Ponty calls the ‘phenomenal field’ (Dant 2005: 93). The phenomenal field is where a person lives in the world and learns from their surroundings, including the equipment (truck), material environment (road, other cars, spatial dimensions) and many experiences of the space. How one acts in this field is determined by their habituated and embodied experience of ‘being-in-the-world’ or in this case ‘being-in-the-truck’ (ibid, 93-4). Merleau-Ponty calls this effortless behavior ‘habit-body,’ where over time, embodied knowledge of the field steers a person’s interactions with and perceptions of their surroundings (ibid, 97). In the ethnographic material introducing this section, Jan displays his habit-body when he approaches an imaginary roundabout and signals others to pass safely by flashing his lights, a habit he has been familiar with for so long that the meaning of the gesture changed since he first started using it.

As emphasized by the teachers who often repeat the rules, forming a ‘habit-body’ in the truck is a crucial part of SFL’s goal. To clarify, let us revisit Hamid introduced in the previous chapter. Hamid drove professionally in Iran for a total of 14 years, 12 years truck driving and 2 bus driving and wanted to continue to drive trucks in Sweden. He was admitted to SFL and one day while riding in the truck Hamid explains that he drove vegetables and it was simple, there were no confusing traffic signs and less rules to follow. He complained about how stressful learning about the traffic rules and signs were for him. His classmate who was also sitting in the truck agreed that there were a lot of signs and knowing what they all meant was difficult, “but they are good—in my city one person a day died in traffic accidents”. Here, Hamid’s classmate expressed an appreciation for the safety rules, even if they are difficult to learn. In spite of his appreciation for the rules in theory, the habit-body acts before the mind according to Merleau-Ponty’s habit-body and embodiment conceptions.

This dissonance between what the students think and what they do exhibits how the students’ habit-body at SFL is incomplete and uncertain. Truck drivers who learned to drive outside of Sweden are accustomed to another ‘phenomenal field’ with different equipment, rules, roads and embodied knowledge of the actions that happen in that field. The traffic rules and regulations, spatial dimensions, trucks and roads are different in the countries where the students learned to drive compared to what is taught at SFL. Hamid has accumulated past knowledge from Iran and new knowledge from Sweden, and both experiences are embodied in
his bodily movements in the truck. This split in their phenomenal fields interferes with the students’ construction of the habit-body, and the difference in habit-body between the teachers and the students explains some of their frustrations with each other. The teachers complain that it is a struggle to repeat the same rules as while the students struggle to learn all of the rules in professional Swedish driving.

The frustration can be explained by Dant’s observation that “[t]his conception of habit recognizes that it is a largely unconscious process but that it nonetheless involves knowledge that has been taken into the body” (Dant 2005: 98). Dant’s use of ‘unconscious’ habits reveals how the body acts as a motor in the truck, driving it forward in a smooth process without much complication. However, the task for Hamid to relearn his 14 years of habit-making means teaching another set of rules and encouraging a set of habits that coincide with the phenomenal field of driving in Sweden. While Jan seems to ‘unconsciously’ enact embodied traffic scenes in class, they do not change students driving habits until the students can recognize these movements in themselves and their own driving habits in traffic. Similarly, the repeated focus on following the traffic rules and speed laws may be absorbed by the students who are motivated to become Swedish drivers, but enacting the change in their bodily movements while in the truck is a more complicated process to master. In the next section we will explore how the teachers and students negotiate changing habits.

4.3 “Ni ska köra [så] som ni ska göra!“

We pull into a no-drive zone and the student looks around for a sign of where to go and when he doesn’t find one he shrugs his shoulders and looks to Kerstin for an answer.

This can happen on the test, it can happen when you’re at work, it can happen for the rest of your life, and you must see the signs and see that there is another street. So if this happens on the test, just change and turn. That’s the thing, ni ska köra [så] som ni ska göra, you should drive like you do! Don’t think about ‘I have to ask, I have

45 Literally “You should drive as you should do!” but maybe better phrased as “You should do as you drive!” or “you should drive how you will!”
to be nice.’ The test auditor just wants to see that you can do this
yourself in a way that isn’t dangerous.

Bashir: “Drive straight?”

Kerstin: “Yes, when I am quiet, where do we go?”

Bashir: “Straight”.

Kerstin: “When the GPS is quiet, where do we go?”

Bashir: “Straight”.

Bashir continues to constantly ask where and how he should drive. After a
while Kerstin asks him to pull over. He parks the car and looks blankly forward
at the open road. Kerstin lets out a forceful sigh and turns to face him.

You drive so well that you don’t have to ask me how to drive…think
that you’re driving alone, it’s the same way for the rest of your
life…that’s what [the test inspector] does and wants to see on the test.
Hakan does weird things because he’s waiting for them to say
something, but the test inspector doesn't say anything. Your boss when
you start to work isn’t going to say anything more than ‘go to
Södertälje!’ ‘Deliver!’ You can drive! And I don’t need to explain that
to you, I’m not going to say ‘do this, do that!’ If I have to, then I will
say something, but for now I want you to drive. All I will say is ‘right,
left.’ And you will do exactly this for the rest of your life!

This ethnographic material was taken from two students’ last driving practice with
Kerstin before their driving exam. They were nervous and hesitant about their driving, second-
guessing themselves and asking questions that they had previously proved they knew the
answers to. Kerstin struggled to convince the students that they had embodied the knowledge
they need to know to obtain a Swedish truck driving license, and all they needed to do was
“think that [they] are driving alone”. She first took them to a no-drive zone to see what they
would do. There she explained the point of this driving lesson, that they should drive the way
they would “for the rest of [their] life”.

Kerstin’s actions implied that she was convinced that the truck drivers acquired new
habits and knowledge in their driving skills that corresponded with professional Swedish truck
driving. In this last lesson she wanted them to occupy and display a sense of comfort and habit
in their driving and carry that into their certification exam—anticipate situations, drive from the body without second-guessing the movement, and pretend that nobody else was in the truck telling them what to do. In her own words, “ni ska kôra [så] som ni ska göra,” meaning to drive as they would normally. Showing that their ability to drive according to Swedish standards lay in their habit-bodies was the test-auditor and future bosses’ expectation. She explained that employers would not negotiate how or where to drive, but rather expected the drivers to be competent. She put them in unknown situations and remained silent to try to get them to act on their own and show the good driving habits they learned in their education.

According to Merleau-Ponty, the habit-body is one that emerges from accumulated experiences (Dant 2005: 97). It is dualistic as the body acts in the moment of being-in-the-world while habits are under constant reconstruction based on the situational context in which they occur (ibid, 98-100). A habit is first a habit when it is practiced in an ‘unconscious’ manner (ibid, 98). In the above situation, Kerstin attempts to cultivate a sense of habit-body within the students. On the one hand, the student was unsure if he had formed a habit of good Swedish driving, and asked questions to solidify his driving decisions. On the other hand, Kerstin expressed frustration with his questions and uncertainties because she witnessed him execute good professional driving.

As students gained new driving skills, they struggled to maintain their habits in an ‘unconscious’ way. They have embodied driving in their past phenomenological fields yet make new memories of driving from the everyday practice of being-in-the-truck at SFL. This duality leaves them hesitant in their in-betweenness. Kerstin tried various methods to make them feel as if they are driving “alone,” supposing their future as truck drivers, asking rhetorical questions about what they do when the car is silent, and raising her tone to convey frustration with their hesitant driving. In the end, she reviewed the driving lesson with Bashir while Hakan continued to drive.

…you drive well! Just do your job but also think long ahead, and continue with that your whole life and you will be an [excellent]46 driver…can Hakan think about what he has learned today? [asking the student who is still driving, but he

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46 gestured by winking and making a bulls eye with her thumb and her finger touching in a circle and her middle, ring and pinky fingers sticking straight up
does not answer]…Nope, you’ve got enough to do while you’re driving. Also, you look so happy to drive, so just keep driving!

Hakan did look pleased to drive, and focused on the road. The last part of his lesson had gone better, the drive was mostly silent with a few compliments from Kerstin as he slowed to a stop and merged safely. In these last moments, Hakan seemed to exhibit habit-body, unresponsively driving as if he was alone with the truck.

4.4 (Re)assembling the ‘Driver-truck’

In this chapter I have argued that the relationship between the truck driver and the truck is deeply influenced by the ‘phenomenal field’ where the truck driver learned to drive, the embodied habits the driver knows and the driver’s own awareness of their habits. These concepts influence the relationship between the truck and its driver and the way a driver drives their truck can emerge in many variations of ‘driver-truck’ actor-networks. Throughout this chapter, I have reviewed how the relationship between the truck and the driver can change during the course of Swedish for truck drivers. To clarify, let us revisit the driver-truck assemblage in each of the above stages of driving.

First in the validation test, the ‘driver-truck’ was confined to a driving course enclosed by cones, a loading dock and Leonard’s verbal instructions which told them both the driving course and how they should drive. This forced the ‘driver-truck’ to follow the given path to the best of the driver’s capability, the condition of the truck and the familiarity of the truck by the driver with the truck, or how familiar he is in the given ‘phenomenal field.’ One can assume that while the teachers were standing at the sideline watching the student drive, the student was also watching the teacher watch them drive and deciding if he should proceed or alter his driving. In this instance the driver-truck is a small network, with other embedded actor-networks and the subjective perspective of the phenomenal field controlling its movement.

In the second instance in the classroom, the students were more than halfway finished with their education and had just returned from their internships. At this stage, they completed about two months of the program and gained professional experience, providing new habits and perceptions of being-in-the-truck. At this stage there was still a lot of material to revisit and learn, which Jan taught by showing how their body should move in the truck. Jan embodied the ‘driver-truck’ where the rule that they needed to embody delegated his field to approaching
a round-about. Here, he had embodied the perceptions he experienced driving in a moving vehicle in traffic so well that he could effortlessly mime the scene.

In the last example, the driver-truck was constrained by objects like the structure of the roads, signs, other cars, and moving traffic he is driving in. The network was also shaped by the passengers in the car, namely the teacher who instructed him on how to drive and the presence of the other student and myself. He interacted with the other objects in the truck in order to put it into motion, relying on the functionality of the steering wheel, brakes and mirrors, for example. He interacted with the truck with uncertainty and is met with Kerstin who fostered a sense of confidence and habit-body.

The above ‘driver-trucks’ show connections that rely on phenomenological concepts in order to fully capture the relationship at work. Being-in-the-truck involves subjectivity that is necessary to highlight in order to fully understand how this the driver and the truck relate to each other and function according to actor-network theory. Thus, I discuss how Merleau-Ponty’s concepts of phenomenal field, embodiment and habit-body offer insights into the intricacies of the truck-driver relationship to further understand the perspective of the student- and teacher-drivers. In the next and final ethnographic chapter, the focus will shift from the students’ driving abilities to the overall meaning of teaching immigrants to drive, from the perspectives of the teachers themselves.
5. “Att komma in i samhället”: Coming into Society

During interviews about the integrators’ work, they reflected on their engagements with the process of immigrants “coming into society,” att komma in i samhället (Tony, Hasse, Jan, Xin). This statement came nested in longer explanations about their personal and teaching lives. I choose to focus on this statement because of its prevalence and different uses within Swedish for professionals. This chapter pieces together a working definition of the phrase by retracing my informants’ accounts of their work and connecting these accounts to both the situational and greater networks of integration. This approach preserves actors’ multiple connections, reflexivity and idiosyncrasies in their original accounts. The emerging interpretation of “coming into society” considers the phrase a ‘collecting statement’ that communicates a widely held belief (Latour, 2005: 232) and provides a source of coherence in a community of practicing integrators (Wenger, 1998).

Tony

When Tony and I met for our interview, he took me on a tour of the school introducing me to all of the colleagues we ran into. Once we arrived in his office, he asked me if he should adjust the heat in his chilled room because he says, “I’m warm blooded, my wife is from Cuba and I have Latin blood too!” Tony is indeed warm and excited to talk about his life. He tells me that he teaches to share his past work experiences with his students to help them develop language and Swedish knowledge “because that helps others forward, to get a job and a future, and that’s what motivates me. They get an income, they can live a normal life, and that’s a big step to come from zero to getting a pretty well-paid job”.

He also talks about “developing myself at the same time I develop them” as mentioned in chapter three. What Tony explains here relates to what Lave and Wenger call ‘situated learning’ (1991) which understands learning as a skill that occurs in communities where the members participate in common activities together and learn about the topic at hand and each other intuitively. In other words, the exchanges that Tony has with his students are situated in teaching and learning that happens in classroom activities. Through their daily routines in school, both Tony and the students learn about each other, leading to a more comprehensive understanding of how the person(s) (Swedes and immigrants), activities (driving and Swedish language) and world are mutually created (Lave and Wenger 1991: 33).
In this conceptualization Swedish for professionals works as a community of practice, sustained by learning in a social situation (Lave and Wenger 1991: 57). Tony demonstrates this in his explanation of why he continues to work at Swedish for bus drivers as opposed to returning to previous more well-paid jobs. He defines his job as “learning” and “developing” together with his students by giving them the skills to become professional drivers. This negotiation of meaning is central in communities of practice, requiring constant social interaction, communication, and exchanges from its members (Wenger, 1998: 52). Accordingly, Tony cites being social, teaching language and having cultural exchanges as the meaning of his work.

After discussing his job, Tony delves into personal stories about his life and dream to retire in Spain but admits he probably will not move because his Cuban wife “wants to acclimate to Sweden”. He speaks at length about their joint efforts for her to “come into society”. This includes sending her to SFI, looking for a Swedish for professionals program for her to continue her career as a cold-buffet manager, as well as teaching her about scams, and how in Sweden both partners in a relationship have to work to provide for the family. At the same time, Tony explains that he sometimes goes to the “salsatek” with her and her Chilean and Brazilian friends and has become close to her relatives through video chat. In some respect, this information confirms what he tells me about his passion to learn about other cultures and people and offer his experience to assist them in Sweden. It also serves as a connection to other nodes in the network of integrators. By following Tony’s account of his life, I am quickly led from Sweden to Cuba. Tony’s contextual actions, like going to the salsatek and communicating with his wife’s relatives in Cuba, insert Cuba and Latin America into his life (Latour 2005: 172). Retracing Tony’s actions through his words leads to a chain of actors connected to Tony, and a vast network of integration.

Jan

This Professional Swedish is kind of good because then you have something to go off of, and you can further develop. I’ve had students here who have been engineers, chemists, one said ‘I’m going to take this course just to

47 dance club for salsa music, Hasse compares to a discotheque
48 Nodes are fully acting actors within actor-network theory networks (Latour, 2005: 55)
get a job and then I can study at the uni later to get my chemist exam.’ I’ve had several students who have done so. This is one way to come into society and get further, simply put…and then they get self-confidence, they come out and get a job and can take care of their family and begin to live a normal life.

Jan shares Tony’s view about teaching immigrants so that they can “begin to live a normal life” and “develop,” yet it does not stop there. Jan understands Swedish for professionals as a step along the road for his students to “get further” in what they want to do with their life, which leaves the students’ trajectory to their own decisions. In Latour’s terms, Jan provides his students with forms they need to make their ideas into material realities (2005: 223), where forms are ‘simply something which allows something else to be transported from one site to another.’ Similar to border objects described in chapter two, forms communicate information to multiple parties via documents, credentials, reports, and so on (ibid). The difference between boundary objects and forms is that forms reify ideas and knowledge without necessarily brokering an agreement between parties, as border objects do. According to Jan, students have a variety of expertise from different countries, and when they come Sweden they continue to pursue work and education. What Jan can provide is a form (truck driving and language certifications) that communicate their skills in Swedish terms to foster his students’ future plans.

**Hasse**

Like Tony and Jan, Hasse emphasizes the importance of getting a job in order to come into society. He recalls when Italians and Yugoslavians moved into his neighborhood when he was a child “and got a job immediately”. Then he compares those memories to his observations of immigration today and is critical about how Sweden receives immigrants.

The system is slow. I think that the heart of the matter is how we take them in. That’s where the problem is. We don't use their resources, we don't find out what they actually can do and try to match them with an occupation…I mean if you've worked as a car mechanic in Baghdad, there are Volvo cars there as well! If you can fix a Volvo in Baghdad, I totally believe you’ll fix it in Stockholm too!

Hasse implies an interesting point here about how he believes immigrants should come into society through their occupations from home that correspond with Swedish occupations, which
according to Latour, flattens the local-global dichotomy (2005: 172). Rendering global and local forces onto one ontological plane is a main component of ANT, where instead of assuming that global and local forces exist on different levels, one should instead follow local actions to other places, times and agencies through actors accounts (ibid). In Hasse’s account, he explains that immigrants who come to Sweden have had jobs in their home country that translate to other places because of their professional skills and phenomenological field of work. Hasse’s example is a car mechanic, a person who regardless of the nation or language works in a car garage, using tools like wrenches and levies to inspect a standardized set of car-mechanics in a Volvo, for example. Hasse's understanding of international occupations asserts global and local forces interwoven in the same network where the standardization of car parts have distributed Volvo car mechanics who do a similar job around the world in local garages. In other words, the car mechanic connects work in Stockholm directly to work in Baghdad, dismantling global vs. local scales.

Hasse continues to flatten the global-local divide when he tells me how his work is fulfilling.

In a short amount of time you give society a necessary supply of manpower. That’s given me satisfaction! I remember the first time I printed out the fork lift certification…that was the first time I had concrete proof that I had given someone a qualification. [In my previous jobs] they got their grades or so, but they never became anything…after three months [at SFX] they became something…something concrete that you can look for a job with! And then we get a construction worker out of it, and they learn a ton of Swedish—not just the profession but they talk with their friends, and the teacher, and I mean language develops enormously…and language is the key to coming into society.

Here, Hasse’s account assembles a network where his work at SFL educates newcomers as Swedish professionals, which employs individuals and broadly supplies “manpower” to the Swedish economy. This account of his work at SFL connects to the overall Swedish working force, which in turn dismantles the separation of micro and macro structures. A key object in Hasse’s account is the fork lift certification, which mediates what Hasse and the graduating student accomplished in terms that employers understand. During the interview, Hasse expresses pride about being able to “write [his] name on this certification” because it acts as concrete proof to change lives. Once Hasse’s students become professionals, they get
opportunities to learn the language and make social relationships. Finally, by taking command of the language, newcomers can acquire jobs and social networks to become a part of society.

Xin

Xin immigrated to Sweden to work and recognizes the struggle to learn the language, make social ties and become a part of society. Xin remembers this process starting with his first job working as a home assistant, where he started to build close connections with his patients by talking to them in their own homes.

They [the elderly] listened to me and my stories, and also told me their own stories. Yeah I got so moved, clearly. And I think language has helped me a lot. [Once] you have many connections in society, then it feels like you also are a part of society. It was then I felt ‘now I know a lot of people’…it felt like I had come deeper into society.

I ask Xin if he thinks his experience influences his current job as a teacher and he explains how he tries to get his students reflect on the power of their language by teaching them the history of different immigrant groups in Stockholm and having discussions about the students own agency. Xin also talks about helping his students overcome the various obstacles they face, especially language skills and the stress of getting a job.

I want my students to realize that they are also an actor in integration, it’s not just suiting themselves to a bigger mass, but rather they themselves are a part of a bigger society that we are situated in now. They will change society in a small way. Something I communicate in class is that they themselves have to take responsibility and choose different things they do and don't want to do…I usually take up different questions and let them discuss how they would use language differently in different contexts and why language is so important when they come into society.

In this material, Xin defines himself and his students as actors that take part in acting on the process of integration, and emphasizes their agency on “a bigger mass”. In actor-network theory, the actor is a main component of the actor-network assemblage. Actors localize action and agency as they are moving targets connected to other actants in the world (Latour, 2005: 180). Actors constantly engage in defining their social context through their personal accounts that delineate boundaries (ibid, Wenger 1998). Xin illustrates this theory by
reminding his students that they have responsibility and influence in society and through his personal account of coming into society by gathering more connections with Swedes that shape his social context. Xin raises an interesting connection between the actor and the network, where the student is the actor and the ‘big mass of societal structures’ reach the actor through different channels. Xin explains that his students feel overcome by the big mass, yet he tries to remind them that they are always connected to the mass in various ways, for example through their language skills and work choices. Latour considers the connection between the actor and the network similarly, where the network simply explains how the world is connected to specific people, places and things that interact and lead elsewhere (Latour, 2005: 180).

5.1 The Meaning of ‘Coming into Society’

In the above section, segments of Communities of Practice and Actor-Network theories manifest in my informants’ personal accounts of the meaning in their work. Unveiling and connecting their lifeworlds follows Latour’s actor-network theory, which relies on ‘tracing social connections’ by writing accounts of action ‘in medias res’ or in the middle of action (2005: 123). This is an important point in actor-network theory, which insists on actors defining their own social world because “the inquirer is always one reflexive loop behind those they study” (ibid, 33). In this section I attempt to consolidate the integrators’ explanations through the collecting statement ‘coming into society.’ By weaving together ethnographic material, I try to extrapolate what their own expression ‘coming into society’ means in context and in relation to integration.

Tracing social connections leads to an actor-network that assembles nearby as well as faraway actants. Actor-network theory rejects dichotomies such as ‘micro vs. macro’ and ‘actor vs. system’ because they posit extreme poles where the researcher is left to apply abstract forms to empirical data (Latour 2005: 165). Instead, Latour urges the researcher to approach both scales of activity as it occurs in original accounts of action (ibid, 165-72). In this section and throughout this thesis, I follow the Latourian approach by first locating a kind of integration happening at Swedish for Professionals, which I break down to the context of Swedish for

49 ANT uncovers how global, structural, political and local forces interact in one network by relocating a global phenomenon by locating contextualisations, then building an understanding of the interactions that happen in such places in order to connect the associations between the global and local phenomena. At this point, one can begin to discuss the relevance of politics in the phenomenon (Latour 2005, 172).
Truck Drivers. Next, deciphering how their interactions work with the help of Wenger’s Communities of Practice theory. Finally, in this chapter I connect integration as a global phenomenon to Swedish for professionals and SFL through the dominant phrase ‘coming into society.’ This myopic turn in social inquiries localize global activity in network connections, meaning that global phenomena can be localized in network connections (ibid, 172).

Retracing Tony and Hasse’s accounts move from their local contexts to global forces. In Tony’s immediate context, he works as a teacher at Swedish for professionals, at the same time he talks about his life with his Cuban wife. When I ask Tony about the meaning of his work with immigrants, he uses “learning” and “developing” not only to refer to his work but also to explain his relationship with his wife. The multiple ways Tony engages in integration can be explained with the theory of practice where “…[learning] concerns the whole person acting in the world. Conceiving of learning in terms of participation focuses attention on ways in which it is an evolving, continuously renewed set of relations…of persons, their actions, and the world” (Lave & Wenger 1991: 49-50).

These multiple channels of participation in the world provide ways for Tony to learn, grow, and renew relations. In communities of practice, practice exists because people are constantly interacting and negotiating their meaning through these mutual engagements (Wenger, 1998: 73). Therefore, I interpret Tony’s roles as a teacher and a husband as mutual engagements making meaning in Tony’s lifeworld. Tony talks about his Cuban wife who provides new kinship connecting Tony’s lifeworld to Cuba, extending his network to a global level, dependent on the place and people in another part of the world, without jumping to a macro scale. Similarly, Hasse’s conception of occupations flattens global and local differentiations. Hasse claims that a car mechanic is a profession with the same phenomenological field in Baghdad as in Sweden. Both Tony and Hasse display how spatial and structural distance depends more on actors’ connections within their network than space or structures as variables themselves (Latour, 2005).

Likewise, one can trace economic structures at play in informants’ accounts of their day-to-day work as teachers for Swedish for professionals. In the Introduction chapter of this thesis, I summarize Sweden’s integration policies, which focus largely on fast tracked job and language acquisition to adjust the labor market and economic structures to an incoming group of people. In Jan’s account he refers to his students being able “to come out and get a job…and begin to have a normal life” upon graduation from SFL, meaning they will earn a stable income to provide for their families. In this situation, Jan is paid by the municipality to teach language
and job-ready skills to immigrants who learn these skills and come out with a certificate form to prove their proficiency. This endeavor helps them get full-time jobs, pay taxes and in turn help the Swedish economy and labor market. Hasse’s account is similar, saying that “in a short amount of time you give society a necessary supply of manpower”.

Through closer probing of their words, Jan and Hasse offer their own meanings to ‘coming into society.’ Jan tells us that SFL “is one way to come into society”. After their education at SFL the students build a sense of “self-confidence,” get a job that provides for their family, and live a “normal life”. Jan defines what ‘coming into society’ means for him in order to defend his claim that SFL brings people into society. He tells me that this program provides a sense of confidence, stable income, and what ‘normal’ to him may mean a Swedish middle-class life to others.

Some got educated to be bus drivers, someone became a manager in a big construction company called Riksbyggen, working in parks, so they get a bit of everything, and they work in many different places. But they don’t go back to restaurants and they don't go back to cleaning. That feels good! Yeah. They get a real step forward here.

Hasse also considers his work at SFL a “concrete” measure to help his students get further and develop. He tells us that “the heart of the matter is how we take them in” and emphasizes becoming a professional in order to learn the language, make social ties and come into society. He expanded on these points in the interview, sharing stories about his upbringing in a working-class family, his father’s reverence for professionals and his good memories of working migrants in the 60s and 70s who came to Sweden to work in factories, picked up the language and made friends in his neighborhood. Hasse’s understanding of coming into society echoes Wenger’s understanding of practice making meaning in one’s life. “Practice is, first and foremost, a process by which we can experience the world and our engagement with it as meaningful (Wenger, 1998: 51)” In this case the practice is learning a profession, and the engagement with the world through language and social ties makes meaning in their lives by improving their reception into society. Hasse’s regard for professions is deeply rooted in his childhood as well as personal and professional experience with integration. He himself explains that he started working as a truck driving teacher because he “thought it was fun to teach something practical” and started the SFL program to improve on how the Swedish system takes in professionally educated immigrants.
Xin adds to Hasse’s idea of a job fostering ‘coming into society’ through his reflections on his first job in home assistance in Sweden. Xin talks about exchanging life stories with his patients in their homes, and eventually building relationships with them.

I could understand how different people are depending on which generations they belonged to in Sweden, and what mentality they had depending on what kinds of work life they had, which, class they maybe belonged to…it gave me a picture of how they once lived.

Through this process of connecting himself with people, history and place through language, Xin ‘comes into society’ and builds his own understanding of Sweden. “When you have many connections in society, then it feels like you are also a part of society”. From personal experience Xin appreciates the power of “us[ing] language in different contexts and why language is so important [to] come into society”. He talks about his initial decision to return to Sweden after study abroad because he wanted to improve his language and social relations to help him come into society and get a job. He says to his students that they have the same “responsibility” and “agency”.

Xin claims that an immigrant’s presentation of himself through the language effects how society will take him in, and vis-a-vis, that immigrants influence the Swedish language and society. His definition of ‘coming into society’ brings us back to central part of actor-network theory, that actors act in relation to many other connections in society, causing the action to be dislocated from original intent (Latour, 2005: 46-7). Xin explains immigrants having the ability to act on their situation, as an actor acts on its network at the same time the network (situation) acts on the actor (immigrant). Xin empathizes with his students’ frustrations as new immigrants in Sweden, and therefore tries to help give them the skills to understand that they are actors in the the integration network. Later in our interview, he explains his role in society as a tax payer, statistical help to lower unemployment rates, and teacher “both [in] language related knowledge and [in] the attitude they need to suit themselves or integrate into society”. He summarizes this role by telling me that “everyone is an agent in society” and that he is “an assistant for them to come in [to society]”.

Retracing Tony, Hasse, Jan and Xin’s explanations on immigrants ‘coming into society’ and connecting their accounts to other people and things assembles this social phenomenon according to the people working in the field of integration. This process reconsiders space, moving away from macro-micro distinctions, toward connecting.
interactions embedded within the same network. With more subtle social phenomena, Latour stresses the importance of tracing and mapping out accounts and meanings in order to render the term visible and relevant for social and political spheres (Latour 2005: 182-3).

As discussed, I have traced and reassembled integrators’ accounts as they speak on behalf of what ‘coming into society’ means for them in their practice and within the network of integration, although there are certainly many more forces that I do not include which influence the integrators’ and integratees’ actions. One observation is that there are emotional states that the integrators mention within this process, which add to the definition of integration. Jan and Xin talk about building confidence in their students so that they can face the linguistic and personal challenges associated with acculturating oneself to a new country. Xin and Hasse talk about responsibility as a quality that both integrators and integratees have, to receive and to act on their duty to welcome newcomers and “make use of them,” or perhaps more specifically their vitality in the workforce.

Jan and Tony talk about cultivating “a normal life,” which I interpret to mean fostering a sense of safety and comfort. Xin reflects on “feeling like you know people,” or a sense of belonging. I mention the above emotions because they are relevant to the essence of integration, and the core of phenomenological approaches that inquire into the lifeworld and perception of others (Merleau Ponty in Lock & Farquhar, 2007). In studies of lifeworlds and their respective phenomenal fields, experience provides an understanding of the qualities and meanings of a community (ibid). This is relevant in this depiction of integration because it renders explicit lived-through and being-in experiences of integration (ibid, 139-144).

To summarize, integrators use the statement ‘coming into society’ to refer to a process that legitimizes immigrants’ skills in a new society, leading to job and language acquisition. This process is mutually dependent on integrators and integratees efforts in the reception and interaction with newcomers in society. As illustrated through the above accounts of ‘coming into society,’ this process takes place in communities of practice as situated learning, where one learns about society in this case by learning to drive and communicate. These skills are pivotal to newcomers’ entrance and reception, as they provide a form of legitimacy and cultural capital that give immigrants agency in their own mode of coming into society. The integrators’ practice of teaching, living and in some cases loving (Tony’s wife), creates lifeworlds where integration permeates their immediate sphere and extends to networks of global forces. In the following chapter I will conclude by consolidating this contextual definition of integration with
four main findings and offer political implications and further research recommendations based on my findings.
6. Conclusion: “there is no such thing as integration”

In this thesis I have explored how the participants at Swedish for truck drivers practice and define their way to integrate. Ethnography chapters two to five have walked the reader through my informants’ lifeworlds, understanding what motivates the participants, interpreting the relationship between the truck and the driver, and finally building a contextual definition of ‘integration.’ In doing so, communities of practice theory in tandem with actor-network theory have been helpful models to understand a situational and inter-connected web of integration.

One last account of integration came from a language teacher Anna, who said, “[t]here’s no such thing as integration. But language is the basic entry to integrating. Without language, you are excluded [from society]”. Her statement is similar to Latour’s provocation, hijacking Margaret Thatcher’s famous exclamation “‘there is no such a thing as a society!’” (2005: 5). To be clear, Latour’s point is far from Thatcher’s, arguing that social phenomena should be demystified through careful retracing of accounts and actions that form a network of interactions. Latour and Anna seem to bring up similar points however, that the social phenomenon (integration) does not exist as it is construed in political or societal debates, rather one can start to uncover what integration consists of in piecemeal chunks. I agree with their claims and take this approach to discover contextual integration in action.

In the introductory chapter of this thesis, I describe conflicting definitions of the concept in Swedish policy documents and research, which necessitate a more grounded definition. Migration scholars Gryzmala-Kazłowska & Phillimore conclude that integration remains an unsolved mystery, vaguely referring to two-way processes, although oftentimes confused with terms like ‘acculturation’ and ‘assimilation’ (2018: 187). In this contemporary era of ‘liquidity’ (ibid) characterized by increased transformations of global movement through people and exchanges, there emerge challenges to the static definition of integration.

In this final chapter I will consider how my findings can contribute to the concept of integration by returning to my initial research questions:

1. How do integrators and integratees practice integration?

2. Does the work done at Swedish for professionals and Swedish for truck drivers align with the political and social science conceptions of integration?
Communities of Practice Contextualize Integration

In chapters two, three and five I illustrate how SFL acts as a community of practice where teachers and students perform everyday routines at school and work such as speaking, learning, driving, joking, teaching and socializing, to make meaning in their life (Wenger 1998: 6). Through such ‘mutual engagements’ (ibid, 73) a sense of belonging in this community emerges. This mutual engagement connects societal definitions of integration where immigrants are expected to acquire language and job skills, gain employment, make social ties to society (Ministry of Industry, Employment and Communications 2002), to a context. In turn, the context of Swedish for truck drivers provides “manpower” (Hasse) that the Swedish economy needs. On August 2018, Dagens Nyheter reported that there is a shortage of 7,000 truck drivers per year in Sweden and vocational programs educate roughly 3,000 truck drivers per year (Persson). Recent government actions in Swedish immigration support municipal programs that provide fast tracks to establishment on the job market (Regeringskanseliet, 2016). SFL serves as one such example, responding to political directives to incorporate immigrants into the job market by taking advantage of their skills and matching those skills to job shortages.

As discussed in chapter two and four, there are intricate processes occurring in the daily lives of SFL participants that in some ways adhere to the concept of integration yet reconstruct the meaning of the term through a lived-in context. Wenger’s concept of ‘situational learning’ explains how participants gain new identities through contextual interactions in a diverse classroom setting (1998: 12-3). These interactions lead to learning about Swedish society, culture, history and politics as those aspects are embedded in the improvisational conversations that take place between the students and the teachers. According to my informants (Barrie, Tony and Xin) in chapters three and five, fostering a sense of identity that feels accepted by the rest of society gives them a sense of social belonging. This ‘psycho-social’ component addresses emotional feeling of security and identity, which Ager and Strang (2008) argue is vital yet oftentimes overlooked in integrative processes.

Ambiguities of Integration

In chapter three I present Moutassam who is an immigrant with close ‘multi-site’ and ‘multi-modal’ (Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Phillimore, 2018) relations to Syria, Germany and Sweden. His everyday life is fragmented between activities and social life in Sweden and online communication with his friends and family in Germany and Syria. In a follow-up interview,
Moutassam tells me that he works delivering groceries to rich families and thinks it is fun to meet Swedes at work and at the library. He mentions spending a lot of his free time with his sons and newfound Swedish friends. At the same time, Moutassam checks his Facebook feed every morning looking for good news about Syria hoping to move back home. This fragments a two-way conception of integration, as close relationships rather occur in a fluid and transnational manner (ibid).

However, in chapter three I illustrate a two-sided process, where students are motivated to attain a professional truck driving certificate and teachers are motivated to teach their students. A consensus on providing immigrants with necessary economic means and social footholds to move further in life emerges through assembling their accounts. Informants also claim emotional aspects involved in integration that should not be overlooked, for example a sense of confidence, agency, adequacy, responsibility, normalcy and development. Gryzmal-Kazlowska (2017) offers concepts of ‘footholds’ and ‘social anchoring’ to refer to the immigrants’ sense of emotional stability as an important part of getting rooted in a new place.

Hence, by tracing and assembling accounts of integration from scholars and informants alike, a kind of ambiguity arises concerning the sides of integration. While there exists a kind of duality in integrative processes where immigrants aspire to be involved in various sectors in society and integrators provide avenues for their involvement, this relationship is fragmented by multi-modal and sited relationships and subjective perspectives. First, the mediatization of relationships supersede national borders to maintain close relationships in faraway countries. Second, immigrants’ subjective experiences of emotional footholds in society as we heard with Xin, vary with each individual’s experience.

**Vehicles of Integration**

In chapters four and five I assemble networks of integration as illustrated in the ‘driver-truck’ and in the statement “coming into society”. In chapter four I describe actor-networks where the ‘driver-truck’ movement is shaped by both the drivers’ experiences and by learning new maneuvers. In addition, their self confidence in those movements effect their performance, as this is a learning process riddled with uncertainty. Notably, this learning process connects two faraway places to each other in one node (the driver-truck) that encompasses both global and local actants, rejecting a dichotomous relationship between the two scopes (Latour, 2005: 172). In this instance their translation of driving skills keeps a myopic view on integration,
relying on the account and observed driving abilities of the immigrant driver. However, it should not be confused with ‘local,’ as immigrants’ processes of learning embraces both the skills and experiences learned from other countries they have driven in and in the local context at SFL.

Within the framework of integration, the above account claims that the immigrant truck drivers use their driving skills in Sweden as a vehicle to ‘come into society,’ where the distinguishing factor in the immigrant’s identity is their profession rather than their national or civic identity. As described in chapter four, immigrant drivers bare memories and knowledge of driving in other languages with other rules, at the same time they learn to embody new habits and movement. This bodily experience with the truck acts as a vehicle into subtle aspects of society, because one embodies the gestures involved in driving, rules of traffic and polite mannerisms of Swedish professional life. Accordingly, the actant’s account retraced and connected, emerges in a network of ‘driver-trucks’ that exist in the immigrants’ homeland as well as host country, and presumably all over the world. The interaction of the driver-truck allows for a professional entry into countries, and the process of integration at large. Ryan (2017) calls this specific spatial and relational process of entering society ‘differentiated embeddedness,’ meaning that uncovering the individual migrants’ work and life attachments exposes structural difference in their integrative processes.

In chapter five Hasse talks about a car mechanic’s ability to fix cars both in Baghdad and in Stockholm and his frustration with the Swedish system’s “slowness” in putting immigrants’ skills to work. This is also a complaint from migration scholars (Brubaker 2006, Glick-Schiller 2009, Wessendorf 2017), who claim that immigration policy takes an ‘ethno-national’ approach instead of focusing on other demographic aspects of immigration such as profession, language, political status or religion, or an intersection of multiple identity-markers. Both Hasse and migration scholars point out an oversimplification in the political depiction of integration, which sees an Iraqi coming to Sweden instead of a professional adapting to another country’s rules.

Reassembling & ‘Rethinking Integration’

Based on the premise that politics occurs throughout society rather than within an enclosed political sphere, actor-network theory locates actions and forces of social phenomena in contexts where global structures can be located in the actants that enforce them. For this
reason, I disentangle actants’ actions in the context of Swedish for professionals to expose integration forces at work.

In chapter two and three I expose ambiguous feelings among integrators and integratees that influence how applicants enter the Swedish for truck drivers program. On the one hand integrators show micro-aggressions and frustrations, suspicions, flexibility, and assistance while brokering the border of Swedish for truck drivers. On the other hand, the integratees show determination, anxiety, and self-sufficiency. Although these emotions are not static, the negotiations at the border of SFL reveal a brokering and navigational process specific to the individuals and their interactions in that time and place. Returning to the political and structural hindrances presented in the introduction chapter, immigrants coming into a new country faced with a mass of bureaucratic machinery are presumably intimidated and therefore seek strategies to work their way into and throughout the system. This process is written about in depth in Anna Tuckett’s (2015) ethnography on how immigrants adopt strategies to navigate bureaucracies. Tuckett concludes that through long term engagement with bureaucracies, immigrants and bureaucrats manipulate the system through informal practices relying on their ‘emotion, self-interest and social networks,’ as well as frustration and anxiety. Similar to Tuckett’s findings, I find in ethnographic chapter two that instilling a sense of legitimacy and matching self-interests proves an efficient strategy of entrance into Swedish for truck drivers and a branch of society.

Once legitimate members of SFL community, integrators and integratees reflect on the meaning of their work and study as explained in chapters three and five and produce their own variation of integration in the collective statement “coming into society”. According to Hasse, Tony, Jan, and Xin, “coming into society” means gaining employment, language, social connections and a sense of belonging and normalcy. This definition differs from although can be applied to the ‘Swedish integration policy for the 21st century,’ which states taking advantage of immigrants’ skills on the labor market, language education and inclusion as integration objectives (Regeringskansliet, 2002).

6.1 Political Implications

As discussed in the above section, this ethnographic study on Swedish for professionals has implications on the political understanding of integration in four main ways. First, that by understanding contextual variations of integration, a new understanding of what involved
processes and dimensions emerge. Locating integration at Swedish for truck drivers aligns the political focus on socio-economic adjustments to newcomers on the labor market because it provides Sweden with truck drivers. At the same time, the situated learning that takes place at Swedish for truck drivers introduces societal exchanges concerning other aspects of society, such as history, current events, language, personal backgrounds. These softer adjustments are embedded in a social context and occur through learning to make meaning in both the teachers’ and students’ lives (Wenger 1998, Lave & Wenger 1991).

Second, through closely retracing the paths of integration with ANT, a network of new forms and connections emerges and introduce ambiguities into the two-sided model of integration. Although there is an interaction taking place between newcomers to society and permanent members, there are dimensions of fluidity in relationships and emotional footholds that influence the process of integration (Urry 2000, Ryan 2017, Gryzmala-Kazlowska & Phillimore 2018). Specifically, I find that emotional attachments to people in society and social networks including online relationships as well as self-confidence and feeling a sense of normalcy as important aspects of integration. I suggest that further nuances within integration could be retraced and discovered using actor-network theory, given a broader research scope.

Third, there are other aspects of immigrant identity which can act as vehicles of integration. The current focus is that newcomers have political and national identities, meaning their immigrant status and their country of origin. Inquiring into the lifeworlds of the integrators and integratees at Swedish for truck drivers has exposed other parts of identity that can channel entrance into a new society, for example professional and educational backgrounds, language ability and social networks. A closer look into the lives of immigrants demonstrates that different individuals have varying degrees of the above demographics and, like with Swedish for professionals, there already exists skills that Sweden could take advantage of directly (Brubaker 2006, Glick-Schiller 2009, Wessendorf 2017).

Finally, I identify the phrase “coming into society” as a contextual statement to describe newcomers entering Sweden. The statement both aligns with and adds to current political understandings of integration, touching on the footholds immigrants should get in society (like language and job), while maintaining a subjective stance on the feeling of being a part of a larger structure. Although this phrase is my own extraction based on one case, I think local alternatives to the term integration offer clarification in political usage and meaning.
6.2 Recommendations for Further Research

While this thesis offers some insights on integration in situational and political contexts, it raises many questions which could not be addressed in the scope of my research. Some of which, I share here as recommendations for further research.

During my time in the field, other research opportunities and questions emerged which were left unexplored. These potential research questions include, how is integration practiced in other professional and educational programs? What happens to migrants who were rejected from the programs they applied for? What would retracing their lives and networks show? How do immigrants navigate municipal education and job sectors in Sweden? My informants suggest that immigrant students are affected by political debates and it would be interesting to follow up on how that affects the immigrants’ experience. Furthermore, similar inquiries should be investigated concerning how gender, age and legal status influence the immigrant experience.

Philosopher Giorgio Agamben claims that “terminology is the poetic moment of thought” (2009: 12). Agamben attempts to define Foucault’s ‘apparatus’ in order to better understand the idea and use of the word. Similarly, I suggest that further attempts to define the idea and use of ‘integration’ should be considered. While this thesis uses actor-network theory to study the phenomenon of integration in the context of SFL, I recognize that other approaches such as Foucault’s ‘apparatus’ (Agamben, 2009), could lead to further interpretations of the phenomenon integration. For example, by exploring the ‘rules’ informants often mentioned as a Foucauldian apparatus could offer further insights on this topic.

In general, more research needs to be done on the implementation and definition of integration, especially in countries like Sweden, which in the past five years have experienced substantial influxes in their population. While I approach this topic with ethnographic material and actor-network tools, I strongly recommend further research that tries other theoretical approaches to integrative processes. There remains a gap in the mid-level bureaucratic operations and protocols’ that focus on integration and establishment processes. Although laws and regulations connected to SFL and other SFX programs are discussed in this thesis, they operate in complex ways beyond the scope of this research. In addition, there remains a gap in

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50 In Reassembling the Social Latour explains how he is influenced by the works of Foucault and Bourdieu, which I then apply as plausible alternatives to approach the social phenomenon of integration.
unorganized everyday routes of integrating. Finally, the definition of integration in policy
documents and societal debates is neither unified nor specific. This vagueness leaves the
definition of the term up to the interpretation of integrators implementing the work.
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## Appendix

### 1. Table ‘Sammanfattande tabell Swedish for professionals - utbildningarnas intagningskrav, innehåll och nivå efter avslut’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stf-utbildning</th>
<th>Tid i Sverige</th>
<th>Utbildnings-innehåll</th>
<th>Ingångsavr krav</th>
<th>Ingångskrav engelskskurs</th>
<th>Syntesiskt innehåll</th>
<th>Stf-utbildning</th>
<th>Innehåll svenskaundervisning</th>
<th>Yrkesinriktat innehåll</th>
<th>APL</th>
<th>Högsta möjliga nivå efter avslut</th>
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<tr>
<td>SFB</td>
<td>Inga krav</td>
<td>Bräckort plus uppskattad god kungsgar</td>
<td>S5 c</td>
<td>Inga krav</td>
<td>Godkänd utbildning</td>
<td>S5 c – s3 a</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Praktik</td>
<td>Svagarnas yrkesutbildning och arbetstjänst</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFEJ</td>
<td>Max 3 år²</td>
<td>Högskoleutbildning inom ekonomi, juridik eller annan samhällsvetenskaplig utbildning</td>
<td>S6 c</td>
<td>Motsvarande engelska 6</td>
<td>Godkänd utbildning</td>
<td>S5 a – s4 a</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
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<td>Intervju och tidigare erfarenhet förekommer</td>
<td>S5 b – s5 a</td>
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<td>Studiebesök</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Examen i sekundära lärarträdskap</td>
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<td>Intervju och tidigare erfarenhet förekommer</td>
<td>S5 a – s5 a</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Praktik</td>
<td>Svagarnas yrkesutbildning och arbetstjänst</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFN</td>
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<td>S5 b</td>
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<td>S5 b – s5 a</td>
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<td>Ytterligen Sverige/Tyskland</td>
<td>Studiebesök</td>
<td>Svagarnas yrkesutbildning och arbetstjänst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 1 Table continued

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51 Länsstyrelsen, 2017
2.0 Interview questions during Validation process

Demographics:
Name?
Home municipality?
Civil Registration number?
Driving permit with you?
Drivers license?
SFI C/D grades or comparable?

Interview Questions:
1. How many years have you driven a truck? Do you have a truck driving license from your homeland?
2. What kinds of cargo did you carry most?
3. Have you driven heavy vehicles over 7.5 tons?
4. What brands and models have you driven? How many gears?
5. Experience of heavy tows/trailers?
6. Dangerous cargo (oil, gas, chemicals, explosives)?
7. Have you driven long distances, for example internationally for a few days?
8. How many years of school do you have? What level of schooling? Do you have a professional education?
9. Have you taken courses other than SFI in Sweden? For example, a professional course that an employer has required?
10. How long have you lived in Sweden? What kind of residence permit do you have? Are you a citizen?
11. Have you worked in Sweden, if so with what? Temporary or permanent employment?
12. Family? Economy if you start here?52

Notes for interviewer:
Result: _______ Driving test: ___________ Reserve: ___________ Declined: ___________
3.0 Map of Kungens Kurva, Huddinge County
3.1 Map of Greater Stockholm Region by Municipality
4.0 Swedish Immigration from 2000 -2018

4.1 Swedish Asylum-seekers from 2002 - 2018

53 Antal invandrare per år från år 2000

54 Asylsökande efter kön per år från år 2002