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Effects and challenges due to financial support from the government

Reconfiguring Swedish civil society organisations in the wake of migration: the case of IM Swedish Development Partner

The different visual identities of IM. (Source: IM's paper for its members; "Medmänsklighet")

Abstract

The current (2016) worldwide displacement is at the highest level ever recorded and the situation is likely to worsen. During year 2015, the Swedish Migration Agency registered over 160 000 asylum applications, a number that exceeds by far the amount of applications that Sweden received during the 1992 Balkan crises. The great amount of individuals arriving to Sweden implies a great pressure on the Swedish government, who believes that employment is a key feature when it comes to the establishment of newcomers. Actors in the Swedish civil society do also bear a significant role in the reception and establishment of newcomers, and the Swedish government decided in December 2015 that 200 million SEK would be distributed between various organisations in the Swedish civil society in order for these to facilitate their work with newcomers. The government did not set up any criteria on how and to which areas the funds should be aimed at, meaning that it is up to the actors themselves to decide. One of the organisations that received a share out of the financial support is IM Swedish Development Partner (IM), an organisation that arranges a variety of activities with connection to the establishment of newcomers. Against this background this thesis investigates how Swedish civil society organisations are reconfigured as a consequence of the increasing number of refugees and the government's decision to allocate the responsibility to establish and integrate newcomers.

The volunteers of IM are an incredible important component of integration activities as they are the ones that more or less execute the activities. There are rather low requirements to become a volunteer, meaning that IM is not forcing volunteers to adapt to any strict or demanding requirements: the way IM is operating is by letting volunteers take own decisions and thus steer the activities based upon their own will. In a sense, this implies that the way IM is working is through a somewhat loose and informal structure. IM wants at the same time to develop and strengthen the work with its volunteers: one of its aims, in relation to the endowment from the government, is to clarify the goals and objectives of the existing integration activities in order for the volunteers to have a better grasp about their mission. The organisation wants to furthermore present more clear and positioned definitions: it is thus an attempt to deepen the scope of IM, which can lead to a more formalised and standardised organisation.

The thesis concludes that the financial support from the Swedish government constitutes both certain positive aspects as well as challenges for IM. Becoming a more formalised organisation implies that IM's informal ways of working will become more controlled and coordinated, meaning that there is a chance that the organisation will lose 'its freedom'. This will in turn affect the volunteers who enjoy the current loose and informal structure of the integration activities: clearer and positioned definitions, more control and requirements can with other words create conflicts and disagreements between volunteers and IM as an organisation.

Keywords: *civil society in Sweden, IM Swedish Development Partner, integration, refugee influx 2015, volunteering*

Word count: 19 382

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1 Introduction

According to a report made by the UN refugee agency, UNHCR, there are approximately 60 million people fleeing persecution, wars and conflict, forcing them to leave their homes to seek refuge in another country. The report further shows that the current worldwide displacement is at the highest level ever recorded and suggests that the situation is likely to worsen, meaning that the number of people forced to flee will increase (UNHCR, 2015). The biggest group of asylum seekers are fleeing the civil war in Syria, however, the numerous conflicts in Africa and in the Middle East are also contributing to the increased number of refugees (UNHCR, 2015).

During 2015, the Swedish Migration Agency registered a staggering 162 877 asylum applications, a number that is almost the double amount of applications that Sweden received during the 1992 Balkan crises (Migrationsverket, 2016). The massive amount of people arriving to Sweden affected many Swedes: thousands of people became involved in funding aid-related projects, and there were furthermore a great amount of individuals who wanted to contribute in other ways (DN, 2016. Hela Hälsingland, 2016). In fact, a recent (2015) research conducted by Ersta Sköndahl University College shows that the civil commitment in Sweden is exceptionally high: about 53 % of the Swedish population are in some way participating in non-pecuniary activities (von Essen et al, 2015: 17. My News Desk, 2016).

Volunteering includes a wide range of activities, such as coaching a smaller football team, serve as a functionary at events, or even sharing walks with the elderly (Ideellt Arbete, 2016). Other volunteer-related activities include being affiliated with organisations that have a focus on development, integration, and humanitarian work: these organisations often offer activities in relationship to newcomers, such as language cafés, bicycle courses, or even swimming lessons. Many of these activities are almost exclusively volunteer-driven, meaning that the engagement and participation from members of the civil society is both crucial and fundamental (IM, 2016. Röda Korset, 2016).

The amount of individuals seeking refuge in Sweden have, however, decreased substantially since the beginning of 2016 which is mainly due to the temporary border controls erected

between Denmark and Sweden (Øresund Direkt, 2016. Migrationsverket, 2016). Recent (January 2016) statistics show that about 60 000 of the almost 163 000 applications have been determined, and that 32 631 of these have granted Swedish citizenships (Migrationsverket, 2016). The Swedish government believes that employment is the best key for the establishment of newcomers in Sweden, as a job can provide opportunities for language development, expanded network, and knowledge of the Swedish society. The government does further conclude that actors in the Swedish civil society bear a significant role when it comes to the establishment of newcomers, meaning that non-governmental organisations (NGOs) or civil-society organisations (CSOs) such as the Red Cross, Amnesty and IM Swedish Development Partner, can contribute to facilitate the process (Regeringen, 2015). The Swedish government thus decided in December 2015 that 200 million SEK would be distributed between various organisations in the Swedish civil society in order for these to facilitate their work with the establishment of newcomers (Regeringen, 2015).

1.1 Purpose and research question

The funding from the Swedish government to the Swedish civil society sparked an interest that is driving my curiosity forward: not only does the funding create an interesting relationship between state and the civil society, but can at the same time raise certain intricate questions. Does this mean that the Swedish state is depriving its obligations and by doing so, shifting certain responsibilities for newcomers to the Swedish civil society? Is this an example of how the state is no longer the 'main player' when it comes to the establishment of newcomers? Or does this simply mean that the Swedish state is overwhelmed due to the amount of asylum-seekers, and is in need of support from the civil society? If so, what does this mean for the volunteers and the organisations? No matter how one chooses to look at it, the relationship between the Swedish state and its civil society is now undergoing some significant changes that might determine the characteristics of the relationship in the future.

The Swedish state is no stranger when it comes to development aid and support to civil societies in developing countries[1], and there is, in general, a significant amount of research surrounding this interesting relationship, that is, the one between the 'North' and the 'South'. Surprisingly enough, however, research about funding between the governments in the 'North' and their civil society seems to be fairly narrow: most of the articles that I have come across deals with funds that are specifically directed towards domestic CSOs that work with development related activities in developing countries. The aim for this thesis is thus to examine the relationship between the Swedish state and the organisations within the Swedish civil society that work with refugee related activities. For this purpose IM Swedish Development Partner is selected as a relevant case to shed light on. IM[2] is an organisation that both works with overseas development programs with partner organisations, as well as integration related activities within Sweden. The choice of IM as a case for this study is due to a number of different reasons: first and foremost, it is an organisation that I have personal connections to as I spent one semester at the head office as an intern. The internship gave me a rather clear picture of the difficulties, issues, advantages, and 'successes' that the organisation is facing in relationship to the activities directed to newcomers. This thesis is therefore an opportunity for me to 'dig deeper' into the organisation and raise more intricate questions and issues. Secondly, IM is one of the many organisations that received a share out of the 200 million SEK that the Swedish government distributed between the various CSOs, where the funds are directed towards activities in relation to newcomers. What triggered my interest here is the fact that this is the first time IM has received this type of extensive amount of financial support from the Swedish government. Thirdly, the organisation offers interesting activities that are directed towards newcomers, such as language cafés, however, there seems to be little research about this type of activity.

The aims for the funds, according to the Swedish government, is to facilitate "the establishment of newcomers" and to "improve the capacity of the reception of refugees" (Regeringen, 2016), but what does this really mean? What is the government referring to with the term 'establishment' – is this a form of integration? If so, are the newcomers supposed to be assimilated? Or does 'establishment' refer to be *included* in the Swedish society, by learning the

[1] In fact, Sweden's total development aid budget for 2016 is 43 billion SEK (Sida, 2016)

[2] The acronym IM will be used throughout the paper, rather than IM Swedish Development Partner

language, values, behaviours and cultural patterns? It seems that 'establishment' as a term is open for interpretation and can cause some confusion. Further questions that are raised due to the above-mentioned statements surround the role of IM: how can IM contribute to the 'reception of refugees' and the 'establishment of newcomers' – what type of activities does the organisation offer to facilitate this process? Is it a question of offering language-related activities, such as language cafés, or is it simply about acting as a human support?
The research question is therefore:

In what ways has the role of IM changed due to the refugee influx to Sweden in 2015, and what challenges can accompany these changes?

1.2 Positioning and methodology

This sub-chapter will present and discuss the various methods that have been used during the thesis process. I conducted an internship at the main office of IM during the autumn of 2015 where I participated in the daily work of the organisation. The experiences and observations that I gained during the internship period have contributed to the ethnographic material for this thesis. Ethnography is a type of research that is a describing study of a particular human society, group, or culture from the insider's perspective – it tries to understand the insider's view through long-term fieldwork and participation of the everyday lives of the group that is studied. The ethnographer usually begins its research with a problem, a theory or model, specific data collection techniques (e.g. participant observation an informal interviewing) and a research design before asking the first question in the field. The ethnographer is not just evaluating the "field" within an ethnographic study, but also her or his role in what is going on and can thus become a "vulnerable observer" (Fetterman, 2005: 1).

An important part of ethnographic method is fieldwork where the ethnographer takes part in and explores the routines and the daily lives of people. There are certain social scientists that claim that understanding the *insider's* view is a precondition of research. However, obtaining something of the understating of an insider is only the first step for some: researchers expect that they will, in time, become capable of acting and thinking within the perspectives of two rather

different groups, the one which they were brought up in and the one that they are studying. According to Wax (1971), the researchers main task is, in any case, to realise what they have learned and experienced and to communicate this in terms that will shed light on significant areas of social sciences. This process is what Powdermaker (1966) refers to as "stepping in and out of society" (Wax, 1971: 3).

IM as an organisation itself is rather transparent, in a sense that anyone interested can easily access information about the different activities, goals, objectives, and even members of staff. With that said, there are still data in form of e.g. documents and guidelines that are supposed to be used internally, however, due to the character of the thesis, I have been granted access to certain internal information of the organisation. I am aware that writing a thesis about an organisation where I have spent a longer period of time has both advantages and disadvantages. Being a part of IM as an intern has imposed certain challenges for myself: when I first started to write this thesis I often referred to the activities and the work of IM in terms of 'our activities' and 'our work', rather than 'the activities of the organisation' or just 'the work of IM'. It has occasionally been rather difficult for me to critically assess my role in this thesis, but there is initially a difference between my role as a researcher and as an intern: it has therefore been important for me to create a distance from my former role as an intern.

With that said, there are still certain advantages of having been an intern and having a good relationship with IM: I can easily access internal information from the organisation as well as having discussions and interviews with the staff and volunteers for the sake of this thesis. Another advantage is that I have prior to this thesis gathered knowledge about the organisation and its activities, and I have furthermore written a report during my internship period dealing with the integration efforts of the organisation – I have, with other words, an essential and positioned understanding about IM. This, of course, can create certain disadvantages; some of these could be the fact that I already have preconceptions and a positioned understanding regarding the work of IM, and the fact that I am not just evaluating the "field" but also my own role, meaning that my role could be what Fetterman (2005) calls a "vulnerable observer". For me this meant that the preconceptions and the taken-for granted assumptions that I had when I

started writing this thesis became challenged and questioned the further and deeper the research became.

1.2.1 Interviews and participant observation

I have during this thesis process, as well as during my internship at IM, had the opportunity to have conversations with members of staff in order to receive a clear picture of the organisation, the structure and function of the integration activities, and the certain issues that can arise. Apart from having conversations with the staff of IM, I have also had the chance to speak to a couple of volunteers with certain responsibilities (more about what this entails will be discussed later on). These conversations, or interviews, have mostly been so-called 'unstructured' or 'informal' interviews, which means that the researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the subjects' perspective, since those who are interviewed can freely talk about what they want (May, 2001: 151-152).

My time as an intern at IM and the fact that I am writing about the organisation in this thesis means that a large amount of the methodology is based upon my own observations and knowledge that I have gained during these processes. This type of method is usually called 'participant observation'. The positive aspects about this method is that it assumes that scientists do not have any ready-made ideas about what is important, which means that one is drawn into the everyday life with its various activities so as to gain a better understanding of the people to be studied. Participant observation helps the researcher to get a feel for how things are prioritised and organised and how individuals interrelate, and can at the same time provide researchers with information such as who interacts with whom, how participants communicate with each other, and how much time is spent on different activities. Participant observation can furthermore be used as a way to increase the validity of a study since observations could help the researcher to have a better understanding of the phenomenon and context that is being studied. Validity is in turn stronger when observation is paired together with additional strategies such as interviewing or document analysis (Kawulich, 2005: 8- 11).

At a first glance, this method seems fairly easy: the researcher has to make sense of the activities that he or she takes part in and observes. However, according to May (2001), this type of method

could indeed be one of the most personally demanding types of methods for the researcher. The reason for this could be that the researcher has to spend a large amount of time in an environment that is not necessarily familiar, or has to establish and maintain relations with individuals that the researcher has very little in common with. On the other hand, this type of method can give a fascinating insight on peoples' social life, and can contribute and increase the understanding of different cultures, which in turn can eliminate certain stereotypes that often occurs between groups that live different lives (May, 2001: 186). Essentially, the interviews included in this thesis make up one part of the data collection while participant observation is a different way of obtaining an understanding.

1.3 Material and disposition

In my quest for answers and clarity, I have used a wide variety of material for this thesis: academic articles by authors such as Castles & Miller (2009); Diamond (1997); Vasta (2009), and Billing (2011). Additionally, statements from the Swedish government and Migration Board, informal interviews, official and internal documents of IM, reports from the UNV, and participation observations have been analysed and used. What initially sparked my interest for this research, and what has since driven my curiosity forward was the announcement from the Swedish government that 200 million SEK would be distributed to actors in the Swedish civil society: one could say that the announcement has laid the foundation for this thesis.

What will follow after this introduction is a short presentation regarding certain general characteristics of the civil society: themes such as what the civil society is and is not, and what functions it serves will be touched upon. Chapter two will then be followed by an overall presentation and evaluation regarding the work of IM; more specifically, its integration activities, the financial support from the government, and the role of volunteers will be analysed and discussed. Chapter four will discuss IM and the potential challenges that lie ahead for the organisation, while the purpose of chapter five is to present a summary and conclusion of this thesis.

2 The civil society – what is it and what is it not?

The civil society as a concept is not surprisingly rather complex: it reflects the interests as well as the tensions and/or conflicts that surround a society, and looks entirely different from country to country as it depends on the cultural, social, and political context of a specific country. Billing (2011) suggests that at the most general level, the civil society refers to the people, relationships, activities, and formal and informal groups that are *not* considered to be part of the governmental process (ibid, 2011: 4). Banulescu-Bogan (2011) reinforces the statement of Billing and explains that there is in fact no universal or legal definition of what the civil society entails, however, most working definitions build on the premises that the civil society is the structure of society outside public administration and government. Banulescu-Bogan also suggests that when speaking about the civil society in a migration context, the term refers to the diverse range of non-state actors that may influence the informal and formal migration related processes, rules, and practices (ibid, 2011: 2). Organisations within the civil society, such as IM, have thus an opportunity to affect the Swedish state in various ways when it comes to migration related issues. The concept does furthermore have several 'layers' when it comes to collective organisation: one individual can belong to several different groups at the same time (such as ethnic or religiously defined groups) and can simultaneously belong to other types of organisations, such as unions, cooperatives, or interest groups (Billing, 2011: 4).

According to the works of Larry Diamond (1997), one of the most cited sources in academic literature, the civil society is…

"…the realm of organized social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. It is distinct from "society" in general in that it involves citizens acting collectively in a public sphere to express their interests, passions, preferences, and ideas, to exchange information, to achieve collective goals, to make demands on the state, to improve the structure and functioning of the state, and to hold state officials accountable. Civil society is an intermediary phenomenon, standing between the private sphere and the state" (Diamond, 1997: 6).

The civil society is, in addition, a place that encloses what Diamond calls "the ideological marketplace": a place where ideas and information flow, including those that evaluate and aim a critical eye on the state. The civil society is thus not synonyms with "society", nor is it everything that is *not* the state. One of the most common misunderstandings when it comes to

conceptualize the term is, according to Diamond, to simply treat the civil society as "organisations that are independent of the state" (ibid, 1997: 8).

2.1 The roles and functions of the civil society

According to Billing (2011), the civil society plays different roles and has various functions in a society. The functions are usually connected to concepts such as social capital, democracy, political accountability, citizenship, and collective action. By analysing the potential role of the civil society, connected to the five above-mentioned concepts, Billing maps out, with the help of Pratt & Myrhman (2009), the following;

- **The civil society can produce reciprocity, networks and social trust**

Sport clubs, parent-teachers associations, allotment associations, and religious communities are all part of the civic community, and are more specifically known as 'horizontal organisations'. These organisations all participate to build up social capital, which in turn creates an environment for transactions to take place, without the fear of being unrecognized. This can be connected to the workings of the 'market', meaning that the level of social trust is built up between employers and employees, and between buyers and sellers. It is important to mention that even where formal unions are absent clubs, societies, associations, and churches have the 'means' to bring together different partners socially, and by doing so, strengthen or even reinforce trust between individuals (Billing, 2011: 6).

- **The civil society could potentially generate the social bias for democracy**

Billing states that the culture of democracy can be analysed based on the structure of a small village or sports association, but also through collective activity as well as national processes, such as general elections. The reason for this is that experiences of e.g. negotiating between opinions, processes, and interests at the local level can be derived to the national level. According to Billing, this process happens as normal part of the civil society and is thus not an artificial process that is externally created. Civil participation can therefore extend democracy to the grassroots, and can furthermore represent and protect the various, often minority, interests that are in relation to the major political system. By doing so, it can create norms, systems,

networks, behaviours and so on (ibid, 2011: 5-6).

- **With the help of the civil society, political accountability can be promoted beyond political parties**

Special interest groups that monitor diverse causes at the local level, have an important effect on the restricted, elite control of the polity. Political accountability can thus be learnt by, and build up by, the great amount of relationships and experiences within the civil society; such as the small scale acceptance that each citizen has the right to freedom of speech, or that political leaders are not to act self-sufficient without responsibility to their fellow citizens (ibid, 2011: 6).

- **The civil society could create and promote 'alternatives' through collective action**

Different and new ideas, socio-economic solutions, and activities have a tendency to arise through the civil society, and this happens at the communal level and all the way through to the international levels of the civil society. However, according to Billing, it should be recognised that this could present certain challenges to what some call the 'uncivil society' (also known as liberal democracy). The 'uncivil society' is after all the area where ideas, new as well as established, compete with each other, and some of these will be irreconcilable meaning that negotiation will be required within and across the state, market and civil society (ibid, 2011: 6).

- **The civil society can support the concept of 'citizenship' as well as the rights of citizens**

The contract between the state and its citizens has in recent years been, according to Billing, 're-packaged' for development through various rights based approaches. By representing the multiple and overlapping interests of the citizens, the civil society engages the state both at a theoretical (as there is no written contract) and at a practical level. The practical level is in form of civil society lobbies for services, specific interests, legal and other protections from the state, which in turn means that the citizens as well as the civil society accepts the legitimacy of the state. Billing raises an example to highlight this: the power is often held by violence in dictatorships, which sometimes can be characterized as minority based authoritarian regimes, meaning that the contract breaks down and the state is considered illegitimate. This in turn leads to the inability for all the citizens to access the state, which can therefore easily lead a state to losing its legitimacy and quickly becoming fragile or vulnerable (ibid, 2011: 6).

The role of IM as an actor in the Swedish civil society could imply the following: the activities of IM, such as language cafés, can establish an arena where different partners meet socially, which can then reinforce or strengthen the trust between individuals. IM has furthermore the possibility to represent minority interests: one of IM's aims is to increase people's ability to be included in the Swedish society while combating existing excluding structures, and the organisation wants to do this by highlighting the existence of, and strengthening the voice of individuals who are in some way marginalized (IM Strategic platform 2011-2020; 7-8). If the interest is to be included into the Swedish society, then IM has an opportunity to facilitate this process: IM can thus represent and protect minority interests.

2.2 Reasons for governments to fund CSOs

There have been significant changes of the funding of national CSOs by governments over the past 40 years. The reason for this is influenced by a large number of different factors such as changes in the international aid system, as well as official aid trends: this could be a political shift on the support for the civil society. Other reasons involve trends in the funding sources of CSOs and changes in the role of donor governments in overseas development. These changes usually happen over time, meaning that there is moreover significant differences in the ways in which various countries fund their domestic CSOs, and in which CSOs between and within countries are funded (Pratt et al, 2006: 7).

There are, of course, a variety of reasons for why governments fund national CSOs and these vary from country to country, however, some common reasons can be traceable. Most of these reasons are directed towards the relationship between states in the North and the South, a relationship that is highly interesting but not the topic of this thesis. Rather than listing all the reasons, the following is a small selection that can be applied to the topic of this thesis. Some of the reasons include:

- To provide support to CSOs that are publicly popular;
- To channel resources directly to people in need through the civil society;
- To fund volunteers (ibid, 2006: 8)

The development aid budget in Sweden is distributed through the government agency Sida, an agency that is working on behalf of the Swedish government. Swedish people through taxes fund the development aid, and it is the government that decides how much money Sida receives. There are however settlements on the development assistance framework due to the increased costs for the reception of refugees within Sweden (Sida, 2016).

2.3 Swedish CSOs in general

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, Swedish CSOs consist of a wide range of associations that share the common interest of solidarity work and development issues even if they differ in ideological views. Some organisations have global issues as their main focus (e.g. environmental issues), while other organisations work in various ways to influence normative issues such as human rights issues. Smaller organisations have a tendency to be based on a certain project or area, while larger ones combine development work overseas and in domestic contexts (Onsander, 2007: 26).

The direction and size of these organisations vary a lot: from small local organisations to large global aid organisations, sponsor associations, collecting groups, sport associations, and so on. The organisations often work according to different ideological perspectives: they can have religious value basis such as the Islamic Relief organisation or the Christian organisation Erikshjälpen, or they can be political organisations such as the youth organisations that are affiliated with the various Swedish political parties, like the Social Democratic Youth. (ibid, 2007: 26).

3 IM Swedish development partner

Fair Trade, development work overseas, and integration efforts and engagement in Sweden: these are the main areas that IM is working with today. However, with each area lies a whole variety of other aspects: working with Fair Trade involves e.g. selling of goods on the internet and in shops all around Sweden, while the development related work overseas includes having cooperation with local partner organisations. With other words, IM is involved in an assortment of different projects and efforts, and due to its extensive area of work it can sometimes be rather hard to for the public to comprehend the scope of the organisation.

IM is moreover constantly undergoing changes: in 2015, the organisation launched a new logo that symbolizes some of these changes, where the goal is to have a common 'brand' so that the public understands the work of IM. Some of these changes include eliminating that the organisation is built upon Christian values, in order to make the organisation more secular. The financial support from the government also entails that certain changes are going to take place, and these will be discussed more thoroughly in this segment of this thesis. This chapter will mainly discuss the domestic efforts of the organisation, as the purpose of this thesis is to assess the changes and challenges among CSOs that work with refugee-related issues in Sweden.

3.1 A quick introduction

IM is a Swedish development- and aid-organisation with a purpose to fight poverty and exclusion and at the same time make these issues visible. Britta Holmström founded the organisation in 1938, as a reaction to Nazism and as a protection of the dignity of human beings. The Swedish words "*individuell människohjälp*" hides behinds the acronym that is 'IM', and these words roughly translates to "*individual human-help*[3]". The organisation is called "*IM – Swedish Development Partner*" in English (IM Individuell Människohjälp, undated). The head office is located in Lund and IM has moreover four local offices that are located in Malmö, Göteborg, Stockholm and Vrigstad. A new addition to the local offices has been added since 2016, and this office is located in the northern part of Sweden in a city called Umeå. The head office in Lund, is divided into five different departments: the International Department, the

[3] Author's translation.

Swedish Department, the Communication Department, the Fundraising Department, and the Economic & Administrative Department. Apart from these five departments, IM also has a donor- and member service as well as staff that work with Fair Trade related efforts, such as ordering products from partner organisations overseas and maintaining and updating the website (IM Individuell Människohjälp, 2016). IM encourages individuals that are associated with IM in one-way or another (that is, being a volunteer or a private donor), to become a member of the organisation. By being a member, one has e.g. the right to vote in the annual Board Meetings and by doing so, have an opportunity to influence the course of action that the organisation will take in the future (IM, 2016).

IM is thus active in 12 countries, which are Sweden, Romania, Moldova, Guatemala, El Salvador, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Palestine, Lebanon, Jordan, India and Nepal. The work of IM depends on the country – in Sweden, the work focuses mainly on different types of integration activities. These activities are usually connected to creating places where individuals can meet, such as cafés where newcomers can practice their Swedish skills while meeting native Swedes. The basic idea is to bridge cultural and linguistic barriers while creating various platforms for dialogue and interaction (IM Individuell Människohjälp, 2016).

3.1.1 Strategic platform 2011-2020

The so-called "IM Strategic platform 2011-2020" was adopted by the Board of IM on the 3rd of November 2010, and is supposed to be one of the main steering documents of the organisation. The document is quite modest however: only consisting of 13 pages and mostly focusing on the development work 'abroad[4]' with partner organisations, as well as the various characteristics of the organisation – it is, however, a well-written summary of the different efforts, aims, and areas of focus of IM. The document is furthermore written in English and is accessible on the webpage of IM for anyone who is interested in reading it.

The overall aim for the document is to make the organisation more focused, to enhance the ability to use the resources more effectively, to strengthen the brand of the organisation, and to

[4] This is usually how the staff of IM refers to the work outside of Sweden.

report on the results. It is also within this document where one can find the overall objectives of IM and more specifically the aims of work in Sweden (IM Strategic platform 2011-2020; 1). The document lists six different areas of work that the organisation aims to achieve within ten years (or at least, hopes to), and the last two of these areas are the once most relative for this thesis as they are dealing with IM's work in Sweden. The strategic platform states the following:

"We (IM) promote the development of a strong and democratic civil society, to empower marginalised individuals to participate in and influence their society
Abroad IM partners with civil society organisations in their roles to represent defend and promote the interests of marginalised individuals. Civil society organisations can facilitate empowerment by raising awareness of the rights of individuals and strengthening their capacity to claim these rights. This cooperation includes organisational and capacity development support to partner organisations, but also support to networks and linkages at different levels in society. In Sweden, IM plays an important role in civil society by mobilising volunteers and strengthening their capacity to contribute.

We (IM) promote inclusion into Swedish society of groups excluded on ethnic grounds, to empower them to take an active role in society
IM enables women, men, girls and boys to empower themselves in order to have access to various sectors of society. By bridging linguistic and cultural barriers and creating platforms for interaction and models for psychosocial support, IM increases opportunities for democratic participation for otherwise excluded individuals or groups. Motivating and involving IM's members and volunteers in this work is indispensable since they play an essential part in promoting inclusion and can strengthen trust and unity between people thereby fighting racism and xenophobia" (IM Strategic platform 2011-2020; 7-8).

The work of IM in Sweden aims to increase peoples' ability to be included in the Swedish society while combating existing excluding structures, and the organisation wants to do this by highlighting the existence of, and strengthening the voice of individuals who are in some way marginalized. IM in Sweden focuses on integration/inclusion and involvement/participation, and the work is about creating interaction between individuals.

3.2 Integration activities and efforts

IM is spread all around Sweden, from the very south to the north, meaning that there are integration activities and effort in various locations: these look slightly different depending on the city but share a common foundation. The most common and spread-out one is *language cafés*, however, this activity can also go under the names of 'everyday Swedish' or 'Speak Swedish Café'. Followed close by is the so-called '*homework help*' activity, which is exactly what it sounds like: it is directed towards adolescents and children, who cannot receive help with completing their homework at home. Other activities include '*Move It'*, an activity that is present

in the larger cities with IM officials due to its time-consuming nature: the activity is directed towards newly arrived adolescents under 18 years old, with the purpose for them to get to know their city and to introduce the many associations in the Swedish civil society. The adolescents meet up with a volunteer who then takes them to an association that will usually offer some kind of sports activity, such as crossfit, volleyball or ice-skating (Hajabacs, 2015; 16-19. IM, 2016). Other than the activities mentioned earlier, IM does also arrange an activity aimed specifically towards children; BIV/BIS[5] is an activity for children either waiting for asylum (BIV) or children that have newly received residence permit (BIS). The purpose with the activity is for children to meet other children with similar experiences, and to express themselves in various different ways (Slutrapport för BIV/BIS, 2013).

3.3 Funds from the government

Since the Swedish government consider that CSOs carry such an important role for the establishment of newcomers, it was decided in December 2015, that 200 million SEK would be distributed between the various organisations in the Swedish civil society in order for these to achieve their goals and strengthen their capabilities. IM received 6 million SEK with the purpose to enhance the work with newcomers arriving to Sweden, and to cooperate and coordinate with other organisations in the Swedish civil society. The head of the Swedish Department and the general secretary decided in January 2016 that the endowment from the government should be mainly used for three different areas:

- Reach out to even more participants and volunteers by establishing more activities in cities and villages where IM is not present. The reason for this is to become more visible in further parts of Sweden where there is a need for activities for newcomers
- Make the existing work of the organisation more effective, in order to influence and to be more visible
- Establish new cooperation with other organisations (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016)

[5] BIV/BIS stands for ”Barn i Väntan/Barn i Start”, which means ’Children Awaiting/Children in Start’ in Swedish

IM has to give an economic presentation of the planned and implemented decisions to the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society[6] in April 2016, and has to furthermore present a final economic submission as well as a presentation of the achieved results, and how these are in relation to the purpose and objectives at the end of the year. This means that the government is not setting any criteria on *how* and to which areas the funds should be aimed at.
So how is then IM planning to implement the above-mentioned objectives and purposes? According to an internal IM document, the following can be said:

Goal 1: New volunteers and participants

The aim of the first 'goal' is to grow as an organisation, meaning that IM wishes to expand, not only the amount of volunteers and participants, but also its presence in cities where the organisation have not yet been fully established. A way to do this will be by broadening the activities of IM in cities where the organisation have local IM offices. In practise, this means that there will be a reinforcement of staff where their main tasks will be to offer support and training for volunteers: this is in order to eventually start up volunteer-driven groups in new cities in Sweden (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016).

Goal 2: More effective work, visibility and influence

This goal is the most relevant for this thesis, as it deals with the strengthening and the development of existing models of integration. According to the document, the so-called BIV/BIS activity will be developed the most: both when it comes to clarify the aims and purposes to the volunteers, that is the 'rhetoric' surrounding the activity, but also to clarify the 'mission' of the activity. Other than to expand the development of the BIV/BIS model, the document states that parts of the fund will be directed towards developing language cafés as a model that can be driven by volunteers in several cities. This model is the most common one of all of IM integration activities, however, the model needs to be presented in a more simple way and clarified in order to be completely volunteer-driven. IM wants, in addition to the above-mentioned aims, to develop and strengthen the work with the volunteers of the organisation (mostly help them with training and to facilitate their work), and have a clearer position when it

[6] In Swedish: myndigheten för ungdoms-och civilsamhällesfrågor (MUCF)

comes to communicating the values of the organisation (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016).

Goal 3: Establish new cooperation with other organisations

As the title suggests, this goal deals with the cooperation with organisations with similar aims as IM. The document states that IM would want to develop new models for integration together with other organisations; models that can either be completed by the end of the year, or that can later on be financed with other funds (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016).

3.4 IM and its volunteers

It is very clear that IM is highly dependent on the encouragement and involvement from the many volunteers that are affiliated to the organisation, which in turn is not very surprising; IM, as many other organisations within Sweden, are the ones that constitute the country's rich civil society. One of the keywords of Diamond's (1997) definition of the civil society is after all "voluntary" participation.

So exactly *how* dependent is IM of its volunteers? The website of IM suggests that there are around 2000 active volunteers within the organisation (IM, 2016). The website further states that "*IM believes in strong civil society, and does therefore encourage voluntary involvement* (in Sweden)" and "*Everyone who comes to Sweden should feel included and welcomed. This is our vision. As a volunteer, you can participate in IM's work on integration"* (IM, 2016).

Both the Strategic Platform 2011-2020, as well as the internal document discussing how the funds will be distributed, raises the importance of volunteers. One of the objectives of the internal document is to expand the amount of volunteers (and participants, for that matter) in order to create more volunteer-driven activities in new cities (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016). The 'Platform', on the other hand, states that volunteers are "*indispensable since they play an essential part in promoting*

inclusion and can strengthen trust and unity between people thereby fighting racism and xenophobia".

Internally, the amount of volunteers seems to be the main priority, which in turn is not too surprising, since all of the integration activities are driven by volunteers - this basically means that the integration activities would not be possible without the volunteers. Both the 'Platform' and the website seem to refer to the *value* of volunteers, referring to them as "essential" and how they can contribute "in IM's work of integration". I assumed that there would be a distinction between IM as an organisation and the volunteers since the way I interpret the situation of the integration activities is that IM is organising the activities while the volunteers are the ones that execute them. However, during one of the informal interviews that I conducted with certain staff of IM, I found out that the personnel do not differentiate between IM as an organisation and the volunteers: the staff views the volunteers as a part of IM.

3.4.1 Expectations and requirements – IM volunteer policy

Now that we have established that there is a distinction between how the staff, myself, and the public might interpret the role of volunteers, let us shift the focus back to the volunteers themselves: can anyone participate in integration activities, and if the answer is yes, are there any expectations or requirements? How does one even become a volunteer?

I started off by asking certain members of staff at IM what they expect from volunteers, what kind of obligations they have, but also their (the staff of IM, that is) role in the activities. First of all, when it comes to participate in the integration activities, there are very low thresholds, meaning that anyone who is interested can join. I asked Hanna and Sophia, two employees who works in one of the sub departments of IM's Swedish Department, why this is so:

"We don't want to be like the Red Cross, that is, demanding volunteers to know and do 'this and that'. The most important requirement is the *encouragement*. We want to make it easy for individuals to join the activities. Having too many templates loses the freedom of the organisation. It is supposed to be a free organisation" (Ekblad, 2016).

In other words, no experience or requirement is needed for one to join any kind of integration activity, except in cases when the activity is directed towards children – then an excerpt from the criminal record is needed.

So how does one register to become a volunteer? The most common way is to fill out a form on the website of IM: name, phone number, email-address, and the city that one lives in or the one that is close to where one lives. Once this form is filled out, the staff of IM receives it and matches the potential volunteer with either other members of staff in the local branches or with a contact-person – it really depends on the city that the potential volunteer has registered within. Other ways to join can be through contacts: someone's friends, family, or work-colleagues could be engaged in the activities and in turn encourage others to participate as well.

How the introduction looks for volunteers depends once again on the city itself and how the individuals actively have decided to structure it: the members of staff in Göteborg (the second largest city of Sweden, and one of the cities that has a local IM branch) arranges for example a common introduction for everyone that has registered to become a volunteer in the area close to or in Göteborg. This introduction basically consists of the staff informing the potential volunteers about the various integration activities available, such as language cafés; visits to refugee camps or homework help. The potential volunteers are then asked if they are still interested, and if they are, they are asked to fill out their email address and the activity they are interested in, in order for the staff to match them with the contact-person of the asked activity. In other cities, such as Malmö or Stockholm, the potential volunteers are given an 'introduction-package' consisting of for example general information about IM and the activities available. The recruitment and introduction of volunteers to participate in the integration activities of IM differs from city to city, and it is furthermore hard to find one generalised form that would suite everyone. The different local branches work in different ways, meaning that the members of staff have different roles depending on the city: some member of staff work more actively with volunteers and activities, while others focus on being supportive and encouraging towards the volunteers.

During the informal interview I made with Hanna and Sophia, I asked them if they wish to have a more consistent way of recruiting and introducing volunteers to IM, the answer was 'yes' but with a hesitation:

"That would be something to strive for, but that would be hard to obtain. Everyone works in different ways and has done so for some time, so the question is if it is doable" (Ekblad, 2016).

Even if the requirements are fairly uncritical when it comes to participation in the activities of IM, there is a so-called "IM volunteer policy" document that the volunteers receive when they join: this document will, according to the member of staff, undergo some slight changes, but the main content will remain the same. The document is divided into two parts: what the volunteer can expect from IM, and what IM expects from the volunteer. These will then be discussed later on in this chapter meaning that the following segment will shortly present the main contents of the policy:

What a volunteer can expect from IM

- Appropriate introduction to implement agreed volunteer work: the document mentions that IM offers a variety of different courses on various themes (e.g. integration work or Fair Trade), however, it does not mention that these are *not* compulsory
- Support from the volunteer coordinators, directly or indirectly: this means that the volunteer coordinators (the staff of IM) offer supportive talks to the volunteers about their contribution, and also counselling if needed
- That the experience and points of view of the volunteer will be taken into consideration when the activities are being developed and executed: this means that both the staff and the volunteers themselves can initiate volunteer-activities
- That the relationship between the volunteers and member of staff is marked by a mutual respect and understanding that the ones involved have different roles, missions and conditions (IM Volunteer policy, 2016)

What IM can expect from a volunteer

- That the volunteer shares the values of IM;
- That the volunteer will be an appropriate representative of IM;
- That the volunteer will feel responsibility of IM's mission;
- If a volunteer is neglecting its mission, the volunteer coordinator has the right to part the volunteer from the task (IM Volunteer policy, 2016)

There are in others word *some* requirements to participate in integration related activities, but these are quite loose and open for interpretation. The 'values of IM' can be found in the first paragraph of the organisation chart, which states that the…

"*... purpose of IM is to fight poverty and exclusion, and at the same time make these issues visible. IM is engaged in international development cooperation and humanitarian aid, and social work in Sweden. IM has a Christian origin, and claims all people's equal rights. IM is working with and for people, regardless of ethnicity, nationality, gender, religious and political beliefs"* (IM Organisation Chart, 2016).

The values of IM are rather easy to comprehend: everyone has equal rights, and IM is working for and with individuals regardless of e.g. political beliefs. This statement seems rather contradictory however, since there are political parties in the Swedish society that have more or less xenophobic values – does this mean that IM is supporting those that are affiliated to that type of political parties? Probably not, as one of the main points in the 'Platform' is to "fight racism and xenophobia". Another interesting observation is the fact that nowhere, at least publicly, does IM communicates out how *they* view the term 'integration', which is rather problematic as there are many different perceptions and interpretations connected to the term. This also means that some volunteers could interpret integration in a way that is conflicting with the view of IM: some may understand integration as a mutual exchange of experiences, while others could view it as a mild form of assimilation - I will, however, discuss this dilemma a bit further on in this paper.

Other questions that rise from the volunteer policy is the 'appropriateness'- what does it mean that a volunteer should be an appropriate representative of IM? Is it about 'promoting' IM to friends, family, and colleagues? Where does the line go for 'being appropriate' – is it a question

about e.g. clothing, or is it about values? Another 'risk' with integration activities where anyone can join without any specific requirement, is damage to the facilities where they take place meaning that the individuals involved could potentially be at risk. During 2015 for example, about 30 different reported cases of fire towards asylum-accommodations were registered in Sweden (SR, 2016). Some of the integration activities that the volunteers arrange includes visiting various asylum-accommodations, as some of the participants sometimes have difficulties to reach the facilities where the integration activity is located: the volunteers basically 'brings' the activities to the participants. Attacks on the facilities could potentially imply that the volunteers will stop participating in the activities, as the risk is greater than the benefits.

In conclusion, the following can be said: the volunteers of IM are an incredible important component of the integration activities, as they are more of less the ones that executes the activities – without them, there would not be any activities. The requirements to become a volunteer are rather low, in a sense that anyone can join the activities without having to participate in various mandatory courses. This fact has both advantages and disadvantages: the advantages include that the activities could be more appealing to a larger group of individuals, as there are very low thresholds in participating. A disadvantage could be that the volunteers do not have a clear understanding about what their 'mission' entails.

3.5 IM and language cafés

The purpose with language cafés is fairly simple to comprehend; it is basically a form of a meeting place where individuals that have presumably never met before share a cup of coffee (or another type of drink for that matter), and a conversation that usually focuses on improving the participants language skills. This type of activity is a quite common way to get to know new persons as well as exchanging experiences, especially if someone is planning to, or have to, stay abroad for a longer period of time. It is not uncommon for universities that offer international programmes and/or hosts a large number of exchange students to arrange language cafés, or at least to encourage students to participate in one. Language cafés are furthermore a frequent type of activity that various CSOs offer. The aim for the organisations is usually to create a meeting forum for individuals with different backgrounds, whether it is ethnicity, religion, or cultural

belonging. Organisations that manage language cafés, such as the Swedish Red Cross and IM, usually consider this type of activity to be a part of their integration efforts (Swedish Red Cross, 2016. IM, 2016).

So what can be said about the language cafés that are initiated by IM but driven by volunteers? How does it work? Who comes? What are the results? I have personally visited two language cafés during my time as an intern and during this thesis process, which will be presented later on in this segment, in order for the reader to get a clearer picture about the activity. The language cafés of IM are all driven by volunteers and they share, generally speaking, the same type of construction; there is usually one, sometimes more than one, that is considered to be the so-called 'contact-person' or 'group leader'. This position entails certain responsibilities, such as reporting back to IM staff about the activity but also a lot of administrative tasks; the contact-person is, for example, responsible to let the others know if there is a change of location. With other words, to be a contact-person does require some personal time and responsibility meaning that not everyone is necessarily 'cut for the job'. The IM volunteers are moreover usually, in the smaller cities at least, retired. The participants in the cafés vary: there are both men and women present, in all ages. Due to the refugee influx in 2015, there are now more asylum-seekers than ever participating at the activities; however, foreign exchange students are also common participants. The café is usually located at a commune owned facility, such as the public library, or if there is a local IM office present, then the activities are usually held at the office. There is no general guideline for how the café is supposed to be executed; it is really up to the volunteers and the participants to decide what works for them in their own context.

There were discussions during my internship at the organisation about the various language cafés and the staff often mentioned that some of these are more successful than other. What does this really mean? What are the components or its characteristics? During my informal interview with Hanna and Sophia, member of staff at IM, the question was raised: how do you, as staff of IM, measure the level of success of integration activities?

"I see these activities as meeting points, that is, a place where an exchange between individuals occur. So for me, a successful integration activity is when participants have reached this 'exchange' and takes it with them *outside* of volunteering" (Ekblad, 2016. Emphasis added.).

"Exactly, I agree. A successful integration activity is when the activity itself gives the participants some kind of *value*, and the fact that individuals from different cultures have the opportunity to meet and learn from each other" (Djane, 2016. Emphasis added.).

With other words, it is not about the number of participants, nor is it about what happens during the activities – for the staff, a successful integration activity is when the individuals take 'something' with them: whether it is a new friend, a new way of thinking, or the need to tell others about the activity and its advantages.

I have personally not been actively participating in language cafés, especially not the ones that IM arranges. In order to obtain a clearer picture of the activity, I visited two different language cafés: one during my time as an intern and one during this thesis process. The next two segments will present my experiences from these cafés.

3.4.1 Falkenberg

During my time as an intern, I visited the language café in Falkenberg (a city where there is no local office present), a café that the staff of IM referred to as successful:

"What they did in Falkenberg was that they analysed the *need* in their community and by doing so, managed to mobilise volunteers, which in turn means that individuals in the community are now aware of the integration activities and are interested in participating" (Ekblad, 2016. Emphasis added.).

I met Marianne who is the contact-person for the language café in October 2015 to discuss the activity, its strengths and challenges, and how it all began to get a better understanding of the activity. Marianne tells me that she has been a part of IM for about 15 years, and her interest for the organisation started when she lived in another small city. There was a small group of people

active in IM when she moved to Falkenberg, but, to quote Marianne herself, they were "not super-active" and had plans to quit the activity. The contact-person at the time did not really have the strength to continue (due to her age), and the others in the group suggested that Marianne should overtake the role as the contact-person; Marianne, who was a retiree, felt that she both had the time and the encouragement to become the new contact-person in for the IM group in Falkenberg.

The next step for the group was to decide what type of activity they wanted to conduct: Marianne had a personal interest in languages and suggested to the group that they should start a type of language-activity. However, the path ahead for the group turned out to be rather bumpy; Marianne tells me that the hardest part was to find a location where the participants could meet. The group contacted the local Red Cross, as the organisation both had facilities and was working for the same goal as IM – Marianne even suggested a type of collaboration between the organisations. The Red Cross denied, interestingly enough, the groups' offer and the IM volunteers were not allowed to post a poster of their new-started language café in the facilities of the Red Cross. The Red Cross felt, according to Marianne, 'threatened' by the IM group as they too had plans to start a language-café in the city.

"We could have just collaborated; we want the same thing after all" (Bresche, 2015).

The IM group did furthermore contact Falkenbergs 'Swedish Tuition for Immigrants[7]' course to offer their support, but did once again meet resistance; the teachers were basically not interested in receiving some extra help. Marianne tells me that at this point she felt incredibly dejected, but had no plans on giving up. The group finally decided to contact the commune, with a request to use a facility at the city library and within a couple of minutes the group received the answer they sought; "Yes, you can use the facilities!" The amount of people showing up to the café was very modest in the beginning, remembers Marianne, but participants started successively to come to the café and the group had to move to a larger facility due to the amount of participants after 2 ½ years.

[7] This course is called "Svenska för Invandrare" (SFI) in Swedish, and it is compulsory for persons that have received residence permit and so-called 'establishment-support' from the government (Information om Sverige, 2016).

Nowadays, the group meet at the bottom floor of the library, a facility where the other visitors of the library will not be disturbed and Marianne tells me that sometimes there are as many as 50 participants. This made Marianne and the group thinking about extending the activity, that is to have it twice a day in order for everyone to fit and to attract new participants. Most of the participants are asylum-seekers from Syria that lives in a nearby asylum-accommodation, and there is furthermore a large quantity of new volunteers in all ages that have started to participate in the café. There is not really any structure, tells Marianne; usually a group of people sit around a table where some individuals do not know a single word of Swedish, while others can conduct simple conversations. Some volunteers bring stencils with them for the participants to fill out, while the younger participants use their smartphones to look up words.

3.4.2 Malmö

This language café is situated in the third largest city of Sweden and has activities twice a week. Compared to the one in Falkenberg, this café has two contact-persons; they actually call themselves 'group-leaders' rather than 'contact-person'. Elisabeth, who has been a volunteer for about five years, attends the language café twice a week, while Samuel (the other group-leader) takes care of the administrative tasks. The location for the activity itself is taking place at the IM local office in Malmö, a facility that also hosts several other integration activates such as the ones mentioned earlier.

The participants of the language café in Malmö are more 'diverse' than the ones in Falkenberg; rather than just newly arrived asylum-seekers, there are both exchange students as well as individuals who have received their resident permit present at the café. Helene, a volunteer who has been active in the café since February 2016, tells me that the participants attending the café are usually highly educated, motivated and dedicated:

"They really want to be here, and try their best to become a part of the society"

The activity is slightly more structured than the one in Falkenberg; once all the participants have arrived, Elisabeth, who seems to know a little bit about everyone, starts to divide the group of

people. She tells me that the division is necessary in order for everyone to feel comfortable; the best way is to find the 'level' of the participants' knowledge of the Swedish language. Once this information is analysed, Elisabeth matches the participants with a volunteer and the activity is started.

Elisabeth tells me that IM caught her attention in her early teens, since her mother used to volunteer in one of the shops of IM, which at the time sold items similar to the ones they still sell today: products made by marginalised individuals. However, it was not until Elisabeth retired when she actively started to participate within IM. She tells me that she saw an ad in the newspaper about the language café and decided to participate in a meeting regarding the activity. At the time, the café was located in a church but the location changed after a while and moved into the facilities of IM. Just like in Falkenberg, the attendance to the café was slightly modest and the total amount of participants were about 5-6 each time:

"We were a great group that supported each other, and we did actually meet outside the café" (Stavenow, 2016).

How Elisabeth became one of group-leaders was, according to herself, due to her commitment – it basically just happened. She tells me that the more she participated in the activities, the more she felt that she had some kind of responsibility and becoming a group-leader was a good way to utilize the responsibility she felt. However, having too much responsibility can be strenuous:

"When you are passionate about something, you can easily get burned" (Stavenow, 2016).

According to Elisabeth, the amount of participants started to increase when one particular man joined the café: Syed, who is originally from Bangladesh, came to the café one day and asked where all the participants were. He encouraged the small group to recruit more participants and an increasing amount of individuals started to show up to the café after a while. This lead to an extension of the café: from only Monday evening, to both Monday and Tuesday evening.

I ask Elisabeth about the fact that IM gives the volunteers so much 'free will' to decide the structure of the activities, and what her opinion is about this:

"I like the fact that IM does not govern[8] us – you are being governed your whole life, especially during the years when you work, so it feels good to take own decisions. When you are one volunteer then you have a purpose, which is for me to work *ehrenamtlich*.[9] What I want to do as a volunteer is to meet people, not to focus on administrative tasks." (Stavenow, 2016).

Our conversation is starting to get to an end but before Elisabeth leaves, I ask her one final question: have IM explained how the organisation 'view' integration?

"They have invited us to participate in various forums where you could discuss the term, but I felt that I didn't have time to join. My contribution to the cafés is thus my own interpretation of integration, which is to help others to comprehend the Swedish language[10]" (Stavenow, 2016).

My visits to the cafés are examples on how volunteers are tackling and interpreting their mission. The loose and free structure of these activities seems to be in favour of at least Elisabeth, who enjoyed taking own decisions while relying on her own take on integration. Is it then safe to say that the form and incentive of volunteering could potentially transform if IM becomes more formalised? Could more control, definition of terms, and coordination challenge the relationship between IM as an organisation and the volunteers who are affiliated to IM?

3.6 Strengths and challenges – a summary

We can now conclude that the way the integration activities of IM, and more specifically the language cafés, are structured and organised both have strengths and challenges. This segment of the chapter will provide a brief conclusion about the mentioned findings: first of all, the biggest issue here is that there seems to be conflicting understandings of what the term integration entails (both by the staff and the volunteers of IM), however, this will be discussed more thoroughly in

[8] The Swedish word that Elisabeth uses here is "styr", a word that can mean 'controlling', 'steering' or 'governing'
[9] A German phrase that means, according to Elisabeth, to have an "honourable mission"
[10] Note: when I met Elisabeth for the second time to discuss IM and her role, she was no longer active in the café due to certain sensitive circumstances.

the next chapter. A part of the funds from the government seems to be invested into clarifying and reforming the existing integration activities, the question here is how much of the funds will be directed towards making a clear stance on were IM stands in the integration debate and what they expect from the volunteers. Will the drive to define more clearly what integration means imply that the volunteers will no longer participate? Is it possible that the funds from the government will make IM a more formalised organisation, and thus loses, to quote Hanna, "the freedom of the organisation" (Ekblad, 2016)?

The low thresholds to join an integration activity, and the freedom to choose and act freely as a volunteer without having to follow strict 'templates' seems to be working out for both the staff and the volunteers – just like Elisabeth from the language café in Malmö mentioned:

"I like the fact that IM does not govern us – you are being governed your whole life, especially during the years when you work, so it feels good to take own decisions" (Stavenow, 2016).

However, as mentioned earlier, certain risks can arise when there is not an overall proper introduction about IM, what is expected from the volunteers, and the way IM reason about certain issues - mostly it is about misunderstandings, but sometimes those can be critical. The bigger issues could be if the individuals are participating in various integration activities for the wrong reasons. Interestingly enough however, the misunderstandings and the free interpretations could at the same time potentially be the reason for the success of the language cafés, as it corresponds with the idea that IM is supposed to be "a free organisation".
Another positive advantage with integration activities that are not supposed to follow strict rules and regulations is the fact that the individuals involved can themselves analyse the *need* in their own community – just like Marianne and the other volunteers did in Falkenberg. A disadvantage could however be that there are not any rules and regulations, meaning that starting an activity can be sometimes hard and stressful. From what I have understood, the main task for the IM officials when it comes to integration activities is to support, encourage, and reassure the volunteers when there is a need for it. This can sometimes be rather hard, as the IM officials are usually (and literally) miles away from the individuals that execute the activities, meaning that there is not any personal contact between the members of staff of IM and the volunteers. It is

therefore important that there are a couple of volunteers active so they can support each other when there are setbacks.

The Swedish Department of IM is at the same time continuously undergoing changes in order to improve the relationship and communication between IM and the volunteers, and the funds from the government will hopefully be another contributing factor to achieve that goal. It is, however, important to note that with more coordination, control, and definition of terms such as integration can change the entire incentive and form of volunteering.

4 Possible challenges that lie ahead

The previous discussions have presented and discussed some general characteristics of the civil society: what it is and what it is not, why governments decide to fund CSOs, and a general introduction to Swedish CSOs. Additionally, IM as an organisation has been presented, with a focus on its Swedish Department; its integration activities and volunteers, and what the funds from the government will be invested in. The discussions have touched upon some of the challenges that IM could face as a result of the refugee influx and the funds from the government: however, this segment of this thesis will try to dive down even deeper into these challenges. This chapter will thus present important concepts that could influence the challenges that lie ahead for IM.

4.1 Integration

A report released in June 2015 by the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), suggests that Sweden is “the best” when it comes to integration policies in Europe. The survey was based on the existing laws and regulations that applied to newly arrived and 38 countries, including all EU member countries, were reviewed. According to the report, Sweden ranks first in almost all statistically compared areas such as employment and family reunification (Svenska Dagbladet, 2015. Migration Policy Group, 2016). With this information in mind, the purpose of this chapter is to analyse and comprehend the concept of "integration". What is it really? Who should be integrated? Who is already integrated? Why should anyone be integrated - and for what? What happens when we try to define and implement integration?

The meaning of the concept can be interpreted differently, coupled up with similar concepts or processes, and may also differ depending on the context. It is quite obvious that academics think that the concept is complex, multifaceted and often defined very badly in public discourses: many use the word frequently, but what it really means is perceived differently depending on whom you ask. The integration debate does further suggests a variety of different definitions, which in turn can depend on political culture, different social structures, the type of migration and what the expectations and conceptions surrounding that type might be in the host society (Diaz, 1996: 72-73). Research conducted around the subject shows that there is a lack of a

generally accepted theory, definition, or model when it comes to the integration of newly arrived and refugees - the concept thus remains controversial and hotly debated (Ager and Strang, 2008: 167).

According to Castles and Miller (2009), states as well as the civil society undergo different ways to facilitate the establishment for newcomers; this *process* is usually defined as integration. However, the authors choose to use the definition of *incorporation* when discussing the process, rather than integration, with an argument that integration can lead to a specific goal. Castles and Miller continue their debate by arguing that the incorporation (to use their definition) of newly arrived can best be understood by examining how a specific state has handled the inclusion on the basis of historical perspective. A state's decision to incorporate can be based on a state's specific economic and political emergence, the formation of the nation state, policies about citizenship, and the management of historical racism (Castles & Miller, 2009: 245-246.).

Vasta (2009) takes the debate even further; she argues that integration as a process can be perceived in two different ways: the first is the understanding that integration is a *one-way process of adaptation*, i.e., a process in which refugees and immigrants become part of the host society. This approach ignores cultural diversity and social patterns in a multicultural society, which transform the concept of integration into a weaker form of assimilation. Integration can also be seen as a *two-way process of adaptation* where the norms, values and behaviour change for both newcomers and the existing members of the society (Vasta, 2009: 8, 18).

4.1.1 Different approaches

Let us now take a small step away from the 'integration as a process' debate, and shift the focus back to the different definitions when addressing the establishment of newcomers. As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the establishment of newcomers has been dealt with differently depending on the context and the state in question. However, there are a few traceable methods, or shall we call them processes, that states have applied (and still do, for that matter) when it comes to the establishment of newcomers:

- **Assimilation**

The purpose with assimilation was that new arrived ones should 'give up' their distinctive cultural, linguistic and social characteristics in order to 'melt' or adapt into the majority population. This model was used occasionally in the US during the early 1900s, where it was called "the melting pot" – the aim was that the heterogeneous society would become more homogenous by "melting" together various aspects to form a common culture (Castles & Miller, 2009: 247). According to Brown & Bean (2006), assimilation is a process that entails sociocultural as well as economic dimensions, and this process begins with the immigrant generation and continues later on through the second generation and beyond (Brown & Bean, 2006).

- **Multiculturalism**

One could call this establishment model for the opposite of the assimilation model: the aim for multiculturalism is that newly arrived ones have the right to participate in all areas of the society *without* having to give up their distinctive cultural, linguistic, and religious characteristics. According to Castles & Miller, there have been two different variants of this model: the existence of cultural diversity and ethnic communities' is officially accepted in the US, however, it is not considered to be the state's responsibility to work for social justice and to support the maintenance of ethnic cultures (Castles & Miller, 2009: 248). With other words, cultural diversity is recognized but the state does not actively work to support the rights for these groups. The second type deals with social policy, meaning that the majority population accepts cultural diversity and that the state is actively working to ensure equal rights for minorities. This model has its roots in Canada and varied forms have been applied in Australia, Britain, the Netherlands and Sweden (ibid, 2009: 248)

- **Differential exclusion**

An establishment model for so-called 'guest workers', such as the ones that were mainly recruited in Europe between 1945-1970 to promote the economy, was also designed and Castles & Miller chooses to call this model *differential exclusion*. These types of migrants were given temporary inclusion to specific segments of the society, mainly those closely linked to the labour

market, while access to other rights such as political participation and citizenship were denied (Castles & Miller, 2009: 247).

- **Acculturation**

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2016), acculturation can be understood in two different ways;

1. "Cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture; *also:* a merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contract"
2. "The process by which a human being acquires the culture of a particular society from infancy" (Merriam-Webster, 2016).

To put it simply, and in terms of the establishment of newcomers, acculturation is the process where newcomers adapt the values and norms of the new society. According to Diaz (1996), the most central part of this process is the 'takeover' of cultural patterns of behaviour and to require knowledge of existing norms in the new society (Diaz, 1996: 74).

- **The principal of integration**

This type of process implies that states do in fact recognize that an adaption to a new society is a gradual process that requires a form of mutual adaption, that is, from both the newcomers and the host society. Cultural communities and cultural diversity are thus recognised, however, the final goal is that the newcomers will eventually be absorbed into the dominant culture; it is simply a milder and slower form of assimilation (Castles & Miller, 2009: 247-249).

- **Social cohesion**

The term *social cohesion* has in recent debates been used as a substitute for integration, or rather, as a concept that is equivalent to integration. The problem here is that the concept, just like integration, is rather weak and has a different meaning depending on the context itself. According to Vasta, the term itself stands for an inclusion of a common civic culture, where the individual feels affinity. The concept is however a new feature to the integration debate and is thus open for interpretation, which in turn creates confusion rather than clarity (Vasta, 2009: 18-20).

4.1.1.1 Integration policy in Sweden – a quick introduction

”Assimilation policy”,”immigration policy” and ”integration policy”; these are just a few terms that have characterized the Swedish policies regarding the establishment of newcomers. The demand for labour in the 1950s and 1960s led to a huge migration flow, and the number reached about 80 000 persons during the 1970s. These labour migrants were expected to eventually return to their home countries, however, the majority of these decided to stay in Sweden (Andersson & Östberg, 2014: 82). The immigration policy during this time was based on the idea that newcomers should unilaterally adapt to the Swedish norms and values – a classic example of assimilation policy. A new type of immigration policy started to replace the restricted assimilation policy during the 1970s and 1980s, and was built upon three principles; equality, freedom of choice, and interaction. This meant that a newcomer would have the same possibilities, rights and obligations as the rest of the Swedish population. The newcomers could moreover individually decide which level of Swedish cultural identity they wished to obtain and, simultaneously, to which degree they wished to maintain and develop their original cultural identity – Sweden was thus adapting a multicultural approach (Buguslaw, 2012: 34, 231).

A new type of system was introduced in December 2010, with the purpose to facilitate the reception and introduction of refugees. Some of the objectives of the system were to ease the newcomers’ entrance to the Swedish labour market, by introducing various work preparatory actions (ibid, 2012: 232). This means that the Labour Department now has the responsibility for the establishment of newcomers, and it appears that some of the objectives for the Department are to create multiple opportunities for newcomers, so that these can quickly engage themselves in work or education. The Swedish government is frequently stressing that the best way for newcomers to become a part of Swedish society is through employment (Regeringen, 2016).

4.1.2 IM and integration

So why is discussion relevant for this thesis? This discussion showcases that the term ‘integration’ is open for interpretation and can thus be understood differently whether it comes to the views of the state, the participants of the civil society, the various volunteers that execute integration activities, and the ones that participate in them. During my time as an intern, there were many discussions with the staff of IM regarding the term: certain questions and issues were

raised, such as the adequacy of the word - is it even the right word to use? Is there a difference between the view of the staff of IM and the volunteers?

All the discussions and observations that I have gained during my time as an intern, points towards that the term is, in relation to the goals of IM, a *process*, and not just any kind but the one that Vasta mentions, that is a *two-way process of adaptation*. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this process entails that the norms, values, and behaviour change for both the newcomers and the existing members of the society (Vasta, 2009: 8, 18). It is thus a form of mutual exchange of experiences where both the volunteers and the participants learn from each other. Now, the issue here is the following: if there is not really any consensus by the staff of IM of what integration process entails, how can then the volunteers know? What could happen is that the volunteers themselves have to rely on their own interpretation of what the integration process entails. This can in turn be problematic, especially in relation to the expectations that IM has on its volunteers: how can IM be sure that the volunteers are proper representatives of IM's values?

During my many discussions with the staff of IM, I mentioned that at some language cafés the volunteers see their mission as a form a mild assimilation, that is, to make the participants more 'Swedish' in a sense that the participants should adapt to the Swedish culture, customs, habits and most importantly, the language. The structure of the language cafés makes it however rather hard to escape this fact: the volunteers are there to 'teach' the participants the Swedish language and not the other way around. There are, however, examples when the adaptation within the language cafés is a two way process: in the small city of Vrigstad (where they arrange language cafés directed towards newcomers) a group of people asked to join the café as they were studying Arabic voluntarily and needed to practice the language. Since the majority of the participants are coming from Syria where Arabic is the native language, the participants have the chance to act as volunteers (Hajabacs, 2015: 26).

The question is if it can at the same time be an advantage that the term integration is open for interpretation? To freely interpret the term could maintain the freedom of the organisation: as

mentioned earlier, both the staff of IM as well as the volunteers that I have met during this thesis process enjoy the idea of IM being a free organisation without strict regulations:

"I like the fact that IM does not govern us – you are being governed your whole life, especially during the years when you work, so it feels good to take own decisions" (Stavenow, 2016)

"Having to many templates loses the freedom of the organisation. It is supposed to be a free organisation" (Ekblad, 2016).

Forcing individuals to follow certain rules and to interpret terms could thus have an opposite effect: instead of creating clarity it could potentially produce a more formalised structure that only appeals to certain individuals.

In conclusion, this discussion shows the many ways one can interpret integration and how it can be problematic when one is relating to it in practise. The funds from the government that will be invested in clarifying the views of IM when it comes to integration could present the following scenario: on one hand, the organisation will achieve its goal, which is to have a more clear understanding of what the term entails. On the other hand, this could mean that the organisation will become more formalised and thus loses its freedom, which in turn can lead to volunteers leaving the activities due to certain disagreements.

4.2 Governance

Is it possible to say that the fund from the government is a way for it to shift certain responsibilities to the civil society? Is the state now depending on non-state actors to deliver its services? Is this, to put it in other words, a shift in governance? If so, what does that mean and how can it be connected to CSOs and thus IM?

According to Bevir (2013), this word has been on everyone's agenda since the 1980s; there have been discussions about 'collective governance', the EU issued 'White Papers on Governance[11]',

[11] Read more about these here: http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_DOC-01-10_en.htm

while climate change appears to be an issue that can be resolved by 'global governance'. One reason for the rapid spread of the word, or rather the concept, can be due to the changing social theories, which in turn have led individual to see the world differently but also due to how the world itself have changed. Authors such as Rosenau (1995) and Rhodes (1996) point to a shift at national and international scales: from state-centred government to practises of coordinating, formulating, and delivering organisational goals through an increasing involvement of corporate bodies and the civil society. This has two particular implications: one is that the state no longer has monopoly over public affairs; while the other is that the boundary between state and non-state becomes blurred, which can result in more flexible, looser, and above all more decentralised systems of policy making (Castree et al, 2013). New theories and practises suggests a move away from the central institutions of the state, towards the activity of governing, which in turn involves voluntary and private organisations as well as the public ones. Governance expresses thus a widespread belief that the state depends increasingly on other organisations to deliver its policies and secure its intentions (Bevir, 2013: 1).

Castree et al (2013) describes governance as "the processes of goal-orientated coordination and management involving governmental and non-governmental actors", while Bevir suggests that governance refers to "all processes of governing, whether undertaken by a government, market or network, whether over a family, tribe, formal or informal organization or territory and whether through laws, norms, power or language". Bevir's understanding this way broadens the focus in a more critical way (Bevir, 2013: 1). Nash (2012) on the other hand proposes that governance is "the effective regulation of social activity without the formal authority of government" (Nash, 2012: 238). There is however no single definition of governance beyond its core idea, even if the term appears in a in a variety of different disciplines and contexts. Yet there is a general trend to understand governance in a way where it is not simply something that a state or some sovereign entity does (Castree et al, 2013).

Governance has thus replaced the focus on the formal institutions of states and governments with the various activities that have a tendency to blur the boundaries between civil society and state. This means that governance draws attention to the often-complex interactions and processes that creates the patterns of rule. According to Bevir, governance as theory, practise and dilemma

highlights various phenomena that are "*hybrid* and *multijurisdictional* with *plural stakeholders* who come together in *networks*", or with other words, these four words are distinctive features of governance. (Bevir, 2016: 1-2). So what does this mean? Let us have a closer look:

Governance arrangements are often *hybrid* practises, meaning that they are composed by e.g. administrative systems, market mechanisms and non-profit organisations. Governance is furthermore *multijurisdictional* and often transnational – that is, governance combines people and institutions across various policy sectors as well as different level of government (local, regional, national, and international). A third distinctive feature of governance that Bevir raises is the increasing scope of *plural stakeholders*: various interest groups have been present in the policy making process for some time, however, a wider range of CSOs is now becoming active participants in governing. Some of the reasons for this include the massive increase of advocacy groups during the last third of the 20th century, the growing use of third-party organisations to distribute state services, and the expansion of humanitarian organisations. The increasing variety and range of stakeholders has thus led to an active promotion and new practices and institutional designs, such as collaborative governance (Bevir, 2016: 2). The fourth feature of governance responds and reflects to the fact that governing is becoming an increasingly hybrid, multijurisdictional, and plural phenomenon. According to Bevir, scholars have pointed out that different levels of governance, governing arrangements, and multiple stakeholders are linked together in networks: policymakers, for example, have more recently begun to actively promote networks in the belief that these can provide an appropriate institutional design in which the new governance can be grappled (Bevir, 2016: 3).

How does this then relate to IM? First of all, the funds from the Swedish government could be interpreted as a type of hybrid practise: as mentioned earlier, IM has to give an economic presentation of the planned and implemented decisions, and has to furthermore present a final economic submission as well as a presentation of the achieved results, and how these are in relation to the purpose and objectives at the end of the year. The government is not setting any criteria on how and to which areas the funds should be aimed at, however, there are certain demands that need to be met: it is thus a type of hybrid agreement between the Swedish government and IM. The fact that this is the first time IM has received funds from the

government that are specifically aimed towards the establishment of newcomers, could potentially instigate further 'collaborations' between the government and IM: depending on how well IM has administrated the funds and what results it has produced, could there be initiatives to create other types of hybrid practices in the future?

Secondly, the aims for the funds from the government are to enhance the work with newcomers arriving to Sweden: does this then mean that IM is now becoming an active participant in the more formalised establishment of newcomers? Does this mean that the Swedish state is relieving itself from responsibilities and by doing so, shifting certain functions to organisations in the Swedish civil society? There are no clear answer to these questions: at first glance, it seems that the Swedish government is in fact depriving its responsibilities but a closer look reveals another picture: rather than downsizing from its responsibilities, the Swedish government is *acknowledging* the importance of both policy and public administrations, as well as civil society organisations when it comes to the reception of refugees and newcomers. Minister of Culture and Democracy, Alice Bah Kuhnke wrote in an article from 2015 that:

"…the civil society organisations play a central role on the public debate on how the reception of newcomers should look and develop in the future, as they are free and often critical commentators (Kuhnke, 2015)."

So rather than shifting certain functions to civil society organisations, the Swedish state is recognizing the importance as well as the work of these organisations as they "make a difference in the reception of refugees" (Kuhnke, 2015). It seems that the Swedish state is overwhelmed due to the amount of asylum-seekers, and is in need of 'help' from the civil society. Is the government then acknowledging the civil society by necessity? The above mentioned quote also indicates that the voices of the Swedish CSOs are being taken into consideration in the debate regarding the reception of refugees: does this mean that CSOs in Sweden will have a more important role in developing the reception of refugees and newcomers in the future? Could they influence policy?

In a more subtle way the discussion above also invites critical reflection related to the term 'governmentality'. Michael Foucault, who originally coined this perspective, sees governmentality as a modern form of power. Foucault defines "government" as the "conduct of conduct", that is, the attempt to influence the actions of free subjects: it concerns how we govern ourselves as free subjects, how we govern "things" and how we are governed (Nash, 2010: 26). This perspective further claims that the role of non-state actors in shaping and carrying out governance-functions in not an example of transfer of power: it is rather an expression of a changing rationality or logic of government, which can be defined as a type of power. This means that the civil society is redefined: from a passive object of government, to an entity that is both a subject and an object of government (Sending & Neumann, 2006: 651, 656). Is it then possible to say that the funds from the Swedish government are changing the rationality of power rather than an attempt to shift certain responsibilities to the civil society? Or how does the collaboration or sharing of responsibility across state and civil society enable new rationalities and practices to manifest?

It is safe to say that the role of IM (and other CSOs within the Swedish civil society for that matter) in relation to refugee and migrant related issues and practises are undergoing changes, which can of course be due to the current refugee situation as well as the financial support from the Swedish government. The current status of CSOs in Sweden seems to be highly important in the reception of refugees: the financial support from the government as well as the acknowledgements produced from e.g. the Culture and Democracy minister Kuhnke reinforces this fact. The endowment from the government can be seen as if the state is depending on IM and other organisations to deliver its policies, which in turn could blur the boundary between the state and non-state actors. This could essentially be a case of collaboration or sharing of responsibility across state and civil society. Or is this rather an expression of a changing rationality of the state?

There is a chance that these organisations will undergo further transformations, and that their role in refugee related dilemmas will intensify in a sense that they become stakeholders in the mentioned dilemmas and could thus have a chance to influence policy or enter into various networks with policymakers. It is however, not my intention to predict the future: these

discussions are mere speculations that can arise when studying a phenomenon or an occurrence that can continuously take another turn. It will however be very interesting to see what roles and functions IM and the other organisations in the Swedish civil society will take in the future, and if the mentioned funds will make a difference in the relationship between state and civil society. As many of these organisations rely upon mobilizing the civil society to carry out activities, what changes will this new role of organisation as IM effectuate? The next segment will thus present a discussion in relation to volunteering.

4.3 Volunteerism

One of IM's goals regarding the funds from the government is to expand, meaning that the organisation wants to increase the amount of participants and volunteers associated to IM (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016). One of the reasons why governments fund domestic CSOs is furthermore to expand the base for volunteer work (Pratt et al, 2006: 8). Volunteers are thus extremely important, but what does it really mean to be a volunteer? In what ways can civic engagement contribute to solutions and changes? What happens to the relation between IM and its volunteers when the organisation starts to define more clear goals and transparency?

A recent (2015) study with the purpose to measure the level of volunteer-based participation in the Swedish civil society shows that about 53 % of the Swedish population is in one way or another active in these kinds of activities. The percentage of individuals active has furthermore been rather consistent since 1992: the study shows that non-pecuniary participation in Sweden swings between 48 % and 53 % of the total population (von Essen et al, 2015: 17). This type of involvement is often referred to as *volunteering*, and the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) programme describes it as:

"…an expression of the individual's involvement in their community. Participation, trust, solidarity and reciprocity, grounded in a shared understanding and a sense of common obligations, are mutually reinforcing values at the heart of governance and good citizenship" (UNV, 2000).

In scholarly terms, this type of involvement is better known as *volunteerism* – but what does this really entail? A report presented by the UNV in 2011, tries to solve the uncertainties: first of all, in parts of the developing world the term "volunteer" is referring essentially to the expressions of international volunteering - the issue here is that the term fails to appreciate that forms of mutual support and self-help also fall under the definition of volunteerism (Leigh et al, 2011; 3). Secondly, to better understand what term entails, the report sets out three different criteria; *free will, non-pecuniary motivation* and *benefit to others*. Let us now take a closer look at these criteria:

1. **Free will**

This basically means that the active itself should be carried out voluntarily, that is, according to a person's own free will and thus not as an obligation. The decision to volunteer can, however, be influenced by factors such as personal values, cultural/social obligations, or peer pressure, but it is up to the individual to decide whether or not to act (Leigh et al, 2011: 3-4).

2. **Non-pecuniary motivation**

The second criterion suggests that the voluntary action should not be undertaken primarily for financial reward; however, payments in form of e.g. provision of meals and transport may be justified. In fact, these kinds of payments can often be regarded as good practice, meaning that they can create opportunities for volunteer action to be more inclusive and accessible. Further actions that also fall under the scope of volunteerism are the ones undertaken on full pay; this can e.g. be when volunteering takes place on company time, provided that the employee does not receive any additional financial incentives. In such instances, it is understood that the company is voluntarily forgoing the work time of the employee, which in turn is an aspect of corporate social responsibility. (Leigh et al, 2011: 4).

3. **Benefit to others**

The title of this third criterion is rather self-explanatory; it should be for the common good and should furthermore, directly or indirectly, benefit people *outside* the family or household. What constitutes "the common good" may, however, be contentious; when people, for example, participate in peaceful activism for or against animal research, both sides stand for what they consider to be the beneficial outcomes. Activities that involves or exhorts violence that can harm

the society are however, not included in the definition (Leigh et al, 2011: 4).

The report does furthermore acknowledge that there are countless other individual acts of kindness that people undertake; taking care of a sick person, providing food to a stranger, or helping children with their homework are all examples of these acts. Generally speaking, "volunteering" is often applied to acts where the individual devotes its energy, time and skills freely and without a charge – these acts are essentially vital parts in supportive and caring societies (Leigh et al, 2011; 4).

4.3.1 Volunteers – a tool for change and solutions?

In 2015, the UNV released a report concerning the interaction between volunteerism and governance. The report indicated that civic engagement is needed to enable new negotiations, discussions and decisions, and that volunteerism provides a key channel for this type of engagement – from the local through the national and global contexts. The report identified, for instance, key strategies, challenges and opportunities of volunteerism based on the three pillars of governance; voice and participation, accountability and responsiveness. The report concludes that volunteers have shown impact on the three mentioned pillars, especially in developing countries. Further conclusion is that volunteerism can by mobilizing people and civil society organisations contribute to change and solutions (Khozi Mukwashi et al, 2015; xiv-xv).

So how can then volunteers contribute to the transformation of policy? First of all, it is important to mention that there is very limited amount of research when it comes to the interface between volunteerism and governance, and the UNV suggests that the purpose with the report is to create a conversation that needs to be deepened (Dictus, 2015: vii). The report suggests, however, that volunteerism can contribute to a transformation of governance on three different levels - global, country and local. Even if this particular paper does not really concern volunteerism on a global level, the findings in the 2015 UNV report raises some interesting facts that can be applied on both the country and local level. The report raises examples on how volunteers are now using technology in form of the Internet and smartphones to create new networks and to build alliances with e.g. development actors. These communication technologies are now an important tool to

enable motivated and engaged groups of people across the world in order to interact, learn from each other and to find new resources and opportunities (Clark, 2015: vi).

An example of how these new types of communication technologies can make a difference and unite volunteers is the example of Syed Latif, the man from Bangladesh who helped the volunteers in the language café in Malmö to recruit more participants. Syed came to Sweden in 2010 to study business and to learn Swedish, and after he finished his studies he started to work at a currency exchange office in central Malmö. Syed applied for a Swedish work permit after a year of employment, however, his application was rejected due to peculiar fact: he was recruited 'incorrectly', that is through LinkedIn rather than the Swedish Employment Office. The Swedish Migration Boards' explanation was that the ad on LinkedIn was "not visible to residents throughout the EU / EEA and Switzerland" (HD, 2016). This fact outraged a lot of individuals that knew Syed, but also others who had heard about the rejection: newspapers, radio stations, and even national television broadcasts started to report about Syed's case (Sydsvenskan, 2016. Svenska Dagbladet, 2016). Even a Facebook group called "We want Syed Latif to stay in Sweden" was started; a group that now has over 1000 members that tries in different ways to highlight the unjust decision by sharing news-articles, radio segments and even writing letters to Swedish politicians. Swedish EU parliamentarian Fredrick Federly even went as far as to raise the issue with working permits to the EU Commission:

"My hope is that the Commission will clarify. I see that the Court (the Swedish Migration Court) goes much further than what is actually contained in the directives, which can lead to insane consequences[12]" (SR, 2016).

On a country level, the willingness of national governments is essential in order for volunteers to support development progress: in this case, it can be in relation to the establishment of newcomers. This means that the governments must ensure that the space and supportive environments are available for volunteers, in order to encourage their initiatives and participation. When enabling conditions such as freedom of speech and a vigorous political debate are already in place, volunteers and volunteerism have an opportunity to bring the greatest

[12] Syed was deported from Sweden on the 10th of May 2016.

benefits. The report thus shows that volunteers can in fact generate social trust, boost human development, improve basic services and advance social inclusion, *if* governments are willing to provide supportive environments (Clark, 2015; vi). The obvious issue here is thus the willingness of governments to provide supportive environments: is it really an interest of the state to provide these environments? This fact depends of course on the country itself and could be influenced by a variety of different reasons.

So what can be said about the local level? The UNV report suggests that volunteerism can strengthen the voice of people in excluded and/or marginalized communities, which can include accessibility to services, opportunities and resources that can improve their life-situations - this usually happens when volunteers e.g. form alliances with like-minded local civil society organisations in order to support the people in marginalized groups (Clark, 2015; vi).

It seems that volunteerism at the local level fits well with the vision of IM. According to the 'Platform' IM wants to "*promote the development of a strong and democratic civil society, to empower marginalised individuals to participate in and influence their society"* and states that *"IM plays an important role in the Swedish civil society by mobilising volunteers and strengthening their capacity to contribute"* (IM Strategic platform 2011-2020; 7-8). The various integration activities that IM arranges, such as the language cafés, are thus a good example where volunteers and CSOs meet in order to strengthen the voice of marginalised people and by doing so, increase their opportunities to improve their life-situations.

One of IM's aims (in relation to the funds from the government) is to develop and strengthen the work with its volunteers: the organisation wants to, for instance, clarify the goals and aims of its integration activities in order for the volunteers to have a better grasp about their 'mission'. IM wants, additionally, to have a clearer stand when it comes to communicating the values of the organisation (Stärkande av IMs kapacitet i insatser för nyanlända. 160114 Beslut av SA-chef och GS, 2016). The financial support from the government is thus used to deepen the scope of the organisation by presenting more clear goals and definitions: it is an attempt to become a more formalised and standardised organisation. How can this challenge the relationship between IM and the volunteers?

Becoming a more formalised organisation implies that IM's informal ways of working will become more controlled and coordinated, meaning that there is a chance that the organisation will lose 'its freedom'. This creates a challenging paradox: both the volunteers as well as certain members of staff of IM seem to enjoy the freedom to choose and act freely, without having to follow strict rules and regulations. Could it be possible that the reason for why the integration activities are successful is in fact due to its loose and informal structure? Will a more structured and standardised IM create the opposite effect of its aims, and thus loose volunteers rather than gaining more? Creating clear definitions and goals, and pointing towards what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in e.g. language cafés could essentially demotivate volunteers and generate disagreements. Elisabeth is one of the volunteers who really enjoyed the freedom and loose structure of the language cafés:

"I like the fact that IM does not govern us – you are being governed your whole life, especially during the years when you work, so it feels good to take own decisions" (Stavenow, 2016).

She also relied on her own interpretation of integration:

"They [IM] have invited us to participate in various forums where you could discuss the term [integration], but I felt that I didn't have time to join. My contribution to the cafés is thus my own interpretation of integration, which is to help others to comprehend the Swedish language" (Stavenow, 2016).

The effects of the financial support from the Swedish government can in conclusion create the following scenarios: the organisation has on one hand the opportunity to provide its volunteers with clearer definitions, aims, and goals which in turn can facilitate the understanding of the volunteers' mission. IM has furthermore the chance to create more structured and coordinated integration activities, and thus become a more standardised organisation. This can at the same time have the adverse effect: by becoming more formalised, there is a chance that the organisation will lose 'its freedom' and the volunteers who enjoy the current loose and informal structure. Clearer and positioned definitions, more control and requirements can with other words create conflict and disagreements between volunteers and IM as an organisation, where

the result is that the volunteers will potentially leave the organisation.

5 Summary and conclusion

The number of asylum applicants in Sweden has dropped increasingly since 2015: the latest statistics (May, 2016) show that Sweden has received about 11.000 applications since the beginning of the year. One year earlier, the amount of applications was almost the double. The driving forces to seek refuge in Europe have however not decreased, but it has become more difficult to reach Northern Europe and Sweden (Migrationsverket, 2016). The receiving system has been improved, but the effects from the situation of 2015 will influence the Swedish asylum system for years to come. The Swedish Migration Board has currently 170 000 applications registered, of which over 140 000 are awaiting a decision on their application for asylum. The Migration Board is moreover gearing up to increase the number of pending asylum cases during the year, and plans to decide more cases in 2016 than in any previous year (Migrationsverket, 2016). Even if there are fewer asylum-seekers reaching Sweden, the major societal challenges remain.

The purpose for this thesis was to investigate the ways that the role of IM has changed due to the refugee influx to Sweden in 2015: what initially sparked my interest and thus laid the foundation for this thesis, was the announcement from the Swedish government that an extensive amount of financial support would be distributed among actors in the Swedish civil society. The reason for the funds is due to the significant role of the Swedish civil society: the Swedish government has on countless occasions stated that organisations that offer various integration activities for newcomers can facilitate the reception of refugees. I will in this final chapter shed light on, and present the most essential findings of this thesis:

First of all, the civil society can be described as the "realm of organised social life that is open, voluntary, self-generating, at least partially self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules" (Diamond, 1997: 6). The civil society refers, at the most general level, to the individuals, activities, relationships, and informal and formal groups that are not considered to be part of the governmental process (Billing, 2011: 4). With that said, one should not treat the civil society as "organisations that are independent of the state" (Diamond, 1997:8). In relation to migration, the civil society refers additionally to the variety of non-state actors that may influence the informal and formal migration related processes, rules

and practises (Banulescu-Bogan, 2011: 2). Actors within the civil society can serve different roles and functions: they can, for example, create arenas where different partners interact socially, which in turn can strengthen the trust between individuals (Billing, 2011: 6). The role of IM can be concluded as an actor within the Swedish society that could potentially influence migration related issues and has additionally the means of bringing different individuals together, via meeting-places such as language cafés, which in turn can create reciprocity. IM has with other words a rather important role in the Swedish civil society, especially in relation to migration related processes and practises, and the financial support from the Swedish government reinforces this fact.

Integration can be understood in various different ways, which is not too surprising since the way this process is practised depends on factors such as country or context. The discussion included in this thesis shows the many ways one can interpret integration and how it can be problematic when one is relating to it in practise. Certain parts of the endowment from the Swedish government will be invested in clarifying the views of IM, including integration, which could present two different scenarios: on one hand, IM will in fact achieve its goal, which is to present a more positioned and clear understanding of what the term implies. On the other hand, clearer and positioned definitions could potentially create conflict and disagreements between IM as an organisation and the volunteers that rely on their own interpretation of integration.

The thesis has also touched upon the concept of governance, a term that appears in a variety of different contexts and disciplines. The meaning of the term is somewhat debatable, however, certain authors point to a shift at national and international scales: from state-centred government to practises of coordinating, formulating, and delivering organisational goals through an increasing involvement of corporate bodies and the civil society. This implies that the boundary between state and non-state becomes blurred, which can result in more flexible, looser, and above all more decentralised systems of policy making (Castree et al, 2013). Governance can furthermore express a belief that the stated depends increasingly on other organisations to deliver its policies and secure its intentions (Bevir, 2013: 1). The findings of this thesis shows that the financial support can be interpreted as a hybrid practice between IM and the government, as the Swedish government is not setting any criteria on how and to which areas the funds should be aimed at. This could essentially indicate that there will be further collaborations between IM and

the government. The endowment from the government can also be seen as if the state is depending on IM and other organisations to deliver its policies: does this then mean that the Swedish state is relieving itself from its responsibilities and by doing so, shifting certain functions to organisations in the Swedish civil society? It seems as if the Swedish state is recognizing the importance as well as the work of organisations rather than shifting certain functions. This raises an interesting question: is the government then acknowledging the civil society by necessity?

Finally, the funds from the Swedish government to actors within the Swedish civil society constitute both certain positive aspects as well as challenges for IM. The funds are in one way historic, in a sense that this is the first time that IM has ever received such an extensive amount of financial support from the Swedish government in order to strengthen its work with newcomers. The funds from the government are supposed to be invested in certain strategies that will essentially strengthen and expand the scope (and the amounts of volunteers) of the organisation: IM will have a chance to become more formalised meaning that IM's informal ways of working will become more controlled and coordinated. Further intentions are to have more clear and positioned definitions, such as integration, in order to facilitate the understanding and the mission of the volunteers. But what if the success of the various integration activities, such as language cafés, is actually due to IM's informal and 'free' way of working? That is, allowing the volunteers to take own decisions, and to steer the activities based upon their own free will. It certainly seems (based upon the informal interviews included in this thesis) as if both Elisabeth and certain members of staff are enjoying and promoting IM's 'free' and informal way of working. Does this then mean that those who enjoy this ways of working will possibly leave the organisation? Will a more structured and formalised IM create the opposite effect of its aims, and thus loose volunteers rather than gaining more? This creates a challenging paradox: on one hand, the financial support implies that IM will have a chance to provide its volunteers with clearer aims and goals, meaning that the integration activities will become more structured and coordinated. On the other hand, this could potentially have an adverse effect: becoming more standardised implies that IM will lose 'its freedom' and the volunteers that enjoy the current informal structure of the integration activities.

The findings of this thesis have presented the potential effects and challenges that IM could face due to the financial support from the government, and has furthermore argued that IM (and other CSOs for that matter) are significant actors when it comes to migration related issues and practices in Sweden. With that said, it is hard to determine how the refugee influx of 2015 will affect the relationship between the Swedish state and its civil society in the long run. One thing is however certain: no matter how one chooses to look at it, the relationship between the Swedish state and its civil society is now undergoing some significant changes that might determine the characteristics of this intriguing relationship in the future.

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