

**Master thesis**

# **Everyday activism in pro-asylum movement**

**A qualitative study of the Trampoline House in Copenhagen**



**Martina Fraternali**

**Supervisor: Susi Meret**

**MSc in Culture Communication and Globalization**

**Aalborg University**

**May 2015**

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>1. Abstract</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2. Introduction</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>3. Methodology</b>	<b>6</b>
3.1. Philosophy of science	7
3.1.1. Epistemology and ontology	8
3.2. Methodology	9
3.1.3. Case study	10
3.1.4. Ethnography	10
3.2.1. Asylfestival and the after-meeting	11
3.1.5. Qualitative interviews	12
3.3. Limitations	13
<b>4. Theoretical framework</b>	<b>15</b>
4.1. The Scandinavian corporatism	16
4.2. Migrant and pro-migrant activism	20
4.3. Social movements and the Political Opportunity Structure theory	22
4.4. From social movements as mass protests to everyday activism	25
4.4.1. Forms of everyday activism	28
<b>5. Analysis</b>	<b>32</b>
5.1. Trampoline House – an history	32
5.2. The scope behind the space: asylum seekers as agents and assets	34
5.3. Refugees' agency	37
5.4. From the front-line to an everyday activism	38
5.5. The refugees' safety first and foremost	39
5.6. 'With' the asylum seekers through public funding	41
5.7. A diversity that strengthens?	44
<b>6. Discussion</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>7. Conclusions</b>	<b>52</b>
<b>8. References</b>	<b>55</b>

## **Abstract**

The existing and vast literature regarding collective movements understands them as essentially contentious acts against the powers and the status quo; however a less known group of scholars tries to challenge this mainstream approach and investigate alternative forms of acts called 'everyday activism'.

The following paper examines a case of the Danish pro-asylum mobilization called Trampoline House. The investigation aims at understanding whether a correlation between the corporatist and social democratic system - or a lack of them – and the Trampoline House, a culture space for refugees and the Danish population of Copenhagen exists and if this interrelation is exemplified in the strategy of everyday activism that the House employs.

The study employs essentially primary data collected through interviews and participatory observation on the field as scholarly texts about the topic are missing in Denmark. The seven-day field work helped reach some unexpected findings. The Trampoline House utilizes an everyday activism approach because of an intersection of factors that are not solely related to the Scandinavian and Danish context. Resource-related factors and extremely vulnerable status of the asylum seekers prevent the Trampoline House to be a more challenging place vis-a-vis the decision-making institutions. The coordinators of the culture space prefer to maintain a low profile in order to guarantee the continuation of the activities.

The objective of this research is not a generalization of the phenomenon of Trampoline House as a model to the whole Danish and Scandinavia landscape. Although this study gives valuable inputs to further investigation of pro-asylum activism in Denmark, it indicates that social movements' theoretical approach needs to combine its traditions. Social movements' groups cannot be studied in their entirety by employing only for example the Political Opportunity Structure theory or the Resource Mobilization theory, but they are to be combined in order to describe fully those phenomena. In addition, there is a need for challenging the social movements' theory as a whole in its consideration of collective movements as intrinsically disruptive without any additional investigation of new forms of activism on the rise.

**Keywords:** social movements, asylum seekers, everyday activism, corporatism, Denmark, social democracy.

## Introduction

The emergence of pro-migrants and refugees' movements worldwide and specifically in Europe during the last decade, proves that the nationalist tendency of the state governments, the security issue promoted by the decision-making authorities as well as the implementation by national states of stricter border controls as a consequence of the increased number of migrant and refugee arrivals are being challenged (McGuaran and Hudig in Statewatch, February 2014; Tyler and Marciniak, 2012). Both migrants and locals have started to mobilize and ask for more humane conditions in asylum camps, for an opening of the borders to prevent meaningless deaths – particularly the ones witnessed recently nearby the Libyan coast where at least 800 people drowned and lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea (Patrick Kingsley, The Guardian, 5<sup>th</sup> May)<sup>1</sup> - as well to an implementation of national and regional policies which will result less restrictive for migrants and refugees.

In Europe - for instance - the experience of European and national programs such as Frontex and Mare Nostrum have not obtained the expected outcome of curbing immigration flows and despite all the efforts and military as well as maritime deployment “the number of migrants entering the European Union illegally in 2014 almost tripled to 276,000, according to Frontex” (The Local , April 13th 2015).

Given the fragile situation and often provoked failure of many countries on the other shore of the Mediterranean Sea, such as Libya, Tunisia, Syria and Iraq the landings are not expected to slow down any time soon. Meanwhile, on the other side of the Mediterranean, countries like Italy and Spain are struggling to welcome all these asylum seekers; the facilities are scarce and a part of the population seems not to accept them, as documented by the November riots in Rome, where the residents of a suburban district of the Italian capital attacked refugees hosted in their neighborhood and the police had to intervene to reassert a forced and fragile peace (The Guardian, November 13<sup>th</sup> 2014).

In addition to this, the rise of nationalist and xenophobic right-wing parties throughout Europe leads to an increase of rancor among the local population towards refugees and generally speaking an idea of societal and demographic diversity. And Denmark is not immune from it. While the Dansk Folkeparti (DF) “wants to send asylum-seekers who come from conflict zones back to countries neighboring their homelands” (Copenhagen Post, October 9<sup>th</sup> 2014) by setting up asylum camps financed and run by the Danish authorities there, some municipalities have devised new ways for helping the integration

---

<sup>1</sup> Only in 2015 the victims of these desperate crossings have been so far more than 1700 “about 17 times higher than the number of people who had died by the end of April 2014” (Patrick Kingsley, The Guardian, 5<sup>th</sup> May)

of refugees. The municipality of Furesø for instance is housing refugees with Danish families, an action that “will benefit from experiencing daily life in Denmark and help strengthen their bonds with the Danes” (Copenhagen Post, March 26<sup>th</sup> 2015).

Social movements' studies and related fields have often investigated collective actions undertaken by citizens as essentially disruptive acts (Edwards, 2014; Della Porta and Diani, 2005; Touraine, 1985; Cathcart in Morris III and Browne (ed.), 2006) against the public authorities and aimed at changing the, according to them, unacceptable status quo. Normally those groups cannot accept the contemporary circumstances and attempt to change them through contention. As a matter of fact, most of the news covering collective actions implemented by asylum seekers, immigrants or pro-refugees' groups discuss cases of manifestations, marches, rallies or sit-ins in order to attract the attention of the public authorities and inspire a widespread support that will eventually trigger the implementation of less draconian and inhumane regulations. A recent example of it is provided by the case of Lampedusa in Hamburg movement (Lampedusa in Hamburg; Statewatch, 2014) where Africans who had worked in Libya for years, were forced to flee the country in 2011 due to the civil war and the subsequent intervention of NATO. “For two years we have cried, shouted and demonstrated enough alongside the people of Hamburg to change the government's stance towards refugees, but the government is too adamant and refuses to talk to us or grant our demands” (Lampedusa in Hamburg, February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2015).

Other case which witnessed refugees and the local population jointly fight together for the former's rights have taken place in the Netherlands, as described extensively by the February 2014 report of Statewatch. Likewise, in France Monforte (2009) describes a scenario in which the mobilization around the refugee issue is divided between two typologies of groups that relate themselves to the power holders in very diverse ways: a first cluster of more politicized ones which employ strategy of disruption and critical discourse vis-a-vis the public powers; whereas a second cluster which includes the humanitarian organizations that do not openly challenge the power authorities but rather deploy an activism made by day-by-day actions and temporary relief solutions for the asylum seekers.

A diversity of practices and approaches has been witnessed within the feminist movement of the third wave, where some activists decide to employ structurally diverse strategies from those employed in the first and second wave. For instance the 'domestic' activism within the feminist movement (Sowards and Renegar, 2007; Stephenson-

Abetz, 2011; Vivienne and Burgess, 2012), whose practices might seem daily and insignificant, can nevertheless be crucial to develop a feminist consciousness. Therefore, regardless of the nature and the context of the action, social activism can assume various forms and be equally meaningful and engaging. The aim of this paper is to unveil a similar typology of activism that it is experienced within the pro-refugees framework but overlooked.

Furthermore, in this context it is of pivotal importance to recognize the centrality of the national context, as the Political Opportunity Structure Theory (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004; Edwards, 2014; Meyer and Minkoff, 2004; Heijden, 2007; Koopmas, 2007) claims in regard to collective mobilizations. In my analysis of the Danish context, the concept of 'corporatism' is an essential feature to position the advocacy work done by the Trampoline House, which is a “non-profit, self-organized, user-driven culture house” (“About”, n.d., para.1) in the middle of the city of Copenhagen whose main goal is to create a communal and shared space where Danish citizens and asylum seekers come in contact and create valuable connections based on egalitarianism.

Denmark and more generally speaking the Scandinavian countries, have a history of grassroots and contentious movements of workers and farmers that the state has been eventually capable of incorporating into its structure (Hernes, 1988). However, the Scandinavian system has been recently questioned given the apparent decline of social democratic structure and consequent corporatism (Oberg et al., 2011; Arter, 2003).

The case of Trampoline House is part of this intersection of national characteristics and everyday activism and all this makes it a unique case worthy of investigation.

With this assumptions, the paper aims at answering the following research questions:

- 1) *Does the Scandinavian model of corporatism and social democracy (or their diminishing role) influence the overall strategy of the Trampoline House in its pro-asylum activism?*
- 2) *Is the idea of everyday activism a reflection of this model?*
- 3) *How does the relation with the Danish public authority influence the strategy of the House?*

Starting from some hypothetical assumptions backed by the chosen theoretical framework, the research tries to investigate the choices of activism employed by the Trampoline House by contextualizing it within the Scandinavian and more specifically Danish framework. Is de facto the House influenced in its strategies of activism by the corporatist and social democratic model of Scandinavia or there is something else?

The research does not attempt to generalize the phenomenon through a single case study, but rather to insert it into a specific national/political frame. From this relatively narrowed-down setting a point of departure is drawn. As the literature regarding Denmark and its specific mobilization over the refugees' issue results nonexistent, the exploration of this new field may constitute a starting point to be taken further by other scholars in order to outline in-depth comparisons with other European cases as well as to initiate a field of study regarding the Scandinavian peculiar characteristics of such collective actions.

## **Methodology**

Prior to any in-depth account over philosophy of science and research design, an explanation of the preliminary assumption and formulation of the study is here necessary.

My interest within the field of social movements has developed since my frequent participation in pro-asylum rallies and conferences which took place in Germany during the last couple of years, between 2013 to 2014. By taking part into these social events I became aware of a steady increased mobilization of pro-asylum and migrant' groups particularly in Europe during the past decade. Each national setting and even within it the mobilization differs in terms of demands and strategies this due to the fact that each European country is allowed to decide upon visa and residence permit individually, therefore the problems faced by refugees will change from state to state. "The EC Member States revealed the extent of their determination to assert national control over public life and to prevent non-citizens' political empowerment" (Ireland, 1991, p.462). Despite the diversity of approaches applied within and between various national settings, statistics and studies show that a convergence of objectives brings the pro-asylum groups to address not solely the national governments but the European Union as well. "The protesters' demands go beyond individualistic claims and target not only national but EU policy, for instance in calling for the dismantling of the Dublin system and Eurodac" (McGuaran and Hudig in Statewatch Journal, 2014, p.28). Similarly Della Porta and Diani (2011) confirm a slow but significant tendency towards externalization, meaning the act of addressing the supranational powers in order to alter national regulations, as extensively reported by Monforte (2014).

However, as a Danish resident, I have noticed that Denmark lacks such intense and contentious mobilizations. Being a volunteer in a local organization that aims at providing asylum seekers and eventually refugees - doomed to spend part of their lives in isolated asylum camps far away from whatsoever contact with the local community, if not for some few activities such as language courses and children education - and by engaging and network-bridging activities, I have acquired additional knowledge over the peculiar Danish landscape of collective actions and mobilization opportunities. Therefore, and primarily out of curiosity I have decided to start an investigation about the Trampoline House – or House, as it will be called sometimes throughout the paper.

Trampoline House based in Copenhagen is an open space for Danish citizens and refugees to meet and create network and participate in joint activities while raising awareness about the social conditions of the wretched part of the Danish society called



asylum seekers. As the scholarly tradition regarding pro-asylum mobilization in Denmark results neglected, the literature ranges particularly from a nationalist and especially Islamophobic turn (Sedgwick, 2013; Hervik, 2012) to the psychological well-being of refugees, both adults and children, within the asylum centers (Vitus and Lidén, 2009; Vitus, 2010; Hallas et al., 2007); therefore this paper aims at offering an initial stage for potentially future in-depth research concerning pro-refugees mobilizations in Denmark by initiating it with the concrete case study of the Trampoline House.

### ***Philosophy of science***

The purpose of this research is to shed light over a local phenomenon called Trampoline House in Copenhagen. The case study is centered around the role of the House within the Danish asylum and political system and more accurately how the philosophy and activities of the House can be regarded and explained at the intersection between the representation of society in the broader social democratic and ‘corporatist’ Scandinavian frame system, the historical political opportunities encountered and a notable tendency towards collaboration rather than disruption. However, before any in-depth analysis of the methodology employed for the analysis of the case study, it is necessary to understand what it is my perception of the reality as a researcher and consequently how I have approached the phenomenon.

Unfortunately it has not been possible to elaborate a precise project's hypothesis prior to any theoretical framework as data collection or exhaustive comparable studies related to the thesis's topic have not been conducted. What the collective movement's literature is about is rather a social movement in its entirety within a specific country or national comparisons between social movement' groups (Vecchio and Beatson, 2014; Danese, 2010). Diverging from this tendency, this research employs a defined national context and case study to frame the former in.

Given these premises, I have deemed useful to begin to approach the topic of interest from a research and elaboration over the theoretical framework. In fact this study employs a *deductive theory* to represent the relationship between the theory and the social research (Bryman, 2012 (fourth edition)) that, starting from some academic considerations – described exhaustively within the theory chapter - has led to the devise of the overall project's structure, problem formulation and hypotheses.

However, fieldwork may bring new inputs and offer alternative angles that the researcher had not considered beforehand, thus leading to a reconsideration of the overall problem formulation and the consequent research question(s). “The objective is

not to describe minutely a situation given in reality in all its details, but to focus on what one deems the most important aspects of the situation” (Della Porta and Keating (ed.), 2008, p.63).

This approach, which waves back and forth from theory to data is named by Bryman (2012) *iterative* and it includes both deductive and inductive theory.

Concretely speaking, I have selected specific aspects or scholars of a certain theory that I believed will help guide my study towards a particular angle of analysis. For instance the social movements' theory is a broad theoretical framework that includes many diverse approaches and authors which would be materially and temporarily impossible to investigate fully and comprehensively; therefore only the features considered particularly interesting for the case of Trampoline House have been chosen, in this instance the Political Opportunity Structure theory.

### ***Epistemology and ontology***

The general approach of the research is based on social-constructionism because knowledge and the perceived reality are the result of the interaction between the social actors. (Della Porta and Keating (ed.), 2008, p.24).

It is critical here to make a differentiation between social-constructionism and constructivism approach, which are often considered interchangeable, but instead develop from different visions (Young and Collin, 2004). The latter is based on the assumption that the interplay between the individual and the society creates interpretations of the reality, whereas the former claims that the interaction between the social players fuels it. Constructivism posits an individualistic approach and does not take into account the social interactions.

Additionally, through the deliberate selection of the national context of Scandinavia the paper voluntarily chooses a reality which is separated and intrinsically divergent from other national or regional settings and it is inevitably looked and perceived in different ways. Furthermore, as described thoroughly by the Political Opportunity Structure theory, regional and therefore political diversities play a major role in shaping the strategies and structures of collective mobilizations and groups. As a matter of fact, the unique corporatist Scandinavian model developed in the nineteenth century and incorporated now into the national system – despite some declaration of a deceleration and fragmentation (Blom-Hansen, 2000; Oberg et al., 2011) – marks even more strongly the peculiarities of the context and provides a narrow framework of analysis. “Corollaries of the social construction of knowledge are...the need for contextualization” (Young and Collin, 2004, p.377)

As part of a broader interpretivist stance

the focus is...on understanding human nature, including the diversity of societies and cultures...Context is considered as most important since research on human activity must consider an individual's situational self-interpretation...The outcome of the research then takes the form of specific explanations of cases, but also of refined concepts for the analysis of future cases. (Della Porta and Keating (ed.), 2008, pp.26-27)

Therefore, the socio-constructionism approach is particularly suitable for this specific study given that collective movements are per sé conceptualized as interpretations and framing attempts to modify the socio-political reality through mobilization. Not only the reality and its interpretation result different from a national context to another and the choice of a one determines the whole research, but for what regards the actors involved in the collective mobilization over a social issue, the 'framing' of it will be comprehended and presented differently. Social movements are in fact the embodiment of dissatisfaction and the hope of the people who unite under a common understanding of the reality and try to maneuver in order to reach the wished result, the common vision. The interaction between activists and the way they interpret and perceive the reality around them is vital.

### ***Methodology***

Qualitative research has been proliferating during the years in many more fields that before were regarded as only qualitative-related and knowable through raw numbers (Flick, 2007). This study intends to be qualitative in its core as a phenomenon like Trampoline House and more generally speaking collective movements are possible to understand through a profound investigation over its actors and the surrounding context. "Qualitative procedures provide a means of accessing unquantifiable facts about the actual people researchers observe and talk to" (Berg, 2001 (fourth edition), p.7).

What qualitative research permits to grasp is the way people make sense of themselves and the world around through interaction in a given society.

Many scholars claim that qualitative and quantitative approaches are not entirely different and opposite, but in some research is possible to combine the two methods in order to establish a higher validity to the findings, for instance through a triangulation of methodologies to eventually increase the validity of the data and the consequent findings.

### Case study

The design of this paper employs a *case study method* which requires an in-depth analysis of a particular “person, social setting, event or group” (Berg, 2001 (fourth edition), p.225).

The findings regarding Trampoline House cannot be generalized to represent the overall activism's trend of Scandinavia, nevertheless by carrying out a research about it, the intersection with additional theoretical and socio-political contexts might create a fruitful basis into further comparative or critical analyses.

### Ethnography

Commonly ethnography is associated with the method of participant observation that was extensively used by the anthropologists and ethnographers immersed into a diverse culture or community. However, ethnographic research implies varied means of investigation in order to gather more data, like interviews or collection of documents (Bryman, 2012 (fourth edition)).

The ethnographic research that I have conducted in Copenhagen is based on two different experiences: first of all, my arrival has coincided with the beginning of a festival, named Asylfestival, hosted by the Trampoline House but organized as stated in their Facebook event page by

an independent group of refugees, activists, artists and volunteers based in Copenhagen, determined to develop strategies for resistance against the repressive Danish asylum system...(who wants to) connect the many different groups and individuals working around asylum seekers and refugee issues in Denmark, so we can share ideas and learn from each other ways to break the system. (“About – Long Description”, n.d., para. 1)

Secondly, after the festival, Trampoline House has turned again to be the usual place of gathering and networking and I have participated in a weekly meeting they usually hold. This meeting regarded specifically the result and feedback of the festival just ended and some future activities that volunteers would like to propose in the light of the success of it.

Overall, as researcher I have assumed a over role as Trampoline House and the Asylfestival are open spaces and events where everybody can participate in. Thus I haven't had the necessity, in order to investigate the case study, of disguising myself

behind a covert role.

### *AsylFestival and the after-meeting*

The AsylFestival was held between the 23<sup>rd</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> of April at the Trampoline House and, as briefly mentioned earlier in this paper, was organized by a group of independent activists from various backgrounds that are directly or indirectly affected by the refugee issue in Denmark. In fact, the group includes Danish citizens, ex-refugees and people of foreign origins.

The three-day festival included several activities such as workshops, lectures and film screenings and it featured the participation of many prominent guests mobilized within this sector both in Denmark and abroad. To mention some of them, Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen, member of the Danish Institute for Human Rights, Michala Bendixen from the organization Refugee Welcome and Arzu Merali, a British Muslim activist and founder of the association Islamic Human Rights Commission based in London.

The general narrative connecting all these discussions was the critique of the unjust and inhumane treatment that European Union and Denmark as part of it has inflicted and continues to inflict to refugees hoping to find relief and safety within its territory, despite the gruesome images and demeaning news of mass drowning that now preoccupy the media. For these reasons, people and organizations need to mobilize and show their resentments.

Asylfestival aims to balance the current discourse around refugees and migrants and explore ways of challenging the system and challenging this xenophobic rhetoric...We want to bring these people together and build networks of resistance (The Local, 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2015)

There are very diverse groups in Denmark mobilized around the refugee and immigration issue, but they work separately, thus the festival's purpose is even the one of building up a shared network of collaboration. Therefore for them the event does not start and end in these three days but is to be continued and kept alive especially in the light of the upcoming presidential elections in November 2015 where the refugee issue will be of extreme importance.

Few days after the festival Trampoline House hosted a meeting open to the public to discuss feedback, results as well as improvements of the three-day festival. According to the volunteers and some participants the event has been so unexpectedly successful that

they have launched a more direct and continuous collaboration between Trampoline House and the Asylfestival group, especially regarding the arrangement of such collective open events.

### Qualitative interviews

This study is entirely constituted by primary data gathered through interviews and participatory observation. Unfortunately, as already stated, previous researches regarding the case study or similar ones have not been conducted. There are indeed some secondary data available online in connection with the experience of Trampoline House under various aspects but few relatively useful or containing data concerning the current research formulation and a similar typology of approach. For this very reason, participatory observation and interviews have been conducted as the most valuable source of information.

My research aims at having diverse insights over the House and this has been possible only by interviews with different activists. The creative director of the place, Morten Goll could provide a general overview of the goals, the developments and the future perspectives of the House; however ordinary activists, more or less engaged in it, are an important source to discover some additional information that concerns the status of collaboration among the associations operating within the House, the general feeling about the strategies employed and the future actions to take.

The questions being asked were meant to understand the role of the House within the bigger context of mobilization for the refugee's rights in Denmark and its relation with the political authorities. Additionally what was important to disclose is the strategy the group employs to change the mainstream discourse and policies towards migrants and asylum seekers.

The interviewees were selected on a random basis – except for the founder of the House Morten Goll - and according to their availability and willingness to dedicate twenty or thirty minutes of their time to my research.

The interviews conducted are defined as semi-structured because although I followed an interview guideline which featured the critical concepts to be covered, the talk was left to flow spontaneously and I was able to improvise diverse questions according to the answers given.

To analyze the interviews I have chosen to utilize a coding and categorizing method in which I subdivide data per themes in order to “analyze them by comparing them with other data” (Flick, 2007, p.101). Interviewees have all experienced differently the TH

and consequently hold various opinions regarding the strategy and the position vis-a-vis the power holders. Similarities and diverging standpoints were compared and elaborated “towards a comprehensive understanding of the issue, the field, and last but not least the data themselves” (Idem). The themes selected for the analysis are reported in the chapter subdivision of the analytical section of the research: the agency of the asylum seekers in the TH's space, the reasons behind the strategy, the issue of the public funding and the diversity within the House.

### ***Limitations***

There are a series of hindrances that have occurred during the project and must be taken into account and carefully reported.

First and foremost the fact of working alone is an obstacle itself as the number of interviews necessarily decreases due to time reasons and the participant observation results coming from solely one observer who can perhaps miss some details.

Second of all, the length of the stay and participation into the Trampoline House activities in my personal opinion has been scarce due to time and resource limits. The three-day festival and the day of the weekly discussion have contributed to my knowledge of the House, but were not enough to grasp the entirety of it. A longer and more constant attendance could have permitted me to gather more insightful data and interviews. As for any ethnographic report it is important to bear in mind that the longer is the permanence on the field, the closer the researcher may relate himself with the group and the potential interviewees thus consequently the more honest and open the group may behave and answer the scholar' questions.

Third of all, both the festival and the weekly meeting were particularly overwhelming times for the activists. During the festival the only moments in which I could approach them for an interview was either at the end of the day or before the beginning. However, many refused due to previous arrangements or because they did not feel experienced enough to answer questions regarding the work of Trampoline House. Interestingly the all referred to Tone or Morten who are the coordinators and founders of the House. The overall number of interviews I was able to collect is four at the festival in addition to a phone interview I made before it had started. This phone interview was the only interview conducted with an outsider of the Trampoline House, a woman who does not participate in it but knows the House by name and some previous personal contacts.

A similar situation occurred at the Tuesday's meeting when most of the volunteers left immediately after the discussion had ended.

Finally, the interviews were conducted mostly with volunteers with a Danish

background, and with only one refugee who has been granted the positive and now lives and works in Denmark. Although both the festival and the Tuesday's meeting were attended by asylum seekers still waiting for their application being process, the language barrier resulted to be a major obstacle between us and I could not ask them about their meaning and feelings on the activities at the Trampoline House and the related events.

Besides it, the majority of them did not know the House before this event and in fact had been invited intentionally for the three-day festival.



## **Theoretical framework**

This chapter will address the theoretical stances needed for the analysis of the thesis's case study. It is overall divided into five sections: the first section describes the regional context of Scandinavia and its specificity with regard to the peculiar social democratic and corporatist system that together draw what the scholarly literature often presents as the unique Scandinavian model, whether this refers to the welfare state (Vivekanandan, 1988; Arter, 2003; ), to civil engagement or specific issues such as gender equality and gender rights (Hernes, 1988; Skjeie and Siim, 2000). The second section focuses on the specific topic of refugees and migrants, by portraying the typology of migrant and pro-migrant activism in particular around the recent forms of collective mobilizations that have proliferated in the last decade, where an intensification of actions have been recognized and intensely analyzed by various scholars (Tyler and Marciniak, 2013; Edwards, 2014; Monforte, 2014; Della Porta and Caiani, 2011). The third part deals with the discourse towards a more general approach within the field of social movements' study, namely the Political Opportunity Structure theory (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004; Edwards, 2014) which holds the national context accountable for the diverging features of interest groups and organizations and the relative strategies and actions they undertake. The final part reflects on what is seen as the gap within the social movements' theory, as regards to the formulation of collective movements intrinsically and exclusively explored as disruptive in their nature.

This study starts from the assumption that activism and social change can be obtained through a various range of means and collective acts; these are not necessarily or exclusively constituted by protest actions and mass demonstrations, but they can consist of other forms of activism such as daily domestic deeds that do not directly and straightforwardly challenge the political/social structures and its hegemony. The analysis of the Scandinavian corporatist system and its recent history will help contextualize the case-study of Trampoline House and understand whether it continues to exist and features linkages with the political powers due to this regional system or to other circumstances; and the motif for employing a specific strategy over others. As the Political Opportunity Structure approach claims, the national/local setting is of vital importance to shed light over peculiar features of collective actions. The Trampoline House is relatively different from other social struggles happening or having happened during the last decade in Europe for refugees and migrants' rights, which most of the time employed mass mobilizations and contentious acts.

### *The Scandinavian corporatism*

Prior to any geographical framing, it is important to define what corporatism is. The definition considered by the author more exhaustive to expound corporatism is the one of Oberg et al. (2011) who characterize it as a “beneficial exchange between interest groups and the government” (p.365). It is an exchange in the terms that each part possesses something that the other wants to obtain, thus, for example, the government has control over the legislative process and the state expenditure, whereas interest/citizens' groups have got some extent of control over certain parts of the population which support them and their cause.

However,

an exchange does not need to be symmetrical (however defined), but it can be realized only when the state offers policies of interest to the organizations which, in return, provide tacit consent, approval or active support of government policy that is of interest to the state. (Idem, 2011, p.367)

Moreover, an indispensable feature of corporatism is that the state privileges certain organization and defines them as the representatives and the official counterparts in the bargaining process.

In order to start and efficiently put into practice a corporatist system various elements are necessary from both sides, such as political and organizational unity – a shared consensus over the representational legitimacy of the political power and the organization chosen as representative -; assets to exchange and a corporatism-friendly attitude, but I will not go in details to describe these features. What it is rather important to understand is that “if required properties are in decline, non-corporatist options such as lobbying will be relatively less costly” (Oberg and al, 2011, pp.369-370). Corporatism therefore is not the only way that interest groups have to dialogue with the political sphere, but it is the means used by Scandinavia in the past and we will discuss if it is still utilized nowadays by TH.

The Scandinavian countries are the existing examples of the political ideology called Social Democracy<sup>2</sup> whose founding principle was “the real wealth of a society lay in its human resources, whose health and happiness had a great bearing on the growth and prosperity of the society” (Vivekanandan, 1988, p.219). Thus the whole society should benefit from the raising of living standards, not just few elements of it. Citizens within this vision are equal, participate into the social and political life of the community and

---

<sup>2</sup> For a complete history of the development of this ideology that eventually became embedded in political parties read Vivekanandan B., 1988.

furthermore are activists for it (Skjeie and Siim, 2000). Regarding the participatory aspect, the firsts to benefit it were trade unions which underwent mutual collaboration with the Social Democratic Parties (SDPs) during their ruling period - from the 1920s on<sup>3</sup> - and this pattern has remained a constant of the Scandinavian system.

To promote industrial democracy the SDP Governments have enacted a set of codetermination laws which give workers and effective say in matters of planning, personnel policy, and work organization and which enable them to commission employee consultants. (Vivekanandan, 1988, pp.227-228)

The development of the social democratic structure of those nations started in the mid-nineteenth century concomitantly with the first wave of social movements which had witnessed a period of strikes and claims coming from certain categories of the civil society (Skjeie and Siim, 2000; Oberg et al., 2011; Blom-Hansen, 2000). These public mobilizations, from being collective and participatory acts, became soon incorporated into the state structures, which contributed to the creation of what we nowadays refer as the Scandinavia welfare state. Arter (2003) claims that, starting from the 1973, the Scandinavian welfare model and as a direct consequence the social democratic ideology have been challenged by the raise of right-wing parties and conservatives and economic recession. A further development of this decline is proved by the fact that “the general approach (of Social Democrats) has become increasingly indistinguishable from the parties of the old Right (the Conservatives in Sweden, Norway and Finland, the Liberals in Denmark), their main electoral competitors” (p. 97).

For the reasons just explained above, the Scandinavian tradition considers the negotiation between the demands of the citizens and the government/powerful business firms a paramount activity in order to avoid critical confrontations. This attitude had led towards the establishment of a corporatist system which became a constant activity during “most of the twentieth century” (Oberg and al., 2011, p.370) where all the parties are involved in the decision-making process. In this way “governments are able to bring large organizations into binding collaboration, and that professional expertise is well represented” (Skjeie and Siim, 2000, p.348).

Corporatism in Scandinavia was initially evident for interest groups such as workers, trade unions and particularly farmers when the governments in exchange of consensual

---

<sup>3</sup> After the Second World War only three times in Scandinavia the Social Democrats did not obtain the majority of votes: in Finland in 1962 and again in 1991 and in Denmark in 2001. Talking about Denmark alone, the Social Democrats achieved less than Sweden and Norwegian (Arter, 2003). “They have not managed two-fifths of the vote since 1964...the Danish Social Democrats are no longer the largest party” (Idem, p.82)

agreements between workers and companies to “secure industrial peace” (Oberg and al., 2011, p.370), would provide benefits and protective measures as well as policies.

The spaces suitably established where divergent ideas were discussed and negotiations occurred between the two or more parties were called commissions. However, the concept of commission has often been questioned particularly over the tendency of creating more informal processes of decision-making that de facto exclude certain segments of the population, therefore becoming disconnected from the grassroots societal level (Skjeie and Siim, 2000). For instance, Helga Hernes (1988) discusses the limiting effect that the social democratic citizenship produces towards gender issues. Initially social democracy and corporatism were areas designated for male participants due to the exclusively male population composing trade unions, which were initially the sole counterparts of the governments. “Members of the trade unions were until recently the prototypical social democratic citizens” (Skjeie and Siim, 2000, p.349). Step by step, women organizations and support groups made their way through these arenas of political and social decision-making.

However, in recent times – starting from the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s onward - as demonstrated by contemporary literature (Hernes, 1988; Binderkrantz and Christiansen, 2015) many more varied, in terms of objectives and composition, groups of interest have come to participate in the commissions and bring their own agendas to the state institutions and authorities, both local and central.

One peculiar feature of these support groups for women inclusion was the recognition of the importance of being part of institutionalized decision-making processes, thus direct participation and representation in the boards. On the other hand, in other European countries such as Germany the feminist movements decisively and continuously refused the confrontation with the official authorities. “The key to more inclusive citizenship in Scandinavia undoubtedly has been the interaction of women's political mobilization 'from below' – in social movements, voluntary organizations, and through feminist activism – with the political integration 'from above' through political parties and institutions” (Skjeie and Siim, 2000, p.357).

The Swedish case of anti-nuclear protest shows a similar pattern: in those political systems where the decisions are taken openly with the participation of the civil society, anti-nuclear activists attempt to involve themselves into the institutional system and influence it from inside, typically through the party's apparatus. On the contrary, when the political system and the processes of decision-making are restricted, movements resort to confrontation and protest actions.

A scholarly division between those who believe that the corporatist system in Scandinavia has critically weakened and those who think that corporatism is still strong and practiced. For instance Binderkrantz and Christiansen (2015) confirm that the first statement is certainly true for classical corporatist groups such as economic and labor ones, but absolutely misleading for what concerns the new segment of society, such as citizens and identity groups.

They have become more numerous, they are often active in political debates associated with new politics and they may provide policy-makers with information and support...Corporatism has not withered away, but has adapted to new political circumstances (p.6-7).

An evident instance in this regard comes from Denmark where in the 1970s the contact between the institutions, be municipality or central government, were relatively insignificant; whereas in recent times the municipalities are obliged by law to establish contact with citizens' associations. "Furthermore, municipalities have voluntarily worked with associations in other areas such as unemployment, health, sport, culture, and integration" (Torpe, 2014).

Differently, Oberg and al. (2011) lists a series of elements that have contributed over the years to the significant downturn of corporatism. One evident and straightforward feature is the "integration of national into European policy-making" (p.375) as the decisions regarding certain policies now are taken at a supranational level. Alongside the 'supranationalization' of certain policies, the number of unions and interest groups has plummeted and their bargaining powers consequently influenced. As a third factor is the power of interest groups and union to gather votes for a particular party, a power that has lessened over time. As a matter of fact, Oberg et al. talks about the factor of "volatility" (p.386) which undermines the predictability of people's votes and preferences. Additionally to all these, the corporatist attitude that used to be present both in governmental venues and interest groups have been diminishing<sup>4</sup>.

In Denmark, corporatism declined during the 1980s for a number of reasons: continuous decentralization to local government and increasing Europeanization reduced government autonomy, and the opposition in the Folketing became more assertive...At the same time, fragmented unions...could not mobilize citizens to the

---

<sup>4</sup> For a complete list of reasons of the declining status of corporatist system read Oberg and al. (2011).

same extent as they had previously...Interest organizations could not deliver what the state desired in the exchange. (Oberg et al., 2011, p.390)

### ***Migrant and pro-migrant activism***

Migration issues of displacement in conjunction with violation of human rights and abuses perpetrated by Western police forces and hosting governments on refugees in asylum camps and on the streets - that have lately monopolized the European and international news – triggered the indignation of parts of the European citizens and refugees themselves. People and migrants have started to mobilize as never before:

indicative examples include the rise of the Sans-Papiers movement in France, the spectacular protests of million of undocumented Latin American workers in the USA in Spring 2006, under the banner 'A Day Without Immigrant', events which in turn inspired the 'A Day Without Us' marches and strikes in Italy, Greece, Spain and France in 2011. (Tyler and Marciniak, 2013, p.143)

These movements challenge a certain idea of citizenship which is based on national boundaries and specific social and political rights denied to refugees and migrants generally speaking. However, as Yoav Peled (in Tyler and Marciniak, 2013) argues, in liberal democracies the combination of neoliberal policies and the deterioration of citizens' rights have established a new form of citizenship model, that he calls 'post-citizenship society' (p.146). The scholar describes a general status of decay of modern societies where the rights of the population are put at risk in order to fulfill economic logic. People are simply commodities within this vision.

In recent years the scholarly attention and study of national contexts have diminished due to the acknowledgment that nation states are nowadays challenged by international institutions which possess broader decision-making powers. In fact, following the globalization phenomenon and the subsequent rise of linkages and movement of people, goods and information as well as the birth of transnational institution such as UN, EU and WTO, the chances of protest and mobilization have multiplied.

Sidney Tallow (mentioned in Edwards, 2014) and Monforte (2014) distinguishes between three kinds of processes related to this widening of opportunities. The process of 'domestication', a strategy in which social movement' organizations (SMOs) and NGOs do mobilize at the national level but in the hope of affecting indirectly the supranational sphere; the process of 'externalization' where movements to avoid

potential obstacles at the national level mobilize at the international one with the ultimate goal of influencing national policies. The last one, the process of 'transnationalization' refers to the creation of a network, or networks of activists and movements in order to construct collective actions at a broader level. In fact those actions target specifically both the transnational and the national governments.

In their research, Della Porta and Caiani (2011) discover that

the prevailing type of Europeanization is domestication, although externalization is also relevant...while the frequency of European social actors addressing either EU (8%) or national government (2.6%) is lower. (p.53)

What they see through their study is a significant increase of claims from the civil society and its groups to the European Union. "In sum, the increasing competences of EU institutions seem to have been recognized by movement organizations" (Idem).

On the other hand,

Giugni and Passy (2002) as well as Koopmans (2008) noted how rarely protests on migrant rights targeted the EU, notwithstanding the increasing Europeanization of decisions on migration at least on issue such as access quotas and border control. (Della Porta and Caiani, 2011, p.42)

The limited number of protests directed towards the European Union is due to a lack of representative democracy, as the EU is seen as "an unaccountable and opaque target" (Idem); however, on the other hand, mobilization would not take place if the protesters did not think they could have an impact upon decision makers.

To sum up, grassroots movements promoting refugees' rights and the public generally speaking acknowledge the importance of addressing directly the European institutions because of its raising importance concerning various issues, but nevertheless the supranational level is still hard to reach and to lobby due to a mixture of reasons: first of all, the most powerful organs of the EU, Commission and Council, are not elected and it requires a high level of expertise to deal with them; second of all, the division and differences of regulations at the national level affect the outcome of the struggle and undermine the movements' unity. As Della Porta and Diani (2011) sustain in their ample research on social movements, it is not only grievance that boosts the protest, but concomitantly the resources and the opportunities presented to the groups. Therefore, the majority of the struggles occurs at the national level most likely due to the opacity

and non accountability of the EU itself.

Within the wider landscape of pro-migrant movements, the question of migrant activism has been investigated through many angles over the years, ranging from the perspective of a failed integration process to an analysis of social capital or globalization processes. For Soysal (1994) (in De Tona and Moreo, 2012) migrant associations do not indicate solely the necessity of maintaining the ethic-religious tradition of the immigrants, but “say as much about migrants' associative practices as of the countries in which they live” (Idem, p.25). Being a response towards the hosting society, they necessarily imply civic participation and grassroots activities, thus empowering practices.

In their study regarding the associationism of migrants around Ireland, De Tona and Moreo (2012) acknowledge that what they discovered is an activism which includes a plurality of practices and repertoires.

We interviewed migrants who are engaged in what would be considered classical political activities, like lobbying, advocacy, voting rights and anti-racism work. We also encountered others who, while they may not be seen as activists in the traditional sense, have been active in setting up initiatives and projects which address the needs of migrant communities in a variety of fields. (p.34)

In fact resistance is commonly understood as a strategy which disrupts, contests; however resistance is also made of daily actions that happen at the workplace, in the household environment or in the neighborhood. As Weizman (2010) (in De Tona and Moreo, 2010) confirms, some resistance practices occur 'within' (p.41) the system and try to become part of it.

### ***Social movements and the Political Opportunity Structure theory***

Despite the growing interest towards transnational authorities and actions, the Political Opportunity Theory, which was developed within the vast field of the Social Movements' Theory, restates the importance of the nation-state in the investigation of social movements. As a relatively recent approach that tries to complement two prior grand approaches, the Collective Behavior and the Resource Mobilization theory (Della Porta and Diani, 2005; Edwards, 2014), it claims that grievances and resources – the core elements of collective behavior and resource mobilization theory - solely are not substantial explanations of the motivation behind the creation and mobilization of mass collectivity. What is indeed needed as a complementary component is the “opening up



of political opportunities” (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004, p.6). Political opportunities as generally understood, is the concrete possibility of aggregation and act together as a group, but this definition resulted excessively broad and ended up being intrinsically included withing the very same definition of social movements, thus being inadequate for its characterization. Later on, the academic perspective was enhanced to include the assumption that extensive political opportunities are not the only driving factors of aggregation to the creation of social movements, but as well the consciousness over the fact that the ongoing political situation can be changed and there are ample opportunities for it to happen.

The central hypothesis of this analysis of social movements is that their features, actions and final impacts are determined by the national context and polity they belong to and operate in.

The national context becomes of critical importance because it contains certain characteristics that will shape the associations. For instance, a study conducted by Danese (2001) shows how Italian and Spanish migrants' associations are extremely weak compared to their autochthonous counterparts which deliver services for migrants and, for this very reason, the two fields have been often collaborating. On the other hand, UK has a special focus over issues related to multicultural and racism, given the recently ended colonial past of the country.

Beside the relevance of the political structure, cultural, social and economic factors are also at play for what concerns the opportunity of a movement to address societal issues and recruit participants. For instance, Kurzman (1996) analyses the Iranian revolution of 1979 and the previous protests not from the point of view of a weakening of the Scia government or an opening towards change by the monarchy, but rather from the perspective that at a certain period of time the balance of power had changed favoring now the opposition movement. Therefore, Iranians perceived the feasibility of the protest through the strengthening of the opposition movement.

Similarly, Monforte and Dufour (2011) compare three different contexts of “nonstatus persons” (p.204) mobilization, namely Berlin, Paris and Montreal and unveil an intrinsic diversity within their cause as it is presented and brought forward due to contrasting “conditions of mobilizations” (p.204). One of these conditions is certainly the role of the state and its recognition of migrants in the form of regularization processes as well as access to certain rights. For instance the overall discourse of migrant activists in Berlin and generally speaking in the German territory resorts to single issue, unlike the French and Canadian case. They are particularly interested in challenging the “confinement of non-status persons”. This occurs because migrants and

refugees are generally excluded from a whole array of rights connected to the status of citizenship and particularly the right to move freely within the various federal states. In fact, regarding the latter, the situation results even worse because camps are placed in isolated locations and for traveling they need special permissions issued arbitrarily by the competent authority.

As a matter of fact,

these elements orient the content of mobilizations, which focus more on living conditions (as opposed to a demand for regularization or access to certain rights) and fight first and foremost against isolation. (Idem, p.211)

Unlike Germany, France has been described by having a milder approach towards undocumented migrants with the recognition of some rights during the years (Monforte and Dufour, 2011), but the general situation has worsened from 2000 with tighter controls and some rights restricted. The overall migration issue has been highly politicized and thus the mobilizations have pinpointed the hardworking temper of those undocumented, their contribution to the national economy and issues of racism and discrimination. They are part of the community and despite the demeaning employment conditions and continuous discrimination faced, they have kept working hard for the sake of the whole France.

Van Heijden (2007) lists four variables which constitute the political opportunity structure of social movements:

- 1) the nature of the existing political cleavages in society;
- 2) the formal institutional structure of the state;
- 3) the informal strategies of the political vis-à-vis their challengers;
- 4) the power relations within the party system (alliance structure).

What I consider particularly relevant for the hypotheses of this study are the last three variables.

Considering the second variable, the structure of the state is vital in terms of considerations over the number of “points of access” (p.28) which represent the official political arenas where social movements can bring their demands through and participate into the decisional process. Accordingly,

maximal vertical decentralization combined with a minimum of horizontal

concentration of state power, an open electoral system as well as the ability of direct-democratic procedures, together create the highest number of points of access. (p.28)

The 'vertical decentralization' refers to the level of distribution of financial resources, tasks and competences within the country, namely over central or regional authorities. Consequently, social movements will direct their activities mainly towards the power holders whether they stand at the regional or central level. "In France and in the Netherlands the national level is by far the most important one; in Germany actions take place at the regional and local level" (p.29). On the other hand, the 'horizontal concentration of power' indicates the distribution of executive, legislative and judiciary powers and how social movements' groups can actually exploit it in their favor by for example contribute to the dismissal of the government. The last element, the nature of the electoral system describes the chances of a new political party to actually influence the decision-making process by accessing the parliament.

However, as the third variable of the strategies adopted by the political powers to contrast their challengers confirms, political elites play a vital role in this sense because depending on their openness towards the integration of challenging movements, the group's strategy will inevitably be modified. Integrative political elites who facilitate (through material and monetary support), assimilate (consultation) or cooperate (inclusion them in governmental advisory actors) with social movements, will face more moderate collective groups; whereas exclusive strategies such as repression will feed polarizing sentiments.

The fourth variable is particularly relevant when considering the political shift that happens within nations at every election. Each social movements tends to have closer affinity with some political parties than others due to their agenda and goals. For instance, generally speaking social movements form more often alliances with left-wing parties than right-wings ones (Van Heijden, 2007) and therefore would change their attitude every time a new political coalition governs the country. Van Heijden briefly describes the instance of France and Netherlands where the activity of social groups diminished considerably when left-wing parties had been elected.

### ***From social movements as mass protests to form of everyday activism***

Despite the intricate jungle of perspectives that scholars have adopted regarding collective movements, Gemma Edwards (2014) acknowledges that they all share some common features: a social movement is a collective action of a group of individuals who want to produce a social change within the society; a social movement is a

“durable” (Idem, p.5) event which repeatedly challenge the system and its authorities; a social movement is a group of people who share a common identity, a common belonging in contrast to the ‘others’ within the society; the protest is the fourth and final characteristic of social movements because they employ it in their constant struggle to achieve their objectives.

Whether implicitly or explicitly, rhetorical studies of social movements and social protest have suggested that at the center of such discourse is an exigency for change and a methodology relying on public protest. (Sowards and Renegar, 2012, p.57)

For instance in the book titled 'Social movement. An introduction" Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani (2005) use interchangeably the words social movement and social conflict, as to express the conviction that a social movement necessarily implies the employment of clashes and disruptive actions.

Likewise, Touraine (1985) admits that “there is an almost general agreement that social movements should be conceived as a special type of social conflict” (Touraine, 1985, p.750) because he later explains that the word 'conflict' implies in itself the existence of a clear and shared opponent and therefore of a precise ideology lying underneath the confrontation. In order to initiate an exhaustive analysis of social movements, he first decides to describe typologies of conflict and, subsequently, “the type of conflict I will from now on call a “social movement” is defined by a clear interrelation between conflicting actors and the stakes of the conflict” (p. 760).

Morris III and Browne (ed.) (2006) cite the work of Robert Cathcart who starts his argument from a different perspective and claims that in a societal structure, many groups and individuals seek changes but what really distinguishes a movement is that “it cannot be accommodated within the normal movement of the *status quo*” (Cathcart in Morris III and Browne (ed.), 2006, p.83). The conflict between the established and a new order is the basis of the movement creation and mobilization. This approach is called 'establishment-conflict theory' (Morris III and Browne (ed.), 2006, p.83).

Alternatively to the establishment-conflict theory, Smith and Windes (1975) (in Morris III and Browne (ed.), 2006) propose a different perspective that they call 'innovational movements'. Both theories share the final goal of promoting social change through the action of a group of people who creates a “drama” (Idem, p.84); however, on the other hand, what really differentiates the two types of movement is that the established-conflict movement is determined to create a new societal order with new values and possibly institutions, whereas the objective of the so-called 'innovational movement' is

to bring the changes without disrupting the status quo composed of hierarchical structures, values, etc..

Innovational movements' strategy is to maintain or establish a close collaboration with the public authorities and the dominant groups in order to promote the wished changes and make them happen. What a innovational movement tries to alter is solely a particular institution of the structure which it claims not functioning properly. "This is, however, a dangerous game. Strong complaints about institutional arrangements can lead to controversy with defenders of those institutions" (Idem, p.85). For this very reason the critique must be carefully measured.

Similarly, Marx and Holzner (1975) define a new model of social movement, which they call 'ideological primary groups'. According to them, the post-modern societies generate movements for cultural change rather than for structural alteration of the institutions. The core characteristic of this new model is that ideological primary groups "deal less with policies, strategies and tactical proposals for changing institutional structures than with cultural models of and for personal identity, social consciousness, and collective meaning" (p.313). Members of these groups exchange and analyses experiences and, as they are usually homogeneously composed, these practices become particularly significant and meaningful to construct "strategies for dealing with certain problems and issues that are important to all the members" (Idem, p.316). The final objective is to construct a common identity between the members who recognize themselves living in similar situations and ultimately, seeking common goals that Marx and Holzner call "socio-political consciousness" (p.318). The members of these groups firstly mobilize on an individual basis but the eventual result is to create a collectivity with both "personal identity and collective consciousness" (p.323).

Contrary to the focus of mainstream social movements which is centered on political and economic institutions and their reversal, the cultural movement of the ideological primary groups emphasizes greatly on the personal and collective identity over those institutions and connects them.

it is only in the absence of an authoritative centralized organization that prescribes and interprets doctrinal positions that these relatively autonomous movement groups can deliberately and self-consciously go about the task of collectively constructing their own ideological framework (p.324)

To sum up, beforehand comes the personal consciousness that will develop into a mass identity, a cultural movement. For this consciousness to be formed there is a need of

“free space” (p.321) and a moratorium which let the individual play different kinds of roles out of the normative rules and inserted in these spaces freed from constraints where new identities and types of reality are experienced frankly.

### *Forms of everyday activism*

Within the field of feminist studies, some authors (Sowards and Renegar, 2007; Stephenson-Abetz, 2011) confute the vision centered on protest and conflict and argue that within the feminist movement the practice of direct and explicit contention was not the main characteristic particularly starting from the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Sowards and Renegar, 2007). Their unique form of 'protest' relies more on an activism which is made of everyday actions especially in the domestic environment, the private sphere. The feminist group' members still see themselves as activists, although the mainstream academic and mobilized opinion would conceive them as apathetic, inactive or passive (Sowards and Renegar, 2007). The central problem here lies with the term 'activism', which does not anymore, in the third wave of feminism specifically, include only collective actions, showing off of banners as well as marches; but it is made of everyday “small contributions” (Sowards and Renegar, 2007, p.62). The contemporary feminists often do not distinguish between activism and daily life, everybody is leader of the movement and necessarily uses diverse means to express his/her identity as feminist. As Wong (in Sowards and Renegar, 2007) claims

a self-oriented activism that is more about self-affirmation, catharsis, and expression that generating social change...social change and awareness..is not the central goal for sharing one's thoughts. (p.67)

In fact, one of the many strategies of third wave feminism is the resistance to stereotypes and gender norms. “This individual activism may or may not inspire public protest, in contrast to what traditional studies of social movements suggest. Regardless, it stimulates personal empowerment and feminist consciousness” (Idem, p.69).

Stephenson-Abetz (2011) in her text about the importance of motherhood in feminism diffusion acknowledges that feminist mothers' daughters are surely embracing feminism because of the example of their mothers, but nevertheless those mothers do instill in them an approach towards a critical thinking over modern feminism. It is a form of empowerment that does not derive or it is not dictated from above, but that implies communication and self-construction of one's identity.

Analogously, Vivienne (in Scherer and Ball (ed), 2011) while investigating the queer digital storytelling and specifically a case study regarding the *Rainbow Family Tree* online community finds out that the participants felt a great sense of self-empowerment by the narration of their experiences through a personal lens, but at the same time by the support they have received from the readers of their stories. “This sharing personal stories in public spaces in pursuit of social change is an example of 'everyday activism'” (Vivienne and Burgess, 2012, p.362). Their being activist for the queer cause means that they desire to trigger social change rather than talk to “like-minded people” (Idem, p.366).

Another perhaps more popular and steadily increasing (Dalton, 2008; Stolle et al., 2005) example of everyday activism related to civic disobedience is the boycott of specific products, a practice that involves “approximately 22-48 percent of Americans and Europeans” (De Zuniga et al., 2013, p.489). It goes beyond the 'simple' participation into mass mobilization and campaigns, because it involves everyday continuous and repeated actions. “Many acts of political consumerism do not have an episodic or event-centric quality. Some boycotts are self-directed rather than organized, and many boycotts occur regularly as part of people's everyday routine” (Idem, p. 490).

In their pilot project about political consumerism in three different geographical contexts – Canada, Belgium and Sweden – Stolle et al. (2005) confirm that

the phenomenon...appears to be more individualized in nature, although it may be embedded in collective societal and political values more generally, and it is closely related to everyday activities and lifestyle politics...focuses less directly on influencing the governments of democracies and more on changing corporations...and general labor and production practices. (p.263)

Similarly, De Zuniga et al. (2013) point out that the word 'political consumerism' is misleading in itself because consumerism is not necessarily only political, but it can be better defined as “civic engagement” (p.492) that can as well trigger political consequences. On the other hand, Stolle et al. (2005) claim that

regardless of whether political consumers act individually or collectively, their market choices reflect an understanding of material products as embedded in a social and normative context, which can be called the politics behind products. (p.246)

All in all, scholars agree that the strategy of boycott is more related to an individual act than collective, but it necessarily reflects a political and moral position that cannot be ignored.

For instance, in their study of the American sweatshops boycott – a campaign that started in the State already before the civil war and has continued until the modern times however in different ways - Micheletti and Stolle (2007) recognize the capacity of the activists to establish a complex and dense network of “church groups; student groups; think tanks; policy institutes; foundations; consumer organizations; international organizations; local to global labor business investors; and international humanitarian and human rights organizations, networks and groups” (p.163) supported even by international celebrities. Although the wideness of the movement and the heterogeneity of people and groups composing it, their goal is one and non negotiable, namely to improve the working conditions of people worldwide. However, the campaigning groups believe that one of the most effective practices to change the global behavior towards critical buying habits passes through the single consumers, the single individuals. A mass of individuals could potentially change the balance in favor of a more responsible garment industry. There has been testified improvements regarding the willingness of major multinational corporations to improve their working standards (Micheletti and Stolle, 2007; Stolle et al., 2005): for example the anti-labour child campaign that successfully eliminated it in companies which trade with OECS countries (Micheletti and Stolle, 2007). “Workers in outsourced factories manufacturing for logo garment corporations are better off because of anti-sweatshop activism” (p.172).

The importance of the establishment of a collectivity which is composed by individuals acting individually but for a broader scope has been as well stressed in the research on the Italian 'Gruppi di Acquisto Solidale' (in English 'Solidarity Purchasing Groups') by Graziano and Forno (2012). “The main interest in the SPG phenomenon lies in the capacity of these groups to socialize and mobilize individuals and families...starting with day-to-day consumption practices and decisions” (p.122). The scholar additionally point out that the element of protest, considered by many (Edwards, 2014; Della Porta and Diani (2011) an intrinsic characteristic of social movements, is not existent in the phenomenon of SPGs. “SPGs do not usually rely on protest politics to advance their claims, rather, prefer more conventional activities, such as lobbying public authorities” (p.132).



## **Analysis**

The analytic chapter of this research wants to contribute to a deeper understanding of the role of Trampoline House (TH) and its mobilization for asylum seekers' and refugees' rights, while framing it within the context of Danish society and politics. The

first part is a brief historical recount of the TH, from the founding idea to the concrete realization of the space and collaborations. In direct continuity with the previous section, the second part of this chapter describes the TH mission and ideals as they are portrayed in the website and by the words of the TH director Morten Goll. This assessment will be balanced by a closer look to the role of the refugees as both agents and assets for the Danish community.

The third section continues the discourse of the asylum seekers' agency and questions it within the TH everyday activities. Through participatory observation and interviews, this part tries to draw a picture of the engagement and the equality which is described being one of the features that convinces people and activists to support and join the house.

Subsequently, the analysis retrieves from the interviews conducted and analyses the slight change of tactic that the TH has witnessed over the five years of activity, from a more 'visible' approach to a subtle one nevertheless, for Morten Goll, more efficient in terms of results achieved.

The fifth section is concerned with a thorny issue that might seem paradoxical, namely the fact that Trampoline House receives annually public funding from the government and precisely from the immigration Office, the same office in charge of the deportation and assessment of asylum applications. How does the House cope with it and what is its position on the matter?

The last part looks at the diversity of positions within the TH and how the various groups that compose it and run some activities collaborate with the House and effectively participate in it. Is this diversity a strength and consequently nurtured or rather kept aside and somehow silenced?

### ***Trampoline House – an history***

Trampoline House is a considerably young organization that has managed to expand exponentially over few years in terms of popularity and activities conducted. It was established in 2010 (“About”, n.d., para. 2), but the founding idea was developed during a series of art workshops called 'Asylum Dialogue Tank' (ADT) held in two asylum centers on the Danish territory at the beginning of 2009. The workshops were aimed at describing the degrading social and living conditions of the asylum seekers in Denmark with a special focus over the refugees' camps distributed all over the territory. At the very end of the workshops the participants realized that

any attempt to socially re-design the asylum centers would be fruitless. It was not the

architecture of the centers as such that was the problem. It was the number of years asylum seekers are forced to live in them without knowing if/when they will be granted asylum/deported – and without being able to work, educate themselves, and build relations to Danish society while they wait. (“History – The Asylum Dialogue Tank (ADT) ”, n.d., para. 2)

Since changing a policy requires time, the group decided to create a space in which the refugees could be always welcome and engaged in activities beneficial for them and their inclusiveness within the Danish reality. On the other hand, this would have been an occasion for Danish citizens to come in contact with asylum seekers and exchange knowledge and competencies. In this common space the refugees were “re-equipped with the basic civil rights that they are deprived of in the camps” (“History – The temporary Trampoline House and visAvis”, n.d., para. 1).

After few months of activity, OAK Foundation Denmark granted ADT - constituted of at the time 65 members and 100 volunteers - money for renting a permanent space and ever since the project has never stopped.

The ideology behind Trampoline House considers refugees as rational actors who can in this space socialize and interact with Danish residents and citizens to “create meaningful meetings and agency based on mutual respect, democratic learning, knowledge exchange, and network building” (“About – Activities”, n.d., para. 1).

The House provides its users with several services ranging from social and legal counseling to haircut and makeup classes. Danish language courses have been canceled recently due to the fact that Red Cross already arranges them thanks to the budget given by the Immigration Office.

Throughout the year – four days per week - the Trampoline House creates a weekly series of activities that help identify this place as a house for those who gather here and particularly for refugees who can break from an undeserving routine and find a welcoming and friendly space. There are foreign language classes taught by asylum seekers, IT courses and computer available for users, a playground for kids and a kitchen that is available to the users as well as many others social events.

Moreover, every Tuesday TH hosts a meeting which gathers all the volunteers of the House and the asylum-seekers to discuss the recent developments and/or activities hosted by the House and make further propositions.

In this latest period the House has hosted a special activity, Asylfestival that was held from the 23<sup>rd</sup> to 25<sup>th</sup> of April which witnessed the participation of many refugees from

the camps as well as the local people from Copenhagen; the visit of Thomas Gammeltoft-Hansen from the Danish Institute for Human Rights who engaged in a debate regarding the European Union' asylum policies and of Michala Clante Bendixen from Refugee Welcome who presented the Danish asylum system briefly in all its parts and details.

***The scope behind the space: asylum seekers as agents and assets***

As indicated on the website of Trampoline House, one of the ultimate goals is “to break the isolation that most asylum seekers find themselves in – and to provide them with the agency and the tools needed for them to better their social and legal situation” (“About”, n.d., para. 3).

In order to achieve it the activists aim at changing

the naive attitudes directed at foreigners – the fear sensed by the right-wing and the pity felt by the left-wing...to demonstrate that the Danish concept of integration should be changed from the current one-sided policy of assimilation to a reciprocal and even-handed meeting of equals (Copenhagen Post, May 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012).

Therefore the concept of agency is vital in order to let the asylum seekers being actors of the society and of the faith awaiting them in Europe.

One way to empower agency is to share opinions and thoughts regarding the TH but not solely. On a regular basis – every week on Tuesday – Trampoline House meets with the volunteers along with the civil society and the refugees.

*Then there is the House meeting which is quite of a big activity where almost all the people meet and talk about what's happening in the House and also I think recently there has been a lot of talk about things happening in the society outside, for instance there was quite a long talk about the shooting in Paris..and very reflective, I was very impressed how reflective this group was. And even where there was the shooting in Copenhagen there was a long talk about that. (Nanna, 24 April 2015))*

By sharing reactions and points of views Trampoline House wants to make the refugees feel they are part of it, they contribute to its development; furthermore it makes them feel part of Denmark and part of the debate around the asylum seekers issue, a debate which includes them as passive receivers and often excludes their voices.

*What inspired me about here is one of the very few spaces where you have refugees able to do some sort of politics. Because even though you organize a women club...it is political because refugees are excluded from the political space...there is still a room for the refugees to come and do their things...I see that there was a lot of potential in here. (Josè, 25 April 2015)*

One more way to make the refugees be agents of themselves is through education and competence. According to the words of Morten Goll, the creative director of Trampoline House, when refugees come to Denmark they lack basic skills of language and qualification in order to be spent into the labor market and social life. For this very reason, Trampoline House provides activities such as IT courses and language school along many more others in order to professionalize the asylum seekers and give them the necessary expertise to be employed in the Danish labour market or elsewhere.

*I think is very important to stand up for yourself...educate yourself, speak the language is very important. You have to start somewhere and here is the place. Go to school, learn the language and stand up for yourself because you have the same right as everybody else in Denmark...We have to show them that we are good enough, we are strong enough, we are educated enough, we are intelligent and we are here to do something for the community. (Participant of Asylfestival 25 April 2015)*

But not solely. TH is currently collaborating with some supermarket companies such as Fakta, Qvickly and ISS Denmark in order to “make it possible for asylum seekers to find internships and jobs in the regular job market and they want to help us” (Morten, 24 April 2015). This has been made possible because the ruling coalition alongside other political parties have presented a 20-page proposal – but not yet approved - to enable asylum seekers to work in a normal job market. The Trampoline House in the words of Morten strongly supports this intention.

*I know that ISS is a capitalist corporation and actually they only do it because they think they can make money, but that's beautiful. I would love to help them employ asylum seekers if they think they can make more money...and they do...If we want to change the world we have to start working with it and not against all the time...Yes it's nice you get a really nice identity, a fixed identity, you know exactly who you are because you are the one pressing against all the rest, but you are not gonna change*

*it.* (Morten, 24 April 2015)

Additionally, the house is seen as a space where network contacts can be established and strengthened in order to help the refugees to more easily find jobs and accommodation once they receive the positive. Asylum seekers are to be considered citizens who despite a lack of official residency are entitled to similar rights such as schooling and work, because they can efficiently enrich and contribute to our society in a meaningful way.

For a refugee like K.

*it is an open space where you can say what you want, you can do what you want. You know in Denmark people live in the centers that is isolated but here you can do a lot of activities, you can learn the language..at that time you could learn the language now they do not teach the language anymore, you could do many many different things. Could meet new friends, Danes...When I came here I did not have anyone to tell my problems but when I find the house I could talk with Morten...to the people coming to the House.* (28 April 2015)

Given the lonely conditions asylum seekers are forced to be living in, the House provides friendships and actual commitment. “They are here to make better life for the people living in the centers” (K., 28 April 2015)

However, on a long-term basis, the purpose is to change the Danish asylum policies and make them “more just and humane” (“About”, n.d., para. 4) through the sensitization of the public about the social conditions of refugees in Denmark. On this regard Morten admits that the journey will be particularly hard and tortuous. “Of course our plan is it would be nice to change...the society, but starting with the House” (Morten 24 April 2015).

### ***Refugees' agency?***

Despite the noble intentions just introduced above, the Trampoline House is placed in a “very paradoxical situation” (José, 25 April 2015) because it is in between the civil society and the refugees.

*There is a social democracy and a possible collaboration between the civil society and the government but refugees are not included into civil society because they are not in position to negotiate. The negotiation is already done for them so that civil society negotiates with the government about refugees. I think is a paradoxical situation because if you go by the assumption that Trampoline House is set up to establish this space for negotiation with the government, you have to also take into account that de facto refugees are excluded from what you call civil society...they do not fit into that category. (Josè, 25 April 2015)*

*There is staff of three four people with Danish passport...And still I think there is some democracy within it but it is not led by people who are refugees. (Nanna, 24 April 2015)*

Refugees are not solely de facto marginalized but are in fact ostracized from participation:

*I think they are very inclusive but when it comes to that I have the impression that they (refugees) can go and enter a certain place. But when, for example, we are having a refugee that coordinates the House I think that that would be destabilizing...It is just the logic of the House and of course because the House is funded partly by the Ministry of Immigration so I don't think that the Ministry of Immigration would like to have a refugee running the House. (Josè, 25 April 2015)*

And as well within the House the egalitarian collaboration between the refugees and the Danish activists is debated by Morten who says that for instance during a public hearing organized during the Asylfestival he had been asked to be part of the panel which was in charge of mediating the conversation and of giving answers to some of the asylum seekers' doubts, but he felt not appropriate for the role.

*We don't know anything how it is like to live in a camp...the asylum seekers are the experts and we should really start listening...they are not only experts on asylum seekers, they are experts if we want to improve the Danish democracy...the Danish society decided that they should be excluded and that's the terror of democracy...we have to put their voices on the line. (Morten, 24 April 2015)*

On the other hand when refugees ask him to be on the panel is the proof that “he is

working here”, that they believe the House is functioning and improving.

*I will give you an example I know that is very controversial. In the end of the eighteenth century there was a slaves revolution in Haiti and at the moment it was unthinkable that slaves would make a revolution but it is not the same but it is quite similar because now it is unthinkable that refugees would make politics...so when that becomes thinkable then it destabilizes the normativity of the society... so I think that Trampoline House is precisely a trampoline to start making people reflect ...they need to change I mean people...both ways.. (Josè 25 April 2015)*

### ***From the front-line to an everyday activism***

Two of the interviewees came to know about the Trampoline House by the events which took place in Denmark in 2012 when Syrians and Iranians in refugee camps started hunger strikes to protests against deportations and their demeaning conditions of living.

*It was some people of Iraq who was going to be deported..and then there was a lot of activists to support them and then there was a very big protest in the streets...the police were very brutal and telling they hadn't used violence and it was kind of documented on film that they were using violence. (Nanna, 24 April 2015)*

At that time the Trampoline House had made itself particularly visible by joining and organizing demonstrations. For instance the initiative called 'Close the Camp' through rallies outside some of the asylum centers was meant to break the isolation of the refugees living in the camps by closing them definitely down and find new and alternative ways of inclusion.

On another occasion the House visited Aalborg and arrived with a lot of people from very diverse ethnic backgrounds. According to the words of Signe, an interviewee, they brought along very nice material and presented themselves in such a convincing and reasonable way that she decided to establish a group – now called Asylforum - in order to create a similar platform for the whole North Jutland starting from Aalborg.

What particularly impressed the interviewees was the idea of inclusion and equal participation that Trampoline House promoted and effectively brought into action.

Nanna once attended a public hearing held in the House and remained positively impressed by their organization and willingness to make everybody, no matter the language, actively participate.



*Even though it took a long time to translate to all the languages, this communication was made so that a lot of people could participate...how this created the inclusion of many people...and the people in this public hearing were not people with residency, that had been living there for long time but were people from the camps that could speak about their own conditions...but also it is not others representing them.*  
(Nanna, 24 April 2015)

Additionally Trampoline House in order to achieve as much participation as possible during events and activities pays tickets from and to the camps for some of the asylum seekers especially willing to take part in them. As stated in TH's webpage the attendance of these activities has always been high due probably to the fact that at the very beginning and for some time the House was economically capable of paying one ticket each week for every asylum seeker accommodated within the area of greater Copenhagen, but recently, due to financial constraints they can pay only tickets for asylum seekers who are volunteers or regularly attend the activities.

### ***The refugees' safety first and foremost***

Trampoline House aims at being a safe place for the refugees, an extremely vulnerable sector of the society and for this very reason the participation in demonstrations and in disruptive actions that may turn illegal or violent and which puts solely refugees and not the Danish supporters at risk, the latter paying a small fines whereas the former paying the high price of deportation for criminal records, is not encouraged.

*We are not doing any actions that are sort of illegal..because it might be OK for the Danish participants to take actions which might end up in a court..because they will get smaller fine or something but if you as an asylum seeker do the same you might lose the right to the case in the country because if you break the law...you lose your case.* (Morten, 24 April, 2015)

But

*For that reason it is important to find a way to still work for the improvement of asylum seekers' lives but to do it in a way where we can continue work and at the same time support people' cases...We have a political scene in Denmark where a lot of the politics conducted are based on fear and are based on the desire of politicians to raise that fear and votes.* (Morten, 24 April, 2015)

According to him, fear can be raised only among ignorant people who will believe it, but Trampoline House wants to challenge and fight back this approach by “introducing the 'others' right into the mid of the Danish society” (Morten, 24 April, 2015).

He admits that would be a great breakthrough to change the policies of immigration in Denmark, but the House uses a more concrete and realistic approach. First of all every democracy needs a territory in which individuals are recognized and exist and the mission of the House is to create this space in which they can exercise democracy, a “model of democracy”.

*We have to exist somewhere, we have to exist in a realm where we can introduce some rules in a democratic ground which allows us to feel that we are part of something and that we are obliged to change the internal rules if it doesn't work.*  
(Morten, 24 April, 2015)

On the other hand, one of the organizers of Asylfestival “wish(es) there would be more direct struggling happening in Copenhagen and more direct political resistance and that's also why we have planned this festival” (Nanna, 24 April 2015).

And not only her.

*After the three days...different workshops, discover what the problem is, when we walk out of this door today, what are we going to do? Am I going out there and wait for another workshop like this again and talk about the problem? Are we ready, are we fired up, are we angry enough to walk out this door and say 'We are going to change something about the system, we are going to change the system no matter how strong it is'. I think this should be the challenge of us today. Once we walk out of this door we should not have the mentality of continuing to complain what the problem is...We also have to stop being reactionary...Let's go out there and actually do something...We have seen a lot of revolutions in many parts of the world, we have seen a lot of people raising up and speak their voices...We have to stand up, we have to revolt, we have to do something.* (Participant of Asylfestival 25 April 2015)

*We need to continue to do that (fight) together but..with our community here in Denmark.* (Participant of Asylfestival 25 April 2015)

However, despite this criticism, the activists acknowledge that the Trampoline House is

a peculiar environment where the Danish society and refugees really collaborates on an proportionate level, creates a mixed place to meet and build up friendships.

*In Copenhagen at least it happens a lot there are activists' groups who fight against racism but the whole group is only consisting of white people who were born in Denmark. So to make this more like the meeting and understanding each other I think is really important in the long run. And also with these moments of rupture...but there is more this everyday activism (in Trampoline House). (Nanna, 24 April 2015)*

Nevertheless, she recognizes that a combination of both protest action and everyday activity is needed in Denmark and probably is missing in the House. One event that particularly disappointed her regarding the House was during the hunger strikes that occurred in some asylum camps few years ago. Some of the refugees protesting asked the House for a direct support of their cause, but Trampoline House refused and for her this “was really problematic...and that point the Trampoline House really remained passive” (Nanna, 24 April 2015). Although their method was extreme, they have all the rights to find the best way to get the message out.

This is not only the personal opinion of one volunteer, but these sort of discussions have happened already within the groups and are constantly addressed at the weekly meetings.

### ***'With' the asylum seekers through public funding***

Despite its rhetoric against the isolation and the draconian Danish regulations, Trampoline House receives funding from the Danish government and specifically from the Immigration Office which is in charge of the deportations and the application assessments.

I ask Morten whether it is paradox and he without any hesitation says “yes of course is a paradox, but democracy is a paradox...We are also part of democracy, this is a democratic institution”.

*The reason why the government supports the Trampoline House is because there was a point in the Danish democracy in which there was 91 votes in the Parliament for the idea of supporting this House. I was doing a lot of lobby work with the politicians and they decided to support the Trampoline House..You can read the law and they copy our mission statement 'activities that work 'with' asylum seekers, not*

*for asylum seekers...and that's beautiful. Why wouldn't we receive the money that has been so focused for us?...Of course we have to take it. (Morten, 24 April, 2015)*

By being part of this democracy and the system obliges them to accept the fund because “Who else can do the job better than us?”. Practically speaking, then the House costs 2.5 Danish krone million every year so to survive the money is needed. “If the state creates a problem is the state that took upon its responsibility to resolve the problem. They did a good thing” (Morten, 24 April, 2015).

But an activist holds a very diverse vision why the political authority has accepted to donate part of its annual budget to the Trampoline House:

*and the other aspect is...again the social democratic government gives money to the Trampoline House but the social democratic government has a very aggressive discourse against refugees especially now, so it's a very paradoxical situation...and it tells you why they support it as well because they can see that it is not threatening any of their space of movement. (Josè, 25 April, 2015)*

According to Morten Goll' words the new government led by Helle Thorning-Schmidt, a coalition between the Social Democrats and the Danish Social Liberal Party, is a better interlocutor than a right-wing government, despite the fact that the current coalition used a rhetoric impregnated with “despicable and rude” (Morten, 24 April, 2015) slogans to win the elections and maintain popularity.

They can achieve more by staying on the “inside of the system” (Morten, 24 April, 2015), a system, the Danish one which is highly controlled and difficult to cheat, unlike others, especially in the southern Europe (Morten, 24 April 2015). By convincing the government and the big firms that integration is possible through the collaboration with the Trampoline House.

Morten has personally good relations with some members of the government, for instance he mentions Johanne Schmidt-Nielsen from the Red-Green Alliance Party and his plan to call her to ask to contact the Finance Minister and solve a thorny issue regarding the financing of the House.

He then recalls another event connected to a financial crisis they had been through and he simply called the Parliament and asked directly to reestablish the deal.

*That's democracy when it works...And of course is not me as a person, is the*

*Trampoline House because I know they are working for something that changing this country potentially so they are working with us, they want this to happen.* (Morten, 24 April, 2015)

And this can happen because “they (Trampoline House) do not act like anarchists” (Morten, 24 April, 2015).

In the past there was a group of people belonging to the Trampoline House who raised the question of being too moderate and soft towards the responsible of the awful asylum seekers' and refugees' situation, but they are now the ones organizing the Asylfestival in the House.

*They understand that is quite an open space and on the other hand they have to acknowledge that there was not proper leftist ever in this country that managed to do five years of Trampoline House like this. It is really unique...and it only happens because we know how to act in different circles.* (Morten, 24 April, 2015)

Some of the activists admit that Trampoline House needs the money for running but “those linkages are very dangerous” (Josè, 25 April 2015) because the donors then will necessarily have some sort of control of what happens within the House.

*Some for example now they wanna cut down some funding because they are having Danish classes, and the Immigration Service doesn't want because they also spend money in the Red Cross...so they don't wanna give money to Trampoline House to teach Danish.* (Josè, 25 April 2015)

To him this situation is going to escalate even to other activities.

*In the short-term is a good strategy but in the long-term I think that politically, if you are organising politically is important to have a distance from that, from people in power. The people in power are white people and they don't want refugees to start talking about issues that are not supposed to be talked about...The immigrants that are allowed to enter the political space are very few and those who enter are people who say what they wanna hear...The Trampoline House is subordinated in some way.* (Josè, 25 April 2015)

From a Copenhagen Post's investigation of the Trampoline House, emerges the issue of

a space that aims to be a model to be exported to other localities both in Denmark and abroad. However, an activist of Trampoline House fears that by expanding, the House will become a substitute of the state and of its services and will necessarily stop to be a critical voice. As a matter of fact, according to the activist Trampoline House needs to both criticize and work jointly with the Danish authority in order to provide an alternative that could become embedded into the statal structure.

### ***A diversity that strengthens?***

*There is a very small amount of people that in Copenhagen are active on this issue..of course is not that we have to agree on everything but still work together and just recognize that we have different strategies...how can we support each other, build strength through that...But I think there is not a lot big radical movement here in Copenhagen...small groups. (Nanna, 24 April 2015)*

In addition to what has been said of the Trampoline House so far, it is moreover a center where several diverse pro-migrants and refugees organizations find a space to organize events and meet up. Their composition, expertise and activities are varied but as demonstrated by the Asylfestival they are all welcome in the House. Regarding the festival, it was a joint collaboration between independent activists of the group Asylfestival and the activists at the Trampoline House and some refugees.

*Some of these activists they do not have so much experience in terms of engaging in multicultural dialogue...in terms of many different levels of education because most of these Danish activists of course they come from university and they are really passionate..but maybe they do not know so much about how to organize...where there is no language. Where the languages are so different and the educational levels are so different...This is what we do at the House and I think that at the House...we have developed a technique that is quite unique. (Morten, 24 April 2015)*

The diversity within the House does not seem to be a problem according to the words of Morten, who admits that they undergo similar discussions on a regular basis at their weekly meetings. He brings up the example of a religious class which takes place in the House but it is independently driven. It is a class where people read the Bible, both people who want to convert and know more about Christianity and those who are already Christians. Of course this seems to collide with the ideology behind the

Asylfestival because in his opinion these Christian classes tend to be a bit more conservative given the religious factor.

*I think that both are an expression of democracy...so this is what the House is about...And if we think about democracy then the camps are the abject of democracy..because is what democracy does not want to accept...we cannot have democracy with this kind of institutions (the asylum centers). (Morten, 24 April 2015)*

But in spite of what Morten says, the coordinators of the House in the words of Josè, an activist, already take some decisions prior to asking the House, prior to any Tuesday meeting because they are the ones meeting with the public authorities, the ones who have direct contact with them and they are particularly able to “navigate through the constraints” (Josè, 25 April 2015) that the government imposes.

## **Discussion**

Through the participatory observation and the interviews conducted during the one-week fieldwork research at the Trampoline House in Copenhagen (23 April - 28 April, 2015), the House has been ‘dissected’ and analyzed using a critical eye, attempting to

reveal aspects that are not immediately and explicitly available for an outsider viewer. Thanks to the collaborative attitude of the interviewees and their self-criticism I could discover angles of the culture house which have resulted useful for answering my problem formulation.

First of all, on the one hand, the Trampoline House promotes itself as a place for the empowerment of the refugees through a series of activities hosted on a weekly basis and for the bridging between two distance but nevertheless neighboring communities - the Danish and the asylum seeker's; however, on the other hand it is run mainly by Danish people who, according to some insiders, take vital decisions regarding the place beforehand communal meetings due to the fact that they hold the contacts with the policy makers and the broader civil society and as a consequence of being Danish citizens have bargaining power. In fact, rather than working *with* the refugees, it appears that Trampoline House works *for* them in certain aspects, contrary to its values. "Our mission statement (is) activities that work with asylum seekers and not for asylum seekers" (Morten, 24 April 2015).

In regard to the activities happening within the four walls of the House, refugees and asylum seekers together are very welcome to raise their voice, propose, be part of the organization – as a matter of fact many groups gravitating around the House and arranging events include refugees and asylum seekers, who are facilitated to come by the provision of transportation tickets -; however what happens outside the place, especially in conjunction with the political powers, is terrain for Danish activists. As expressed explicitly by the activist José, the political powers would not like to have to deal face-to-face with asylum seekers in the first place, for this reason the House has a board exclusively composed by Danish members who can maintain a lower and less contentious profile vis-a-vis the authorities.

An instance of it is the weekly Tuesday meeting where everybody attending can vote and comment on proposals, but when the House had to cancel the Danish language class because of an overlap with the Red Cross, the resolution could not be voted democratically, but simply be accepted and implemented. A similar situation happened as recalled by the activist Nanna who complains about the fact that Trampoline House did not take side when the refugees back in 2012 began to hunger strike to shed light over their isolated conditions in the asylum centers, while some parts of the culture space would have liked a shared support of their cause.

Additionally, the words of Morten Goll regarding his participation as a member of a public hearing's panel held at Asylfestival can be interpreted as a willingness to



maintain neutrality. The panel was meant to moderate the discussion conducted by the asylum seekers but to provide as well with practical information regarding the Danish system and the possibility for asylum seekers to navigate through it. What Morten says concerning his meaningless role in it can be understood as an act of passivity of the TH which hosts the event but does not want to take part in it and especially take direct and clear position on this sensitive matter.

In fact, the core of the House revolves around its being an open and actively engaged place where various activities happen at least four days per week, all year around. In this way asylum seekers perceive the place as a 'house' and they can create tight and hopefully permanent links with the volunteers and the occasional guests of Trampoline House. This is a form of everyday activism that aims at establishing not a common identity based on a shared a political belief or cultural identity, but rather a cultural/social model and social consciousness as Marx and Holzner (1975) have defined in their work and called 'ideological primary group'. The change of institutional structures is not the primary goal of the House – even though an ideal long-term project -, but as stated on the official website, the change of attitudes of refusal and skepticism that pervade the Danish society when confronted with foreigners and particularly refugees.

*If people stop fearing than it's gonna be very hard to...make them vote for the xenophobic agenda...We go straight to the roots of the problem. (Morten, 24 April 2015)*

Through a daily as well as egalitarian collaboration between the Danish population and the asylum seekers, a collective conscience of respect and empathy is created and strengthened. Asylum seekers are not to be seen as a danger for the society, but as assets and potential citizens. Some example of this tendency and the consequent attempt to realize it are visible. First of all, the Asylfestival which invited everybody from the broader society to the asylum seekers to attend because the topics faced were many and varied and could potentially interest a vaster public; secondly a potential collaboration between TH and some students from Copenhagen university has been initiated as the latter proposed the House to redesign their logo and make it more visible and appealing for the Danish audience. A third element is the idea of collaborating with some important firms in order to let asylum seekers work while waiting for the final response of the Danish authority, in this way asylum seekers could be more deeply and

meaningfully integrated into the Danish system and hopefully a higher number of people would acknowledge the fact that they are not threats for the Danish community. This represents a drastic and nevertheless significant alteration of the prevailing discourse so popular nowadays in many European states and not solely. This is, according to Morten Goll the democratic system of the House where everybody, no matter whether refugees or Danish citizens has a voice and an equal status, a system that does not work at the political level, where an entire and relevant segment of the society, the asylum seekers, are intentionally kept away from the decision-making venues.

As many times stated by Morten and other activists the House aims at being a safe and friendly place for refugees and the least thing it aspires to be is a polemical space vis-a-vis the public authorities where the vulnerable asylum seekers are at risk of deportation. They chose to collaborate with the government, to maintain a low profile in order to change the refugees' situation from the inside, without putting at risk anybody's application and consequently life. In fact by demonstrating on the streets, by making themselves visible to the broader public – like it has happened already in other European countries -, even if peacefully and legally, the House fears that the situation might degenerate into illegal acts that will consequently affect the application of the asylum seekers involved. A similar situation occurred in the past when the police force had turned violent on the demonstrators.

In order to achieve this goal, it appears that the House needs to be represented by preferably white, Danish citizens with a reasonable voice that can negotiate and maintain a neutral perspective. Some interviewees suggest that if represented by refugees, the collaboration will soon deteriorate given their inevitable biased position. However, what appears clear from the interviews is that the cooperation with the authorities and the maintenance of friendly relations is critical not merely for the refugees' safeguard but for the survival of the House itself and its activities. Annually Trampoline House is granted 5 million Danish krone to pay the rent of the place, the salaries of some activists and the activities. Without this budget the House would not exist. The lobby work that its coordinators have brought forward resulted fruitful to achieve the annual confirmation of the public funding, but it has been sometimes a challenge to maintain year by year due to misunderstandings and negotiations. The words of the creative director Morten Goll suggest that the House and himself keep collaborative ties with the political spheres but it is not always an easy task, as demonstrated by the cancellation of Danish language classes and the budget issue taken place several time in the past. To use an euphemism, their hands seem to be tied up by

the wills of the political parties who could withdraw their collaboration at any moment, especially in times of elections, like the current ones.

Therefore it appears essentially evident that the asylum issue does not represent a priority for the establishment and the pledge of funding might stand for the desire of differentiate the party's politics from the rhetoric of the opposition. Moreover Morten and the House fight for a category of people who are not potential voters in the elections thus the political elites are not concerned about the propaganda in order to obtain additional and crucial constituencies for victory.

In spite of all the obstacles overcome and challenges faced according to Morten, the political actors showed sign of being receptive towards the needs of Trampoline House and have understood that they are not a direct threat for their severe asylum policies; therefore the lobby activity of Morten and others has produced successful outcomes. Interesting is the fact that despite a radical alteration in the government coalition since the former elections of 2011 – featuring now a Liberal democratic ruling party -, the mainstream discourse regarding diversity within the society and the related issue of the refugees have maintained aggressive tones and narratives, but it has not prevented the House from obtaining regular fund.

*There was no leftist party ever in this country that managed to do five years of Trampoline House like this...I think it is quite an achievement. (Morten 24 April 2015)*

Contrary to what Van Heijden (2007) claims, the Social Democrats who promote a draconian regulation over immigration and asylum have kept the promise and funded the House until now. Collaborations between social movements' groups and centrist/right-wing parties can occur in certain circumstances.

Having said that, the debate and negotiations around the refugee issue does not seem to be highly influenced by the peculiar Scandinavia corporatism and social democratic system. As already mentioned in the theoretical framework, social democracy alongside corporatism seem to have decreased in Scandinavia long time ago. The social democratic parties have moved towards being more centrist and fora in which the civil society actually participates into decision-making debates have diminished, of perhaps never initiated especially if we are talking about asylum seekers, as they are not officially part of the community and do not bear negotiation power. Furthermore, as repeated by Morten, he defines the activity to promote the TH at the parliamentary level

an operation of lobbying; he did not mention anything regarding a round table of talks and negotiations. Trampoline House and asylum seekers do not have resources to offer to the decision-making elites and the only means to achieve some results is through actions of lobbying.

However, some 'points of access' have been indeed found and utilized by the TH. As Van Heijden suggests (2007) and the interviews confirm, the political elites, or at least part of them, resulted decisively vital in the process of compromise and facilitation by pledging constant fund, while others, especially “the ministers hate us” (Morten, 24 April 2015). It is nevertheless essential to keep in mind that the representation of Danish citizens might have been an asset for the positive accomplishment, as some interviews advance.

However, within the House there are individuals and groups who would like to see more direct engagement of the Trampoline House and the civic society as a whole. As a matter of fact, Asylfestival was born for precisely this reason and through participating I could understand that some of the collective groups hosted for the event would be willing to contribute to a implementation of a new protest strategy of the House as the situation is aggravating and has already become unsustainable for the asylum seekers who have not witnessed any improvement. The challenge was not directed towards the House openly, but it held a subtle reference that the overall achievement obtained so far in Denmark was not considered enough, as groups campaigning for similar rights are fragmented and uncooperative. Within this diversity of approaches and visions the collaboration does not seem to be jeopardized because activists and refugees see the potential of the Trampoline House in the future and accept the status quo. As a matter of fact, the same group that was in charge of the organization of the Asylfestival once raised the issue of the House being too “soft” towards the political powers, but nevertheless they borrowed the Trampoline House for their event and have been proposed by the coordinator to be officially part of it in the organization department.

They desire to see the House keep working as it has always been doing because it is a free space where they will be all the time welcome. The collective but in the meantime diversified identity composed by the variety of voices, organizations and opinions prevailing within the Trampoline House is the proof of an eclectic core which to a certain extent lets the various groups freedom to arrange activities but, on the other hand, maintains the privilege of final decisions.

## **Conclusions**

Pro-asylum groups have been investigated by numerous scholars all over the world (Vecchio and Beatson, 2014; Basok, 2009) and in Europe (Tyler and Marciniak, 2013; De Tona and Moreo, 2012; Monforte and Dufour, 2011; Danese, 2001) but what this

literature mostly employs are the categories of analysis devised and utilized by social movements' theorists, such as resources, political opportunities and collective psychology. As a matter of fact, the current research applies the Political Opportunity Structure theory (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004; Edwards, 2014) to the study but on the other hand challenges the understanding of collective movements as essentially groups which practice contentious actions. However, a niche literature which looks at social movements' groups under a different light exists. Daily actions of feminist advocacy (Sowards and Renegar, 2007; Stephenson-Abetz, 2011; Scherer and Ball (ed), 2011; Vivienne and Burgess, 2012) or sustainable consumption choices (Dalton, 2008; Stolle et al., 2005; Micheletti and Stolle, 2007) are only few instances of what this literature names 'everyday activism', a commitment that is repeated routinely even by small, apparently insignificant deeds. A debate whether those actions are politically led exists, particularly in regard to certain social struggles such as consumption choices (De Zuniga et al., 2013; Stolle et al., 2005); however the case study of this paper implies already a clear political position. Trampoline House is a house, as the name suggests, and a space where asylum seekers and the Danish population can share and freely live through the organization of activities. The aim of the House directly and unmistakably conveys the message that asylum seekers should be welcome to live among the locals and enjoy the full range of rights as they do in the TH.

However, if looked deeper and carefully, the House experiences many constraints. In order to comprehend them, I have deemed vital to insert the TH within its national framework and tradition of collective movements (Vivekanandan, 1988; Skjeie and Siim, 2000; Oberg et al., 2011; Blom-Hansen, 2000). In Denmark the social democratic consensus politics and culture that has evolved during the nineteenth century and promoted an ideology of equality and participation have given rise to forms of corporatism where the civil society, organized in interests groups, draws closer to the policy-makers and decision-making venues. However, from the 1970s these features have been in visible decline (Oberg and al. 2011; Arter, 2003), a change that may suggest the House is prevented from participating into the public sphere advancing the rights of the asylum seekers.

Despite this downturn, TH has managed to obtain annual funding amounting to 5 million Danish krone through a lobby work by its coordinator Morten Goll. According to the definition of corporatism given by Oberg et al. (2011), the civil and the political party/ies engage into a mutual exchanging relation where each of them has something that the other part desires, such as constituency support or finance; however this description does not apply to asylum seekers as they do not have anything to offer in

exchange to favorable policies that will benefit their situation. The relation between the pro-asylum group of TH and the political institutions is asymmetrical but still the Danish state offers an annual budget.

Given this fund, the House appears to be constrained in its movements. Officially they do not employ defiant acts towards the political powers in order to prevent asylum seekers from risking the approval of their refuge application; but another reason is that TH does not represent a threat for the political powers and their severe asylum policies and narratives (Josè, 25 April 2015). Additionally, the TH uses Danish people in the figure of their coordinators in order to maintain the contacts with the decision-making authorities, because an asylum seekers as representative would be destabilizing (Josè, 25 April 2015). Through its everyday activism TH continues to promote the cause of asylum seekers and their demeaning isolation in Denmark while maintaining peaceful relationship with the responsible authorities for the current Danish asylum system.

Considering all the above obstacles, internally the House aims at being an egalitarian place for both asylum seekers and Danish citizens; but even at this level, some important decisions are made by the coordinators and are not discussed democratically between the members, as for instance the cancellation of Danish classes.

The discovery of the central role of the budget suggests that in the analysis of this specific case study of a social movements' group the Resource Mobilization Theory (see here p.23; see also Della Porta and Diani, 2005; Edwards, 2014) is crucial to understand the strategies exerted. The everyday activism of the TH cannot be fully explained by the Political Structure Opportunity theory revolves around the necessity of obtaining the 5 million Danish krone to keep the place and the activities. Therefore, in an investigation of a collective group aiming at changing the political and social landscape a combination of diverse approaches must be considered and eventually put into practice.

What I believe to be extremely vital for a complete research of the TH and equally other Danish pro-asylum groups is a deeper research in the area of what in this project has been referred to as the 'everyday activism', an aspect of collective movements that has been disregarded in certain fields of the scholarly literature on social movements but which, if further implemented, would allow to enhance the theoretical background and understanding of the conditions under which movements arise, develop and consolidate. In particular, the everyday activism research should be directed towards an understanding of how such individual actions can lead towards collective mobilizations as already suggested by Marx and Holzner (1975) in their definition of ideological primary groups and their collective consciousness (here pp. 27-28).

The time frame is also particularly relevant when studying the development of a social

movement. As already mentioned (see here pp. xx), the Trampoline House has changed its approach since it was established and the pledging of 5 million krone and this might occur again with the upcoming Danish national elections to be held in November 2015. If a xenophobic party like Dansk Folkeparti won the next presidential elections, the yearly funding could experience a cut or a total nullification, thus the TH would have to find other ways to provide the same services and space for the asylum seekers. The 'opening up' of opportunities (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004) in politics and society is of vital importance to grasp the change and transformations undergone by a social movements, and this is also the case for the TH in Denmark. Collective groups need to be constantly investigated under altering circumstances as much as the political systems and their alterations.

## **REFERENCES**

Arter, D. (2003). Scandinavia: What's left is the social democratic welfare consensus. *Parliamentary Affairs*, 56(1), 75-98.



- Asylum festival tackles 'xenophobic rhetoric' (2015, April 23). *The Local*. Retrieved from <http://www.thelocal.dk/>
- Basok, T. (2009). Counter-hegemonic human rights discourses and migrant rights activism in the US and Canada. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 50(2), 183-205
- Berg, B. L. (2001). *Qualitative research methods for the social sciences*. (2<sup>nd</sup>. ed.) Boston : Allyn and Bacon.
- Binderkrantz, A. S., & Christiansen, P. M. (2015). From classic to modern corporatism. Interest group representation in Danish public committees in 1975 and 2010. *Journal of European Public Policy* , 1-18.
- Blom-Hansen, J. (2000). Still corporatism in scandinavia? A survey of recent empirical findings. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 23(2), 157- 181
- Browne, S. H. (2006). In Morris C. E.,III (Ed.), *Readings on the rhetoric of social protest* (2<sup>nd</sup>. ed.) Pennsylvania, PA. : Strata Publishing.
- Bryman, A. (2012) (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). In Bryman A. (Ed.), *Social research methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Caiani, M. (2009). In Della Porta D. (Ed.), *Social movements and europeanization* Oxford : Oxford University Press.
- Carrier, F. (2015, April 13). At least nine dead after migrant boat sinks off Libya. *The Local*. Retrieved from <http://www.thelocal.dk/>
- Danese, G. (1998). Transnational collective action in Europe: The case of migrants in Italy and Spain. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24(4), 715-733.
- Dalton, R. J. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56(1), 76-98.
- Della Porta, D., 1956-, & Keating, M., 1950-. (2008). In Della Porta D. (Ed.), *Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences : A pluralist perspective* . Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- De Tona, C., Moreo, E. (2012). Theorizing migrant-led activism. In Lentin, R., Moreo, E. (Eds.), *Migrant activism and integration from below in Ireland*. (21-41). Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

- De Zúñiga, H. G., Copeland, L., & Bimber, B. (2014). Political consumerism: Civic engagement and the social media connection. *New Media & Society*, 16(3), 488-506.
- DF and Liberal Alliance propose sending refugees back to countries neighbouring conflict zones. (2014, October 9). *The Copenhagen Post*. Retrieved from <http://cphpost.dk>
- Edwards, G. (ed.) (2014), *Social movements and protest*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Flick, U. (2007). In Flick U. (Ed.), *Designing qualitative research*. Los Angeles, Calif.: SAGE.
- Goodwin, J., Jasper, J.M. (ed.) (2004), *Rethinking social movements: structure, meaning, and emotions*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Graziano, Paolo, R., Forno, & Francesca. (2012). Political consumerism and new forms of political participation. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 644(1), 121-133.
- Hallas, P., Hansen, A., Stæhr, M., Munk-Andersen, E., & Jorgensen, H. (2007). Length of stay in asylum centres and mental health in asylum seekers: A retrospective study from Denmark. *BMC Public Health*, 7(1), 288.
- Hernes, H.M. (1988). Scandinavian citizenship. (1988). *Acta Sociologica*, 31(3), 199-215.
- Hervik, P. (2012). The Danish Muhammad cartoon conflict. *Current themes in IMER research*. (13), 5-133.
- Ireland, P. R. (1991). Facing the true 'Fortress Europe': Immigrant and politics in the EC\*. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 29(5), 457-480.
- Koopmans, R. (2004). Migrant mobilisation and political opportunities: Variation among German cities and a comparison with the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(3), 449-470.
- Kingsley, P. (2015, May 5). Video released of migrants diving into the Mediterranean to save themselves. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com>
- Kurzman, C. (1996). Structural opportunity and perceived opportunity in social-movement theory: The Iranian revolution of 1979. *American Sociological Review*, 61(1), 153-170.

- Lampedusa in Hamburg (2015, February 12). *Greeting words in the talk with the GREEN Party*. Retrieved from <http://www.lampedusa-in-hamburg.org/>
- Marx, J. H., & Holzner, B. (1975). Ideological primary groups in contemporary cultural movements. *Sociological Focus*, 8(4), 311-329.
- McGuaran, K., Hudig, K. Refugee protests in Europe: fighting for the right to stay. In *Statewatch* , 23(3/4), 28-33.
- Meyer, D. S., & Minkoff, D. C. (2004). Conceptualizing political opportunity. *Social Forces*, 82(4), 1457-1492
- Monforte, P. (2009). Social movements and Europeanization processes: The case of the French associations mobilizing around the asylum issue. *Social Movement Studies*, 8(4), 409-425.
- Monforte, P. (2014). The cognitive dimension of social movements' Europeanization processes. the case of the protests against 'Fortress Europe'. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 15(1), 120-137.
- Monforte, P., & Dufour, P. (2011). Mobilizing in borderline citizenship regimes: A comparative analysis of undocumented migrants' collective actions. *Politics & Society*, 39(2), 203-232.
- Oberg, P., Svensson, T., Christiansen, P. M., Norgaard, A. S., Rommetvedt, H., & Thesen, G. (2011). Disrupted exchange and declining corporatism: Government authority and interest group capability in Scandinavia. *Government and Opposition*, 46(3), 365.
- Porta, D. (2005) (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). In Diani M. (Ed.), *Social movements : An introduction*. Oxford : Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Refugees being housed with Danish families. (2015, March 26). *The Copenhagen Post*. Retrieved from <http://cphpost.dk>
- Riot police deployed after violence against refugees in Rome. (2015, November 13). *The Guardian*. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com>
- Sedgwick, M. (2013). Something varied in the state of Denmark: Neo-nationalism, anti-islamic activism, and street-level thuggery. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 14(2), 208-233.
- Scherer, B., 1971-, & Ball, M., 1983-. (2011). In Scherer B. (Ed.), *Queering paradigms*

*II : Interrogating agendas.* Oxford : Peter Lang.

- Skjeie, H., & Siim, B. (2000). Scandinavian feminist debates on citizenship. *International Political Science Review*, 21(4), 345-360.
- Sowards, S., & Renegar, V. (2006). Reconceptualizing rhetorical activism in contemporary feminist contexts. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 17(1), 57-74.
- Stephenson-Abetz, J. (2012). Everyday activism as a dialogic practice: Narratives of feminist daughters. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 35(1), 96-117.
- Stolle, D., Hooghe, M., & Micheletti, M. (2005). Politics in the supermarket: Political consumerism as a form of political participation. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 245-269.
- Stolle, D., 1967-, & Micheletti, M. (2013). In Stolle D. (Ed.), *Political consumerism : Global responsibility in action*, New York, N.Y. : Cambridge University Press.
- Torpe, L. (2014). Corporatism and social trust: Bringing voluntary organizations 'Back in'. *Journal of Civil Society*, 10(2), 204-218.
- Touraine, A. (1985). An introduction to the study of social movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 749-787.
- Tyler, I., & Marciniak, K. (2013). Immigrant protest: An introduction. *Citizenship Studies*, 17(2), 143-156.
- Trampoline House (2010). Retrieved from <http://trampolinehouse.dk/>
- Van Heijden, D. (1997). Political opportunity structure and the institutionalisation of the environmental movement. *Environmental Politics*, 6(4), 25-50.
- Vecchio, F., Beatson, C. (2014). Asylum seekers' occupy movement in Hong Kong. *Race & Class*, 56(2), 96-104.
- Vitus, K. (2010). Waiting time. *Childhood*, 17(1), 26-42.
- Vitus, K., & Lidén, H. (2010). The status of the asylum-seeking child in Norway and Denmark: Comparing discourses, politics and practices. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 23(1), 62-81.
- Vivekanandan, B. (1988). Social democracy in scandinavia: Development and impact. *International Studies*, 25(3), 217-240.

Vivienne, S., & Burgess, J. (2012). The digital storyteller's stage: Queer everyday activists negotiating privacy and publicness. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 56(3), 362-377.

Young, R. A., & Collin, A. (2004). Introduction: Constructivism and social constructionism in the career field. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 64(3), 373-388.