Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet
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Faculty of Natural Resources and Agricultural Sciences

Conducting Civil Society

– An exploration of Swedish civil society governance during the 2015 refugee situation

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Abstract

The influx of refugees to Europe in the latter part of 2015 triggered a number of significant responses across the continent. In Sweden, civil society organisations (CSOs) played a crucial role in both welcoming and responding to the needs of arriving refugees. This thesis draws on New Social Movement and governmentality theories in analysing the changing role of CSOs in Sweden. Focussing predominantly on the development of one CSO as a case study, it discusses the extent to which liberalisation in the public sector and an increase in New Public Management techniques are affecting the characteristics of Swedish CSOs.

Keywords: Refugee, Governmentality, Civil Society, New Social Movements, New Public Management

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"Sparkly beaches, serene coves, a grand castle and jaw-dropping vistas: just a few of the reasons the one-time fishing village of Bodrum is a Turkish hotspot" writes Hannah Summer for the Lonely Planet tourist guide (2014). Another reason, although less publicised, is its proximity to Kos, Greece and what this means to the stream of refugees seeking passage to Europe. By night, the lights of Kos are so enticingly close, it seems one can almost reach out and touch them; a short boat ride all that separates a person from a new life in the European Union.

On the night of the 1st September 2015, Abdullah Kurdi, his wife Rehanna and their two young sons Ghalib and Alan climbed into a small rubber vessel designed for 8 people, along with 12 other Syrians. The next day, the body of three-year-old Alan Kurdi, washed up on a Turkish beach, appeared on the covers of newspapers around the world. This shocking image provoked a myriad of responses, humanizing the on-going catastrophe and giving a face to the term "refugee crisis" that had hitherto rested emotionlessly on the pages of newspapers, doing no justice to the human lives lost on a daily basis.

In Uppsala, the immediate response of several people was to organize a demonstration. Maria, an activist and one of the main organisers of the event had taken to Facebook only days before and announced the upcoming day of action, something she herself envisaged would draw a small crowd and raise a little more public interest in the plight of refugees. What followed was the largest demonstration that the city had recorded since the 1980s and subsequently the launch of the organization Refugees Welcome Uppsala.

I arrived at the demonstration joining a procession of thousands making their way through the streets of Uppsala. For months people had been discussing the plight of refugees in the Mediterranean Sea and now there was finally an outlet for their frustrations; this was an opportunity to be a part of something bigger than themselves, to be heard, to be visible, to make a difference.

Introduction

Aim

This thesis is the result of my work as a volunteer and member of the board of the organisation Refugees Welcome Uppsala (henceforth RWU). Its aim is to explore the rise and development of a civil society movement, from its spontaneous beginning, to its development into a civil society organisation (CSO) committed to promoting the reception of refugees in Uppsala, Sweden. Through doing so, my intention is manifold; firstly, I seek to understand the factors that encouraged engagement with the Refugees Welcome movement. I will question how the refugee situation in Sweden gave rise to protest and what the implications of this were. Additionally, I wish to highlight the processes that led to participants choosing to establish a formal organisation. Finally, I will discuss these processes within the broader context of Swedish governance, questioning how governance affected the extent to which participants were able to achieve their initial goals.

Objectives

Rather than testing a formal hypothesis, this study is descriptive and explorative, seeking to form a deeper understanding of the driving forces behind Swedish civil society formation, development and behaviour and how this is linked to governance. My primary objectives are as follows:

- To describe and analyse the process of mobilisation;
- To describe and analyse the process of formalisation;
- To link the case of RWU to macro processes of governmentality and thus situate my work within a broader theoretical perspective.

Thesis Structure

In order to achieve my objectives, I approach the layout in the following way: I begin by presenting the theories that form the basis of my analysis and discussion. Next, in order to orient the reader, I provide a short historical section in which I describe the development of the welfare state and civil society in Sweden. I follow this with two chapters that through description and analysis follow the development of RWU from protest to CSO. Finally, the

discussion chapter seeks to place the earlier descriptions and analysis within the broader context of refugee reception and civil society conduct in Sweden. I conclude with a brief summary and some personal reflections on the relevance of this work.

Methodology

This thesis is predominantly based on participant observation. As a qualitative study method, participant observation can be distinguished from direct observation in that it assumes a researcher is an active participant rather than a passive observer. Thus it usually requires an extended period of time in which a researcher interacts with and becomes part of the study setting. In this case, my observations began as a participant in the demonstration mentioned above and continued throughout around six-month period of subsequent volunteer work. The descriptive writing in this thesis is therefore the outcome of these months of observations, field notes and personal reflections. These observations are complemented by semi-structured interviews conducted with six key informants during the course of the study. These include staff of the Uppsala Municipality and volunteers of RWU and were usually around thirty minutes in length. The longest, most in depth interview was conducted with Maria, the central figure in my writing. This interview was around seventy minutes in length and was complimented by follow up emails.

I refer to my approach as primarily ethnographic in nature, in that it provides detailed description of everyday life and practices linked to RWU. However, my attempt is to go beyond simply describing events, the objective of my descriptions is to highlight how these events and experiences produce and represent cultural constructions by which we live (Hoey, 2014 p.2). I do this by describing social interaction, through which I aim to expose the "webs of significance" (Geertz, 1973) that we weave in order to generate and maintain meaning. Geertz employed this term in reference to culture, specifically new cultures an observer may encounter. In the present case, these *webs of significance* may be best understood as the meaning that is created through the interactions I describe and as actors attempting to make sense of novel problems in challenging times. These observations formed the basis of my understandings and I hope my experiences communicate to the reader the process through which I drew my conclusions. For simplicity I refer only to one person by name throughout the text, as she was a central character in the unfolding story (this name is a *pseudonym).* All

references in my writing to what people have said are taken from semi-structured interviews and observations.

My role

My role has not been static; in the beginning at least, most of my description is written as an observer, or at the very most a passive actor. This can be contrasted with my role as a participant in the development of the organisation and I have tried, as much as possible, to reflect this in my writing. The thesis is to be read as both an account of the process that took place and an analysis that explains the phenomena it describes. I have used my experiences and observations as a starting point for theorising and although I am undoubtedly a character in the story, I do not play a central role. Rather, an ethnographic approach provided for me the possibility to highlight the everyday nature of our social and political decisions and through the descriptions of my observations and interactions I hope to be able to present events and to provide context to the assertions I make.

An important character

It is also worth providing a little more detail at this stage about Maria, a character that I will refer to extensively throughout my descriptions and discussion. Maria has been involved for a number of years with different campaigns against racism and sexism, as well as the rights of immigrants to Sweden. Speaking with her, it is clear that she considers activism as a central part of her life and has been responsible for various local mobilisations. As will become clear in the following pages, it is Maria who led the development of RWU.

Theoretical framework

The two main phenomena that I analyse are the mobilisation in Uppsala and the process of formalisation. The demonstration, I analyse within a NSM framework, explaining the motivations of participants and how this reflects earlier mobilisations and contentious behaviour in Sweden. I analyse both the demonstration and the formalisation process using governmentality theory. Below I outline the relevance of these theories to my analysis.

New Social Movement Theory

The increasing number of refugees entering Europe prompted responses of different kinds across the continent. The demonstration in Uppsala was one such response and constituted, along with movements across Europe, part of the broader international Refugees Welcome movement. Driven by what was perceived by many as increasingly anti-refugee rhetoric and inadequate state responses, more broadly this movement can be framed as belonging to a much larger family of New Social Movements (NSMs).

The analysis of NSMs spurred a new discipline in social science research following a wave of protest movements and mobilisations in the seventies and eighties. They have been of particular interest for studies of collective action since NSMs have been responsible for the bulk of mobilization that has taken place in Western Europe (Kriesi, 1995 p.8). Often described as a "movement family" (Porta and Diani, 2006), studies have focussed on the ecology, peace, solidarity, women's and squatters' movements, as well as various other movements mobilising for the rights of discriminated against groups and issues of environmental conservation (Kriesi, 1995 p.8). Today, it is a study that is solidly established and rather than being considered 'unconventional', political organisations unaligned with major political parties or trade unions are now considered a permanent component of Western democracies (Porta and Diani, 2006). NSM theory is made up of the study of individuals, organisations and events (and the interdependence between them) that form in opposition to various issues (ibid).

NSMs have been mobilised by new types of experienced threats to individual autonomy asserted by corporate actors, as well as new, invisible risks affecting people regardless of their social position (ibid p.14). Made up of individuals with "postmaterialist" values (Ingelhart, 1977 in Kriesi, 1995 p.10), activists place an emphasis on "personal and political freedom, political and economic democracy, environmental protection, openness to new ideas, and a caring society" (Kriesi, 1995 p.20). Individuals have often been engaged with other movements and perceive activism as an alternative route to social change.

In late modernity, perceived threats and the needs for change do not seem to be accommodated by traditional forms of organisation or conventional channels of political representation (Melucci, 1996 p.3). Instead, to a large extent, actions directed towards change

or coming to terms with social insufficiencies begin as heterogeneous and unstructured activities which contain a multitude of differentiated meanings (ibid p.13). NSM theory assists us in uncovering these meanings and also highlights how homogenisation processes can occur. This brings forth not solely how mobilisation begins, but also how the progression from movement to organisation is a part of a trajectory that many NSMs follow.

Furthermore, I will refer specifically to the concept of *repertoires of contention* from Charles Tilly in my discussion and by doing so seek to highlight how the mobilisation in Uppsala reflects previous struggles in Sweden and the repertoires that participants have learned over the years. Whilst no movement can be easily understood, NSM theory does provide a framework for understanding the conditions under which mobilisations occur and the characteristics that NSMs share. The Refugee Welcome movement has followed many of the trajectories described by NSM theorists, specifically with reference to Western Europe and as such NSM theory provides the starting point and foundation of my discussion.

Governmentality Theory

Of course, the processes described above do not happen within a vacuum; movements are politicised reactions aimed specifically at effecting societal change and criticising certain forms of government or structural conditions. Therefore, in order to place the formalisation process within a broader societal context and with the aim of linking civil society with governance I apply governmentality theory. This theory is an intellectual attempt to explain how societies are rendered governable (Dean, 2009). An amalgamation of *government* and *mentality*, the theory goes beyond conventional understandings of government and instead emphasises how social outlooks are formed and shaped. It is a process often described as *the conduct of conduct* (Foucault, 1983).

On the one hand we use conduct as a noun, that is, as a type of behaviour or action, one's conduct. On the other, the verb "to conduct" is demonstrative of the action of conducting, the conscious decision to shape behaviour. Governmentality describes any attempt to rationally (i.e. through persuasion rather than through coercion) shape human conduct (Dean, 2009 p.17). The analysis of government then is about studying the *means* through which government is exercised.

Assertions concerning conduct are evaluative and normative. They assume a set of standards or norms of conduct by which behaviour can be judged and which act as an ideal towards which individuals can strive (Dean, 2009 p.18). The concept of governing behaviour also assumes that behaviour can be controlled deliberately and that there are agents who are responsible for ensuring that this regulation occurs (Ibid p.17).

For Foucault governing does not originate from a natural centre of power. Rather it is made up of a broad repertoire of technologies that operate across the entire social field (Dahlstedt, 2009 p.5). Importantly for the present discussion, civil society (see next section for more detailed discussion on the characteristics of civil society) may be viewed as one of the many domains characterised by a continuous, on-going struggle over the conditions of governing peoples' morals or mentality (ibid). Civil society organisations have provided one outlet through which popular actions or protests are guided, an occurrence that has developed as a result of the previous and on-going conduct of conduct. One of the questions for this thesis is thus to discuss whether and how the formation of RWU reflects specific governmental decisions which had the effect of influencing the conduct of those involved.

The theme of conduct shall therefore be woven throughout the paper, both explicitly and implicitly. *Conduct of conduct* is present in the history of the Swedish welfare state and social policy, in decisions to demonstrate and in the decision to establish a formal organisation. As I shall argue, although the effects of rationalities may often be unintended, the specific rationalities of government employed are what serve to guide our conduct and as such, questioning these processes in turn allows us to understand and question the (political) decisions we make.

Civil society concepts

To begin with, if we are to discuss civil society in a meaningful way, a robust description is required. I shall therefore opt for a definition of civil society as:

> "the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks - formed for the sake of family, faith, interest and ideology - that fill this space." (Waltzer, 2007 p.115)

This description includes CSOs and NGOs, but also acknowledges that civil society is made up of a diverse range of networks, consisting not solely of formal organisations, but extending to other spheres of human association. The role of civil society is however a matter of some contention, with many competing viewpoints.

Utilising extensive empirical data, Robert Putnam's ground-breaking work on social networks offers a persuasive argument: Firstly, civil association helps to socialise individuals and build the social capital that is required to work with one another (1993 p.176). A society characterised by a generalised reciprocity is thus more efficient than a distrustful one (Putnam, 2000 p.21). Accordingly, strong civil association is the key ingredient to a well functioning democracy and citizens that engage with the state. In other words, strong democracies are built from below by a well functioning civil society.

In sharp contrast to Putnam's argument, authors in e.g. Poland and Latin America have described civil society as a sphere of action independent of the state. Far from facilitating governance, this view instead emphasises the ability of civil society to act in resistance to the state, for example against a tyrannical regime (Foley and Edwards, 1996 p.1). Rather than civil society fostering ties with the polity and enhancing democratic governance, it may instead offer effective avenues for subversion. Therefore in theory there is no reason why this subversion should work any differently under a tyrannical regime than a democratic one.

A third way of approaching the relationships between states and CSOs can be found in Bo Rothstein's (2011) discussion of the rise of the Swedish welfare in which he argues that the state actively promoted the participation of civil society in government. This was achieved in large part thanks to strong links developed between workers unions and the state and heavily influenced how the state would interact with interest groups throughout the twentieth century e.g through bringing CSO representatives into executive roles in governmental boards.

Although these views appear contradictory, they may be reconciled. Waltzer's "civil society argument" postulates that civil society is an essential ingredient both for democratisation and in promoting the health of established democracies (in Foley and Edwards p.1). The reality is usually interplay between CSOs and government, a relationship in which both influence one another (Rothstein, 2011). The civil society argument can consequently be used to describe both civil society in opposition to the state and civil society as a facilitator of good

governance. The role civil society plays in a given society depends crucially on the larger political setting and vice versa (Foley and Edwards, 1996 p.48).

Socio-political background

In Sweden, the development of civil society is closely linked to the development of the welfare state. It is a welfare model that involves a complex interplay between state spending, the private and the non-profit sector that is characteristic of and unique to Sweden and usually labelled the "Swedish-Social Democratic- model of the Welfare State" (Hort, 2014 (I) p.20). This was in part facilitated by the 1864 freedom of association bill which spurred the growth of free churches (*frikyrkorna*), groups that had broken away from Lutheranism (Anderson in Kersbergen, 2009 p.218). Importantly, the formation of free churches ushered in a secularisation trend in Sweden and through the increased organisation of local groups encouraged the growth of the popular movements, early civil society organisations and forerunners to the Swedish Workers' Association (ibid) that contributed greatly to the welfare project. This welfare project had its intellectual origins in the 1930s encouraging a mix of active labour market policies, social insurance, "socialized consumption" of services and important subsidies and regulation in housing and agriculture (Ibid). One of its main characteristics was thus building strong bonds of social trust between the state and civil society (Rothstein, 2011).

The social reforms and ambitious employment policy of the 1930s were important turning points in the development of the Swedish state (Hort, 2014 (II) p.109). Likewise, the 1936 meetings in Saltsjöbaden and so-called "historic compromise" transformed worker/employer relations and the social landscape, ushering in Sweden's new period of 'consensus politics'. This resulted in a symbiotic relationship in which labour and capital came to view each other as "labour market partners" rather than antagonists (Steinmo, 2010 p.51) and was in large part thanks to a successful labour movement that had become a major political factor (Hort, 2014 (II) p.88).

Following World War II and the dissolution of a broad wartime coalition, the Social Democratic government embarked on a period of public sector growth and the construction of the modern welfare state. Nevertheless, due to a mixture of economic and ideological motivations, by the 1980s de-regulation and de-bureaucratisation were high on the public

agenda. Furthermore, the public sector was increasingly coming to be viewed as autocratic and an obstacle to growth (Svanberg-Sjöval, 2014, p.182). Even amongst the Social Democrats, there was a shift in opinion reflecting scepticism towards an overreaching public sector.

This led to an increased influence of New Public Management (NPM) techniques, an approach founded on a critique of bureaucracy as the organising principle within public administration (McLaughlin *et al.,* 2002 p.9). Instead it emphasises the doctrines of entrepreneurial management, strict measures of performance and a stress on private sector styles of management and their superiority (ibid).

At the 1991 general election, the Social Democrats suffered their worst defeat in over 60 years[1], replaced instead by a non-socialist coalition headed by the Conservatives' Carl Bildt (Madeley, 1995 p.422). This Conservative coalition encouraged entrepreneurism and NPM, amid a context in which both non- and for-profit enterprises increasingly became contractors to the public sector (Hort, 2014 (II) p.117). This was not only a direct challenge to the Social Democrats' de-commodification of welfare services which sought to limit dependency on the market; this form of NPM turned the public sphere upside down. As a result, a mix of voluntary member associations, local government and new private enterprises became key ingredients in modern Swedish welfare production (ibid p.123). The following discussion takes place within this modern era of Swedish welfare production and indeed, the topic of NPM and marketization will recur throughout the thesis.

[1] The Social Democrats also lost power in the 1976 elections, however they recovered power in 1982 and continued as the ruling party until 1991.

Part One: The Demonstration

"The citizen is an effect and an instrument of power rather than simply a participant in politics." [2]

Marching along the streets of Uppsala, I looked at the faces surrounding me and listened to the chants. I was immediately swept up and carried along by the enthusiasm of the crowd and satisfied that I had fulfilled some sort of moral duty to be there. Like me, people I spoke to that day felt a strong imperative to attend. Reflecting on the demonstration, the first question that arose was how to make sense of that day; what did Maria's actions and those of the demonstrators highlight for us? Although protest may seem a logical reaction to the refugee 'crisis', the very decision to organise is bound up with societal conditions, the time in which we live and the perceived avenues of protest available, a point I will discuss below. The following chapter analyses the emergence of the demonstration in Uppsala as a political response and the foundation of forming a CSO.

To begin, it is held that collective behaviour usually occurs as a result of three distinguishing features, all of which appear to be present in the Uppsala demonstration. They include bypassing, transcending, or subverting the established institutional order; converting feelings into overt action; and acting collectively rather than individually (Turner, 1996, p.1). Below I discuss these features as they relate to the demonstration in Uppsala highlighting the role that protest often plays as a first step in creating social bonds.

Bypassing, transcending or subverting the established institutional order:

Socially embedded issues of value dictate much of what we collectively perceive as morally right or wrong. These are standards or rules that dictate what human beings should say, think or do in a given circumstance (Blake and Davis, in Clinard, 2008 p.5). The norms we produce and values we share can also be understood as specific forms of conduct that are the outcome of actions accepted as good (or bad) by most people in a group or society and thus function as guidelines for new action. Societies therefore create and maintain normative values, specific ways of viewing reality that call for certain lines of action (Turner, 1996 p.3). However, subversion (for example protest behaviour) usually occurs when values are challenged and the

[2] (Barbara Cruikshank 1999: 5)

existing system fails to respond adequately in a way that corresponds to the normative values shared by a significant number of people. Many of the people I spoke to at the demonstration felt compelled to question whether or not the political response to the refugee situation in the EU reflected the values they held. This culminated in an outright rejection of the European political response to the refugee dilemma and a desire to put pressure on Swedish politicians to maintain a welcoming refugee policy.

The mobilisation of so many in Uppsala reflects a situation in which both the view that participants shared and the lines of action are experienced as mandatory, as morally right (Turner, 1996 p.4). The thousands of demonstrators reflect a shared response in which participants acted together to bypass other institutions available in order to act in a timely manner.

Converting feelings into overt action

Of course, protesters may act upon their feelings in different ways. If activists believe that an opportunity exists, that they have the power to bring about change and they blame the system for a problem, protest is more likely to emerge (Della Porta, 2006. p18). However, the process of converting feelings into overt action is also reliant on both the feasibility and the timeliness of the action (Turner, 1996 p.2). As discussed above, the social discontent provided a timely opportunity for action, but how the residents of Uppsala chose to respond is of particular interest.

The very history of modern collective action can be traced back several centuries to what can be referred to as discontinuous, contentious collective action, or *contention* (Tilly, 1989 p.3), behaviours that are embedded in the routines and organisation of everyday social life. The decision for Maria and others in Uppsala to take overt action is not a novel phenomenon; rather it is a learned behaviour that can be related to previous successes. Likewise, the set of means that the group has at its disposal to make claims of different kinds, its *repertoire,* reflects previous struggles, failures and successes in Sweden. *Repertoires of contention* explain how the interaction between groups of people over time, in opposition to other groups, have changed as a function of continuous struggle, competition and collaboration as a means of making various claims (Ibid, p.4). Importantly, specific repertoires develop through attempts to conduct behaviour and, as I will demonstrate, the social conditions in Sweden

provide a strong impetus for engaging in peaceful collective action, as opposed to extremely contentious forms of struggle.

Why act collectively?

Lastly, we must ask why we do not act alone in order to bring about change. Again, there is strong evidence to suggest that individuals seek collective support in interpreting events (Turner, 1996 p.2). For example, through discussing the refugee situation with friends and family, social media networks etc. Furthermore, *repertoires of contention* provide an explanation of the motivations behind acting collectively. In Sweden, previous forms of contention have demonstrated that acting with group support is the most efficient way to bring about social change. This follows a long history of peaceful protest going back as far as land ownership protests in the late 19th century (Edgren, 2009)

This brings us back to the demonstration in Uppsala. Following the initial march, demonstrators gathered in the centre. From the very young to the elderly, families, groups of teenagers and university students began to fill the main square speaking an array of different languages. Well-dressed people who appeared to be coming directly from the office stood besides youngsters in baggy jeans emphasising the diversity of the crowd. A certain sense of jubilation filled the air. By many measures, this gathering was a success. Indeed, thousands gathering to voice their dissent around a particular issue has proven an efficient means to attract the attention of political leaders in the past. However, despite protest possibilities appearing as virtually unlimited, they are in fact fairly predictable, limited and bounded by the repertoires that protesters have learned over the years (Snow *et.al,* 2004 p.265). We tend not only to use the means that are available to us in the time and space that we reside, but also to follow strategies that have proved successful in earlier movements. Although this facilitates the process of assembling, one result is that *repertoires of contention* may actually serve to constrain the effectiveness of people's action as they turn to familiar routines, even when another form of action may serve their interests better. Rather than formulating specific objectives or claims, the demonstrators presented their mobilisation as a protest to raise awareness and express solidarity with refugees.

Contentious behaviour and civil society

The social conditions and political opportunities in which a movement develops are thus of immense importance. The socio-political environment dictates which forms of contention are available and repertoires develop in symbiosis with the state machinery. Contentious behaviour is therefore one common form of reaction to state decisions, however interaction and collaboration with the state can be a viable alternative or even complement to protest. Furthermore, this can often be achieved through the civil society organisations that interact with and put pressure on various state bodies.

What extensive research on civil society and protest behaviour across Europe highlights is that CSO density in a country favours, rather than contains the development of protest and other forms of political engagement (Balme and Chabanet, 2008 p.71). Moreover, it can to a certain extent have a civilising impact on political mobilization (ibid). Whilst statistics show that protest is more likely to form in Sweden than in most other European countries, there is also a direct correlation with the formation of civil society organisations (ibid). They are not only encouraged by social policy, but also given an impetus through generous state funding, having traditionally played a key role in local politics. In other words, contentious behaviour may make peoples' voices heard in Sweden, but formal civil society organisations often gain a seat at the table. Protest can therefore serve as an initiator, rather than simply a contentious action and indeed it may be claimed that some protests begin with the specific aim of being regarded as serious voices in the public discourse. Conduct has been shaped over time to present to us the most efficient ways of protesting.

Gaining a voice

Only following the demonstration did its significance become apparent to the organisers. Official police counts estimated 5,000 attendees and as Maria comments, what she believed may have resulted in a gathering of one hundred people, had turned into the beginning of a movement. At least for many people that I spoke to, they had received confirmation that they were not alone or voiceless, but powerful actors with the opportunity to bring about change. However, they seemed unable to translate this sentiment into concrete visions. Instead, the success of the demonstration presented a new dilemma, with the organisers caught in a position they had not anticipated; in order for their action to bring about change, further steps would need to be taken and they were vital.

Maria along with many others began to reach out to help refugees in Uppsala. Like in other cities around Sweden they decided they could welcome refugees as they arrived, however reflecting on the weeks following the march, Maria recalls:

"We (Maria and volunteers) waited at the train station to help refugees here, but none arrived. They were not coming to Uppsala"

Charity gala

Undeterred by the relatively few refugees arriving and determined to capitalize on the momentum gained following the march, Maria along with a group of volunteers operating under the banner of RWU decided to organise a charity gala dedicated to welcoming refugees to Uppsala and raising money. Artists would perform for free and the revenue from ticket sales would be used to help refugees. Simultaneously the event could be used to promote the collection of clothing, sleeping bags and sanitary products that would be transported to Lesbos, Greece. The event would translate solidarity with refugees into concrete action and increase participation in the Refugees Welcome movement.

It was already late on Wednesday evening when I attended my first RWU meeting. A friend who had been a warden at the demonstration had invited me and I was curious about how I could get involved. Thankful to escape the rain, we entered a modern chain café close to the train station and approached the group of six or seven smiling people who were sitting, chatting together. Their ages ranged from 16 to forty and over. The environment in the café was sterile; modern, uncomfortable chairs arranged in formations of two or three around small tables said "enjoy your coffee and make way for new customers". As more people arrived, we struggled to settle ourselves into a convenient location and eventually ended up spread across the centre of the café on four tables, numbering around 12 people. I had heard RWU described by my friend as an organisation, but right now it was clear that it was currently no more than a small group of people, unsure of how to proceed, but with the desire to do something meaningful.

I sat and listened to the discussions, impressed by the industriousness of this group of individuals who I learned had little experience in organizing events such as a gala. Many practical discussions took place; how many volunteers would be needed at the entrance? How

would they accept payment? Who could help carry equipment? But as Maria later reflected, there were also other discussions going on behind the scenes. How should RWU proceed? Should they establish a non-profit association or remain an informal group based on voluntary action? The group was split. Many felt that creating an organisation would give rise to the group "losing its worth" or beginning to be influenced by party politics. On the other hand, many were keen to do more to help and were willing to form an organisation if it would benefit refugees. However, most also perceived the acute situation of welcoming and providing support to refugees in Sweden too overwhelming to consider formulating clear aims and establishing an organisation at this stage. In many ways, what I observed at this stage was a typical example of the early phases of a NSM, which are often characterised by their lack of organisation and leadership (Christiansen, 2009).

Next steps

Although the gala was a success, with 16,349 SEK raised and sent to offer refugee assistance in Greece, according to Maria, the lack of organisational structure put an immense amount of pressure on her family and her efforts became unsustainable. In the run up to Christmas, the activity of Maria and subsequently that of all RWU volunteers, ceased. They had succeeded in raising money, yet they were unsure of where to direct their efforts.

At this stage the movement was in a transitional phase. Maria and other volunteers had accomplished the planning of a successful demonstration and fundraiser. Furthermore, the beginning of an organisational structure had been forming. Still, most responsibility lay with one person. Some individuals were keen to engage and many were eager to form a CSO, but they lacked clear objectives. The primary aim of the demonstration had been to draw attention to the refugee situation and encourage more open refugee policies, but translating these aims into the work of a CSO could prove difficult.

Part Two: The formalisation process

Several months after the gala, I received an email with news that a temporary accommodation centre had been opened in Uppsala and that the municipality was searching for CSOs to run activities there. Maria had arranged a meeting at the city library and invited people who had previously been engaged in volunteering activities and I attended with apprehension, unsure of what my role could be, but excited by the opportunity.

The role of the state in providing services to refugees is enshrined in Swedish law, however it is limited. The provision of accommodation, health care for acute diseases and food whilst awaiting an asylum decision are all legally required, nevertheless since the asylum process should usually take only three months, other provisions are limited. High processing times in light of refugee numbers mean that many of the social aspects of a refugee's life in Sweden fall outside of the legal provisions for long periods of time; gaps that since late 2015, thanks in part to funding from the state, have been filled by volunteers in CSOs. This chapter takes a closer look at how this process may occur.

First steps

Arriving at the city library café for our meeting I looked around for any gathering of people, but saw none. I checked my emails to be sure and confirmed that I was in the right place at the right time and then waited. After a while, a feeling of irritation gripped me; I was here giving up my time for something important, but nobody else was here on time. I have been engaged with grassroots groups before and often found the lack of organisation frustrating. After a short wait Maria entered the building with two more people and greeted me. Another person who had been waiting also came forward to greet us and my feeling of irritation subsided. However, it was a reminder of the informal nature of RWU; it bore more resemblance to a group of friends meeting for coffee than to an organisation.

Enjoying a coffee together, Maria proposed that we begin by volunteering with a small number of volunteers that she had already worked with or met. For the safety of those at the accommodation centre, it was important to her not to take any risks in bringing in unknown people at this stage. We could then expand the volunteer base later. Our next task would be to begin collecting learning materials and children's play items. We agreed that the best course

of action would be to begin with basic Swedish lessons, society information classes and play groups for children. We would visit the accommodation the next week and meet the staff, discuss security and construct a schedule. At the top of Maria's list was also discussing the next steps of RWU.

Following the demonstration an organisational structure had begun to develop, with Maria taking on the leadership role and a small number of people the role of volunteers. However although this activity came to a standstill for several months, as Maria describes, she decided that something more must be done, that she needed to engage with volunteers again and create an organisation. Based on her experience and research, only a formal organisation had the legitimacy and structure necessary for it to be effective, a view that is shared in NSM literature; not only does an organisational structure help to institutionalise decision-making processes, it helps to facilitate the dedication of the movements' resources to the achievement of its goals (Melucci, 1996).

Resources were also a motivation for Maria after she had become aware that funding was available for CSOs involved in volunteer activities. The government had reached out to civil society and with access to funding, Maria believed that more could be done to welcome refugees to Uppsala and help share information about refugees with the general public.

At the everyday level of interaction, this process is an excellent example of how our behaviour is conducted by institutional structures. CSOs, as project managers, are to be not only entrepreneurial but also responsibility taking. They must take active responsibility to modify their structures and practices, and to professionally approach funding applications in order to compete with other CSOs for funds (Kurki, 2011).

As a group, what we would learn was that our choices would be shaped by our interactions as volunteers and the institutional structures we encountered. Rather than fight for the rights of refugees or demand a change to government policies RWU would pursue the immediate objective of providing care to refugees, a request from the government.

The Centre: first impressions

It takes almost 30 minutes by bike from central Uppsala to reach the *evakueringsboende* or emergency accommodation (henceforth referred to as "the centre"). After passing through Uppsala's shopping area in Boländerna, the centre lies at the end of a small cul-de-sac filled with industrial units, just past a yard full of scrapped cars and several other yards characterised by a distinct lack of human activity. The buildings that occupy this street all came into being to fulfil the needs of one large company or another and all have similar roles; storage, workshops, parking spaces. Those who visit this street come mostly to collect or drop off equipment, or to perform some other task before leaving again. The exception is the large grey building at the end of the street that became home to a number of refugees.

When I approach the building for the first time, I wonder if I am in the right place. The original intention was to use the building as a school for media and design, but following completion it sat empty. Uppsala municipality therefore made the decision to create the temporary accommodation here in response to the migration board's request for refugee accommodation. In turn, the municipality had reached out to CSOs to provide services there.

After meeting Maria and four other volunteers outside the building, we are invited inside and introduced to two members of staff whilst standing in the large, sterile lobby waiting for our short tour to begin. The school is for the time being "home" to around 50 refugees comprised mostly of families and single men of various different nationalities. The intention, we are told, is to house people here for a period of three to four days, although most residents have already been here for weeks.

Children make up a large proportion of the residents, over a third. They sit on chairs together or wander the long, hospital like corridors attempting to amuse themselves but looking like they are not succeeding. A game of table tennis is taking place in one corner. It is the only recreational activity in the building and the preference of many of the younger men. The tour is short and begins outside the lunch hall. Catering staff unlock the doors from inside and the residents are served a set menu of mostly Swedish food for breakfast, lunch and dinner. The catering staff dishes up the food and determines the portion sizes. There are no cooking facilities at the centre; the only microwave was removed after somebody burned popcorn, so any hunger is satisfied by cold snacks. The laundry room is open to the residents and they take care of their own laundry. There is also a large room with tables and chairs, but apparently nothing happens within. Finally we are shown a bedroom, or rather a classroom that has been

refitted with fourteen single beds. Rooms are divided into two categories; families and single men and consist of beds and bedding. Everybody lives out of suitcases in a transitory state.

As we walk the corridors and meet residents I hear many different, unfamiliar languages that I would later learn are made up of Dari, Arabic, Tigrinya, Persian and Somali. The refugees manage to communicate with each other through a mixture of shared languages and it isn't uncommon that a piece of information is translated from Swedish to Arabic before a Dari speaker receives the final translation. Together the staff speak many different languages and they smile when they discuss overcoming the barriers to communication together with the refugees. Somehow, they tell us, they always manage to find a way to communicate with one another and people are always willing to go out of their way to help one another. The role of the staff here is to be present, available for the guests at all times and ready to assist with any difficulties. Other than that, they explain that they have as little to do here as the refugees, with the exception that they can leave after an eight hour shift.

The centre has many needs. Whilst it offers no platform to engage in political change, there is an acute need to provide services and interaction to the people living here. This leaves participants with the option to engage as volunteers within an organisation (and potentially obtain funding for RWU), or to find alternative means of engaging in the refugee situation. Funding possibilities hence act as an efficient means to conduct individual behaviour and encourage volunteering.

Creating a formal organisation

Following the initial tour, Maria called a meeting with all the volunteers present. We would decide how best to proceed in the centre. Despite offers from the Red Cross and Swedish Church to provide services at the centre, only RWU had visited and taken steps towards implementing activities. The manager at the centre assumed that RWU was an established organisation, since that is the impression Maria has attempted to give, but we lack both experience and expertise.

Maria's proposition is to register as a non-profit association. This would mean forming a board, adopting a statue, creating a mission statement, registering with the Swedish Tax

Agency and many more steps that I was yet to understand. This also meant that we would be able to open a bank account and apply for funding.

There are many possible outcomes of a movement; the most likely is that it will lose momentum before it reaches the point at which formalisation occurs (Della Porta, 2006). Another common outcome is that organisations that have formed in a NSM landscape adapt to the surrounding environment rather than pursuing their original goals of social change (Kriesi, 1995 p.150). There are various elements involved in this change. For example, in the case that an organisation would like to obtain funding from local authorities it must adhere to institutional demands. This process can best be imagined as an organisation moving along a continuum from the most grassroots to the most professionalised as they adhere to institutional norms (Moore, 2007 p.224). The desire to be part of a respectable organisation, to present that organisation to the world in the best light possible and to obtain funding all contributed to Maria's arguments. Indeed, to everyone involved a formal organisation seemed to be the only logical step. These decisions also reflected the broader institutional landscape. Funding that had been offered to CSOs by the Swedish government meant that the advantages conferred on CSOs made coercion an unnecessary feature of civil society governance.

As an organisation we would have the legitimacy needed to appeal to the public for donations of all of the materials needed at the centre. This ranged from toys for the children to play with, to learning materials for the Swedish lessons we were planning. These were not ideological decisions; rather they were the only steps that appeared available to all involved, as political questions gave way to practical ones. Indeed a more established association appears to have greater capacity, whereas a grassroots group of individuals lacks the basis to make claims on resources (Moore, 2007 p.224).

We discussed the options available to us and began to make steps towards creating a formal organisation. We began by registering the association, mobilising volunteers and collecting donations from the public. We also created a schedule for the centre that included two Swedish lessons per week, several activities for children and society information classes for adults. Slowly over the coming weeks, we began to adapt to the demands of the Municipality in order to provide activities at the times that they required and to coordinate the activities of our staff with those of employees of the Municipality. We had become both a formal organisation and a provider of services to the Municipality.

RWU in the Swedish Civil Society Landscape

The process of forming a CSO was thus reliant on two interrelated factors. The first, the requests of the government and local municipality (the institutional level) to provide services and the second, the personal motivations of the volunteers. I will categorise these two factors conducting and conduct respectively. However the role of RWU, forming in order to provide a service represents an unusual and novel role for CSOs that has only recently been discussed.

In fact, in Sweden the civil society discussion has been the cause of much consternation. As late as 1990 most political scientists focussed on the state and public sector, with the majority of research concerning civil society conducted by historians who focussed primarily on the "popular movements" (*folkrörelse*r) that were a prelude to the labour movement and rise of the Social Democrats (Trägårdh, 2007 p.22). Furthermore, since the view of the society itself was something almost indistinguishable from the state in Sweden, the term "civil society" presented some definitional problems. Indeed, what the Social Democrats had succeeded in doing over a 60-year period was creating the "peoples' home" (*folkhemmet*), a land in which welfare, the state and society were almost synonymous (ibid p.30). Civil society had become an integral part of the state.

Within this socio-political structure, CSOs played an important role in providing feedback and informing state decisions, forming an intrinsic part of a broader democratic structure (ibid p.32). However, in contrast to civil society in, e.g the US, Swedish civil society had traditionally been dominated on the one hand by local sports clubs, free time activity clubs and the like and on the other by social movements. Religious institutions, charities and social welfare did not attract the same membership (Ibid, 2007 p.31).

RWU therefore belongs to a distinct form of civil society in Sweden that has developed following the initial "welfare shakeup" that began in the 1990s in which specific characteristics of the welfare state changed drastically. Although the welfare state has not been enlarged since shakeup, a commitment to welfare has been upheld in the years that have followed, with public expenditure not rising, but not declining either (Hort, 2014 (I) p.277). The clear difference is a new "multifaceted battle over ideas and practices" (Hort, 2014 (II)

p.111). One result of this battle is an increasing presence of the private sector and civil society in providing and managing welfare services.

Pressures on the Swedish welfare model are dramatically changing the role of “voluntarism” in Sweden. New challenges mean that CSOs tend to become executers of public tasks, for example maintaining football grounds, running children's day-care centres or taking care of elderly. The large number of refugees arriving in late 2015 and the state response is a good example of such challenges. As I have illustrated in this chapter, the decision to create a formal organisation is the outcome of an institutional environment in which formalisation is encouraged and facilitated.

Part 4: Discussion: RWU Through a Governmentality Lens

"From group and class solidarity, societal solidarity has sprouted forth and in this way, through the work of associations, democracy has consolidated its place in people's consciousness"[3]

Until this point the analysis has focussed on the mobilisation in Uppsala and the formation and development of RWU. I have attempted to illustrate through my descriptions the situations through which "webs of significance" are woven by individuals attempting to create meaning of the refugee situation and find their role within it. I have also described the process through which the choice to formalise was made, that it was considered the only logical choice to those involved. The next section seeks to understand these processes from a more general perspective. I discuss the development of RWU into a formal organisation in the context of (neoliberal) governmentality and link CSO membership to a Swedish "democratic citizenship". Accordingly, this discussion moves away from the micro analysis that has been the focus until this point and instead situates the discussion within a broader structural perspective. I wish therefore to highlight the role of liberalization, deregulation and privatization in changing the character of CSOs in Sweden arguing that a new social contract is being negotiated through this process. As such I move between the analysis of RWU and the refugee situation more generally in order to understand how the role of RWU is reflection of more general trends in Sweden.

Government

Government, far from possessing the political connotation it often does today, has long been associated with self-control, guidance for the family, directing the soul and so on (Lemke, 2010 p.50). In its broadest sense, governmentality is how we think about governing, or our "mentalities of government" (Rose and Miller, 1992 p.24). It includes any way of thinking about, calculating or responding to a problem in a systematic way, often drawing on formal bodies of knowledge and expertise. However it does not refer to the individual mind or consciousness. Governmentality proposes that thinking is a collective activity based on the bodies of knowledge, belief and opinion in which we are all immersed (Dean, 2009 p.24).

[3] (Karlbom, 1949) In *The Citizenship Book,* given to 21 year olds as a gift by their municipality between 1949 and 1966.

Government is embedded in language and technical instruments and as such, the ways in which we think about exercising authority are based on the theories and other forms of knowledge that are available to us (Ibid, p.25). My target of analysis is therefore not theories, institutions or ideologies, it is rather 'regimes of practices'; where what is said and done, both the planned and the taken for granted, meet and interconnect (Foucault, 1991.p75).

Governmentality comprises a diverse range of reflexive understandings of how we conceive of the conduct of human beings towards the pursuit of specific ends. For example, understandings of how "people are caught up in new ways of doing things, on the basis of the narratives experts construct to connect a specified problem to a proposed solution" (Li, 2011 p.100). Through analysing government, we may form a greater understanding of the processes that guide behaviour in society. This includes the conditions under which regimes of practices come into being, are maintained and are transformed (Dean, 2009 p.29). The following chapter thus situates the theories on collective behaviour discussed above and the formalisation of RWU within an analytics of government, explaining how our behaviour is conducted along certain lines coherent with a neoliberal form of government, that is to say, efficient economic conduct and that civil society in Sweden is subject to these processes. The analysis of government is therefore concerned with how thought becomes embedded in the technical means for the shaping and reshaping of conduct in both practices and institutions (Dean, 2009 p.27). This includes staff employed by the Municipalities, Migration board and volunteers with RWU.

Nevertheless, this conception of government does not imply that the state plays less of a role in governing. On the contrary, through the genealogy of governmentality Foucault endeavoured to display how the modern sovereign state and the modern autonomous individual codetermined each other's emergence (Lemke, 2010 p.51). Understanding governmental rationalities thus relies upon exploring how knowledge and expertise affects decision-making– and peoples' behaviour –in concrete terms and will be illustrated using the day-to-day interactions I have described throughout the thesis as well as general occurrences during the refugee influx as a whole.

In the case of RWU and the refugee situation in Sweden, this entails questioning the processes through which governmental rationalities penetrate and influence patterns of behaviour and decision making, both within RWU and within institutions involved in managing the refugee

situation. Consequently, rather than constructing oppositions between state and civil society, public and private, government and market, it is helpful to conceive of these realms of society as stages on which the 'conduct of conduct' is acted out. We see that power, rather than imposing constrains on citizens, is concerned with 'making up' citizens capable of bearing a kind of regulated freedom (Rose and Miller, 1992 p.24). Both state and civil society in this sense are part of the same political field in which seemingly antagonistic organisations may nonetheless share discourse and norms and thus influence one another.

Problematising the refugee 'crisis'

Just how our choices are regulated is nevertheless a complex question. The overall idea of governmentality relies on questions of problematisation; questioning how a government addresses a problem and develops strategies to solve it (Gurpinar, 2014). Hence, we may begin by asking the questions: 1. How was the refugee situation problematized? and 2. What effects did this have on the conduct of actors involved? Since we may reasonably conceive of a number of alternative approaches to managing the refugee situation, identification of the specific strategies employed serves as an excellent starting point in understanding the decision making process.

The government's decision to accept all refugees arriving in the first months of the refugee influx honoured a long history of refugee acceptance policy in Sweden and entailed providing accommodation, food and medical assistance during the processing of asylum applications. Accordingly, it was the Migration board's responsibility to find accommodation and process these applications. The government also assigned the MSB (Civil Contingencies Agency) – usually responsible for emergency relief– to coordinate actors in order to enable them to work efficiently together. These actors included the migration board, local municipalities, private actors and civil society. Additionally, 10 million SEK was granted to the Red Cross in order to ”make use of the voluntary engagement” and ”collaborate with other organisations” (government.se). Later, further funds (up to 100 million SEK) were assigned to promote civil society engagement assistance including large NGOs.

These decisions have several implications relevant to my analysis. With the sole responsibility to provide housing resting with the migration board, they would follow an existing legal framework for providing refugee housing in the context of an extreme lack of publicly owned

accommodation. Secondly, civil society and volunteer participation was to be actively encouraged through funding and coordination.

Concrete outcomes

Although the migration agency previously owned a large number of accommodation facilities around Sweden last used during the influx of refugees in 1992, the privatisation drive of the 1990s witnessed the sale of most of these centres. This was executed with the explicit plan to utilise the provision of private accommodation in the case of an overwhelming refugee influx or for local Municipalities to provide emergency accommodation. Therefore, in the acute situation that occurred in the autumn of 2015, the most obvious solution to employees of the Migration Board was to utilise private accommodation providers and emergency accommodation as this was immediately available. In fact, the migration board has been criticised for its spending on accommodation, specifically the procurement of privately owned centres, by the Swedish National Audit Office (NAO) in a recent report in which they claimed that the Swedish Migration Agency, before the autumn of 2015, could have worked more effectively and systematically in the acquisition of accommodation centres…(which would have)… resulted in a better working situation for the Swedish Migration Agency's personnel; better accommodation for the asylum seekers… and more effective use of central government funds" (National Audit Office, 2017).

Secondly, following the government's decision to support and fund the Red Cross (who would also be responsible for coordinating other organisations), CSOs took on the responsibility of receiving refugees and providing immediate support, as well as coordinating and providing many social services and advice to refugees.

That is not to say that these rationalities were all directly applicable in Uppsala. In this case at least, the centre was not procured from a privately owned company. What these decisions serve to illustrate is that the rationalities of government influence the conduct of actors. The employees of the Migration board only had a limited number of accommodation options and likewise civil society actors' funding possibilities lay with providing the services required. Therefore whilst making sense of government action is problematic, the decisions of the state reflect a core characteristic of neoliberal governmentality which embraces the strategy of shifting responsibilities of the state into the realm of private individuals, entrepreneurs,

companies and civil society. In contrast to post war policies that were specifically decommodifying and thus sought to distance utilities and government services from market dependence, government decisions concerning the refugee situation relied heavily on the provision non-public solutions.

Though the trends of liberalisation and privatisation have not reduced the role of state intervention, they have shifted bureaucracies from decommodifying to marketising ones (Cerny, 1997 p.266). Private, municipal and CSO actors were treated as services providers and as such reflected this conduct in their behaviour, an outcome consistent with a NPM approach.

Conducting a movement

The decision to treat CSOs as service providers played a central role in conducting the behaviour of those involved in the Uppsala Refugees Welcome movement. We may remember that the movement began as a political mobilisation aimed at pressuring the government into accepting more refugees and preventing the restriction of refugees crossing the border. However as we have seen, this aim changed rapidly in order to achieve immediately attainable objectives: The demonstration opened the door to further volunteer coordination and the construction of a new network and this in turn brought together the manpower needed to establish an organisation.

As I described earlier, the 'popular movements' played an important role in the development of the Swedish welfare state. By participating in the popular movements, Swedes are said to have fostered a Swedish *democratic citizenship* through which citizens have "evolved" the responsibility and community necessary for democratic government (Swedish road to democracy p.20). It is also this *democratic citizenship* which is deemed to be one of the driving forces in the creation of and participation in CSOs such as RWU.

As I discussed in the second chapter, the *repertoires* that participants in a demonstration draw on and patterns of organisation in a country are critical factors in determining the formation of CSOs. Nevertheless, in Sweden participation in a CSO has not historically been premised on the provision of services. The role of RWU is rather the result of a changing political rationality which is inadvertently prescribing a new role to civil society. Since the possession and administration of knowledge is central to the operation of government, bureaucratic

knowledge, in this case possessed by the Migration Board, served to administer the refugee situation and determine which institutions were best able to perform the roles required. In this way, the state may specify the institutional machinery involved in the establishment of market dominance whilst guiding what constitutes effective social membership (Cerny, 1997 p.251). Making use of Swedish *democratic citizenship* the state simultaneously reinforced the role of market services whilst guiding the role of CSOs.

The role of RWU may thus be viewed from two perspectives. Firstly, as a democracy-enhancing project, it provided individuals with a civil engagement function. For example, by working together in the refugee centre, by interacting with one another in meetings, by being part of a board and voting on decisions, membership in a RWU played the democracy-enhancing role that I have outlined in previous chapters, a role that was shaped by previous forms of contention and ideas of Swedish citizenship. The second role that I wish to highlight is an opposing one in which RWU worked to fill the gaps created by the changing welfare regime and is part of an on-going renegotiation of the social contract. This role is one in which members of RWU provided services that could arguably be provided by either the state or private sector. The financial support offered by the state to finance "civil society's management of the refugee crisis" (government.se) signals devolution of responsibility from the state to civil society. It also prescribes a changing role to CSOs in Sweden and through this, redefines the role of individuals within civil society.

Civil society organisation therefore offers room to articulate alternative views of citizenship (Dahlstedt, 2009 p.21). On the one hand, CSOs provide an individual with a role that includes them in the democratic process, yet on the other their volunteer work alleviates demands on state resources. In other words, resistance is co-opted into a practice that support the state. Furthermore, these strategies have not been imposed from above; rather they have been facilitated by government yet adopted as practices of self-government in everyday routines and disciplines. Put another way, civil society "becomes a sphere for co-opting and shaping of the right kind of rational conduct" (Kurki, 2011 p.354)

The role of the market

The changing constellation of civil society also signals a new role for the market. Interestingly, the Swedish government has come under much criticism for its handling of the

refugee situation and the fiscal costs associated with it, both in media reports and financial reports carried out by the NAO (NAO report). However the government did not introduce any legislation that would limit the maximum amount charged for accommodation despite the possibility that the private sector may take advantage of the refugee situation in order to maximise profits.

The decision-making processes in government reflect a central idea in NPM that bureaucracies directly producing public services should be replaced by bureaucracies that closely monitor and supervise contracted-out and privatized services (Cerny, 1997). The assertion made by proponents of NPM is that ensuring the most efficient use of resources may prevent excessive government. However, analysis has shown that the use of private accommodation resulted in much higher costs (for example, accommodation procured by the Migration Agency from private providers costs 348 SEK per day (including allowances), compared with 149 for apartments or 201 for dormitories rented directly by the agency (Swedish NAO, 2017) and an increased need for volunteer involvement, yet has failed to reduce the role of the state. The allocation of resources to fund private accommodation is perhaps one reason for limited spending on other refugee services and thus an increased role for volunteer activities such as those provided by RWU.

Therefore the changing function of bureaucracies expresses a renegotiation of the role of government, specifically with reference to NPM. For example, speaking to the centre manager (an employee of the municipality) I was told: “we are like a hotel and they are the guests”. In his view, his job was to manage staff who were responsible for providing a service akin to a hotel; Bed, food, general advice if needed. In this way, the refugees were transformed into ‘clients’ and the public sector a provider. This is a trend demonstrative of procedural reforms and organisational shifts that are characteristic of the NPM doctrine.

The manager’s staff mirrored this view; according to one, this was how the migration board prescribed the role of operators. The municipality had no mandate to provide any more or less services than what were demanded of them. They were fulfilling a contract to provide accommodation and food only. Although the present case is specifically related to the refugee crisis, this logic applies to other fields of public service provision; rationalities of NPM begin to colonise the thinking of both decision makers and service providers resulting in a gradual shift in conduct.

This is relevant whether or not changes are proved to be efficient or not. Institutional changes serve to affect the mix of organisational logics that organise a given field (Meagher *et al.,* 2016 p.808). The effect is new constellations of relationships, norms and justifications for action within a field, to the extent that certain forms of action, for example the provision of private accommodation by the migration board or the behaviour of staff in Uppsala municipality come to reflect new forms of conduct within that arena. Behaviour seems to be linked to the ideological dominance of the NPM doctrine and therefore is exhibited in both the private and public domain.

Market rationalities are also reflected in the conduct of RWU. For example in attempt made later to secure funding for a refugee centre with employees and provide services to refugees and the general public. Rather than formulating goals that reflected their initial values, their goals came to reflect the values of the market as they attempted to diversify, providing services and pursuing funding. This process of marketization reflects mentalites in which the market "is presumed to work as an appropriate guide- an ethic- for all human action" (Harvey, 2005 p.165).

As I have argued, the 1990s ushered in an increased commodification of welfare services and the emergence of neoliberal governmentality within public institutions linked to the rise of NPM. This can be compared to classical liberal governmentality in which the state role was to monitor and define market freedom. The distinction is that within neoliberal rationalities the market serves as the organising principle for the state and society (Kusic, 2013 p.10). In the present case we can observe the manifestation of these rationalities in the conduct of the government in their decision-making, the bureaucracies in managing and directing resources and the conduct of volunteers attempting to carve out their role in the response to the influx of refugees.

Conclusion

In Sweden CSOs are, and will in all likelihood continue to be a dominant factor in social and political life. Civil society has a long, rich history within Sweden and is part of the fabric of the welfare state, governance mechanisms and Swedish citizenship. Nevertheless, what must be borne in mind is that civil society behaviour is ever changing, ever adapting and subject to a constant process of negotiation.

In chapter one, I argued that the demonstration occurred as a result of existing *repertoires of contention* in Sweden that reflect a long tradition of non-violent protest. These *repertoires*, it was argued, reflect one form of conduct that has come about through struggle and negotiation, but also through the deliberate guidance of behaviour. In chapter two I followed the development of this process, describing how, following institutional demands, this momentum was translated into the creation of a formal CSO. Chapter three argued that this whole process can be best understood as a renegotiation of civil society engagement in response to the increasing pressures of rational economic conduct.

As I have attempted to demonstrate through my descriptions, these negotiations do not only take place at the national or even the regional level, they are reflected in daily interactions and the decisions of individuals as they seek to make sense of the world around them. As such, the conduct of behaviour takes place through a diverse range of mechanisms. From government decisions, to the implementation of policy by the Migration board or Municipalities, conduct has been shown to be guided by the institutional landscape within which CSOs operate and options that individuals feel are available to them whilst navigating this landscape.

Therefore, since the role of CSOs in Sweden is undoubtedly subject to change, one question to ask is in which direction and in the pursuit of which objectives will CSOs be guided? Furthermore, who will do this guiding? It would be naive to claim that CSOs in Sweden have not always been subject to the political fluctuations and ideological variations that are part of a democratic system. However what I would like to highlight is that the post 1990 economic regime and the rise in NPM are fundamentally altering the character of civil engagement in Sweden and the rationalities that guide conduct.

In the present case, the individuals involved in RWU deviated drastically from the character of their initial demonstration in order to perform the role of service provider to the Municipality and I have tried to demonstrate how this can be linked to rationalities of efficient economic conduct. Since civil society performs such a vital role in Sweden, further research on the conduct of civil society behaviour may form a vital resource in informing members of CSOs in the choices that they make. Furthermore, it could serve to illuminate the close links between government decisions, and a sector that is considered independent of government. Finally, it could help to form a vital distinction between CSOs act as a counterweight to, or a component of the economic system.

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