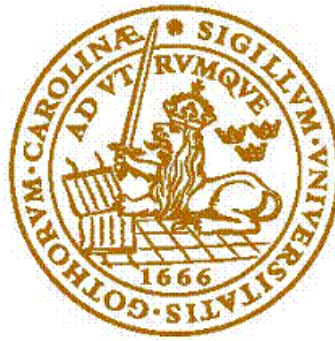


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A Study of the Refugees Welcome
Movement in Malmö -
Opportunity structures, Mobilisation
and Framing

Abstract

This study examines the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö between the period September 2015 and June 2016. The purpose of this study derives from the identification of a knowledge gap of descriptive, as well as analytical accounts that conceptualises the many and long withstanding occurrences of collective action within Social movement theory. This study aims therefore to tackle this knowledge gap in its quest to firstly, describe the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign along the following dimensions: Claim making, repertoire of collective action and its networks and organisational base. Secondly, with the help of an integrated theoretical model composed of cultural and structural factors analyse, and explain (i) the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign, (ii) and the developments of the campaign over time. This study's finds that the campaign can be defined as a segmented and pluralist campaign, which not the least is shown in the number of organisations that have taken part, multiple types of claim making and the broad and varied repertoire of collective action. The study also highlights the key role of organisations in the camping, as well as virtual and social networks. This study finally analyses and concludes on the explanatory value of cultural and structural factors in explaining the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö and the identified progressions within the campaign.

***Keywords:* Social movements, Collective action, Resource mobilisation, Collective action frames, Political opportunity structures, migration, refugees**

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1.0 Introduction

In the United Nations report on global displacement UNHCR conclude that during the year 2015, the number of refugees that the world hosted had reached unprecedented levels since the end of the World War II (United Nations 2015). A deteriorating security situation in Afghanistan and Iraq, the ongoing armed conflict in Syria are three trouble spots pushing forward these global developments. The global state that UNHCR reported of was reflected in Sweden and Europe in the way how the refugee recipients reached unprecedented levels during 2015 (Connor 2016; the Migrations Office 2016). In the midst of the large influx of refugees to Sweden, one could simultaneously identify how individuals and grassroots organisations collective joined up to welcome and help the newly arrived peoples at central stations to hand out food, clothing and other needed services. One could also identify how thousands of people joined up in pro-refugee manifestations in city centres in a number of Swedish cities. As often, “Refugees welcome” were a thoroughgoing slogan in these pro-refugee collective actions. Malmö, which this study devotes its full attention on, was no exception to this. Newspapers such as Skånskadagbladet, Aftonbladet and Sydsvenskan e.g. describe in number of articles how individuals and organisations during the autumn and winter 2015/2016 came to joined up in collective action to help the newly arrived refugees and to voice their opinions in different manifestations and public performances (Grenholm 2015). The engagement for refugees and refugee issues was evident and seldom has so many joined together in collective action in Sweden as during this particular period.

While reading up on this phenomenon prior to starting this study, I found on the one hand a number of articles where these instances of collective action had been described as discussed above. These accounts do however reveal a shortcoming on their behalf to conceptualise these events along relevant Social movement concepts. Turning to the academic field; which for obvious reasons has as a comparative advantages vis a vis journalists in producing theoretically grounded descriptions; a knowledge gap is quickly disclosed. Thus, what we have best is a rather monolithic and random description of the identified phenomenon which is not satisfactory (Grenholm 2015: 13). What clearly is needed in the light of this is to set a knowledge production in motion. However, not any knowledge production, but a knowledge production that treats the identified pro-refugees collective actions, not as independent and random acts, but as part of a larger movement which demands a reconceptualization of the

phenomena along relevant Social movement concepts. This reconceptualization necessitates an inclusive and collective term that can be operational and used to discuss the pro-refugees collective action in Malmö from this perspective. I have therefore chosen to discuss the studied phenomena under the collective name Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 23). The demarcation of what can be added into, and ascribed to this category is pro-refugee collective action within the period from September 2015 to June 2016 in Malmö. Viewing the studied phenomena in this light follows with a number of descriptive and analytical questions that this study aims to set light on.

One central question that this study aims to address lies in the definition of Social movement in itself; and concerns the description of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö as a Social movement. In the quest of arriving at such description I will make use of Tilly and Tarrow's definition of Social movements as "a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities" (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:11). From this definition I will draw on three core dimensions in my description of the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö which are: The claim making, repeated performances and its networks and organisational base (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 23; Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 11).

This study also aims to touch base on two of the most central questions in the study of Social movements; that is the question of emergence and social movement's progression over time. Thus, this study aims also at analysing and explaining the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign with regards to its (i) emergence and the (ii) developments within the campaign overtime. In this quest I will make use of my theoretical framework composed of both cultural and structural concepts and sub-concepts. This study builds upon qualitative data which have been collected through interviews with movement organisations that have initiated and partaken in this campaign. Data has also been collected through online research of the movement organisation's web and Facebook pages.

1.2 Relevance

I argue that the knowledge production that Social movement studies can contribute with to the research field of social science are relevant in the way how through the study of collective action highlight and contribute with knowledge of conflicting interests and relations between state, society and citizens. Historically, collective action has been an important tool for people to voice discontent in these conflicts, and an important tool to push and hinder change. Given

this relational claim, I argue that Social movements are highly relevant, and particularly suitable to study within sociology, as it corresponds with classic sociological analysis.

I would also argue that the relevance of this study departs from the fact that the Refugee Welcome Movement has not been a one day fad. Rather, it has been a persistent source of collective action and engaged thousands of people and number of different organisations all over Sweden. In a Swedish context this is not an everyday phenomenon. The fact that there exists a significant knowledge gap regarding elementary question that this study set light on are academically unsatisfactory.

1.3 Purpose and aim

The purpose of this thesis is to contribute with knowledge of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö, and with this quest set a knowledge accumulation in motion. The main aim of this study is two folded and are both descriptive and analytical. The descriptive aim is firstly to describe the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö along Tilly and Tarrow's definition of Social movements where I will focus on the three following principles: The public performances (which hereafter will be addresses as collective action, and summarily addressed as the repertoire of collective action¹) the claim and its networks and organisational base in this description (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:11; (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 168). The analytical aim of this study on the other hand is to analyse and explain the Refugees Welcome Movement with regards to its (i) emergence and (ii) progression within the campaign over time.

1.4 Research problem

The research problem that this study aims to address concerns the identification of a general knowledge gap of both descriptive as well as analytical accounts that conceptualises the Refugee Welcome Movement along Social movement theory. The research problem can in this sense be argued to be more academically driven in its ambition to contribute to the academic knowledge production. In the light of the purpose, aim and research problem has been made operational in the following research questions:

¹ Repertoire of collective action, is defined as the "whole set of means [a group] has for making claims (Tilly 1986: 2 as cited in Della Porta and Diani 2006: 168)

1.5 Research question

1. How should the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö be described with regards to its claim making, collective action and networks and organisational base?
2. In what way can the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö be explained along cultural and structural factors?
3. In what way can progression within the Refugees Welcome Movement's campaign be explained

1.6 Outline of the study

In the text above, I explained the cornerstones of this paper with regard to its relevance, purpose, research problem and research questions. In the following section I will describe the previous research that exists on the topic. I will also include studies that have been conducted on related topics. Following from this chapter, the third chapter will dig deeper in to the theoretical roots of this study discussing and will define social movement as theoretical category as well as outlining the theoretical frame work. In the fourth chapter I will outline the methodological approach of this study. The fourth chapter will also discuss operationalisation of my theoretical framework and ethics. After outlining the main points of departure I will move on to the analysis sections in chapter five. In chapter five a descriptive analysis of the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign will firstly be discussed and presented. After describing the campaign of the Refugee Welcome Movement I will precede by presenting my analysis and discussion of the structural and cultural factors in chapter six and seven. In the eighth and last chapter of this study I will present a final discussion, conclusions and present some suggestions for further studies.

2.0 Previous research

As I mentioned above, there is not a plenitude of studies that this study can draw from. However, through browsing through databases such as Diva and Google I have at least found two studies that are relevant to this paper. The first study is a bachelor study in Political Science, which from a theory testing approach sets out to test the explanatory value of the two concepts collective action frames and discursive opportunity structures to the rapid mobilisation of volunteers to the organisation Refugees Welcome to Malmö (Grenholm 2016: 26). One lesson that can be drawn from the study is that bridging occurred in the way how the media discourse coincided with the organisation's framing of central issues. The second lesson that can be drawn from his study is that the media portrayed the number of the pro-refugee collective action in a general positive light. Thirdly, through her media analysis she also concludes that the media provided a rather monolithic description that paid little attention to internal variances within the movement. In most cases the organisation Refugees Welcome to Malmö was used as a synecdoche for the large movement, composed of several organisations.

Another relevant study that links empirically to this study is Koopmans's (et al. 2005) book *Contested citizenship- immigrant and cultural diversity in Europe*. In their book the author's study pro-migration collective action. Conceptually, they define pro-migration collective action as a form of political altruism, meaning that pro-migration collective action is in essence collective action that defends the rights and lives of others. The main question that the author's ask is if mobilisation of pro-migrant collective action should be understood along an interest paradigm or an identity approach. Through comparative case studies from a number of European countries, the authors conclude that the pro-migrant collective action is best understood along an identity approach. This conclusions implies that the pro-migrant groups mobilise to make claims and to defend their specify definition of nationhood and national identity in first hand (Koopmans et al. 2005: 206). This study provides with important ideational knowledge of collective action taken up by pro-migrant groups such as Refugees Welcome movement which can be important to mirror my analysis against.

3.0 Theoretical framework

In this chapter I will firstly present a definitional discussion answering the question what a Social movement is. The intention here is to get an understanding of the characteristics of Social movements; what they do, what they are composed of e.g. that will provide a conceptual base outlining the elementary dimensions that this study need to relate to in its description of the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign. This section does also introduce the reader to the structural and cultural factors that will serve as the analytical framework in the study. While describing the three analytical concepts, I will firstly describe and explain the main tenets of the concepts along the academic debate, and secondly describe what purpose they serve in this study.

3.1 Defining social movements

Social movements have been an intensively scrutinised phenomenon and have engaged scholars from political science, history, sociology and communication to mention a few. Given the many different disciplines that Social movements have been studied from, has in turn inspired too many fruitful debates on its principles and premises. I would like to start this theoretical chapter by mapping out what it is that can be said to be distinct about social movements. Naturally, a definition is a good starting point in such mapping process. As hinted to above, this study will depart from Tilly and Tarrow's definition of Social moments found in the book *Contentious politics* (2015: 11). I have already introduced the definition above, but, I will repeat it here in its extended form to increase our insights. Tilly and Tarrow define Social movement in the following way:

“We define a movement as a sustained campaign of claim making, using repeated performances that advertise the claim, based on organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities (...) Social movements combine (1) sustained *campaigns* of claim making; (2) an array of public performances including marches, rallies, demonstrations, creation of specialized associations, public meetings, public statements, petitions, letter writing, and lobbying; (3) repeated public displays of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment by such means as wearing colours, marching in disciplined ranks, sporting badges that advertise the cause, displaying signs, chanting slogans, and picketing public buildings. They draw on (4) the organizations, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities” (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:11)

This definition is indeed comprehensive. As we can see, a Social movement is essentially a sustained campaign of claim making, which is supported and sustained by movement organisations and networks as the most prevailing actor. Furthermore, the definition above also highlights some key activities that Social movements conduct to voice and give strength to the claim making of the campaign (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:49). The definition also highlights the fluidity in the organisational base that underbuilds a Social movement. This alerts that we should not assume a unitary organisational structure. As I mentioned in the text above, this study will set light on three core dimensions found in the definition which are; the claim making, the repertoire of collective action and how it draws organisations and networks.

We have now gathered some important knowledges that points out what I analytically must explain in my quest of explaining the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign. These knowledges are indeed a good step towards understanding the complexity and nature of Social movements. However, there are two important questions that must be understood and explained in this chapter. The first question is what causes social movements to emerge and be sustained over time, and secondly, what causes developments and changes in Social movement's campaigns?

According to McAdam (et al 2008:23), there are three concepts that conventionally are used to explain the emergence of Social movements and progression within Social movement's campaigns over time. These three concepts are: *political opportunity structures*, *collective action frames* and *resource mobilisation* (Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 116; McAdam 2008: 23; Snow and Benford 2000: 611). Given that this study aims to address the question of emergence and change, the theoretical framework will naturally be developed along these three concepts and its sub-concepts.

3.2.0 Explaining the structural and cultural factors

3.2.1 The structural factors

3.2.2 Political opportunity structures

In the introduction of *Comparative perspectives on social movement research* (2008) McAdam points out that research that have been conducted within the scope of *political opportunity structures* follows mainly two traditions (McAdam 2008 et al: 3). *Political opportunity structures* (McAdam 2008) have on the one hand been used to produce detailed

case studies of single movements and protests cycles, or has been used to construct large cross-national comparative studies on the other. This study clearly falls within the first tradition.

The most fundamental question that must be asked while discussing *political opportunity structures* is: What is a *political opportunity structure* and what can it explain? Well, certainly there exists no consensus on how to define *political opportunity structures*. In the selection of a definition one will eventually end up at a cross road in which the selection stands between a broader definition, or a narrow definition based on specific dimensions. In this study I have decided to go with the former. This study will depart from McAdam's definition of *political opportunities structures* as "any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured" (McAdam et al 1999:41). Key in this definition is how these events and/or processes implies subversion of calculations and assumptions which in turn break statues que, and give rise to expanded opportunity structures for Social movement to mobilise. Consequently, this explains why a Social movement emerges in a particular time and place.

As one can tell, the definition of *political opportunity structures* it is indeed broad, and for that reasons I argue that it will be important to analytically specific what these events or broad social processes are more concretely. In *Comparative perspectives on Social movements* McAdam brings forward four specified dimensions of *political opportunity structures* which have been used to explain movement emergence in earlier research (McAdam 2008: 27). This is one example of how a broader definition of an analytical concept can be empirically specified which I will follow in this study by defining the specific events or social processes that gives rise to expanded opportunity structures into dimensions.

To sum up this section, I think that there are three important analytical focal points that the concept *political opportunity structure* provides with. Firstly, Social movements emerge in times of as expanded opportunity structure. These opportunity structures are the result of societal shifts brought about by events or social processes. Following from this, the main point of analysis along the framework of *political opportunity structures* is to identify the relevant events or social processes that have persisted, and can be argued to have given rise to expanded opportunity structure on which a mobilisation process could commence. Secondly, it is also equally important to identify how progression within the campaign (if any) can be attributed to changes within the *political opportunity structures*. Thirdly, it can also be

relevant to study what types of opportunities that are produced, and how this impacts on the form of collective action that are enforced.

3.2.3 Resource mobilisation theory

Prior to that *Resource mobilisation theory* came into the field of Social movement research, Social movements had been explained as an irrational and reactionary phenomena caused by social breakdown of social systems (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 14). Naturally following from this logic, participants in Social movements were seen as irrational outsiders that had failed to integrating with the rest of society. The entrance of *Resource mobilisation theory* was a clear break from this thesis. In conjunction with the introduction of *Resource mobilisation theory* to the research field, Social movements came to be understood as a normal part of the political process, and as a rational tool for people to pursue their interests (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 14). Besides highlighting the rational grounds of Social movements; Resource mobilisation theory also become an integral part of Social movement research due to its ability to explain the determinant conditions for Social movements to perform collective action, and sustaining their campaigns (Della Porta and Diani 2006: 15). According to resource mobilisation advocates, the ability for Social movements to perform collective action, and to sustain their campaigns is ultimately about the access and control of vital resources, and how these resources are consumed and produced within the movement (Wettergren and Jamison 2006: 14). Following from these knowledges three key questions are revealed that must be dealt with in this study: what *resources* have been obtained throughout the campaign? Secondly, through what *mobilising structures* have these resources been extracted? Thirdly, how does the mobilisation process interlink with the *political opportunity structures*? In this study *resource mobilisation* will be viewed in the light of its two key concepts that sets light to these issues. These two concepts are: *mobilisation structures* and *resources*. In essence, *mobilising structures* are “the organizational bases and mechanisms serving to collect and use the movement’s resources” (Rucht 2008: 186). Edward and McCarthy’s bring forward three forms of *mobilising structures* that are worth taking note of in the coming analysis. These three *mobilising structures* are: *Aggregation, self-production and co-optation* (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:131 ff; A full description of the mobilising structures and the resources are fully explained in appendix 1). Besides these *mobilising structures*, Edwards and McCarthy have also developed a taxonomy, or mapping of resources that often circulates within Social Movements that might be important to bring with us into the forthcoming analysis: *cultural resources, human resources, material resources and social*

organisational resources (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:131 ff; A full description of the mobilising structures and the resources are fully explained in appendix 1).

To sum up the text above, I have explained the main tenets and claims of *Resource mobilisation theory* and highlighted some relevant *resources* as well as *mobilising structures* that will serve as analytical points of departure (Rucht 2008: 186; Edwards and McCarthy 2004:131ff). From an analytical stand point I would argue that the main point that this theory provides with is that access and control of resources is a prerequisite for Social movement's ability to exploit the expanded opportunities for collective action, and their ability to sustain the campaign over time.

3.2.4 The cultural factor

3.2.5 Collective action frames

Up to now we have included *Resource mobilisation theory* and *political opportunity structures* in this analytical framework. These two theoretical concepts notes the structural dimensions of social movements. However, since all human action is preceded by a cognitive dimension, looking at structural factors alone would not be enough to understand the nature of Social movements. The importance of a cognitive dimension was acknowledged in McAdam's original thesis *Political process theory* already in 1982, through the concept Cognitive liberation (McAdam 1982: 48). However, in later developments of cognitive dimension Cognitive liberation has come to be substituted by framing processes and *collective action frames* more specifically.

The study of *collective action frames*, springs primarily from Goffman's work on frames and frame processes outline in his book *Frame analysis* (1974). According Goffman, frames are schemes of interpretation that allows individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" occurrences around us" (Goffman 1974: 21). It is through frames our experiences and the occurrences around us are interpreted as meaningful and guides further action (Snow and Benford 2000:614). Following from this, *collective action frames* builds on the same interpretative mechanism as frames, but also serves to legitimise the campaign and the movement's cause. They are, so to say action-oriented, or in the words of Snow and Benford "collective action frames are action-oriented sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities and campaigns of a social movement organization "(Snow and Benford 2000:614). According to Snow and Benford's analytical model of *collective action frames* (Snow and Benford 2000); a framing process builds on three "core framing task"

which are: *Prognostic, diagnostic and motivational* (Snow and Benford 2000:616). I have described the three dimensions of *collective action frames* thoroughly in appendix 1. These three dimensions will be deployed in my analysis of the movement organisation's communication.

Collective action frames are also action oriented in the way how they support the mobilisation process which is captured by the sub concept *frame alignment* ((Della Porta and Diani 2006: 8; Snow and Benford 2000: 624). *Frame alignment* can generally be described as a process that occurs when *frames* tap into “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” (Snow and Benford 2000: 624). Identifying “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” is indeed a complicated task on its own, and to make it accessible in this analysis I will rely on other researchers' conclusions. In Snow and Benford's text *Framing processes and social movements an overview and assessment* (2000), they bring forward a number of different frame alignment processes. However, in this study the focus will be put on *frame amplification* which essentially involves “the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values” Values are in this way modes of conduct that needs to be promoted and protected (Snow and Worden 1986: 469; Snow and Benford 2000: 624; fully described in appendix 1). Seen together with the general understanding of *frame alignment*, *frame amplification* occurs in communication through elevation of values that syncs in with the “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” that exist within the population that the movement organisation intends to mobilise (Snow and Benford 2000: 624). Through this process a bridge of meaning, legitimacy and relevance are created between the movement and the population which in turn underpins, and increases the support for the movement and in turn its mobilisation power.

To sum up, the first main point that this section brings forward is that movement organisations actively engages in constructing reality to legitimising the campaign and the movement's cause. Of particular interest in the analysis of the movement organisation communication will be to analyse how problems, strategies and agency are framed in the communication. This process will be studied through the “core framing task” task explained above (and in the appendix). The second analytical point that this section provides, relates to how *collective action frames* functions to substantiate mobilisation, and if there are empirical reasons to explain the mobilisation power of the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign through the concept *frame alignment* (Snow and Benford 2000:624).

4.0 Methodology

In this section I will try to tie a link between the theories described above, the ontological understanding of Social movements and the methodological points of departure. I will firstly discuss the choice of qualitative data over quantitative data. I will thereafter proceed by describing the more technical dimensions regarding data collection techniques, sampling and application and operationalisation of analytical concepts. In the last chapter I will describe this study's ethical consideration.

4.1.0 Qualitative Approach

As I mentioned in the text above, there exist a knowledge gap that this study aims to fill. The lack of extensive research on the subject does in its turn leave me rather open to define what type of knowledge should be prioritised at this stage. However, as the research question has been formulated clearly highlight the need for a rich and descriptive material to be answered sufficiently. This does in turn imply that qualitative data will be the most favourable source of data vis a vis quantitative data. The qualitative research agenda is associated with a number of data collecting techniques, which implies that I have a broad set of data collecting techniques at my disposal. Given that most of the data that I will use in the study needs to be created, having a broad set of data collecting techniques at hands suits this study fine. In the light of this, the selection of data collecting techniques has fallen on interviews and online research of Facebook and web pages. In the text below I will describe the two data collecting techniques, and how they have been applied in this study. I will firstly describe the data collection process with regards to the interviews and thereafter describe the online data collection process.

4.1.1 Semi structured interviews

Semi-structures interviews have been chosen before structured and unstructured interviews because I argue that it is a more dynamic approach vis a vis unstructured and structured approach. Instead of a robust set of prewritten questions associated with the structured interview, the semi-structured interview is associated with development of themes which serves as the base for the interview. The openness associated with the unstructured interview is also found in the semi-structured interviews, in the sense that a semi-structured interview allows for flexibility in how much time I spent on each theme, and allows the interviewer to go outside of the preselected themes as well (Dalen 2007: 34). The themes that have been selected for this study have been theoretically generated through careful reading of Social

movement research. The themes correspond with what Tilly and Tarrow mentions as “the necessary tools that tells the researcher what to look for, and enables the researcher to ask the theoretically relevant questions” (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 28). In this study the interview guide has been constructed somewhat differently depending on interviewee. It can generally be said however, that the interview guide contains four main themes which are: Campaign and collective action, organisation and cooperation, resources and claim. The interview guide deviated from the general outline during the interview with Malmö municipality. I changed the interview guide in this case since most of the themes was specified to movement organisations, and filled no function for Malmö municipality.

4.1.3 Sampling strategy of interviewees

I have already described the principle of delimitation that surrounds the sampling process in the introduction; I will therefore go straight to describing the sampling process. Prior to the sampling process began I had some assumption of what forms of collective action that had been conducted within the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö and of some key organisations. Firstly, I knew that a lot of collective action related to the influx of refugees in the autumn 2015 had been conducted at the Malmö central station. Thus, the Malmö central station became the first key area to cover. I also knew that Kontrapunkt and Refugees Welcome to Malmö had been two key organisations in the campaign and worked intensely in this area and was essential to include in the selection. Secondly, I knew that there had been several pro-refugee manifestations in Malmö during 2015/2016, which became the second key area to cover. In this rather directed way of selecting key areas and organisations I argue that I have made use of a purposive sampling strategy (O’Reily 2015: 6). Besides the purposive sampling strategy I have to a certain extent made use of what O’Reilly calls an ongoing sampling strategy to cover the second key areas where I had less knowledge about the relevant organisation (O’Reilly 2015:8). In essence, an ongoing sampling strategy means that the sampling process is ongoing during the research period and guided by the accumulated knowledge (O’Reilly 2015:8). The ongoing sampling strategy has in this case meant that through conversing with the representatives of the organisations, I have gathered new information which has introduced me to new important areas and organisations. Thus, the knowledge they have shared, and been accumulated during the process, have lead the sampling onwards. Including Malmö municipality, the left party and the green youth association in the sample was a result of this strategy.

In total, the interview sample includes Malmö municipality, the Green Youth Association, Kontrapunkt, Refugees welcome to Malmö, Refugees welcome to Sweden and the Left party.

4.1.4 Description of interviewees and structure of interviews

When it comes to describing the organisations taking part in this study I do not mean to give a historical description of the organisation's backgrounds, but in a sparse manner describe the organisation's role and nature of participation within the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö.

As I mentioned above, I have departed from the ambition to cover the two key areas mentioned above, I will for that reason divide the organisations along that categorisation. Kontrapunkt, Refugees Welcome to Malmö and Malmö municipality are the three organisations that foremost, contribute with knowledge regarding the first key area. The collective action that the two movement organisations Refugees welcome to Malmö and Kontrapunkt have been engaged in this key area through service delivery at the central station and Kontrapunkt's social centre. To a large extent they have been supporting a grass root refugee recipient system. Malmö municipality, obviously not a movement organisation, but have been included here since they; although absent in the initial stage, were present at the later stage at the central station. Since this is a study about the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö, the interview with Malmö municipality might not contribute with much material to be presented, but gave me a deeper understanding of the authorities' side.

The interviews with the Left party, the Green Youth Association speaks to the second key area while the organisation Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing speaks to both areas since they both have been engaged with the more service delivery oriented approach and through their sister organisation also initiated and engaged in pro-refugee manifestations.

To lastly mention a few words about the interviews, it can firstly be mentioned that all of the interviews have been conducted face to face. All of the interviewees have firstly been contacted either through email or through Facebook. In conjunction with the initial contact, an information letter was sent out in which the background, aim, purpose and the role of the interviewees was described (see appendix 2). The information letter also clarified the interviewee's rights in accordance with the Board of Science's ethical principles of social science (Board of science 2002). After accepting participation a meeting place was selected conjointly or solely by the interviewee. The interviews have all been recorded to simplify the process of transcribing, which the interviewees had been informed of prior to the interview.

4.1.5 Analysis of interview data

Processing interview data can be done in many ways; this study has deployed a thematic analysis to process the interview data. I chose to use thematic analysis because I quickly realised the amount of data that I had to present and the limited space as an imminent problem. The thematic analysis helped me to solve this problem in the way how it is a cost efficient way of drawing out the most describing and essential elements of the data. In a general sense a thematic analysis “is a method for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data” (Braun and Clarke 2006: 6). In the text *Using thematic analysis in psychology* (2006), Braun and Clarke describes a thematic analysis along a six step process. However, since their approach is based on an inductive thematic analysis, I have shortened the steps from six to three steps of which the last do not fully correspond with Braun and Clarke’s scheme (2006).

The first step in the thematic analysis according to Braun and Clark (2006) is to familiarise yourself with the material. This has been done, not the least through transcribing all the interviews from the recordings (Braun and Clarke 2006: 16). The second step in this process is to generate codes. At this stage, the distinction between inductive approach and the deductive approach becomes important. You can either let the text define the codes, and by that follow an inductive approach, or use theoretically generated pre-decided codes in line with a deductive approach. Given that I already had developed a thematically ordered interview guide, the choice between inductive or deductive approach followed quite naturally. I have, in other words, chosen to make use of the themes found in the interview guide as codes, not only for practical reasons; but also because these are according to the literature of Social movements the necessary elements constituting Social movement, and are therefore necessary to know of (Braun and Clarke 2006: 18). The codes have therefore allowed me to systematise the data along these crucial elements in a manageable way.

With the codes decided, I have read and colour coded the material in accordance with the codes outlined in the interview guide. While coded, the material has thereafter been sorted along those codes and processed once again to find recurrent patterns within each code which corresponds with step three in Clark and Braun’s guide (Braun and Clark 2006). Given that I have interviewed several different organisations, the material have not always point in a unison direction. In accordance with the approach I have had the ambition to search for recurrent themes but nonetheless tried to give space for nonadherence in the material. After the last step, the material has been developed into tangible text.

4.1.6 Online research in Social movement studies

The growing online research within Social movement research can be divided into two main categories. In Mosca's chapter about online research in social movement research, he points out that we have on the hand the online research that treats internet as the main object of interests, and the research that treats internet as another valuable source of information on the other (Mosca 2014:2). This study falls into the latter category. The online research has served two main purposes in this study which are: To study *Collective action frames* of the participating organisation's web and Facebook pages and secondly, as a complementary source to expand the data on collective action and the claim making to include relevant movement organisation in Malmö that have not physically participated. Using Facebook to cover these matters have allowed me to build a knowledge base that goes beyond the physically participating organisation, and made it possible to cover larger periods of time than what I would have been able to collect through participatory data collecting techniques. Conducting online research has in this sense served this study well; both from a time and resource perspective.

4.1.7 Online research - sampling of actors and material

With regards to the first purpose, the study of *Collective action frames* that is, I have as I mentioned above limited the selection to the organisations that have participated in the interviews. However, depending on the nature and durability of collective action within the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö the sampling of material has been slightly different. With regards to Refugees Welcome to Malmö and Kontrapunkt, I have conducted a rather extensive collection of material of their respective Facebook pages within the time period of September 2015 to June 2016. With regard to the Green Youth Association and the Left party who have not conducted as extensive operations as the two above, I have sampled material from the descriptions of their manifestations found on Facebook. The sampled material of Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing has been collected through studying their webpage as well as studying the description of their sister organisation's manifestations also found on Facebook. Malmö municipality have for obvious reasons been excluded from this analysis.

With regards to the second purpose, I have, equal to the above used a purposive sampling strategy. Deploying a purposive sampling strategy necessarily demands some form of knowledge of the studied phenomenon. It was for this reason strategically important to conduct the online research as the second step after the interviews, since the interviews

provided me with the needed in-depth knowledge. Guided by the knowledge that the interviews had generated, I started browsing through the organisation's event calendars on Facebook and based on the events that the organisation's had advertised on Facebook I completed a time table of pro-refugee collective action. In total, I have been able to identify 9 different occurrences of pro- refugee collective action within the time period of September 2015 to June 2016. Through the description of the manifestation I have been able to identify type of collective action and through the description of the events analysed the texts to identify eventual claims.

4.1.8 Data analysis of online data on Collective action frames

Since that the data to study *collective action frames* as well as the interviews are written text, there was no need to change the method of analysis. I have in other words kept to the same thematic analysis as I explained above. In order to avoid repetition, I will not give a full description of the analysis process for this reason but will instead settle for explaining the accounts where it deviates from the procedure explained above. The thematic analysis that has been deployed in the analysis of *collective action frames* deviates on one instance, which is the coding. As you can see in the operationalisation chart (appendix 1), I have outlined three codes which serve as the indicators of the three dimensions of *collective action frames*. Each code has its own key question that corresponds with the inherent quality of that particular dimension. The question of each code has been operational in the sense that I have, so to say interviewed the material to search for answers to the question. When I have found material that have given answers to, and contained anything pithy in relation to the post question the material was been sorted accordingly. After the first round of coding the material has thereafter been processed once again to find recurrent patterns as well as deviations within the codes. After the last step, the material has been developed into a tangible text. Since the analysis process has been theoretically driven I would say that a theoretical deductive approach explains this approach the most accurately as well.

It can in the end of this section be mentioned that processing online communication to research *collective action frames* is indeed a tricky endeavour since online communication is not always straight forward, and the chances for follow up questions are non-existing. When there has been doubts regarding how to code the data I have view the material on *collective action frames* in the light of the rest of the material which has been helpful.

4.1.9 Data analysis of online data on collective action and claim making

With regards to the online material that was collected to map collective action and claim making, the process has been quite straight forward. In essence, the aim with this data has been to study the nature of collective action and claim making over time in Malmö, and by that be able to expand the data set, and to include organisations that have not physically partaken in the study. With this as point of departure, I constructed a time table of the sampled data in which the type of collective action was identified. After identifying type of collective action I have thereafter studied the descriptions of the events to identify eventual claims.

The processes of identifying claims of the manifestations listed on Facebook has been done through reading the description of the respectively event. In my analysis of claims I have departed from Lindekinlde's definition of claim making who argues the following "Claims-making refers to the process of performing or articulating claims that bear on someone else's interests. In its simplest form an instance of claims-making includes two actors – a subject (claimant) and an object (addressee) – and a verbal or physical action (demanding, protesting, criticizing, blaming etc.)" (Lindekinlde 2013: 1). I have in other words searched for writings that put up some form of demand and/or urges on behalf of someone else's interest, that is "actor A wants actor B to" or "actor A demands that actor B" or "actor A shall" e.g (Lindekinlde 2013: 1; Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 7). After the first reading the data was thereafter thematically categorised depending on what theme the claim concerned. The generated data has thereafter been mirrored against the interview material on the topic and woven together into a unison set of data.

It should be mentioned that claim making within Social movements is most often not logic or coherently constructed. This, I would argue, is a natural reflection of the fact that Social movement most often are composed of several organisations who do not necessarily cooperate. Thus, identifying claims is one thing, but presenting the data in a coherent and logic way is another, and is indeed challenging. The case studied here is no exception to this. I believe that the principle of the thematic analysis has served well in this case, as it has allowed me to search for repeated patters and recurrent themes in the data, rather than logic. This does on the other hand mean that some claims that did not constitute a large enough part in the data have not been presented.

Before we go in to the application and operationalisation of analytical concepts, I would like to sum up this rather dense section. In sum, I will deploy a qualitative approach built on data collected through interviews and online research of web and Facebook pages. I have made use of two sampling strategies which are purposive sampling and an ongoing sampling strategy. In the cases where a systematic approach has underbuilt the processing of data (interviews and written communication on Facebook and webpages), I have in those cases leant on a thematic analysis.

4.2 Operationalisation and application of analytical concepts

In the previous chapter I explained the three concepts that my theoretical framework rests on, as well as what explanatory value they hold in relation to Social movements. Through reading the literature on Social movements it stands clear that the emergence of social movements is result of interacting structural and cultural forces. *Political opportunity structures* are a key factor to the explanation of why a Social movement emerges in a particular time and place. This is so, because the expanded opportunity structure creates the needed structural conditions on which a mobilisation process can commence. *Political opportunity structures* are therefore essential, and explain why a Social movement emerges in a particular time and place. Furthermore, *political opportunity structures* can also explain potential changes within the campaign due to external events or social processes during the campaign that alters the existing opportunity structures. It is important to understand that expanded opportunity structures do not automatically result in the emergence of Social movements. Opportunity structures must be seized and mobilised upon in order for any Social movement to emerge. *Resource mobilisation* are therefore the second prerequisite, and set light to the pre-condition for Social movements to perform collective action, and to sustain their campaign over time. Because, as McCarthy and Zald explains "resources must be controlled or mobilized before action is possible" (McCarthy and Zald 1977: 1221). *Collective action frames* and *frame amplification* adds to the mobilisation process in the way how frames can support the mobilisation power of a campaign through *frame amplification*. It should also be mentioned that although the three concepts presented above so to say are parts of the same whole, they will both be studied on their own terms, but also how they interlink. Thus, all of the three concepts have a certain explanatory value in relation to the research questions. Given this preunderstanding it also defines the logic of inference and the ontological understanding of Social movements. That is, to know of, and explain the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö we must understand the structural and cultural factors as they are inherent to the

phenomena as such. Given this explanatory value the analytical concept sets so to say the frame of what data that needs to be collected to answer the research questions. Following from this, the main purpose of the theoretical framework is in other words to help me arrange the data collection process by pointing out what I need to know of, and through the accumulation of data hopefully explain the studied phenomena, and answer the research questions.

I would also like to discuss how I will operationalise the concepts. At heart, operationalisation is about measurements, and two questions naturally arise: How should the concepts be evaluated and measured? And what is considered as data for what? Although this study is not about measuring concepts in quantitative terms, it is nonetheless important to reflect and give as a detailed description of this process as possible. It must however be mentioned that some of the concepts and sub-concepts are far harder to operationalise in a strict positivist sense than others. *Collective action frames* and *frame amplification* are two examples of particular hard concepts to operationalise as they are elusive in their nature vis a vis more concrete concepts such as *resource mobilisation*. I have tried to solve the general operationalisation problematic by constructing an operationalisation chart which can be seen in the appendix. I have described what data give empirical support of the analytical concept under the heading *Indicators of* and *Data in support of*. This as well as, indicators, key analysis questions and main source of data of each analytical concept is explained in the appendix 1.

4.3 Ethical considerations

O'Reilly teaches us that some ethical considerations are technical, while some are more philosophical (O'Reilly 2015: 3). I would firstly like to discuss the technical ethical considerations. With technical ethical considerations, I refer to the ethical guidelines that I briefly mentioned in the section above. I have adhered to the Board of Science's four ethical principles which are: *the demand for information*, *the demand for consent*, *the demand for confidentiality* and *the principle of use* (Board of science 2002). The demand for information (Board of science 2002) has been adhered to in the way how I sent out an information letter in conjunction with the initial contact (see appendix 2). I have also made clear that participation is voluntary, and that the interviewee has the right to stop the interview at any time, and to not answer specific questions if he or she wishes not to do so. I have worked with the demand for confidentiality (Board of science 2002) by handling the personal information and other data with discretion and not given any personal information about the interviewees. I have chosen

to not use any real names in the study, and instead referred to them as representatives. *The principle of use* aims at making sure that the collected material is used according to the stated purpose, and that it should not end up in the wrong hands (Board of science 2002). I have informed the interviews that the material that will be published in the study is the only material that will be public. All other information such as transcripts and recordings will be deleted after the study has been completed. The discussion of ethical consideration above highlights the technical dimension of ethical consideration. They are technical because they depart from general guidelines, but it is true as O'Reilly argues, there are ethical consideration that cannot be discussed along pre-set guidelines and principles, but must be dealt with as they arise case by case (O'Reilly 2015: 3).

One ethical consideration that is not technical is that of power relations. I mentioned this especially in relation this study, because the research on Refugees Welcome Movement in Sweden is novel. This means that the first novel steps in producing research are defining, which makes it even increasingly important to not produced reductionist and/or wrong representations of the organisations and their activities. Another ethical consideration that I have struggled with during this study that is more philosophical concerns the dichotomy between researcher and the research object. During the study I have also faced ethical dilemmas linked to research results, and asked myself question how my research result can be made to beneficial for both the movement organisations and the academic community. Clearly, this ethical dilemma echoes the question: For whom research results should be for? These are an ongoing discussion that takes place in Social movement studies and Social science in general (Chesters 2012; Casa-Cortes et alt. 2006; Cox and Fominaya 2009). Although that this study does not aspire to make any advancement in this science theoretical discussion as such, it should nonetheless be made aware that I have had these questions in mind while conducting the study. What I can offer on the other hand is research that to the largest extent possible strives to produce results that have academic value as well as value for the movement organisation's themselves.

5.0 Descriptive analysis of the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign

In this chapter I will describe the Refugee Welcome campaign in Malmö along three dimensions found in Tilly and Tarrow's definition of Social movement which are: The claim making, repeated performances and its networks and organisational base (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:11)

5.1 Outlining the claim making

According to the timetable that I have constructed by backtracking events on Facebook there has been a number of manifestation and appeals in Malmö during the studied period. As I mentioned above, through my online research I have managed to identify 9 manifestations (see appendix 4). By no means do I mean that the identified manifestation are the only ones, it is not unlikely that there have been more than 9 instances of pro-refugee collective action in Malmö during the selected period. However through the online research that I have conducted, this is what I have been able to identify. I do believe that the 9 manifestations give me a good outlook to study claim making.

The claims that I have identified in the description has been categorised into four main pillars. In the early phase of the protest cycle one can identify claims that is not centred around laws or policies, but on the intrinsic value of helping the ones in need. In essence, they can be summarised as being centred on basic people to people solidarity. Besides claim making of solidarity and helping the ones in need, other values such as openness and cosmopolitan values such as human rights are also central in this type of clam making. Essentially, this form of claim making is directed towards Swedish politicians, and demands that action should be taken on the grounded of values such as solidarity, humanism and openness. Both in terms of how the Swedish population should act towards the newly arrived refugees, and in terms of what principles the Swedish migration politics should stand. Given the centrality of these value in this form of claim making, I have for that reason categorised this claim making into the category *humanism and solidarity*. Too exemplify how this claim making category can be expressed the two writing from the movement organisation Refugees welcome to Sweden and the Green Youth Association serves as examples. They write the following:

“All who come to Sweden are welcome; Sweden shall give help and support” (Refugees Welcome Sweden 2015).

”Europe shall welcome those who need help and protection” (the Green Youth Association 2015)

As we can see in the quotes above, there exists an identifiable conviction that Europe and Sweden shall be open, and help the ones in need. In that sense it is not a demand, but the writing urges Europe to act on behalf of human values. It is not argued for why Europe and Sweden should give help by other arguments than for humanistic reasons alone.

In later stage of the protest cycles more, so to say hard claim making are brought forward. I call them hard because contrary to the example above are made on the basis of national and international politics and laws. In the text below I have identified three claim making categories which in one way or another relates to this.

The claim making category *border and ID-controls* are one example of this, which are claims that are made against the Swedish government’s decision to implement strict border and ID controls. The claim making demands the halt to such policy decision, and that the responsibility for executing the controls which was put on the transportation companies’ rather than on the on state border police shall cease. This claim can for example be seen in People’s campaign for the Right of Asylum and All for all Malmö’s manifestation named Safe roads now – a demonstration for the right of asylum where they write that “no more people shall die at the boarder! We demand legal and safe roads to Europe- no one shall be denied entry to Sweden due to the lack of Identification card” and “we demand that the responsibility of transporter with regard to EU’s as well as Swedish boarders is abolished” (...) in the case of EU’s as well as for Swedish borders” (People’s campaign for the right of asylum and All for all 2016).

Another central claim that has been brought forward within the campaign, which clearly is linked to the claim above, is where the movement organisations make claim to defend the right to seek asylum. Most often the boarder and ID controls are expressed as hinder to this, which is why they can be seen as interlinked. In the description of the Left Party’s manifestation this link is evident as they write ”the government with support from the Moderate, the Liberal Party and the Christian Democrats from the 4th of January decided that all who travels to Sweden shall show identification card. This hinders many people to apply for asylum and jeopardises the right to asylum” (the Left Party). The claim making that has been brought forward to defend the right to asylum as simply been categorised along the claim making category *the right to asylum*.

Another example where laws are central in the claim is in, what I have termed as the claim category *Convention on the Rights of the Child*. These claims are made on the basis of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which gives the claims a legal strength. Symptomatic for this claim category is the demand that Swedish government shall adhere and follow the Convention on the Rights of the Child, and to not implement migration and policies that are incoherent with this convention. One example of where the rights of the child is used as a base for claim making can be seen in the manifestation All children's right to family, which was arranged by a hand full of organisations such as the Red Cross and Save the children. In the description of the manifestation the initiators write that the Swedish government's policy restricting the possibilities for family reunification by restricting and limiting the possibility for family migration stands in opposition to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and must for that reason be reconsidered. They write in the following way:

“According to article 10 in the United Nations convention on the rights of the child, an application from a child or its family members for family reunification shall be processed in a positive, human and quick manner by the convention state. To almost exclude the possibility for family reunification for a large group of children is not coherent with the principle” (Save the Children et al. 2016)

As we can see in the quote above the organisations behind this manifestation are using legal discourse to build their claims which gives the claim a certain strength vis a vis the claim such as the ones found in category in *humanism and solidarity*.

Looking at the claim making periodically I argue that the claim category humanism and solidarity are most identifiable in the early phase of the movement cycle, but along the period the other three categories grow in recognition. This highlights how the claim making gradually develops, and give reasons to describe and understand the claim making as developing and progressing from one phase to the other.

5.2 Repertoire of collective action

This section aims to describe what Tilly and Tarrow refer to in their definition of Social movements as “repeated public performances”, which I have summed up as the repertoire of collective action (Tilly and Tarrow 2015:11). This is a central question as it describes what types of collective action that have been conducted within the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö, and what type of collective action the movement uses to push their agenda.

The repertoire of collective action can be said to be broad and contains elements of conflictual as well as consensual collective action (Della porta and Diani 2006: 23). The repertoire of

collective action is not static; changes can be identified over the protest cycle. The repertoire of collective action as well as in the claim making gives rise to understanding the campaign as developing from one phase to another. The material show that we one hand have a phase in which there is an emphasis on consensual collective action in form of service delivery activities at the central station and at Kontrapunkt's social centre. There is also a phase that leans much more on the use of conflictual collective action in form of manifestations, petitions, civil obedience on the other. The repertoire of collective action within the Refugees Welcome Movement is in other words broad and changing over time.

During the first phase, that is the consensual phase, the lion share of the repertoire of collective action mostly concerned helping the newly arrived refugees with clothes, food, shelter and other services such as giving out prepaid phone cards to the refugees to enable them to make contact with their families back home. Money was also collected by the movement organisations that were used to buy train tickets to the refugees who wanted to move to other parts in Sweden. The organisations that were present at the central station such as Refugees Welcome to Malmö also provided with information about asylum laws and general information about what help that was offered in Malmö. It was mostly through this form of mouth to mouth information sharing by the volunteers at the central station, that the information about Kontrapunkt and their work at their social centre was spread. Kontrapunkt, was in other words, not present at the central station themselves; their work was ran parallel to the work on the central station.

During the second phase, the data show that the repertoire of collective action have been dominated by manifestations, petitions and civil obedience. To mention three examples of this form of collective action are firstly the organisation called People's campaign for the Right of Asylum that was formed during the studied period and launched their national petition campaign which aimed at the following: "the goal of the campaign is to show that there are a great population who against infringements on the right to asylum, and to collect evidence that Sweden is not under crisis and that we can take in more refugees" (Vestin 2016 cited in Olsson 2016). In conjunction with the newly enforced ID-controls the Left Party arranged a manifest urging for the upheaval of the policy. A civil obedience campaign was also launched a few days later against the enforcement of ID-controls.

5.3 Summary of campaign

In this section I would like shortly summarise the campaign of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö and to situate the data within the Social movement theory. Taking stock against this aim, I would once again like to return to three principles in Tilly and Tarrow's definition of Social movement. The three principals were: the claim making, the repertoire of collective action and its networks and organisational base (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 23; Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 11).

Seen together, I argue that the data do indeed show a sustained campaign of claim making, although not a unison one, which I argue is a result of the variance in the data set. The data point out four types of claim making which I have categorised as: *humanism and solidarity*, *the Right to Asylum*, *the Convention on the Rights of the Child* and *Border and ID-controls*. In the light of these claims, it can be argued that the Refugee Welcome Movement deviates from the more conventional Social movements, such as the Labour movement on two accounts. Firstly, contrary to the Labour movement in which the claims were mainly concerned with material and class concerns, the claims that have been put forward leans as we can see more towards post-material concerns (Della porta and Diani 2006: 6). This movement does also put up claims to defend the rights and life's of others, which is the second point where the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö deviates from the labour movement (Della porta and Diani 2006: 6). In this sense, the Refugee Welcome Movement can be seen as an empirical example that awakens questions and critique of Olson's claim where he argues that "only small groups, where individual members can estimate their personal gains from getting involved, will actually be capable of generating collective action" (Olson cited in Diani 2006: 346).

I can also conclude that the movement organisations voice these claims through a number of public performances (Tilly and Tarrow 2015: 11). In totality, the repertoire of collective action has been built on four pillars which are: Manifestations, petitions, civil obedience and service delivery. In accordance with the data on the repertoire of collective action I argue that the campaign can be described as containing two phases in which the first phase are defined by consensual forms of collective action, and the second phase by conflictual collective action and consensual elements. Critical claims are also less visible during this phase than vis a vis the second phase.

I can also conclude that the Refugee Welcome Movement is a segmented and pluralist movement. Categorising this movement as a segmented and pluralist movement is empirically supported by the number of claims and more clearer to the point, by the number of organisations that have taken part which gives rise to discuss the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö as an example of a *movement industry* as McCarthy and Zald terms it (McCarthy and Zald 1977:1213; Della porta and Diani 2006: 157). According to Grenholm (2015), the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö has at times been treated as a monolithic movement by the media. This study shows otherwise.

This study also shows that the movement organisations are the main initiators of collective action and pushes the campaign onwards. The movement organisations therefor play a central role as the backbone of the campaign. In this way, the movement organisation provides with the needed continuity by repeatedly initiating collective action. The movement organisations also play a key role in the campaign in the way how they are the main actor that facilitates mobilisation of resources. The social and virtual network play a key role in relation to mobilisation of resources, as social and virtual networks links the movement organisation to exploitable resources which. There are also identifiable networks between the movement organisations which have made cooperation over the organisational lines possible. The data that I have collected on the topic indicates that the previous networks between the movement organisations prior to the autumn of 2015 helps to facilitate cooperation, and strengthens the relations between the movement organisations even further. I cannot conclude that the Refugee Welcome Movement have followed a strict organisational model with memberships, coordination and controls. I would rather argue that the organisation of the campaign is loose and open, which in turn can explain the number of organisations that have taken part. Through this open model, the movement organisations individuality and autonomy are sustained which reduces the cost of partaking

6.0 Analysis and discussion of structural factors

In the text above, I have described the campaign of the Refugees welcome movement in Malmö by describing its claims, repertoire of collective action and the role of organisations. In the two coming chapters I will present the analysis of the collected data with regards to the structural and cultural factors, with the ambition to analyse and explain the Refugee Welcome Movement with regards to its emergence and progressions in the campaign over time. I will present on *political opportunity structures* and *resource mobilisation* first, and thereafter deal with *Collective action frames* (Snow and Benford 2000: 616); Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 116; McAdam et al 1999:41)

6.1.0 Political opportunity structures

6.1.1 The expansion of opportunities

As I mentioned in the introduction of this paper, during the year 2015 Europe and Sweden received an unprecedented level of refugees in a very short period of time, and viewed from the framework of *political opportunity structures* exemplifies a specific process that gave rise to expanded opportunity structures due to three linked processes. Firstly, the influx of refugees to Sweden and Europe gave rise to expanded opportunity structures in the way how it highlighted a social conflict on the basis of societal value system. In the core of this conflict lies the defence of particular societal values. This conflict is, in other words, not only limited to the field of migration politics and refugees, but concerns the Swedish and European society at large. However, since the refugee issue is what highlights this conflict, it becomes the centre stage of it. The defence of particular values are expressed quite clearly in the data. The representative to Kontrapunkt argues for example that it has been the quest for a fair and equal society that has preceded Kontrapunkt's engagement with the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö. While discussing the reasons for the initial mobilisation with the representative of Refugee Welcome to Sweden/housing a similar discussion follows, she argues in the following way regarding why the organisation was formed "We have a common value ground that these mass refugee housings systems are dehumanising, and that we need mutual integration and an equal integration, where all parties terms are taken into consideration" (Refugee welcome to Sweden/housing 2017). Other values such as openness, solidarity and humanism found in the claim category *humanism and solidarity* are also central

and constitutive to the value system that this movement builds on and defends. From this logic it follows, that the refugee situation came to highlight social problems which undermined and conflicted with the movement organisation's normative assumption of what values that should be prevailing and permeating in the Swedish and European society at large. The increased power of the far-right political entities in Sweden and Europe, and the resentment towards refugee recipients by many European governments such as Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary e.g. (Ewald 2015) stood as a clear reminder that these values should not be taken for granted, but must be voiced and defended. Secondly, through their resentment in the midst of the refugee crisis, the normative assumptions found in the claim category *humanism and solidarity* was clearly undermined as their actions stood in sharp contrast to these values, and triggered expanded opportunities for mobilisation and pro-refugee collective action. The defence of specific values as a result of the political reality in Europe are highlighted quite clearly in the data as one factor that triggered mobilisation. This view is expressed during the interviews with the different representatives to different degrees, the representative for the Green Youth association highlights expresses this the clearest where he says the following regarding the reason behind initial mobilisation” There was many people that wandered through Europe at that time and we saw the nice reception they got at train stations in Germany and how badly they were received in in other places. We wanted to show that Sweden shall stand up for a humane migration and refugee policy” (the Green Youth Association 2017).

Thirdly, in conjunction with the process above, which I argue came to intensify and expose the influx of refugee as an opportunity structure for specific forms of collective action were the absence of a coherent strategy to respond to the situation by the municipality and the responsible public institutions. This is expressed rather clearly by the interviewees including the representative for Malmö municipality. Furthermore, many of the interviewees, including the representative for Malmö municipality does not only mention the lack of a coherent strategy, but also that there was an absence of the relevant public institution at strategic arrival points such as the central station for a period of time. This is discussed by the representative for Malmö municipality in the following way

“It was a difficult situation for us in Malmö, because at the end of the day we are the ones that should have control of the situation, in cooperation with the NGOs, but we were absent in the beginning (...) I think that the crisis came as a shock to us, although we knew that a big group would arrive in Sweden from Germany, but to be critical to

Malmö municipality; we did not have a strategy. Not for that quantity” (Malmö municipality 2017).

The critical situation that the representative for Malmö municipality describes is also highlighted by the Swedish National Audit office who have examined the state’s, the municipality’s and the formal institution’s response to the refugee situation during the autumn of 2015, as well as the civil society organisations role. The Swedish National Audit Office conclude that “The voluntary organisations argues that the authorities was not always present at the arrival points which meant that there at times was only volunteers who received the refugees”, they go one and state that “public authorities did not manage to hear all refugees on arrival to the country (...) efforts by civil society organisations have been of great importance”(the Swedish National Audit Office 2015: 67). In the light of the Swedish National Audit Office and the interview data it is fair to say that the responsible actors did not live up to their public commitment as expected of them; this clearly undermined the assumption of the municipality and the public authorities as in control of the situation and their legitimacy in this situation. This did in turn expose the refugee situation as an opportunity structure for the movement organisation to act within and mobilise upon. That the collective action in the first phase of the campaign was directed towards service delivery at the central station and Kontrapunkt’s social centre seems not to be a coincidence. More so, the inertia and lack of agency by the responsible actors to act came to expose the influx of refugees as an opportunity structure for particular forms of collective action which explains the logic behind the emphasised forms of collective action in the first phase.

In sum, I argue that the influx of refugees are the decisive event which by triggering the linked processes above gave rise to expanded opportunities for mobilisation and specific forms of collective action which together explains the emergence of the Refugee Welcome Movement and the emphasis of specific forms of collective action during the first phase.

We have now dealt with the question of emergence, and shall in the coming section move forward to discuss the identified changes along the campaign which I argue be explained within the frame work of *political opportunity structure*.

6.1.2 Political changes – expansion and contraction of opportunities

As I have argued above, if you look at the progressions line of the development of the campaign of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö, one can identify two phases. We have on the hand the first phase, defined by consensual collective action, and the second

phase, which has been described as the conflictual phase. Given these discontinuities, a key question that arises is; how can the progressions within the campaign be explained?

I argue that the identified progressions can be understood and explained by the framework of *political opportunity structures* on the basis of the rapid and sharp political changes that came about in the autumn and winter 2015/16. To understand the magnitude of the political changes it is important to view the changes in the light of the principles that historical has permeated the modern Swedish migration politics. One defining moment was the passing of the government's proposition on guidelines for immigrant and minority policy in 1975 which based on solidarity, humanism and openness aimed at stimulating solidarity between immigrants and nationals, and positioning Sweden as a leading and generous country within the migration political field (Sweden's Television, 2017). The conviction of solidarity and openness as principal points of departure for Sweden's migration politic can be seen in modern political debates as well. The former Prime Minister expressed this very clearly in his famous speech that he held one year before the autumn 2015, where urged the Swedish population to open their hearts to the refugees. He said the following "I urge the Swedish people to have patients and to open their hearts to the vulnerable people in the world. When many people flee in short time, this creates tension in the Swedish society. However, we have learnt that peoples who come here will eventually be a part of Sweden, and build it together with us" (Reinfeldt cited in Rosén 2014). The speech sent a clear message to show solidarity and understanding with the refugees and their situation, and that open borders was the right way forward. Thus, the open and solidary stance to refugee recipients in favour of a generous migration politics had been well consolidated and explicitly expressed by the political elite prior to, and in the beginning of the autumn 2015. In Lindestreg's (2016) study the *Refugee crisis and Sweden's role as humanitarian super power* she brings forward a number of utterances and speeches from high profiled governmental politicians that show the prevalence of these values in today's political discourse. One example of this comes from the Minister of International Development Cooperation and Climate, also the Deputy Prime Minister where she talks about Sweden as a country that supports and safeguard human rights and humane values. She expresses it in the following way" we should be very proud over the Swedish development aid and asylum recipient. We stand up for human rights and humane values in the world" (Lövin cited in Lindestreg 2016). Another example from the Deputy Prime Minister where she points out that protecting the ones fleeing from war and conflicts is a Swedish responsibility. She expresses it in the following way:

“When people seek protection in Sweden, we give them a possibility for protection and entering the asylum procedure that they are entitled to. It is our duty and solidary responsibility. We do not have an economic reason to not fully carry out our responsibility when people are coming to Sweden for protection against war, conflicts and oppression” (Lövin 2014-11-28 cited in Lindestreg 2016).

The Swedish Minister of Finance is another example of a government officials who highlights Sweden’s role as a country where solidarity with people in crisis is particularly strong. She expresses it in the following way “Sweden has a long and proud history to lean back against. To support other people in acute crisis situations is a central part of the Swedish identity and the Swedish history” (Andersson, 2015-09-21 cited in Lindestreg 2016). As the quotes above make clear, Sweden is a country that historically has adhered to the “solidary responsibility” to support and help the ones in need, even to the extent that has been subsumed into the Swedish identity. Consequently, helping people in need should come naturally to the Swedish government and the Swedish people because, as she argues, it leis in the Swedish identity.

Already, we can identify how the values that sits in the centre of the quotes above such a supportive, solidary, open, humanist and human rights advocate also coincides with the values that the movement organisation’s framing and claim making are centred around. The coinciding discourse highlights in that way a form of alliance between the Refugee Welcome Movement and the political elite. Another example, which strengths the view of an alliance are the now sitting Prime Minister Stefan Lövén who positioned himself in a similar way as the former Prime Minister, when he participated and spoke at a the Refugees Welcome manifestation in Stockholm held by the Green Youth Association in Stockholm (the same manifestation that the Green Youth Association in Malmö organised one month later) where he in his speech asserted that “My Europe opens up to people who flees from war; solidary and collectively. My Europe does not build walls; we help out when the need is great” (Lövé 2015). As we can see in the quote above, Lövé as well as Reinfeldt struck a clear tone of solidarity with refugees, and he goes on by saying that “Now is the time for Europe to stand up for human’s inviolable value and rights; which have been stated in our declarations and treaties that we have sworn to honour”(Lövé 2016). Besides the Swedish Prime Minister himself, the manifestation enjoyed representation from department ministers such as the Minister of Culture who also held a speech, as well politicians from the Swedish parliament. It can be argued that through the representation at the manifestation, the political elite did not only illustrate a political unity with the Refugee Welcome Movement, but also made themselves as spokespersons dedicated to the movement’s cause and claims. In addition to

this, the coinciding discourse also signifies a shared grievance which further blurs the line between movement organisations and the political elite. This alliance would, however break radically, and change came quickly.

Three months later from that the Prime Minister's had made his speech at the Refugee Welcome manifestation where he had asserted that "My Europe opens up to people who flees from war; solidary and collectively. My Europe does not build walls; we help out when the need is great" (Löven 2015) the same government pushed through one of Europe's strictest asylum policies (Palme 2016). The first changes came in November 12th when the Swedish government enforced internal border control. Later the same month the Swedish government enforced ID-controls of passengers on all passenger ships (Bubenko 2016). A number of policy actions were also taken by the Swedish government and presented in November 25th , which in its totality aimed at reducing the number of asylum seekers in Sweden to create what the Swedish government termed as "a breathing space for the asylum system" (the Swedish government 2015). The policy changes involved temporarily resident's permits, restricted possibilities for family reunification through family migration, stricter demands on economic self-sufficiency and medical age assessments to verify if the asylum seeker is under 18 or above 18 years old as this changes the process and increases as well as decreased the opportunity to get temporary residents permit. In addition, in January 2016 the Swedish government also enforced ID-controls of all passengers on public transport coming from Denmark (Bubenko 2016). It goes without saying that the political changes that came about was a clear breaking point from the openness, humanist and solidarity discourse once uttered by the political elite, and by that illustrates a clear break of the unity that the Refugee Welcome Movement once enjoyed. The result of the enforcement of boarder is described by the representative of the Left Party in the following way:

"Well, people could not get in to the country. Less and less people came. The volunteer forces that we had at the time was not needed any more. Some new organisations were nonetheless created afterwards such as We can stand this any longer. Just there and then after the decision, it was quite a shock. We all felt that the forces needed to welcome all these people, who needed to flee were there. For me who had been engaged in the group named the Group for Asylum since before though that it was fantastic to see that people managed to come to Sweden despite the strict border controls all over Europe which makes it hard to move around over Europe. All of a sudden people managed to come here to seek

protection, but then the government took it away, the same time as you saw pictures from Syria and people drowning in the Mediterranean Sea.” (the Left Party 2017)

The quote above sheds light on how the enforced border controls were an important breaking point for the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö, which changed the foundation for pro-refugee collective action. One significant impact of the political changes was as the quote above hints to, a fast and significant decrease in the number of refugees that came to Malmö. Given this impact, there was no longer a need to continue with the work on the central station, and the large scale operation at Kontrapunkt’s social centre. As a consequence of this decrease, a demobilisation process of the collective action linked to service delivery was triggered and notes how the political changes resulted in the contraction of opportunities for specific forms of collective action.

However, I also argue that the rapid and sharp political changes also resulted in expanded opportunity structures for collective action in the way how the new political direction undermined the assumption of the government as a committed ally to the principles of openness, solidarity and humanism as claimed in the many statements and emphasised in the general discourse as shown above. By imposing one of Europe’s strictest asylum policies, restrictive policies was no longer something to be found out there, but here as well. Furthermore, by pushing through a political agenda that stood in sharp contrast to the normative base of the Refugee Welcome Movement, the government rather assumed an antagonistic position which gave rise to new lines of conflict that can be identified in the new forms of claim making that erupts. The claim categories the *Right to Asylum*, the *Convention On the Rights of the Child* and *Border and ID-controls* are as I mentioned above a direct result of the new political environment. It can also be identified in the way how new movement organisations are formed as a direct result of the political changes such as People’s campaign for the right to asylum. Furthermore, the policy changes also resulted in the emphasis of other forms of collective action, which is expressed in the push from consensual to the more conflictual collective action. In other words, the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign was not shut down after the new policies came into practice. What happened was rather a simultaneous process of expanding and contracting opportunity structures which triggered simultaneous processes of demobilisation and mobilisation.

In the descriptive analysis of the Refugee Welcome Movement’s campaign (and elsewhere) I have argued that progressions can be identified within the campaign with regards to

emphasised forms of collective action and claim making. In the light of the discussion above, I argue that these progressions can be explained by the expanding and contracting opportunity structures resulting from the political changes. The changed opportunity structures does also spill over on the mobilisation process, which is expressed in simultaneous mobilisation and demobilisation processes. This is in this sense an evident example of how the structural factors interlinks and impacts each other.

6.2.0 Resource mobilisation

6.2.1 Mapping of mobilising structures and resources

In the text above, I have described the relevant opportunity structures that have grounded the elementary condition for the emergence of the Refugee Welcome Movement. As we know however, for an opportunity structure to be seized and to serve as a base for collective action necessitates that a resource mobilisation process commence. In this section I would like to describe how the Refugee Welcome Movement have mobilised upon the expanded opportunities above, and by that made collective action possible. I will describe the resources and mobilising structure along two headlines which corresponds with the two key areas mentioned in the methodology chapter. The first section corresponds with the first phase and the second section corresponds with the second phase.

6.2.2 Consensual collective action

I argue that one of the more important mobilising structures facilitating the collective action connected to the consensual part of the movement's campaign has been *aggregation* through donations. Given that the collective action during the first phase (and the service delivery collective action in particular) was both labour intensive and highly resource consuming, together with the fact that the organisations themselves have not had the capacity to produce the needed resources, or have had the economic power to access the resources, this form of collective action would not have been able to be sustained without the large amount of donations they received. According to the representatives of Refugees Welcome to Malmö the donations seems to have made it to the organisations in a steady flow. The representative of the organisation highlights this in the following way "It went very quick, it was unbelievable. We wrote on Facebook that we needed water, sandwiches, food, fruit anything and it just arrived boxes with it. We even had to stop it because it came to much" (Refugees Welcome to Malmö 2017). The representative for Refugees Welcome to Malmö also mentioned how

individuals started their own fundraising initiatives on behalf of the organisation; she describes this in the following way:

“You could see post on Facebook saying “okay everybody who has clothes over! I will make a donation round and come home to you and pick it up, so bring your clothes out” then they came with the things to us. It was many who arranged private donations, and came with it to our storage. They asked friends and relatives, all possible people came” (Refugees Welcome to Malmö 2017).

Kontrapunkt shares the same experiences regarding the generosity among the people in Malmö at the time. she shares the following thoughts on the topic:

”Almost all of our activities are run by volunteers who want to help in different ways and to different extent and with what they can contribute with. This is what makes it work. Then there are the peoples who donate money and food. Particularly during the autumn of 2015 we got that much donations that we could pay the rents without doing anything else. In normal cases we finance our activities with what we do” (Kontrapunkt 2017).

Thus, as we can see, *aggregation* through donations seems to have been an advantageous mobilising structure under the prevailing circumstance. *Aggregation* as a *mobilising structure* is to a large extent hard to separate from *co-option* in the sense that donations most often occurs as a response to the organisation’s making pleas within *social* and in particular the virtual networks on Facebook as the quotes above show. Thus, donations are closely connected with exploitation in this regard. The importance of virtual and social network resources is in this way evident and are displayed in many ways. Most clear is how the organisations exploits virtual networks for access to *human resources* such as volunteers and *material resources* that enables the organisations to sustain their activities. Refugees Welcome to Malmö had, as an example a Facebook group for volunteers with around 9000 members. On the whole it seems, as being voluntarily based was advantageous and has enabled quick mobilisation of *human resources* through their respectively social and virtual networks, and is undoubtedly a cost efficient way for resource weak grassroots organisation to organise labour. However, being volunteer based does on the other hand come with some weaknesses on the hands of the organisations. Since it is unpaid work, volunteering is most often work people do outside of their ordinary work and commitments. The access to volunteers is therefore dependent on the time the volunteers have to offer, which of course is

neither unlimited nor stable. The ebb and flows of volunteers can therefore put strains on the capacity of the organisation to perform their activities, which creates a certain level of precariousness. Contrary to the cases above, Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing is one example where the Achilles heel of a voluntary labour base is evident. The representative for Refugees Welcome to Sweden/Housing describes the following while discussing decreased activities:

”It was a lot of activities in when we started this and we had some 30 people active in some way. (...) when the web page was launched in November it was put on halt quite directly. It was only two people who were doing the matchings and there was no capacity to get it going. Then there was a little more activity in the spring, when we got the Stockholm team going, and Jonas was doing the matching in Malmö, and someone came in from Gävle. In the autumn last year the people in Gothenburg disappeared because they did not have time and energy and I moved to Skåne and another one of the matcher dropped off. This meant that we had Anders in Stockholm, me in Skåne together with Emilie, who really had no time either because she is also a very active person. The person working in Gävle also dropped off; so in principle, we were only three people left. We therefore felt that we had to collect ourselves and plan how to do this and how to recruit more people. Last autumn was a period for planning and now we have managed to bring in more people” (Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing).

In the quote above, we can see how the ebb and flow of volunteers impacted on the organisation’s capacity in a disadvantageous way, and hindered the capacity of the organisation. In this sense, we can identify the rational that resource mobilising theorist’s stands on, that is that analysis of Social movements cannot exclude resources in their analysis as this a make it or break it factors that impacts on the ability for a sustained campaign. In the case above, we cannot go so far as to say that the resource scarcity have put an end to their activist, but evidently haltered it.

Co-option of cultural resources appears as another important *mobilising structure* and appears in the material at small and large scale. *Co-option* through exploitation at small scale can be identified in the way how individuals bring knowledges from one organisation to another. The data namely show that all of the interviewees had both previous experiences and knowledges of refugee and migration issues and civil society engagement since before, which is a

significant resource that the organisations have been able to exploit. This is also an argument against Mass society theory, and Collective behaviourist analysis of Social movement participants as social deviants and outcast. Based on this, I rather argue they are highly integrated and active participants in society. *Co-option* at large scale is best exemplified by Refugees Welcome to Sweden/housing since it was created through a diffusion process which in this case have meant that the Swedish section of the network have exploited *cultural resources* (Edwards and McCarthy 2004) that had already been produced by their German counterpart concerning systems, procedures and work methods.

It should also be mentioned that Kontrapunkt, the Left Party as well as the Green Youth Association was established prior to the autumn 2015. Meaning that there was already pre-existing *cultural resources* produced such as organisational structures and strategic know how e.g. that has been able to be exploitable during the campaign. In this context, I argue that it is also important to highlight what Koopmans (2015: 399) discuss as a spatial dimension in the analysis of Social Movements emergence. When it comes to a spatial dimension I mean considering Malmö as a space of civil society engagement and activism. Malmö is indeed a city with a strong culture of activism and with many strong and active civil society organisations prior to the autumn of 2015. The presence of strong organisations with pre-established organisational structures and networks in place prior to the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign have undoubtedly contributed to the movement organisation's ability for a quick and large mobilisation. The representative for Kontrapunkt highlights this in the following way "We have different groups within the organisation that works with different elements of our activities. We have, for example a food group, and now we also have a free shop group. So, in principle, we had all the needed structures put in place since before" (Kontrapunkt 2017). The existence of pre-existing organisational structures are most likely one of the determining factor that explains how Kontrapunkt managed to mobilise resources and temporarily give shelter to some 17 000 refugees within a very short period without any direct preplanning.

Cultural resources have also been produced throughout the campaign, and in that sense, we also can also talk about a form of *self-production* of movement specific cultural resources such as plan, schemes and strategies. The representative for Refugees Welcome to Sweden/housing points to this *self-production* in the following way "it is a new organisation so it is a lot about feeling it out by doing"(refugees welcome to Sweden/housing 2017). The representative for Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing also discusses that there are plans to

create a new network, sort of an umbrella network for all the Refugees Welcome organisations in Sweden. It has not yet been launched due to lack of staff capacity, but all of the knowledges and information have been saved for a time when there is enough capacity to launch it.

6.2.3 Conflicting collective action

There are both similarities and differences between the *mobilisation structures* and the relevant resources preceding the consensual collective action and the conflictual action. The data point to that *co-option* through exploitation of *social organisational resources* has equally for the activities and organisations above been a crucial *mobilising structure*. The main differences are however that the process of exploitation of resources occurred firstly within their internal networks, contrary to virtual networks as in the case above. The Green Youth association's mother party as well as the Left Party sits in the city council and are represented in the national parliament. The environmentalist party is also one of the two parties constituting the Swedish Government. The Green Youth Association says the following on this matter:

“To a certain extent we get money from the environmentalist party Malmö, I believe it is 15000 kr per year. We also get money from the municipality based on the number of seats in the communal council. It is 6000 Swedish crowns per year, which we share with the green youth students, but it is nonetheless allot of money, and we had money since before. (...) we did not pay any of the included people. We had the political secretaries, but all the others volunteered “(the Green Youth Association 2017).

As we can see in the quote above, the Green Youth Association in Malmö has access to resources through linkages to their mother party who receives state founding for sitting in the community council that they have exploited to fund their activities. The interviewee representing the Left Party talks about access to resources in a similar way; she says the following on the topic

“We have resources which many of the smaller groups and the new groups in particular do not have. We have pa systems and cars and such, so we contribute with everyday services for some of the other organisations.

Interviewer: you normally talk about resources as an important part of campaigns, what type of resources have you consumed and have access to?

We have money. Well, we are the poorest party but we have more than the other smaller organisations. We also have a lot of members which we can contribute with money through donations. But, as mentioned, moving bikes, cars, pa systems and also staff resources. We are also a few that works, so if anything has to be done there is someone here who can do it. Since we have worked in politics, we also have a lot of knowledges; we know how it looks like at communal, national and at the European level. We also have large networks of people” (the Left Party 2017)

In other words, for the political parties, exploitation of the needed resources is firstly exploited within internal networks. When the political parties exploit virtual networks they do so primarily to mobilise supporters for manifestations. The pre-existence of *cultural resources* in terms of knowledges of how to arrange manifestations regarding laws and how to apply for permission e.g. is also evident here. The representative for the Green Youth Association says the following on this matter

“We have arranged smaller manifestations. We have one that we arrange every year together with the other youth associations called” love Malmö’s diversity” to celebrate diversity on the national day. We have arranged other manifestations as well on small scale. This one was bigger which was why we was a little concerned if we could arrange it and why we arranged it with the political secretaries who knew what needed to be done” (the Green Youth Association 2017)

The quote both highlights the existence of pre-existing knowledges by the arrangers as well as within their *social organisational network* that have been exploited during the campaign.

In sum, the data gives support to argue that the main *mobilising structures* of the participating organisations have been *aggregation, co-option (through exploration)* and *self-production*. The most consumed resources that have been circulated within the movement organisations are *human resources* such as volunteers, experiences and labour and *material resources* which is mobilised through exploitation and aggregation of *social organisational resources*. *Social organisational resources* are therefore a particularly important resource as it links organisations to new exploitable sources and consequently impacts on the overall ability to sustain the campaign. With regards to *social organisational resources* the material highlights the importance of social as well as virtual networks in the cases studied here. Naturally, the emphasis on social or virtual networks depends on the presence or absence of internal networks to exploit. When there is an absence of internal networks to exploit the movement

organisations has to seek outside of their own organisational structure which naturally increases the importance of virtual networks. Under the opposite condition as with the political parties, the importance of social networks is highlighted. In the light of the interview material I have also argued for *cultural resources*, knowledge and know how that is, as a valuable resource for the movement organisation which has been made accessible to and by the organisations through *co-option* and *self-production*.

7.0 Analysis and discussion of cultural factors

In the sections above, I have discussed the structural factors. In the coming section I will present the analysis and discussion on the cultural factor *collective action frames* and its sub-concepts. As I mentioned in the theoretical framework, framing is an essential factor behind the emergence of Social movements as it serves to legitimate and substantiate the claims, activities and the world view of a Social movement. This process, if successfully managed, functions to substantiate the mobilisation efforts, hence why it is a crucial factor (Snow and Benford 2000:614). In the following analysis and discussion of *collective action frames* I will devote full attention to the three “core framing task” which are: *Prognostic*, *diagnostic* and *motivational* and thereafter discuss *frame alignment* (Snow and Benford 2000:616).

7.1 The diagnostic frame

The analytical focus of the concept *diagnostic frame* lies in analysing what the underlying problems and responsible actors are in the movement organisation’s communication. Through my analysis of the movement organisation’s communication’s I have found that the movement organisation’s communication mainly concerns two problems which are linked to the *political opportunity structures* discussed above. The most evident problem that the communication highlights, and are often described as a systemic crisis, are the lack of strategy and incapacity by the public authorities and the public refugee recipient system to manage the refugee situation that emerged in the autumn 2015. Refugees Welcome to Malmö who have been one of the main actors in the work with the refugee recipient at the central station writes the following in the description of their organisation” Refugees Welcome to Malmö is a private initiative who aims to help the refugees in Malmö which the official authorities have not managed to handle” (Refugees Welcome to Malmö 2015). In the quote from Refugees Welcome to Malmö we can see how the organisation identifies a shortcoming on the hands of official authorities’ and their limited ability to manage the influx of refugees. Another example of how this systemic crisis is problematised can be seen in Kontrapunkt’s communication where they write the following

”We need to stay strong when the societal safety nets gapes large. It is our responsibility to fight for a Malmö and Sweden for all, when the municipality, the migrations office and politicians claims to be in control while they unofficially ask us for our help and support to manage the situation. We all want to cry and stop. This is, however an impossibility when the ones who are responsible to manage the situation

are not doing so. To all the volunteers and people who donate, you are not only an invaluable asset in the work to protect and help the refugees who arrives in Sweden, but also each other's support. Our movement is the sole reason that the infrastructure in south of Sweden has not completely collapsed yet" (Kontrapunk 2015)

It can generally be argued that the lack of capacity and mismanagement of the official authorities to manage the refugee recipients sits in the centre of the problem formulation. Through this knowledge we can tell that the opportunity structure related to the absence of a coherent strategy by the public authorities and their response to the refugee situation are central in their communication and framing of the underlying problem. The second theme that I have identified through my analysis relates to the political changes during the autumn and winter 2015/16, and more specifically to the border and ID-controls. One example where the border and ID- controls are put in the centre of the problem can be seen in the description of the Left Party's manifestation where they write the following:

"This hinders many people from seeking asylum and overrides the right of asylum. It is an instrument to stop people on the run. This is an inhuman politics. We are many who want something else and must act. We will for that reason meet outside of the Triangle train station at St Johannes square to protest and tell Malmö's resident about the Swedish government's inhumane and hostile politic" (The Left Party 2016).

As we can see in the quote above, the problematisation of the border and ID-controls are essentially that it "is an inhuman politic" (The Left Party 2016). This also notes the third type of problem that are identifiable in the communication which concerns a general problem of inhumanity regarding refugee recipients on both political levels as well as on micro level concerning ethnic- migrant relations.

The next analytical dimension of this frame concerns the responsible actors; and although the clarity in pointing out responsible actors are less clear than vis a vis defining the problem, responsible actors can nonetheless be identified. One example where this vagueness regarding reasonable actors is reviled can be identified in the Green Youth Association's description of their manifestation where they write the following in their message

"60 million peoples are fleeing all over the world. at the same time, the ones who are fleeing war and persecution are meeting tougher border controls, barbed wire and death. We want something else. We say: refugees welcome!" (the Green Youth Association)

The *diagnostic frame* in the Green Youth Party's event defines the problems quite clearly, but lack in pointing out who is responsible for this situation. It does not answer the question, how is to blame for the barbed wire, death and border controls? The problems can nevertheless be linked to an unidentified "other" who is constructed as the enforcer of the barbed wire, border controls and death, while "we" in the message represent openness, helpfulness and humane approach towards those seeking protection. In the interview with the representative for Green Youth Party's it becomes clear that that the manifestation was directed towards the European countries who opposes refugees recipient which goes back to the discussion brought forward in the section on *political opportunity structures* above, he says the following:

"There were many people wandered through Europe at that time and we saw the nice reception they got at train stations in Germany and how badly they were received in in other places. We wanted to show that Sweden shall stand up for a human migration and refugee policy" (the Green Youth Association 2017)

Although it is still hard to exactly pinpoint who the responsible actor is, it can still be identified that that on a general level, it is the "other" European countries who are responsible for the problems.

In the other cases where a source can be identified, it is politicians, official authorities and institutions who are generally pointed out as the main responsible actors. One clear example of this is expressed by Kontrapunk who writes the following on their Facebook page:

"Thanks for all the cooperation All for all Malmö! To show solidarity is to let all voices be heard – the whole of Malmö's grass roots and the people, organisation and networks that have fought and toiled to solve the emergency crisis created by politicians, institutions, and authorities! Together we stay strong!" (Kontrapunkt 2015)

7.2 The Prognostic frame

In the material produced by the organisation taking part in this study, it can identify two main strategies to solve the problem which exemplifies the *diagnostic frame* in their communication. We have on the one hand the strategies that are centred around helping refugees by volunteering and donating food and cloths e.g. and by giving them shelter. One example of this comes from Kontrapunk who writes the following on their Facebook page

"We all need support in this, be it the ones who flees or the ones who support and helps those who flees. We need everyone's strengths. We have the

organisation and the will, but not the bodies our all hours of the day. Thus we need the indescribable force remains strong. We need more. And that we in solidarity, equality and in the name of the struggle continue together. (Kontrapunkt 2015)

As we can see in the quote above, the strategy that is advocated for in the communication are collective action based on solidarity and equality. Even if the emphasis on values such as on solidarity, struggle and equality is not as clear in Refugees welcome to Malmö and Refugees welcome to Sweden/housing's communication as it generally is in Kontrapunkt's communication, they do on the other hand emphasis the same strategy of volunteering and donating. It is also these movement organisations that sets the absence of official authorities and of a coherent strategy to the refugee situation in the centre of their *diagnostic frame* as well as the movement organisations that mostly have been engaged with service delivery forms of collective action. There is, in other word a resonance between on the one hand *diagnostic frame* and the *prognostic frame*. Through the analysis of the diagnostic dimension, it can also be identified that the movement organisation

The second strategy that can be identified in the communication in the movement organisation's respectively web and Facebook pages relates to the strategy that was emphasised in the quote by Kontrapunkt above. That is too, organises and mobilise the available forces and through collective action show disapproval, resist and protests. Equally to the quote from Kontrapunkt above, we find solidarity as a central value in the communication of this strategy, which one show by taking part in collective action. This way of expressing and formulating strategies is most symptomatic in the communication surrounding the manifestations that the movement organisations have organised and partaken in. One example of how collective action is formulated as a strategy can be seen in the Left Party's communication where they write the following, "We must gather all the forces we can; to resist the political development we now see in Sweden and Europe" (The Left Party 2015). I would also argue that regardless of strategy, the movement organisation's manages to identify and bring forward targets of collective action, which as we can see above, are refugees, and asylum seekers.

7.3 The Motivational frame

In the studied organisations communication, a *motivational frame* can be detected which calls for action and underpins collective action. The *motivational frame* that can be identified aims

generally towards three main objects which are (i) Motivating new actions, (ii) urging new volunteers to join or (iii) to substantiate the mobilisation process through donation.

All of the three types of *motivational frames* above can be identified in Refugees welcome movements in Malmö communication. In their communication the *motivational frame* is either directed to encourage new volunteers to join, to encourage new action or to encourage donations of material resources. One example where the organisation encourages action in form of donation is expressed in the following way: “At the last time of collection, we managed to reach a total of 18 000 within 24 hours, I am sure that we can beat that record this time? Swish your contribution to 0706-790211, Receiver Maria Pettersson Ader. Thanks for all your help”. At Refugees Welcome to Malmö’s Facebook page they also post encouraging messages from the refugees themselves who thanks the organisation for the warm recipient and all the help, most often these messages are coupled with an image of the person. One example of this is the following post on Refugees welcome to Malmö Facebook page” He is just arrived in Malmö. Hi and thank you! From him. He loves Sweden” (Refugees welcome to Malmö 2015). Through these personal portraits the group is strengthened and motivated.

Motivational frames urging for new action and new recruitment is also evident in the communication of the different manifestations that I have studied. One example of this is the Left party who in their manifestation against the enforced border and ID-controls writes in the following way “we are many who want something else, we must act! (The Left Party 2016). Or in the words of refugees welcome to Sweden” in order for us to reach a change, it is now time to organise our self (Refugees Welcome Sweden 2015). We can also see a rather victorious writing in their description of the manifest states where they state that ”We can only win on marching on Sunday! (Refugees Welcome Sweden 2015). These forms of *motivational frames* are public and intended to encourage new bystanders and spectators as well as the already inaugurated to join. *Motivational frames* urging for donation and sustained collective action are also often framed around values in the movement organisation’s framing. Kontrapunkt can be said to be the actors where this technique is used most clear and thoroughgoing. Two good examples of this can be seen in Kontrapunkt’s Facebook page where they write that:

“Engagement is essential. The effort that the volunteers do when they give of their time to support Kontrapunkt is not only solidary but political. It is essentially an extraordinary thing in this world to get engaged and collectively work to create better

alternatives where society fails. To grab hold of the power that we indeed have, and use it instead of only pointing out that the system is wrong” (Kontrapunkt 2015)

In Kontrapunkt’s communication the *motivational frame* is rather clear and evident, where they firstly describe volunteering as something essential and basically an extraordinary effort. The communication furthermore frames volunteering along values as solidary. Another even clearer example where values are in the centre of the motivational frame is the following quote from Kontrapunkt “Thus we need the indescribable force to remain strong. We need more. And that we in solidarity, equality and in the name of the struggle continue together” (Kontrapunkt 2015).

In sum, the study of *Collective action frames* (Snow and Benford 2000) of the movement organisations communication highlights the presence of all of the three dimensions of *Collective action frames*. Through this analysis, we know what it is that the movement organisations set in the centre of their communication and how it is framed. What we can tell from this analysis is first and foremost that the *political opportunity structures* are perceived as opportunities. This might seem as a small matter, I argue however that this is crucial simply because an opportunity that is not perceived and recognized as an opportunity will not be seized and mobilised upon. We can also tell that the opportunity structures are framed as social and political problems, and constructed as openings for collective action through their advocated strategies. I would also argue that one can identify coherence between the movement organisations framing of the problem and strategies, which adds with reliability and overall strength to the general framing. This analysis has also shown interlinkages between the structural factor and the cultural factor in the way how the changed opportunity structures resulting from the political changes gives rise to new frames.

In addition to this, which I argue adds to my analysis is Grenholm’s conclusion (2015), whom show how the mass media came to reproduce the movement organisation’s framing. The reproduction of the movement organisation’s framing in mass media most likely strengthened and increased the reliability of the frames, and for sure came to function as a megaphone contributing to exposure of the frames to a larger population. The analysis also shows that all is not a unison; different problems and strategies can be found which a result of the variance in the selection is. There is also a clear agency discourse in the communication which is most clearly highlighted in the analysis of *the motivational frame*, and seeks to increase mobilisation and sustained collective action. It is difficult to argue that a specific set of vocabularies can be identified in the motivational frames; more identifiably recurring are the

central role of values in the *motivational frame* which alerts of a strategically directed communication.

7.4 Frame alignment and mobilisation of resources – a tentative explanation to the mobilisation power of the campaign

In the chapter above, I have discussed what *resources* and *mobilising structures* that have been defining to the campaign. The data point to a substantial process of resource mobilisation that has been constantly undergoing during the campaign, and been particularly intensive during the first phase of the campaign. In the light of this, the analytical question that must be asked at this stage is not so much about if or what, as about explaining the evident mobilisation power of the campaign. What I want to discuss in this section is how *frame alignment* has contributed to the mobilisation process, and offers an explanation to the great mobilisation power that has been identified.

The possibility to mobilise resources is partly a question of weak or strong *organisational* and *mobilisation structures* as discussed and highlighted in the chapter on *Resource mobilisation*. The second prerequisite concerns the ability to free up resources from the general public that later can be extracted and controlled by the movement organisation. This hinges on the one hand on the construction of *Collective action frames* in terms of coherence and strength, but also on their ability to align with “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” as captured by the concept *frame alignment*. Given the magnitude of the mobilisation process that occurred during the campaign and in the emergence phase in particular, gives reasons to assume that such process has occurred, and I think it is worth elaborating with how the *frame alignment* process *frame amplification* can explain this.

As described in the appendix 1, *frame amplification* involves “the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values” (Snow and Worden 1986: 469). A successfully *frame amplification* therefore occurs when the “elevation of one or more values” sync with “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” of the population that the movement organisation intends to mobilise (Snow and Worden 1986: 469). In the light of this, it can be argued that *frame amplification* can in fact be identified in the way how the elevated values identified in the discourse of the claim making and the movement organisation’s framing aligns with what Jämte defines as the Swedish self-image (Jämte 2013: 40). In Jämte’s study the *Many faces of antiracism* (2013), he argues that a self-image of Sweden as morally righteous country dates back to the period after the World War II. During 1950’s, 60’s and

70's this image was according to Jämte reinforced and became sort of an axiom, he writes as follows:

“During the 1950's, 60's and 70's the image of Sweden as a welfare-utopia (folkhemsutopi) was reinforced. The idea of Sweden as the best and the most equal welfare state was reaped to the extent that it became the general conscious and truth of “swedishness”. Sweden was a country characterised by equality, solidarity, tolerance and openness” (Jämte 2013: 40).

Thus, what we can draw from Jämte's discussion above is firstly that there is a construction that we can call a Swedish self-image, and that many of the central and constitutive values in this self-image are also the values that are elevated in the movement organisation's framing and claim making. Thus, through the elevation of values such as equality, openness and solidarity the movement organisations aligns, and taps into the core of this self-image which adds cultural coherence, meaning and relevance to the frames and claim making and exemplifies in this way *frame amplification*. The fact that the same values are also elevated in the political discourse by the government and other high profiled politicians as exemplified above is yet another example of *frame amplification* and adds to the strength of the general *frame alignment*. Due to this, I argue that *Frame amplification* is an identifiable process in the way how the elevated values in the movement organisation communication aligns with the constitutive values of the Swedish self-image on the one hand, and the political elite discourse on the other. However, although it can empirically be argued that *frame amplification* can be identified, I would not go so far as to say that this study alone can present a definitive explanation to the great mobilisation power of the campaign. There is a need to build more data on these rather diffuse concepts and processes which is why I argue, that based on empirical findings *frame amplification* presents, if not a definitive, but a tentative explanation to the great mobilisation power of the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö.

8.0 Final discussion and conclusion

As mentioned in this study's introductory section; the aim of this study was to describe the Refugee Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö, and with the help of my theoretical framework analyse and explain the Refugees Welcome Movement with regards to its (i) emergence and (ii) progression within the campaign over time. The aim was operationalised into three research questions which are as follow: How should the Refugees Welcome Movement campaign in Malmö be described? In what way can the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö be explained along cultural and structural factors? How can progression within the Refugees Welcome Movement's campaign be explained?

With regards to the first research questions I have summarised and concluded on the campaign in the text above, and will for that reason not repeat this again. With regards to the second and third research question I would like to reconnect with the research questions in a shortened and summative form.

I have applied an integrated theoretical framework composed of *Resource mobilisation theory*, *political opportunity structures* and *Collective action frames* (Snow and Benford 2000: 616; Edwards and McCarthy 2004: 116; McAdam 1999:41) to study and explain the question of emergence. As I have shown above, all of the three concepts have an individual explanatory value to this question and highlight different constitutive elements. In this concluding phase I argue that the two structural concepts, *political opportunity structures* and *resource mobilisation* have been fruitful to view and answer the question of emergence in the way how they have brought attention the foundational preconditions behind the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö. In this study *Political opportunity structures* have contributed to the analysis by explaining how external societal processes and events created the "right" structural conditions which gave rise to expanded opportunity structures for a mobilisation process to commence. More concretely, I have identified two vital processes that gave rise to the expanded opportunity structures which can be summarised into the following two dimensions: (i) large scale migration, ii) state and institutional inertia. The identified dimensions are key to the questions of emergence as they gave rise to the necessary opportunity structures on which the mobilisation process could take on. *Resource Mobilisation* holds great explanatory value to the question of emergence, simply because access and control of resources is a precondition for any Social movement to emerge and to

perform collective action, and to this the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö is no exception. The analysis of *Resource mobilisation* has therefore contributed with insightful knowledge to the research question, and has brought attention to the operative and vital role that *resources* have played in this campaign. This is true, not only in relation to the question of emergence, but also in relation to the ability to sustain the campaign. Furthermore, through the study of *resource mobilisation* this study has also contributed with detailed descriptions of mobilisation patterns within the campaign. The study finds the following mobilisation structures: *aggregation, co-option and self-production* and the following *resources: Human resources, social organisational resources, material resources and cultural resources* as the determinant *resources and mobilising structures* in the campaign. Thus, from a structural perspective the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö can be explained by external processes that opened up the “right” structural opportunities for a mobilisation process to commence.

The cultural factor has also played a significant role and contributes to the overall explanation in the way how the cultural factor has supported the two structural factors. In the analysis above, I have discussed the impact of *frame alignment* on the mobilisation process which is one example of how the cultural factor supports the structural factor. Secondly, through putting the opportunity structures in the centre of the communication also increases the awareness and advocacy around the *political opportunity structures* within the community that the movement organisation intends to mobilise. Perception and awareness of opportunities is indeed a necessary precondition for any opportunity structure to be mobilised upon, and yet again exemplifies how the cultural factor supports the two structural factors. In other words, this study finds that the explanatory value of the cultural factor lies in the way that it supports and strengthens the structural factors.

To conclude on this matter and by that answer the research question; I argue that the emergence of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö can be explained by external processes that opened up the “right” structural opportunities for a mobilisation process, with support from the cultural processes, to commence.

As I have discussed above, there are progressions within the campaign that have been identified. The most evident progressions that have been identified within the studied period are the push from the emphasis on consensual to conflictual collective action, simultaneous processes of demobilisation and mobilisation and the introduction of new frames and claim making. The third research question takes its point of departure against these progressions and

asks: How can the identified progression within the Refugee Welcome Movement's campaign be explained?

I can conclude that the identified progressions within the campaign can be explained on the basis of expanding and simultaneous contracting opportunity structures during the campaign. As I have discussed above, major and rapid political changes that took place in the autumn and winter 2015/16, which on the one hand led to the contraction of opportunity structures, while at the same time gave rise to new opportunity structures in the way how the political changes undermined the assumption and expectations of the government as a committed ally to core principles such as openness, solidarity and humanism which had been expressed and also undermined the assumption and expectation of a migration politics based on these core principles above. The process that explains the expanded opportunity structures in this case can be summarised into the following dimension: Rapid political change. The identification of simultaneous process of demobilisation and mobilisation also echoes Minkoff and Mayer's question: Political opportunities for whom? This study highlights the analytical importance of looking at how changed *political opportunity structures* leads to expanded opportunities for some and to the contraction of opportunities for others (Minkoff and Mayer 2004: 1462). This is equally important, as this study show, not only between two opposing groups, but also within the same movement. This also notes the interlinkages between the two structural factors in the way how the changed opportunity structures also results in changed mobilisation patterns. The same interlinks can also be found between *political opportunity structures* and the *collective action frames*. This study namely show how changes within the *opportunity structures* followed with the construction of new frames and claims. It is not always clear or easily detected, but the examples above are some empirical examples found in this study that exemplifies how the three concepts interlink.

On a more general level, I think it is fair to say that this study has covered a lot of ground, and besides answering the research questions, I argue that it has held true to its overarching purpose; which was to contribute with knowledge to the knowledge gap that surrounded the research topic, and by that set a knowledge accumulation in motion. I would like to just briefly mention some of the main areas where this study has contributed with knowledge. This study has in collaboration with the representatives of the different movement organisations created knowledge of the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö regarding its organisational base, the claim making and repertoire of collective action. Connected to the analytical framework this study has also created knowledge of the mobilisation patterns

within the campaign. It has also presented a detailed description of the movement organisation's framing of the *political opportunity structures* not the least, and more generally, how the different dimensions of *collective action frames* are expressed in the movement organisation's communication. Through the study of *collective action frames* this study has also identified data that point to the explanatory value of *frame amplification* behind the striking mobilisation power of the campaign. As I have made clear above, *frame amplification* has not been researched in-depth enough for this study to reach a definitive conclusion on this matter. This does on the other hand make it a suitable topic for further research. Through the study of *political opportunity structures*, this study has not only managed to identify the relevant processes that have triggered the expanded and in some cases contracting opportunity structures, but also presented a detailed description of these essential processes. Most of all I argue that this study has also shown the power and agency that sits within the civil society in a small city as Malmö. As The Swedish national audit office makes clear, without the many individuals who joined in collective action during the autumn and winter 2015/16 the refugee situation in Malmö would have looked markedly different, and clearly not for the better (the Swedish National Audit Office 2015: 67).

Before ending this paper I would like to put forward another topic for further study. One suggestion that I think deserves more attention would be to focus on the key concepts that linger in the study such as nation, identity and citizenship. Through participatory methods and in collaboration with movement participants, such approach can contribute with alternative definition and narratives on these key concepts. Such approach can also contribute to the development of new ways for researchers to engage with Social movements and social movement research. The debate regarding knowledge subjects and objects that was highlighted in the ethical section should necessarily be starting points and included in such methodological development.

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Appendix 1

Theoretical framework

1. Resource mobilisation theory

Cultural resources

Cultural resources relates to the knowledges and the know-hows specific for movements. Cultural resources “includes tactical repertoires, organizational templates, technical or strategic know-how encompassing both mobilization and production technologies” (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:126).

Human resources

Human resources include resources such as such as experiences, volunteers, labour and most important leaders e.g. (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:126).

Material resources

Material resources can be exemplified by monetary resources, offices and equipment e.g (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:126).

Social organisational resources

Social organisational resources refers in this study to social and virtual networks. According to Porto and Diani (2006:115) social organisational resources is a crucial factor for participation in collective actions and for sustained collective action over time. It is also of importance to understand how social media and virtual networks have impacted on the importance of “real” social networks.

Mobilising structures

Aggregation

Aggregation can be exemplified by the process of extracting resources thorough private donations. (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:132).

Co-optation/appropriation

Co-optation/appropriation occurs when there is an exploitation of resources by one social movement or social movement organisation by another. Through exploitation one movement can gain resources such as volunteers or tactical knowledge that have been freed or created by already existing movements. This exploitation is transparent and permitted (*co-optation*), or it can be, although less likely, surreptitious (*appropriation*) (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:134). Co-option is most likely a mechanism that will be evident between the different organisations within the Refugees Welcome to Malmö as research have shown that imitation and replication is widely occurring within the movement society (Della porta and Giani 2006: 154; Soule 2006: 295). This mechanism can also be referred to as diffusion which just as *co-optation/appropriation* refers to the processes in which new movements adopts structures, tactics and strategies from earlier movements.

Patronage

Patronage occurs when an external actor such as governments or a foundation decided to fund the movements or parts of the movement's activities. These donations most often comes with conditions to report back to the donor or the requirement to adjust to some requirement put out by the donor. This form differs from aggregation as it is not given by private donors (Edwards and McCarthy 2004:135).

Self-production

Self-production is as one can assume when social movement through agency have the capacity to produce their own resources. Indeed for this to happen, the movement must have some initial resources to consume since production and consumption are interlinked. There are many possible ways of self-production of resources, in relation to monetary resources, social movement can produce t-shirt or coffee mugs or sticker to sell in exchange of money. Self-production can also be made through socialisation of the values and norms held by the movement in training of new volunteers e.g. (Edwards and McCarthy 2006:135).

Indicators

Resources

- Tactical repertoires, organizational templates, technical or strategic know-how (Cultural resources) encompassing both mobilization and production.
- Experiences, labour, volunteers and leaders (Human resources).
- Monetary resources, offices and equipment) (Material resource).
- Social and virtual networks (Social organizational resources).

Mobilisation structures

- Private donations (Aggregation)
- Exploitation of resources by one social movement or social movement organisation by another (Transparent/permitted (*co-optation*), or surreptitious (*appropriation*)).
- External donations from institutional actors (Patronage).
- Production their own resources (Self-production).

Main source of data

- Interviews

2. Political opportunity structures

The definition of Political opportunity structures that this study will go by are “any event or broad social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is structured” (McAdam et al 1999:41)”

Indicators

- Occurrence of external event or broad social process.

Main source of data

- Interviews, articles and policy papers

3. Collective action frames

Diagnostics framing

The *diagnostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) is where actors identify the causes and responsible of and to the problems, and who is to blame for the problems and deals with the most basic elements of a frame. Although the description of the diagnostic framing hints of a

rather straight forwards process; earlier research has shown that it is not necessarily so that a consensus is immediately set within a movement industry (McCarthy and Zald 1977: 1219).

Prognostics framing

The *prognostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) is where the strategy to solve the problem is articulated. Research suggests that there tend to be a link between the *diagnostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) and the *prognostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000). Thus, the *diagnostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) limits the possible directions that the *prognostic frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) can take (Snow and Benford 2000:617).

Motivational framing

The *motivational frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) is the agency component of *Collective action frames* (Snow and Benford 2000). If the two frames above sets the main structure for action, the *motivational frame* (Snow and Benford 2000) is where action is evoked and encouraged (Snow and Benford 2000:617).

Indicators

Code 1 Diagnostic - Identification of problems and blame

- What is the problem in the communication? How is the problem described by the sender? Who is responsible for the problem? (diagnostic frame)

Code 2 Prognostic - Identification of strategies to solve the problem

- What strategies are advocated for in the communication?

Code 3 Motivational - Identification of motivational urges

- How is action taken and to be taken motivated? (motivational frame)

Main source of data Collective action frames

- Communication on the movement organisation's Facebook and webpages

Frame amplification

From a general point, *Collective action frames* can substantiate mobilisation of resources through *frame alignment* processes (Snow and Benford (2000: 625). This process depends on the frames general success to tap into "existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom" (Snow and Benford 2000: 624). *Frame amplification* is a specific discursive and

strategic example of *frame alignment* processes: When referred to in relation to values involves “the identification, idealization, and elevation of one or more values” (Snow and Worden 1986: 469) that are thought to appeal to the population which the movement organisations seek supports from. Values are in this way modes of conduct that needs to be promoted and protected (Snow and Worden 1986: 469). Seen together, *Frame amplification* occurs when the actors elevate values in communication that resonate with “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” (Snow and Benford 2000: 624). Given that this is an overt process, the values can be identified and studied how they resonates with the general population.

Frame amplification

- What values are elevated in the communication?
- How do these values correspond with the existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom”? (Snow and Benford 2000: 624).

Data in support of Collective action frames and Frame amplification

- Presence of explicit communication that answers to the code one to four on the movement organisations Facebook and webpages (collective action frames, see analytical questions above)
- Elevation of values in communication (*Frame amplification*) (Snow and Benford 2000: 624)
- Elevated values that resonate with “existing cultural values, beliefs, narratives, folk wisdom” (*Frame amplification*) (Snow and Benford 2000: 624).
- Sentiment pools where the elevated values are generally cherished and bearing to the group, or population as whole (*Frame amplification*) (Snow and Benford 2000: 624)

Main source of data Collective action frames

- Communication on the movement organisation’s Facebook and webpages

Appendix 2 Information letter

Dear participant

I am a student of development studies with a major in sociology who are now undergoing the last thesis semester of my two year program. For this semester I am writing my thesis on social movements in which I have selected to focus on the Refugees Welcome Movement in Malmö. The main focus of the thesis is to map the emergence and development of the Refugees Welcome movement in Malmö with focus on mobilisation, communication and political factors. The study builds on three sets of material of which one of them are interviews. This means that I am in need of interviewees to take part in the study. I am contacting you because you personally or by representing an organisation/authority that have been a part/ or have been cooperating with organisations within Refugees Welcome movement in Malmö and have experiences and knowledges that is valuable to the study. Your role as interviews is to tell about these experiences and knowledges of the subject matter, which in conjunction with other sources of material will serve as the material base for the study. Participation in the study is voluntary and can be stopped at any time. You also have the right to not answer specific questions. The interviews will in first hand be conducted face to face, but can be made on phone or via skype as well. The golden rule is that the structure of the interview, with regards to its place and time will be we worked out to fit you and your schedule.

Present at the interviews will be me and you as interviewee, thus it will never be more than the two of us present. The interviews will be recorded to facilitate the writing process. The recordings will not be listened to, or handed out to anyone else but me. The finalised thesis will be published on a database called Diva meaning that it will be public. However, the material that is not published in the final study will not be published or handed out. All participation is anonymous; I will not use any real names. The theme for the interview will concern the activities, organisation, resources and cooperation.

If you have any questions regarding your participation please do not hesitate to contact me Viktor at viktorkjohansson@live.se. I am looking forward to meet you and hear about your experiences.

Kind regards Viktor Johansson

Appendix 3

Interview guide

Campaign and collective action

Time and causes for engagement?

Describe the organisation's campaign?

Development of engagement?

Cause of changes?

Organisations and cooperation

Organisation of campaign?

Forms of cooperation?

Resources

What resources has been the most the most important in your engagement?

How has these resources been collected?

Claim

Are there any claims behind engagement?

Appendix 4 Timetable of Collective action in Malmö

2015

September

- Refugees Welcome Sweden - Manifestation (Refugee welcome Sweden)
- REFUGEES WELCOME: Manifestation for a humane refugee recipients (the Green Youth Association + 50 support organisation)
- Politician! We draw the line here manifestation (support your local feminist and All for all Malmö)

December

- A Manifestation: Another Asylum Policy Is Possible! Collective Action Against the Government's Inhumane Decision (The Left Party. 2015)

2016

January

- Manifestation Against Id-Controls (The left Party)
- Civil Obedience Action at Kastrup (People's Campaign for the Right to Asylum and the Swedish Network of Refugee Support)

February

- Safe Roads Now! Demonstration for the Right to Asylum (People's Campaign for the Right to Asylum Skåne and Alla for Alla Malmö)

May

- Manifestation: All children's right to their own family (Refugee welcome Sweden and Save the Children)

June

- *Manifestations for the Right to Asylum* (People's Campaign for the Right to Asylum and the Swedish Network of Refugee Support)