"I have the ability"

An explorative study into the volunteer leadership and followership of Neighbourhood mothers

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Abstract

This thesis aimed to explore the immigrant women's experience as Neighbourhood mothers within the project Stadsdelsmammor 2.0 in Helsingborg, and how leader and follower identities becomes prominent. To do this, this thesis analysed the Neighbourhood mothers' understanding of their volunteer role, and their understandings of leadership and followership in their work. A qualitative approach was used where data was gathered through preparatory ethnographic interviewing as to gain further information about this project, and through individual interviews with the Neighbourhood mothers. The data was then analysed in relation to a theoretical framework consisting of role identity theory along with a literature on volunteer roles, and relational leadership and followership, as to elaborate on the organisational behaviour.

The findings show that the volunteer role was based on both altruistic and self-help motivations, and that previous experiences aided in the understanding of their volunteer role as a Neighbourhood mothers. For the Neighbourhood mothers leadership identity was prominent and was associated with previous experiences in their lives and the learnings they got from the within project education. They saw themselves as leaders for the target group clearly, and this clarity was not the case for the followership identity. Instead this was individual and attached to the Project group that managed the project, while also lacking clarity in the role. Some suggestions are made in regard to clarifying the Neighbourhood mother role, and for future research into the project.

Keywords: immigrant women, volunteering, integration, municipal integration policy, social policy, leadership, followership
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Acknowledgements

Contents

Tables

1 Introduction

Sweden saw a record growth in population these last years due to the influx of asylum seekers since 2015, and the questions of migration and integration sailed to the top of the national agenda. Pre-existing debates centered on *utanförskap* (alientation) and *utsatta områden* (vulnerable areas)[1] have intensified with discussions of migrant integration increasingly focused on social exclusion, marginalisation, and poverty. A weaker socio-economic environment reduces opportunities, and the higher concentration of immigrants in the urban area exacerbates these conditions.[2] The current issue of segregation i.e. exclusion is the social and ethnic dimensions which has intertwined to replace the previous understanding of class division.[3]

Previous area-based policies have not succeeded due to conflicting aims of policy on both individuals and the neighbourhood,[4] where the progress for the former has been compatible with failure vis-a-vis the neighbourhood, and as such there was a failure to understand that people and problems can move. The relative improvements in neighbourhoods was found to be due to macro-economic conditions, rather than the particular programme.[5] Social policy targeting areas through localized efforts have in a Swedish context been far and few in between, discounting the physical policies, and so working with specifically urban area social polices is fairly new to the municipal administrations responsible for integration. The project *Stadsdelsmammor 2.0* (Neighbourhood mothers 2.0) in Helsingborg have been successful in fulfilling their goals[6] in reaching the target group in certain urban areas to provide access to more social and professional networks, develop their competencies and possibilities in discussing society, family life and integration in Sweden.

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[1] The Swedish concept of *utanförskap* means the alienation from a group of the social, economic, spatial, familial etc. kind. Malmberg, B., Andersson, E., Östh, J., "Segregation and Urban unrest in Sweden", Urban Geography, vol. 34, no. 7, 2013, pp. 1031ff.; Dahlstedt, M. "The Politics of Making Demands: Discourses of Urban Exclusion and Medialized Politics in Sweden", International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, vol. 28 no. 2, 2015, pp.101-17. Herz, M., & Johansson, T., "The Experience of Being Stopped: Young Immigrants, Social Exclusion and Strategies", YOUNG, vol. 20 no. 2, 2012, pp. 157ff. Andersson, R., Musterd, S., Galster, G., "Neighbourhood Ethnic Composition and Employment Effects on Immigrant Incomes", Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Vol. 40, no. 5, 2014, pp. 720ff.

[2] Musterd, S., "The Impact of Immigrants' Segregation and Concentration on Social Integration in Selected European Contexts", Documents d'An´lisi Geográfica, vol. 57 no. 3, 2011, pp. 359ff.

[3] Andersson, R., "Breaking Segregation", *Urban Studies* vol. 43 no.4, 2006, pp.787-99.

[4] E.g. The Metropolitan Development Initative in Stockholm.

[5] Andersson, R., Bråmå, Å., & Holmqvist, E. "Counteracting segregation: Swedish policies and experiences", *Housing studies*, vol. 25 no. 2, 2010, p. 250.

[6] Splitvision research, "Stadsdelsmammor 2.0: Halvårsrapport #4" Helsingborg stad, december 2018, p. 4.

Thus the integration problem is one of both social and economic dimensions, where the immigrants have too little information about the new host society, lack in contacts and unemployment.[7] With a holistic view of the neighbourhood the project then attempts to improve the whole neighbourhood and integrate people through the partaking in the project and exchange between different neighbourhoods. The Neighbourhood mothers 2.0 in Helsingborg constitutes one innovative initiative that aims to transform and empower women of the target group to become active members of their neighbourhood and local community. These women, Neighbourhood mothers, are educated and trained by Helsingborg's *Arbetsmarknadsförvaltningen* (Labour market administration) employees to aid in the positive development of their urban area through instructing, educating, and helping other members of the target group. As such, they are positioned as an intermediary between the Labour Market Administration of Helsingborg municipality and the target group and other local neighbourhood residents. The Neighbourhood mothers take on the key position in the process and their role as Neighbourhood mothers is thus seemingly multifaceted and lends for an interesting view into social policy work on the neighbourhood level.

1.1   The research problem

The Neighbourhood mother 2.0 project exemplifies a social policy where the immigrants themselves are the tools for the integration. Migrant women become 'Neighbourhood mothers and their overall purpose of the work is to assist other people from their migrant group to integrate into the Swedish society through information sharing and networking. The ideal Neighbourhood mother is a woman from the target group, with great social commitment, resources, and with own existing networks. The women are supposed to be of various ages, have mixed backgrounds and languages.[8] The project is contingent on the participation of migrant women who want to be Neighbourhood mothers and without engaged Neighbourhood mothers the integration project automatically fails. The major challenges to this work are thereby the risk of disengagement by volunteering Neighbourhood mothers that e.g. get paid jobs or have reduced motivation to participate, as well as the possible inability to motivate migrant women to participate as Neighbourhood mothers at all.

A case study of how the Neighbourhood mothers view their roles in this project then allows us to delve into the Swedish context of the project, and how the projects survival and success depends on taking on the role of Neighbourhood mother and

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[7] Swedish Migration Agency, "Co-financing agreement: Agreement on co-financing from the Asylum, migration and integration fund regarding the project 'Stadsdelsmammor 2.0' between the municipality of Helsingborg and the Swedish Migration Service, function of the funds", Norrköping/Helsingborg, June 2016, p. 8.
[8] Ibid.

the various tasks associated with this role. Their tasks involve both leading and supporting the target group by providing them with various information, contacts to agencies, companies and organisations and creating a social space within the multi-cafes. In this way, they might be seen as leaders. Furthermore, they are meant to work with the supervising Labour Market Administration Project group (hereafter Project group), that consists of three employed women working, to develop the project through the bridging of information and insights about the target group and identify priorities. In this way, they might be seen as followers. We do not know much about how they Neighbourhood mothers feel about taking on these roles and whether they experience tensions between their roles as leading a group of migrant women and reporting back to the municipality workers. They may find it difficult fulfilling the role of taking charge of the activities for the target group, or express opinions on the work within the project, creating vagueness in their understanding of their volunteer role. In this preliminary understanding the Project group take on a superior position vis-à-vis Neighbourhood mothers, but so does Neighbourhood mothers vis-à-vis the target group. The Neighbourhood mothers are then subordinated the Project group and follows their lead. Considering their intermediary position, the women need to be able to look both at the target group and the Project group when fulfilling their roles, creating duality that may be in conflict for them in the role and lessen their motivation to volunteer. As Neighbourhood mothers are the central mechanism for the policy, i.e. they are the instrument that implements it, how they view their role then fundamentally shapes the functioning of the project as well as the continued development of the work within it.

As previously mentioned, I am going to understand this juggling of roles through the concepts of leadership and followership, and by understanding how they view the dual role of Neighbourhood mothers (considering that they are leaders for the target group and followers to the Project group) we can gain insight into the organisation of work and gain further understanding of the project outcomes. Leadership is defined as influencing others' thinking, feelings and meanings to work in a direction, and are used to understand how Neighbourhood mothers motivate and delegate work. Followership then involves the process of intentionally allowing influence rather than blind obedience. The follower's task involves both to support and to stand up to the leader besides doing the delegated work, as to accomplish goals. With these working definitions there is a certain overlap of mutual influence and awareness of the need for cooperation to reach goals. Using these concepts then helps in perceiving how the Neighbourhood mothers understand their roles and how they carry out the work, and whether the role tasks induce vagueness or clarity in their self-view within the role. Furthermore, as the concepts are used to elaborate on how the Neighbourhood mothers understand their role, they also give insight into the views on division of work within the policy and help improve the within-project education and subsequent work.

1.2 Purpose and research questions

The purpose of this study is to explore the immigrant women's experience as Neighbourhood mothers, and thereby to understand from the Neighbourhood mother' perspective how a leader and follower identity becomes prominent in the role of Neighbourhood mothers and associated behaviour within the organisation. A leader is then defined as the person influencing others to work in a certain direction, while the follower is the one allowing influence and doing the work. This is done by analysing the women's self-perception of their roles as Neighbourhood mothers in relation to the Labour Market Administration project employees and to the target group they work towards.

The research questions that will be answered in this study is:

- How do the Neighbourhood mothers understand their role as leaders and followers within the project *Stadsdelsmammor 2.0*, and how does their previous experience and within-project learned knowledge contribute to these understandings?

A better understanding of Neighbourhood mother volunteers would benefit those who work in non-profit organisations and projects tied to municipalities, as the project aims to make the Neighbourhood mothers get closer to each other and the majority society, in order to accomplish the goals. Bringing in the leadership-followership perspective allows us to further understand their intermediary position and importance in the project, as well as how they utilise these roles in various situations to fulfil their work tasks and progress the project.

1.3 Relevance

The relevance of this study adheres to the new understanding of integration social policy that is forming. Neighbourhood mothers 2.0 is a type of policy that use the calling on individuals of the target group to become leaders in the implementation of the policy, and this work method is spreading over Sweden as well as other counties. So, the broader implications of this study can give insight into integration policies that utilise the target group individuals themselves to carry out the policy implementation. Furthermore, it can give insight into the processes that shape and maintain the Neighbourhood mothers role identity as specific to their volunteer work as immigrants in a new country.

This research can thereby benefit the studies into leadership and followership of volunteer work that deals with integration policies, and the management and development of such relevant project roles. Of course, this study has more practical relevance to the project Stadsdelsmammor 2.0 itself, as it gives insight into their work. It is thus necessary to note that this study has limited generalisability, and that the contextualisation are of more benefit to the current project

1.4 Disposition

After this introductory chapter, where the research problem and purpose has been presented, the background will be presented with the project history, structure and attributes detailed, as well as some similar projects in other countries.

The third chapter presents the theoretical framework which is based on role identity theory attached to previous experiences in regard to immigrants and women volunteering as to understand what makes volunteering more specific to these. In the second part of the theoretical framework the understandings of leadership and followership is presented through a relational conception, as well as some previous studies into the specificity of female leadership. It is then condensed into a more systematic scheme as to allow for the formation of interview questions that is focused on volunteering.

In the fourth chapter the methodology of this thesis is elaborated on, containing philosophical underpinnings, methods for data gathering as well as consideration of various limitations of qualitative studies and the utilisation of interviews. The thematic analysis that has been utilised are also presented. Furthermore, the ethical consideration and researcher positionality are discussed.

The fifth chapter contains the analysis of the data, separated into themes based on the answers, and the sixth chapter consist of the discussion.

2 Background

In this chapter a background of the policy is presented, with its origins, purpose, work method and Neighbourhood mothers' work responsibilities further overviewed. As this thesis are to discuss their roles and thereby also their work responsibilities and requirements, this become relevant to have knowledge of.

Thereafter I briefly present similar social policies in other countries to put the Neighbourhood mothers 2.0 project into a broader policy context, as well as briefly overviewing some policies that has called on individuals to assume leadership.

2.1 Neighbourhood mothers 2.0

The project method Neighbourhood mothers was imported from the German "Stadtteilmutter" and the Danish version "Bydelsmödre" in 2013 by the Labour Market Administration of Helsingborg and were piloted in the urban area of Planteringen. After three years the Labour market administration were granted 4.7 million Swedish crowns to expand the project to encompass more urban areas by the European Commission Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (EU AMIF).[9] The integration method is spreading to other municipalities in Sweden and constitutes an innovation in the Swedish context just as it does in Germany and Denmark.[10]

In Helsingborg, the project has currently been spread to the areas of Planteringen, Dalhem, Drottninghög, Fredriksdal and Närlunda,[11] with activities that range from language skill and knowledge learning to practical skills that are usable in future participation in the labour market. The purpose of the project was to break the isolation and increase the participation in society of the target group by expanding social and professional networks and increased knowledge of the society.[12]

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[9] Swedish Migration Agency "Stadsdelsmammor 2.0 – en brygga mellan målgruppen och samhället", Migrationsverket, published 20190920 (Accessed 20190212 https://www.migrationsverket.se/Andra-aktorer/EU-fonder/Nyhetsarkiv-Fonder/Nyheter-for-Fonder/2018-09-20-Stadsdelsmammor-2.0---en-brygga-mellan-malgruppen-och-samhallet.html

[10] Marquardt, N. & Schreiber, V., "Mothering urban space, governing migrant women: the construction of intersectional positions in area-based interventions in Berlin", *Urban Geography*, vol. 36 no. 1, 2015, pp. 44ff.

[11] Splitvision research, "Stadsdelsmammor 2.0: Halvårsrapport #4" Helsingborg stad, december 2018, p. 4.

[12] Swedish Migration Agency, "Co-financing agreement: Agreement on co-financing from the Asylum, migration and integration fund regarding the project 'Stadsdelsmammor 2.0' between the municipality of Helsingborg and the Swedish Migration Service, function of the funds", Norrköping/Helsingborg, June 2016, p.5ff.

The target group is third-country nationals that live in exclusion in Helsingborg,[13] and from this group there has been women recruited, or they have shown interest, to become Neighbourhood mothers. This position is based on unpaid labour i.e. volunteer work. The women are educated within the to learn a wide range of skills and knowledges to be enabled to create conditions for the target group to build their networks professionally and socially, and to become more engaged in creating a positive development for themselves and others in their neighbourhood. The education program was taught by the three Project group women, and designed for the target group women who wanted to become Neighbourhood mothers, so that they after completion could provide services to others from the target group while also contributing to the continued development of the project.[14]

The Neighbourhood mothers then act as a link between the target group and the larger society as they are to be helpful in connecting target group individuals to the right authorities, organisations, companies, et cetera while also handling the so-called 'multi-cafes' which are the local places where informative and knowledge building activities are arranged. One of the responsibilities of the Neighbourhood mothers is to develop and plan the activities together with the Project group, mainly through workshops. The topics of these multi-cafes has so far ranged from health, welfare services, child-rearing, family issues, labour market entrance issues, law, rights and duties, as well as increased opportunity to study Swedish in a less formal setting than the Swedish For Immigrants classes. The multi-cafes are located in the neighbourhood so they are easy to get to from one's home (for feelings of safety), the participation at the multi-café are supposed to lead to the experience that the individual can participate and affect the local environment (for increased democracy and influence) and for the target group participants to get to know others in their neighbourhood (increased social network) as well as other neighbourhood.[15]

An additional responsibility is the spreading of information of the project and recruiting through 'word of mouth' marketing of the project, the personal invite and induce pattern-breaking behaviour to expand the geographic mobility of the target group.[16] The last part is e.g. done by inviting the target group members to a multi-cafe in another urban area. Furthermore, the Neighbourhood mothers have the general responsibility to help the urban area target group residents address wishes to the municipality's bureaucrats, as well as increase the dialogue from the side of the bureaucrats with the target group by which they act as bridges.[17] Furthermore, they participate in the method development of the project, cooperate with the Project group, steering group and the active researcher. Their formal tasks are then summarised to plan the multi-café activities together with the Project group and run

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[13] Swedish Migration Agency, "Co-financing agreement: Agreement on co-financing from the Asylum, migration and integration fund regarding the project 'Stadsdelsmammor 2.0' between the municipality of Helsingborg and the Swedish Migration Service, function of the funds", Norrköping/Helsingborg, June 2016, p. 5f.
[14] Ibid, p.5ff.
[15] Splitvision research, "Stadsdelsmammor 2.0: Halvårsrapport #4" Helsingborg stad, december 2018 p. 13.
[16] Ibid. p. 27.
[17] Ibid. p. 14.

these, recruit participants, create contacts with individuals and various organisations, aid with answering questions, inform and teach courses the target group has requested or which are useful for them.

2.2   Area-based policies in other countries

The Neighbourhood mothers 2.0 project promises easy access to the urban area residents and allows for an intense involvement with the local population in revitalisation activities. Thereby the neighbourhood poses an attractive place for policy actors, as Andersson and Musterd as well as Atkinson demonstrate, that seeks to boost relationships between residents, agencies, and local organisations.[18] Vital to the policy is the idea of networking, and the studies surrounding networking is wide and varied and therefore the focus of this part is on the previous research done with regard to community development.

Marquardt and Schreiber investigate how the German project version Stadtteilmutter is a way to govern migrant populations by instructing migrant women into becoming neighbourhood improvement agents and establish relations to other migrant women in order to pass on social norms. The German project version entailed primarily outreach work, as they visit people in their homes. This study draws on theories of physical structures and power, and the German project has a family-focused scope.[19] As it emphasises family and Neighbourhood mothers as 'door-openers' makes it less relevant to this thesis, but nonetheless, it gives insight into social policy that emphasises neighbourhood improvement and spatial usage within the policy work. The Danish version of the Neighbourhood project Bydelsmødrene has a more similar structuring to the Swedish version as they also contain cafes for social activities, but with a more explicitly aim of reaching women and improving their situation in a systematic way over municipalities in Denmark.[20] Being focused solely on women and their self-determination, it is different from the socio-economic attributes the Swedish version have.

While the area-based social policies are fairly new to Sweden, they are not to the United Kingdom. As the United Kingdom have more organisations aiming to help individuals within the community, instead of through governmental administrations, Waters and Davidson studied the effects of community centres on the shared experiences and opportunities to learn from one another, as well as mutual

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[18] Andersson et al, 2005, p. 719 f.; Atkinson, R., "European Urban Policies and the Neighbourhood: An Overview", Proceedings of the ICE – Urban Design and Planning, vol. 161 no. 3, 2008, pp. 116f.
[19] Marquardt & Schreiber, 2015, pp. 45ff.
[20] Bydelsmødrene, "Om Bydelsmødrene", Landssekretariatet (Retrieved 20190214 https://bydelsmor.dk/Om-os/Om-Bydelsmoedrene)

support on the resilience of community and social capital.[21] Finding that the individual's role in the centre was important to self-esteem and sense of belonging, in support of the Wandersman and Florin[22] suggestion that the sense of belonging gives mutual benefits to the community centres and the users. Target group participants in these community centres then gain a sense of belonging, in a safe and tolerant environment, and a sense of belonging also contributes to develop a stronger community.[23] Alike to Carpiano, this suggestion of attachment through social cohesion that is developed through neighbourhood attachment between individuals, and is the foundation of social capital.[24] Ennis and West conducted a study on the community development through network approaches were the neighbourhood groups increased their focus on reaching the aims. By enlarging their network to various organisations, the neighbourhood groups induced positive differences in the local community in the form of co-developing and arranging activities that increased their ability to work.[25] In a similar vein, Jones found that community-based involvement strongly promoted volunteering, and increased participation and deliberation in public life. Additionally, the author finds that volunteering encouraged greater investment in society.[26] As volunteering is the foundation of the project the next chapter in theoretical framework will elaborate on the volunteer identity within the organisation.

2.3   Social policy calling for leadership

Social policies that calls on individuals to take a prominent leadership role is e.g. educational improvement programmes. Within these types of programs, teachers are called upon to take a leadership role as to advance the learning and knowledges of students within the school environment. Within the United Kingdom there was an initiative called London Challenge, where the one of the key areas was to introduce intensive intervention in certain areas and emphasise the shared purpose between school areas. Teachers in these urban areas was then called upon to claim and supported to attain leadership to raise standards in poor performing schools and

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[21] Waters, H.C., Davidson, S., "'A Unique Little Microcosm': Exploring a Self-sustaining Community Project Which Harnessed Social Action in a Public Space", *Journal of Community Psychology*, vol. 46, p. 1052.
[22] Wandersman A., & Florin, P., "Citizen Participation and Community Organizations", in J. Rappaport and E. Seidman (Eds.) *Handbook of Community Psychology*, New York: Kluwer/Plenum, 2000, p. 247 ff.
[23] Puddifoot, J., "Dimensions of community identity", *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, vol. 5, p. 2f.
[24] Carpiano, R.M., "Toward a neighbourhood resource-based theory of social capital for health: Can Bourdieu and sociology help?" *Social Science and Medicine*, vol. 62, 2006, pp. 166ff.
[25] West, G. & West, D., "Community Development and Umbrella Bodies: Networking for Neighbourhood Change", *British Journal of Social Work*, Vol. 44, 2014, pp. 1582ff.
[26] Jones, K.S., "Giving and Volunteering as Distinct Forms of Civic Engagement: The Role of Community Integration and Personal Resources in Formal Helping", *Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 35, no.2, 2006, pp. 249ff.

lessen the gap between pupils.[27] This is one example of a policy, but there are currently more policies with the same methods of calling on teacher to assume leadership emerging in other countries.

Otherwise, policies and programmes aiming to call upon individuals to assume leadership role are more attributed to grassroot policies that aimed to limit poverty in urban areas within the United States[28] and promoting health in various countries. Grassroot policy initiatives such as Tostan in Senegal and Mali combating female genital mutilation through forming women into assuming leadership through education and practical knowledges.[29] In South Africa, government funded initiatives such as the Women's platform that aimed at preventing isolation that is induced by migration. The platform engaged migrants and refugees to participate in capacity-building activities as to lead them into employment, not unlike the Neighbourhood mothers project, but was at first run primarily by staff from the mother organisation Scalabrini. Indigenous leadership was seen to be established, as some women of certain countries took on leadership roles for their group of refugees, inducing the organisation to shift focus towards promoting personal development such as leadership and building on the women's existing knowledges to promote their inclusion in society.[30] This policy appears to share similar traits to the Neighbourhood mother project but without the emphasis on the local area and the integration of both migrant women and men.

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[27] Hopkins, D., & Higham, R., "System leadership: mapping the landscape", *School leadership and management*, vol. *27* no. 2, 2007, p. 147ff.

[28] Naples, N. A. *Grassroots warriors: Activist mothering, community work, and the war on poverty*. Routledge, 2014, p.4.

[29] Easton, P., Monkman, K., & Miles, R. "Social policy from the bottom up: abandoning FGC in sub-Saharan Africa." *Development in Practice*, vol. *13* no.5, 2003, 446f.

[30] Mundell, L. & Carone, E., "Models for Migrant Leadership: The Cape Town Women's Platform", AHMR, vol. 2 no.2, 2016, p. 492ff.

3 Theoretical framework

As this is an exploratory study of the Neighbourhood mother 2.0 project and into the self-perceived roles of Neighbourhood Mothers, I have chosen to create a theoretical framework. The basis of this is role identity theory and, as there are various streams within this theory, volunteering identity is subject to closer focus here as to explore the Neighbourhood mothers experience of volunteering. A foundation of role identity is therefore first presented to give the general understanding of the theory, before general characteristics of volunteering is outlined based on previous literature. This is followed by literature on women and immigrants volunteering and attached role behaviour to additionally narrow down the understanding. By drawing on previous literature on volunteering we can understand the general characteristics, as well as the attributes that are more contextualised.

Role identity theory first helps us inform the understanding of Neighbourhood mother particular volunteering identity and elaborate on the behaviour before relating this to theories on leadership and followership. In the latter part I present the leadership and followership theory I utilise, which is based on a relational, co-constructed perspective as to explain how they see themselves as leaders and followers. As volunteering differs from employees in leadership/followership, the contextual factors matter in the organisation of work as there are no 'carrots and sticks', and there are no employment managerial structures.

3.1 Role identity theory

Role identity theory is made up of two theoretical strains, joining role theory and social identity theory. Role theory is a perspective that refers to the everyday activities that are acted out differently and predictably depending on the individual's social identities and situation, and so the 'role' refers to all the expectations that are activated by the knowledge of the position.[31] Roles are inherent features of organisation as the structured interdependencies organize and create a network of intertwining tasks and responsibilities. As such, roles become the link for how work is communicated, designed, and accomplished as well as evaluated and experienced.

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[31] Sluss, D.M., van Dick, R.; Thompson, B.S., "Role Theory in Organizations: A Relational Perspective", in APA Handbooks in Psychology: *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), Washington DC, US, 2011, p. 505.

The role theory includes behavioural expectations that, in short, specify the meaning and attributes of the role. The *position* then refers to the overt and formal recognition of a role in a structure, while the *role* refers to all the expectations the position triggers from both oneself and others. Social identity theory puts emphasis on behaviour that is individual with individual relationships but also on group behaviour. Within this thesis the concept of identity refers to the subjective meanings and experience that one uses in the effort to answer, "Who am I?" and subsequently "How should I act?", i.e. internalized role designations. Thus, one's identity implies certain forms of subjectivity that intertwine values, feelings and behaviour, and guides in a certain direction.[32] This concept of self, and in turn behaviour, is then influenced by role relationships within the collective. The roles within the organisations, and subsequent relationships then also have central effect on one's perceived identity at work.[33]

In combination with social identity theory, this is understood as the role identity, and it puts foci on how the individual (i.e. role occupant) interprets and makes sense of the role.[34] An understanding of organisational roles, and thus how these roles affect attitudes and behaviour, thus integrates the structural understanding of the position and the social identity theory perspective of meaning-making in relationships.

Combining the structural perspective on position with individual contributions mean that a) work is experienced via one's roles, that b) role identities have an impact on the individual's behaviour, affect and cognition, and c) therefore, to understanding behaviour within organisations we must understand the role identity processes related to work and relationships involved. By doing this, I integrate both the structural functionalist perspective and attributes of symbolic interactionist perspective. The structural functionalist puts focus on the role position e.g. Neighbourhood mothers how this role institutionalises stable behavioural expectations, and how it influences the individual's own view of self, depending on function, status and/or hierarchy.[35] Symbolic interactionism places emphasis on how individuals interrelate across role relationship networks, as this creates meaning, and provides a working template for interpreting role experience for the role occupant,[36] which go in the same lines in regard to the person's concept of self but puts additional emphasis on how relationships are particular or general.[37] A relationship can

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32 Alvesson, M., Ashcraft, K.L., Thomas, R., "Identity matters: Reflections in the Construction of Identity Scholarship in Organization studies", Organisation vol. 15 no. 1, p. 5-6.
33 Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, p. 505.
34 Ashforth, B. E., Johnson, S. A., Hogg, M., & Terry, D., "Which hat to wear." *Social identity processes in organizational contexts*, 2001, p. 32 ff.
35 Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, p. 505.
36 Stryker, S., & Burke, P. J. "The past, present, and future of an identity theory", *Social psychology quarterly*, 2000, pp. 284ff.
37 Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, 505ff.

thereby be either more personal for a Neighbourhood mother or have a less individual focus as the relationship is based on their collective role of being a Neighbourhood mother. In the case of Neighbourhood mothers, we can see that there are conformity pressures adhere to the formal role and assigned tasks as a volunteer in the project, while various aspects from the everyday work with the Project group, other Neighbourhood mothers and the target group also affect them.

My conception of roles is then that they are born from negotiation and interactive processes, as these are inherent in whatever is of value to that role relationship. This is especially so for the Neighbourhood mothers as these occupy an ambiguous position as simultaneous representative of both the neighbourhood target group and the Labour Market Administration project role of Neighbourhood mother. Moving on, I elaborate on the identities of volunteering and what evidence previous studies has found in order to create a scheme that helps me direct appropriate questions towards the Neighbourhood mothers.

3.2 Identities and volunteering roles

Focusing on the identities of volunteers allows us to understand how people answer the question "Who am I?" in a specific organisational context. This part helps the thesis in laying a theoretical foundation for considering the Neighbourhood mothers role identity.

There are many studies done within the field of volunteer identity, and some of these will be discussed below as to inform the thesis of how the volunteering identity is understood as well as formed. To begin, a volunteer is an unpaid worker, thereby different from an employee, and as such a volunteer has other motives to work than for reasons such as monetary compensation. Volunteer identity research have had a varied history of studying varying aspects of how roles impact the individual and his or her choices. Volunteer role identity "concerns the extent to which a person identifies with and internalizes the role of being a volunteer; that is, the extent to which this role and the relationships associated with it become part of a person's self-concept".[38] Furthermore, role identity theory emphasises the social context of volunteerism and volunteerism can, in its most general definition be defined as acts that are done on the basis of free choice, or of one's own accord.

If we discuss the general research on volunteering identities, we find that the focus has been on motivations and attributes of volunteers, as to answer why individuals volunteer. Role identity theory suggests that an individual's adoption of multiple roles is interconnected with perceptions of self, as a way of legitimising

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[38] Penner, L. A. "Dispositional and organizational influences on sustained volunteerism: An interactionist perspective", *Journal of social issues*, vol. 58 no. 3, 2002, p. 463.

the roles they are committed to.[39] As such, identity theory assumes that volunteer's interpretation of their personal identity as being consistent with the collective identity and promotes the internalisation of in-group norms, values and interests.[40] Finkelstein et al finds that identity and expectations was the foremost predictors of time spent volunteering and the length of it. Voluntary role identity thus correlated with motives of participating in voluntary work.[41]

Though motivation had gained an evident place in research, it has not yielded any clear patterns as the volunteers' motivations are not consistently related to type of work, personality traits and social statuses.[42] Thereby the voluntary work is context specific, and thus so are the identities attached to the roles of volunteers. As the volunteer work is specific to each organisations the behaviour expectations needs to be understood for the particular context.[43] By considering the tasks attached to the roles of Neighbourhood mothers, and the relationships and behaviour expectations they ascribe to these we can gain insight into the specific understanding of Neighbourhood mothers as volunteers. Whereas motivation is a noteworthy part of volunteer research so is the idea of pro-social behaviour which is the social behaviour that is intent on benefitting society as a whole. As shown by Penner et al and associates[44] volunteers are generally pro-social in orientation, along with the attributes of being optimistic, empathic, helpful and confident. In relation to this, volunteer work generates higher self-esteem, happiness, and a stronger sense of personal control in comparison to those not volunteering.[45] The role of volunteer i.e. unpaid work of one's own accord, therefore has range of qualities that are attached to the people doing the work.

While there are some general characteristics attached to the understanding of people who volunteers it is essential to return to the question of reasoning behind

[39] Warburton, J., & Winterton, R. "The role of volunteering in an era of cultural transition: can it provide a role identity for older people from Asian cultures?" *Diversity*, vol. *2* no.8, 2010 p. 1049.

[40] Strumer, S., B. & Loewy, M. I.. "Intraorganizational respect and organisational participation: The mediating role of collective identity", *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, vol. 11 no. 1, 2008, p 6ff.

[41] Finkelstein, M. A., Penner, L. A., & Brannick, M. T., "Motive, Role Identity, and Prosocial Personality as Predictors of Volunteer Activity", Social Behaviour and Personality: An International Journal, Vol. 33 no. 4, 2005, pp. 404ff.

[42] Gottlieb, B. H., & Gillespie, A. A. "Volunteerism, health, and civic engagement among older adults", *Canadian Journal on Aging/La Revue canadienne du vieillissement*, vol. *27* no. 4, 2008 p. 399f.; Thoits, P. A., & Hewitt, L. N. "Volunteer work and well-being", *Journal of health and social behavior*, 2001, p. 115; Wilson, J. "Volunteering", *Annual review of sociology*, vol. 26 no. 1, 2000, pp. 215f.

[43] Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, 505ff.

[44] Penner, L. A., & Finkelstein, M. A. "Dispositional and structural determinants of volunteerism", *Journal of personality and social psychology*, vol. 74 no. 2, 1998, p. 525; Penner, L. A., Midili, A. R., & Kegelmeyer, J. "Beyond job attitudes: A personality and social psychology perspective on the causes of organizational citizenship behaviour", *Human Performance*, vol. 10 no. 2, 1997, pp. 111ff.; Mellor, D. et al. "Volunteering and its relationship with personal and neighborhood well-being", *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, vol. 38 no. 1, 2009, pp. 144ff.

[45] (e.g., Gottlieb & Gillespie, 2008 p. 399f.; Li, Y., & Ferraro, K. F. "Volunteering and depression in later life: Social benefit or selection processes?" *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 2005, vol. 46 no.1, p. 68ff.; Piliavin, J. A. & Siegl, E., ''The Health Benefits of Volunteering in the Wisconsin Longitudinal Study.'' Journal of Health and Social Behavior 48, 2007, pp. 451ff.)

the choice to volunteer. As the motivations of the individuals participating in voluntary work are important, there are also strong indications that identity processes are vital in motivating and sustaining the work.[46] By performing service activities moves an individual in embracing the role as an identity.[47] Finkelstein et al and Grube and Piliavin shows that once an organisational identity of volunteer has been adopted there is a desire to gain validation of the role-identity from others, which in turn prompts repeated behaviour performance the more often a person enacts the role.[48] This repeated behaviour then influences the perception of the role, and adaptation to a role then induces further motivation to reinforce this self-perception. The more often one takes on the role of Neighbourhood mother, the more this person seeks approval and attempts to fulfil this role so as to benefit their own view of self. Even though meeting others' expectations and gaining validation is important motivators, engaging in meaningful, purposeful and/or goal-directed activities is likely to be rewarding and therefore motivating too.[49] The persons behaviour is then not only emphasised by constantly returning to fulfil the role, but the meaning the work or activities have for the individual.

3.2.1 Immigrants and volunteer role identity

Previously, I presented an overview of the general attributes of volunteers and how the attached identity is contextual, and in this part, I will go over the literature on volunteering immigrants, to gain more specific insights as to inform the theoretical framework.

Overall, immigrant volunteering identity experiences is a neglected topic in the studies of volunteering but there are a few relevant studies. Handy and Greenspan studied the effects of volunteering on attenuating the effects of relocation for immigrants as these seek to regain social and human capital that was lost in the migration process. They contributed with the knowledge of the immigrant volunteering motivation as dual. One side of the motivation was based on a desire to create new social connections, and the other was based on the desire of gaining access to the labour market. Organisational characteristics of financial stability, shared values and homogeneity of the group as well as the individual factor of recruitment processes aided in lowering the entry barriers into the organisation.[50] Similarly, Guo focused on immigrants experiences a deskilling and devaluation of their previously acquired skills in the migration process, and they were met by unemployment, poor

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[46] Finkelstein, Penner, and Brannick 2005, p. 404ff.; Penner and Finkelstein 1998 p. 525f.
[47] Charng, H. W., Piliavin, J.A., & Callero, P.L., ''Role Identity and Reasoned Action in the Prediction of Repeated Behavior.'' Social Psychology Quarterly, vol. 51, 1988, pp. 303ff.
[48] Finkelstein et al. 2005, p. 404ff.; Grube, J. A., & Piliavin, J.A., "Role identity, organizational experiences, and volunteer performance." *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* vol. 26 no. 9, 2000, pp. 1108ff.
[49] Gottlieb and Gillespie 2008, p. 400ff.
[50] Handy, F., Greenspan, I., "Immigrant Volunteering: A Stepping Stone to Integration?" Non-profit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, vol. 38 no. 6, 2009, pp. 956ff.

economic performance and downward social mobility, which in turn halted their integration. By volunteering, the immigrants helped themselves integrate into the majority society, through building a community and sense of belonging i.e. a 'we'-ness through informal learning. By uniting under the collective identity of 'immigrant' they could mobilise community participation and support, instead of 'hunkering down' from collective life. By proactively participating in society as volunteers they also became active individuals in said society.[51] While this study peripherally discusses identity as a tool for engaging immigrants through their collective identity, the focus is less on the identities immigrants utilise in their participatory work. There are two overall conclusions to be drawn from these two studies. The immigrants who volunteer show characteristics of being proactive in taking charge of their own integration and the sense of belonging is important in engaging them.

In a similar vein, Warburton and Winterton showed that a volunteering identity helped people from a foreign culture form a new identity of volunteer within an Australian context. The new volunteer identity helped them cope with a new social status and a new culture alike to Guo's perception. In their role as volunteer the immigrants, utilized previously acquired roles in enacting it, such as professional roles, gendered roles, family positioned roles, community-specific roles and so on. Warburton and Winterton finds that volunteering holds particular importance to those from minority cultures within western society as their "marginal status may result in only limited roles being available to them".[52] For migrant women this is particularly true, as there are fewer social roles available for them where they can experience social significance. The amalgamation of previous roles and the experiences of these aided the immigrants in understanding their volunteering role. Seeing to this, Warburton and Winterton depart from the role identity theory concept of role enhancement,[53] which assumes that there are benefits to be gained through the accumulation of coherent social roles, and that these enhance the sense of identity along with emotional gratification i.e. rewards. This is based on the understanding of the self which posits that there is multiplicity of aspects of oneself, rather than one unitary self.[54] In other words, a person has as many selves as he or she has relationships with other individuals or groups. These multiple parts of the self are organized into a hierarchy where salience of a role identity emerge depending on situations and relations. Role enhancement refers to the multiple identities and how they positively interdepend on each other. As such, the accumulation of previous experience of other roles, can have an additive effect, whether it be professional or personal roles. This accumulation then enriches the person's concept of self to provide more security in overall status and that these benefits comprise an enhanced

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[51] Guo, Shibao, "Immigrants as active citizens: exploring the volunteering experiences of Chinese immigrants in Vancouver", Globalisation, Societies and Education, vol. 12 no.1, 2014, p. 51ff.

[52] Warburton & Winterton, 2010, pp. 1048-58.

[53] Ibid., p. 1053.

[54] Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, p. 505ff.

sense of identity along with emotional gratification.[55] As previously studies showed, role enhancement leads generally to improved well-being, especially in volunteering roles. For older immigrants they can both increase involvement in society and augment the losses of aging (such as losing the role identity of employee) with the social role of volunteers. The continuous activity of role maintenance can help them to better adjust to life events, as well as lessening the effect of a lower income. Warburton and Winterton pointed out that when people experience some kind of less they adopt social roles that will help them enhance their sense of identity, while also discarding they find no benefit in.[56] Individuals who have experienced some kind of loss, be it an close relative, a status, or a home country (as in the case of asylum seeking migrants), the voluntary role can enhance and maintain their sense of identity, while increasing their emotional gratification further motivating their behaviour of continuously assuming the role in question, such as Neighbourhood mother.

Warburton and Winterton then lands in the notion that the voluntary role can act as an access point to the larger society while allowing the immigrants to transfer their previous identities into the new role. Multiple roles can thus benefit the individual in making them feel more self-assured and secure when new happenings occur, or they find themselves in new situations. Migrants experiencing a new reality has a sense of loss and as such, volunteering offers a new role for individuals who seek new ways to be socially involved and active in a new situation. This can also be argued to be the case for immigrants. As Kosic shows, the immigrants link their motivation to participate in civic activities to their personality, and the dissatisfaction they found themselves to be in workwise along with their perceived need to do something. Kosic finds that many of the participants in the civic activities have backgrounds of high levels of education and, due to inaccessibility to relevant work, sought out organisations that can help them learn new things, gain experience and knowledge, and to generally improve their situation. The respondents also put emphasis on participating to express their social identity among other migrants while also teaching the majority society about their culture and traditions in order to promote mutual acceptance and respect. The general findings form this study show that the attitudes towards participation are shaped by personal characteristics and previous resources as many where highly educated.[57] While Kosic's study was not specifically role identity-based, as it's foci was on motivations, the findings nonetheless corroborate the previous understanding that volunteering is important in the participation of immigrants in society for increasing integration.

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[55] Warburton & Winterton 2010, p.1053f.

[56] Warburton, J., & McLaughlin, D. "Doing it from your heart: the role of older women as informal volunteers", *Journal of women & aging*, vol. 18 no. 2, 2006, p. 55ff.

[57] Kosic, A., "Motivation for civic participation of immigrants: the role of personal resources, social identities, and personal traits", *Politis* – A European research project, University of Oldernburg, no. 11, 2007, p. 15ff.

3.2.2 Women and volunteer role identity

As the Neighbourhood mothers project focus on immigrant women it becomes relevant to discuss the volunteer identity more specifically in regard to women as well. We have done this very briefly in the previous subchapter but will expand on this below. On this topic there are more literature to be found, and clearer inferences to be made.

Many a researcher have put emphasis on the role of volunteer in regard to women and this has produced results that indicate that women being more adaptable as they have a more varied accumulation of roles. Warburton together with McLaughlin explored the contributions to communities by older women as informal volunteers. Recognising that women are a key component of building social capital and thus a crucial part of the concept of community as they operate with focus on relationship-building, the authors discuss unpaid work in local communities and neighbourhoods from the role identity theory perspective. By looking at lived experiences, the authors find that women generally have more breadth in regard to role identities, which helps them adapt and maintain these roles. Women tend to have more varied role identities than men. The tendency that men puts emphasis on roles based in primarily employment, women also add in family, community, caring, service, gender, and so on. Moreover, women maintain their roles based in e.g. family and community for longer due to them being more immersed in social spheres, in comparison to men.[58] In this sense, women's status in society helps them gain and maintain a more varied set of role identities that, in accumulation, helps them from a role identity in a voluntary position. Furthermore, theorists with theoretical emphasis on gender divisions have argued that women are socialized to value and invest themselves in primary relationships, while the socialization of men pulls them towards achievement-related activities such as labour.[59] This valuation of relationships then makes them more prosocial, empathic and feeling obliged in fulfilling a duty that is linked to the person's perception of moral.[60] Women then seek out opportunities to be social and help others when they engage in volunteer work. In regard to female participation in volunteer work, Baldock emphasises the need for studying the individual motivations and choices, as women provide the most volunteer service work, while also integrating structural factors. As motive is part

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[58] Warburton, J., & McLaughlin, D. "Doing it from your heart: the role of older women as informal volunteers", *Journal of women & aging*, vol. 18 no. 2, 2006, pp. 55ff.

[59] Gilligan, C. "New maps of development: New visions of maturity", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, vol. 52 no. 2, 1982, p. 199; Gore, S. & Colten, M.E., "Gender, Stress, and Distress: Social Relational Influences." Pp. 139-63 in J. Eckenrode (ed.) *The Social Context of Coping*, New York: Plenum, 1991.

[60] Eisenberg, N., & Fabes, R. A. "Prosocial development" in W. Damon (Ed.), Handbook of child psychology: Volume 3. Social, emotional, and personality development (5th ed., pp. 779-862). New York: Wiley.; Lee, L., Piliavin, J. A., & Call, V. R. A. "Giving time, blood, and money: Differences and similarities", *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 62, 1999, pp. 276ff.; Nock, S. L., Kingston, P. W., & Holian, L. M. "The distribution of obligations" in A. Booth, A. C. Crouter, S. Bianchi, & J. A. Seltzer (Eds.), *Intergenerational caregiving* Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 2008., p. 333ff.

of the mainstream research on unwaged work, the differences in experiences ought to be emphasised as these reveals why and why not women engage in voluntary work.[61]

While altruism has been a consistent principle and raison d'être for volunteers, the studies into female volunteering has also yielded another major motivation as to why women engage in unpaid work. For women, volunteering is often seen as a practical way of getting labour market experience to substitute for the time spent away from the labour market, [62] allowing a more 'profession'-based identity creation to take place within the volunteer role as to be used in later situations. Thompson observed the value of volunteering work by women through terms of self-actualisation (i.e. realisation of one's potential) and empowerment (i.e. process of becoming stronger and confident), and found that while women aimed to help the community, being in control and making a real contribution were additional important motives.[63] Considering the overlooked area of women's community participation as a location were collective identities emerge, Abrahams found that women the secured their identities and communities through their unwaged work. By examining the relationship between community and identity, understanding these as entwined in the social construction of reality Abrahams found that community participation by women allowed them to embrace and negotiate various identities as mothers, elders, homemakers, and professionals. Furthermore, the role identities they utilised in their unpaid work was set on gender, class position (higher, middle, and lower class based on income), ethnicity, age, religious belonging, and social issues that concerned them. While women's location vis-a-vis their attributes e.g. race, generation, age etcetera does not by themselves produce identities, the women secured their identities through their work. By participating in community work, they were able to advance previously acquired identities, and develop a strengthened sense of self. The women participating in unwaged community work then (re)create community identity and the community itself.[64] These findings by Abrahams corroborate the previous findings by other volunteer identity and community identity scholarship, in that volunteer work draw on previous identities in that the volunteer role acts as an accumulation role, where their role identities can be enhanced and utilised in a context of fully willing participation.

In the next section I expand on the leadership and followership within voluntary work.

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[61] Baldock, "Feminist Discourses of Unwaged work: The Case Of Volunteerism", Australian Feminist Studies, vol. 13, no. 27, 1998, pp. 19ff.

[62] Mueller, M. "Economic determinants of volunteer work by women" Signs, vol. 1 no. 2, 1975, pp. 331ff.

[63] Thompson, A., "Women Volunteering: Super-exploitation or Self-actualization?" Working Paper no. 29 (Vassar College) New York, 1993, p. 1.

[64] Abrahams, N., "Negotiating Power, Identity, Family, and Community: Women's Community Participation", Gender & Society, vol. 10 no. 6, 1996, pp. 768ff.

3.3   Volunteers as leaders and followers

While a wealth of research has focused on the role of leadership within the formal business and government organisations, there is less research which has systematically examined leadership within voluntary organisations.[65] Leadership in the volunteer organisation, where there are no clear employment relationship hierarchy between the member and the organisation, could then be argued to matter more in regard to fostering commitment. Followership has become more discussed in regard to volunteering, gaining traction through the argument that volunteers willingly follow and may draw back their support when they lack reasons to continue the work.

In regard to Neighbourhood mothers, we already know that there are some overlapping of work tasks. They share certain leadership with the Project group to develop project itself and arrange activities as well as exercising influence over the target group, and at the same time, they are in a subordinate position to the Project group as these have a final say and influence over the Neighbourhood mothers. Their position is then dual in leadership and followership, informing us of the structural circumstances that guides their view of role identity. As such, it becomes more relevant to ask about relationships, and how they view these. Volunteers do unpaid work based on their motivations and identities and can thus withdraw their service at will. As such, the relationship between leadership and followership becomes vital in sustaining and promoting commitment.

3.3.1   Leadership in voluntary work

People who partake in unpaid work on an idealistic basis, e.g. volunteers, are less receptive to methods of leadership than paid employees[66]and it's not obvious that they respond to leadership styles that are aimed at managing paid workers. Transactional and transformational leadership has received distinctive and substantial empirical attention within organisations, as exemplified by Burns.[67] While transactional leadership refers to the relationship of exchange between leaders and followers, and controls through punishment and rewards, transformational leadership aims to inspire followers to move past their own self-interests to achieve goals. Dwyer et al shows that volunteers are satisfied with their work when leaders are more inspirational, show concern for the individual's development, engage them in decisions, and focus on the meaning of the work. I.e. when the leaders are more transformational, and give the work meaning, other volunteers are more satisfied and

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[65] Boezeman, E.J., Ellemers, N., "Volunteer leadership: The Role of Pride and Respect in Organisational Identification and Leadership Satisfaction", *Leadership*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2014, p. 169.
[66] Ibid., p. 169f.
[67] Burns, J.M., *Leadership*, New York: Harper and Row, 1978.

happier.[68] In a similar vein, Boezeman and Ellemers, focused on the leadership processes and outcomes in regard to volunteerism in a non-profit, and alike to Dwyer et al, found that are attributed leaders within volunteer organisations were regarded to have three central attributes; communication of the effectiveness of the work, supporting volunteers, and encouraging others to express their ideas. Moreover, the leaders were seen as behaving like a prototypical member e.g. behaving according to the original understanding of the position such as behaving selflessly and helpfully (and other contextually contingent attributes) as a volunteer, whereby this evoked pride and organisational identification.[69] Furthermore, the leaders could evoke subjective significance i.e. the meaningfulness one ascribe to the work, and Gardner and associates found that meaning in work is based on organisational factors such as "work itself, high-quality co-worker relations, and the fit individuals have with their work roles".[70] The leadership within voluntary organisations thereby relies on how they mediates the work, relationships and how well the followers feel the fit is.

Leadership within the voluntary organisation furthermore relies on showing a positive outlook on the work, and so displaying negative emotions was discouraged as showed by Silard. simultaneously, the volunteer leaders form interpretations in relation to follower perception.[71] These interpretations may then adhere to specific norms of how to do work most effectively. This is an elaboration of social structure[72] where this is a combination of the positive expression in regard to the organisational work, and the co-produced understandings of work efficiency. How a leader understands the follower and what the follower expects of the leader then impacts the individual's leadership style, or motivation to act in a certain way.

These relational aspects fit into Uhl-Bien's constructionist leadership and followership approach that views leadership and followership as the results of human construction which emerges from connections and interdependencies of organisations and their members. It sees relationships as co-constructed and puts emphasis on a relational perspective of leadership (such as consideration, and behaviour based on high-quality trusting work relationship) with the additional focuses on the members embeddedness in a broader system and community as well as seeing them

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[68] Dwyer, P.C., Bono, J.E., Snyder, M., Nov, O., Berson, Y., "Sources of Volunteer Motivation: Transformational Leadership and Personal Motives Influence Volunteer Outcomes", Non-profit Management & leadership vol. 24, no.2 2013, p 199.

[69] Boezeman, & Ellemers, 2014, p. 170f.

[70] Gardner, W.L., Avolio, B.J., Luthans, F., May, D.R., Walumbwa, F., ""Can you see the real me?" A self-based model of Authentic Leader and Follower Development" Leadership Quarterly, vol. 16, no. 3, 2005, p. 370ff.; May, D. R., Gilson, R. L., & Harter, L. "The psychological conditions of meaningfulness, safety, and availability and the engagement of the human spirit at work", *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, vol. 77, 2004, p. 11ff.

[71] Silard, A., "Emotions for a cause: How the emotion expression of nonprofit leaders produces follower engagement and loyalty." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 47, no. 2, 2018, p. 319ff.

[72] Uhl-Bien, M., "Relational Leadership Theory: Exploring the Social Process of Leadership and Organizing", The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 14 no. 6, 2006, pp. 654ff.

as part of the process.[73] This is in cohesion with van Knippenberg et al's[74] call for a leadership/followership focus on the relational self-construal, in the extended sense of self that is founded on the person's role relationships. Such self-construal "renders mutual benefit and mutual interest more salient and motivates the individual to take the other's interest to heart".[75] Hassan and Silong noted that especially women utilised more of a bottom-up and collaborative perspective in developing the community they also found that this approach had greater success and impact on this work than more typically male top-down approaches.[76] Women's leadership have then been found to put emphasis on relationships and the process of doing things, more so than the accomplishment of getting things done. Sacks saw volunteering women as sharing of leadership and responsibilities which relied primarily on who had the knowledge and/or skills at the needed time.[77] Connolly found similar evidence with the additional result that it was the women with previous experience, education and/or knowledge who had an easier time to embrace themselves as leaders.[78] As such, this helps us entangle how women see their role as leaders through their work behaviour and previous experiences.

Another part of leadership is the self-awareness i.e. the clarity in one's role and self-security, and such self-views includes perceptions of one's skills and abilities in accordance with others in similar positions. It characterizes the relational leadership phenomenon in hierarchical, shared and/or networked forms, and provides a lens for understanding leaders, followers and their relations are elements of social processes that contain perceptions, intentions, and behaviours. Over time some understandings will become dominant. As a way of characterisation, this have two implications: relationships produce mutual influence, and they produce 'knowing' among those in relation, generating inter-subjective meanings and perspectives. It thus explores what goes on in groups and communities that engage together in order to produce collective achievements in social change organisation.[79] This understanding of leadership/followership relies on practices and behaviour, which relates back on the role relationships. Thus, if a Neighbourhood mothers then perceives herself to be a leader and believes that others also perceives this, wishes to be a leader, anticipates that the role sender will embrace her as a leader, connects with the role senders enough to know how to assume the leader role and responds to cues via learned routines.

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[73] Uhl-Bien, 2006, pp. 654ff. Uhl-Bien, M., Riggio, R.E., Lowe, K.B, Carsten, M., "Followership Theory: A Review and Research Agenda" The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 25, 2014, pp. 96-7f.
[74] van Knippenberg, D., van Knippenberg, B., de Cremer, D., and Hogg, M.A., "Leadership, self, and identity: A review and research agenda", *The Leadership Quarterly* vol. 15 no. 6,2004, p. 825ff.
[75] van Knippenberg et al 2004, p. 828.
[76] Hassan, Z., Silong, A.D., "Women Leadership and Community Development", European Journal of Scientific Research, vol. 23, no. 3, 2008, pp. 361ff.
[77] Sacks, K. "Gender and grassroots leadership" in A. Bookman & S. Morgen (Eds.), *Women and the politics of empowerment*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, pp. 77ff.
[78] Connolly, K., "Do Women's Leadership Approaches Support the Development of Social Capital? Relationship Building in a Voluntary Neighbourhood Initiative", Leisure/Loisir, vol. 27 no.3, 2002, pp. 239ff.
[79] Ospina, S., Foldy, E., "Building Bridges from the Margins: The Work of Leadership in Social Change Organizations", Leadership Quarterly, vol. 21, 2010, pp. 293f. (292-307)

3.3.2 Followership in voluntary work

This previously presented theoretical view of voluntary leadership as varied and relationship-based then requires us to delve deeper into the understanding of followership. Followership research posits that the followers vary in the way they define and enact this role, as much of prior research has previously perceived the follower as a passive participant while attention has been placed on leaders. Carsten et al demonstrates that by looking at followership role enactments and leadership outcomes, one can see that active engagement can influence leader perception regarding followers' support, contribution to role attainment and leader motivation.[80] Thus the authors show that followers define their roles in relation to their leaders and are defined to be passive, active, and proactive partners to leaders than passive actors to attain mutual goals. Uhl-Bien et al digs deeper into this behaviour by pointing out that followership involves initiative-taking as well as proactive behaviour.[81]

Understanding followership is a vital part of voluntary work as the followers work on a primarily motivational basis. Varela discussed the followership and found that the socially constructed understanding volunteers have of themselves influence their role as followers.[82] Varela, in cohesion with Carsten et al, sees followership and leadership as complementary in nature, and they argue that followers' self-perception is affected by the view on followership within an organisation, with additional importance placed on how the leaders perceive the followership.[83] Kellerman focus on interpersonal relationships, and how followers create change in their organisations[84] but Kelley presents the most utilised understanding of effective followers as: self-motivated, independent problem-solvers, and committed to the group and organization.[85] In line with Kellerman and Kelley, Varela sees followers as playing a necessary role in organisations in co-constructing the organisational work as they participate and labour without pay and can leave the work if they please. In Varela's understanding, volunteers are unique followers as they provide service without compensation and seek opportunities to do this, and the effective followers are attributed to be self-managing, committed, honest, competent, and focused. Motivations play their part here too, as this "is used to allow new learning experiences to occur and to utilize skills, knowledge, abilities that might otherwise go unutilized".[86]

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[80] Carsten, M.K., Uhl-Bien, M., Huang, L., "Leader Perceptions and Motivation as Outcomes of Followership Role Orientation and Behaviour", *Leadership*, vol. 14 no. 6, 2017, p. 731.

[81] Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, p. 95ff.

[82] Varela, L.L., "Volunteer Followership in Non-profit Organisations", Academic Research international, vol. 4 no. 5, 2013, pp. 267-276.

[83] Carsten et al, 2017, p. 731ff.; Howell, J.P. & Mendez M. "Three perspectives on followership." *The art of followership: How great followers create great leaders and organizations*. 2008 no. 146, pp. 25ff.

[84] Kellerman, B. *Followership: How followers are creating change and changing leaders*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business Press, 2008, p.

[85] Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, pp. 96-7f. Kelley, R. E. "In praise of followers", *Harvard Business Review*, Vol. 66 no. 6, 1988, pp. 142ff.

[86] Varela, 2013, p. 270.

In cohesion with previous theorizing on leadership, the self-clarity becomes integral here too, i.e. knowing oneself to be in a certain position vis-à-vis another person or group, then this clarity makes one more self-secure in their role and shapes the particularity in relationships (i.e. how personal a relationship is viewed) and generalisability in relationships (i.e. how social or collective the relationship is viewed) with others. Additionally, the follower identifies with the leader in order to this person's values, motives, identity and/or goals, inducing clarity in the leadership.[87] Furthermore, the needs of followers to achieve autonomy and competence can then be mitigated by the leaders as the latter help the former in discovering their talents, strengths, and empowering them to do tasks. This is one part of the follower engagement into the work, with the other part is that the leadership is more prototypical.[88] Self-clarity is then also impacted by how much the leader's values and motives is in congruence with the followers. The more we can find out how the Neighbourhood mothers' perceived leaders, the more we can understand where project values and motives impact them. Likewise, central behaviour of followership has been established to be the allowance of influence from leaders, resistance and deference to others, and seeking feedback for the work, upward influence and voicing concerns[89] as well as active engagement as previously discussed.

3.4   Application of the framework

Based on the theoretical framework as previously presented, this part will present a more reduced framework to interpret the Neighbourhood mothers' understanding of their roles with a basis in previous and current experiences, and how they understand their role as leaders and followers within the organisation of work.

By first drawing on the role identity theory in regard to voluntary work I form a foundation that will help me explore the leadership and followership behaviour the Neighbourhood mothers exhibit. This foundation then includes their own contextual motivations for engaging in the project, thereby the reasons for wanting to become a Neighbourhood mothers and the reasons to continue as one. Moreover, it includes the emphasis of previous roles and thus their experiences of these, and how the women feel their identity as Neighbourhood mothers are impacted by their previously acquired roles. Their structural position in relation to work tasks but more consideration is put into the role relationships as I have previously acquired information about their work position through documentation and so I have consideration information about their work tasks. Meaning-making of relationships are therefore more significant to ask the Neighbourhood mothers for this thesis as the focus is on the leadership and followership constructions within the work.

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[87] Gardner et al, 2005, p. 34ff.
[88] Ibid, p. 35.
[89] Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, p. 95ff.

In the applications of leadership and followership, Uhl-Bien et al has contributed with the overall constructivist understanding of leadership/followership, and I draw on this article to formulate variables consisting of characteristics and behaviours attached to the role of leaders and followers.[90] Using previous literature as a basis for a framework is a common strategy for addressing openings in existing research. While one can critique this method for the lack of linkages to a grand theory,[91] it is the more relevant approach to fulfil the purposes of this thesis.

The second and third part is a framework for understanding the Neighbourhood mother's leadership from a constructionist perspective but interplaying with the first part based on volunteer role identity theory. I have summarised the theoretical framework below (Table 1) as to help order organise the understanding of the constructs and variables involved in differentiating between the roles of leaders and followers. The leadership and followership parts are then connected to the volunteer identity part. Some overlapping thus happens particularity in the questions about being positive, emphatic, and showing concern between the volunteer role identity and leadership. the overlapping between the volunteer role identity and followership happens primarily in regard to the motivational aspects and agreement of the values of the organisation. Between leadership and followership, the overlapping is the mutual influence they bear on the other, and the support they exchange or don't exchange.

I thereby form a summarised theoretical framework to inform the interview questions that will be directed at the Neighbourhood mothers. the first part on volunteer role identity is significant in informing the latter parts as views on oneself inform one's view as a leader and follower within different situations and contexts. Thereby, the theoretical framework consists of existing concepts and understandings that will help us pose questions about experience, behaviour and self-concept of Neighbourhood mothers. *Table 1: Framework to understand volunteers as leaders and followers* has then helped form the interview questions (see: Appendix 3 & 4).

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[90] Uhl-Bien, M., Riggio, R.E., Lowe, K.B, Carsten, M., "Followership Theory: A Review and Research Agenda" The Leadership Quarterly, vol. 25, 2014, pp. 96-7.
[91] Bryman, A., *Social Research Methods*, 5th ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 19-20.

1. Volunteer identity
• Voluntary identity is formed by the individual's reasons (motivation) (Finkelstein et al 2005) as well as the multiple roles that the individual has amassed through their life (Warburton and McLaughlin) • The multiple roles are then emphasised through role enhancement, where women use both personal and professional roles (multiple roles) (Warburton and McLaughlin) • General characteristics of volunteers are: Pro-sociality, optimism, empathy, helpfulness, confidence, shares the values of the organisation (Finkelstein et al 2005; Penner and associates) • Within the volunteer role identity, the position in the structure affects the self-viewed role identity (context matters) (Sluss et al 2011, Stryker 1980 • Role relationships between individuals of the organisation gives meaning-making to the position, such as both an individual understanding of one self vis-a-vis another and a collective identity (particular relationship) (Sluss et al 2011, Stryker 1980)
2. Volunteer leadership

• Leadership identity entails the self-understanding of oneself as a leader (Leader role identity self-clarity) (Stryker 1980, Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Sluss et al 2011)
• Leaders work to empower the followers who depend on them (Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Hassan & Silong 2008) and as such they:
   o Consult with followers (Penner et al, 1998, 2005, Uhl-Bien et al 2014) and engage them in decision-making (Dwyer et al 2013)
   o Show concern (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)
   o Positive outlook/inspirational (Silard 2018; Dwyer et al 2013)
   o Development and support of followers (Dwyer et al 2013, Gardner et al 2005)
   o Prototypical behaviour: Self-less and helpful (and other contextual behaviour) (Boezeman & Ellemers 2014
   o Relationship-building (Gilligan 1993)
   o Meaning making in the work (Boezeman & Ellemers 2014. Dwyer et al 2013)
   o Share power (Uhl Bien et al 2014, Connolly 2002)
• Leaders feel like they have the support of the followers (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)

3. Volunteer followership

• Followership identity entails the self-understanding of oneself as a follower (follower role identity self-clarity) (Stryker 1980, Uhl-bien et al, 2014, Sluss et al)
• Motivation to participate in the particular organisation and mission consciousness (agreement with the vision and goals of the organisation (Dwyer et al, Uhl-Bien et al 2014)
• With the followership role open to interpretation the construction of the role there are various orientations that exist (e.g. passive, resistant, proactive, non-following) (Uhl-bien 2014)
• Role orientation
   o Passive behaviour: Obedience (allow influence from leaders) (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)
   o Active behaviour: Self-managing (Varela 2013)
   o Proactive behaviour: Initiative-taking (Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Carsten et al 2017), resistance/deferring to others (Uhl-Bien et al 2014), voice and influence on leaders – they are able to be honest with, advising and dissenting towards leaders (Varela 2013), Feedback seeking (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)
• Leadership and context influence the role construction of a follower. The role orientation of followers may advance or detract the leadership process if the leadership style and follower role orientation does not fit (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)

Table 1: Framework to understand volunteers as leaders and followers

4   Methods

In this chapter, I present the methodological approach that was used to answer the research question. At first, the constructivist philosophical worldview of the thesis will be presented, along with the qualitative research strategy. After, the methods of data gathering, and analysis will be described in depth as well as some ethical and positional considerations.

4.1   Philosophical worldview

In order to understand how reality and knowledge is perceived within this thesis, the ontological and epistemological stances will be discussed briefly. For the methodological perception, a constructivist ontological position is adopted, which entails the belief that the phenomenon that is being researched is constructed and continuously recreated by the subjects.[92] While the project has one logic of integration, aiming to benefit the target group, this thesis focus on how the volunteer work is understood by the role occupants i.e. the Neighbourhood mothers. As such, the philosophy of knowledge is based on an interpretivist epistemological stance, where understanding the complexity of human experience is in focus.[93] These stances is appropriate for the argument of the thesis, as the purpose is to understand human experience.

4.2   Research strategy

When the purpose of a study is to understand or explore a phenomenon through analysing a Neighbourhood mother participant's interpretation of it, qualitative research strategies are often used.[94] As such, qualitative research strategies are appropriate for this thesis. While a quantitative research agenda could also be utilized, this would attempt to explain e.g. the leadership styles in relation to the follower's

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[92] Bryman, 2016, p. 29-30.
[93] Ibid. p. 26.
[94] Ibid., p. 375. Stewart-Whiters et al. Qualitative research. 2014 p. 60.

commitment. Instead, as this thesis focus on the understandings of the Neighbourhood mother's role, the quantitative research methodologies cannot understand or identify the human experience of a role. As both Abrahams [95] and Connolly[96] argue, a qualitative research strategy is relevant when aiming for understanding of Neighbourhood mothers' understanding of their roles. Furthermore, there is considerable research on the roles of volunteers in regard to motivations and pro-social behaviour, but less so on the human experience of volunteer leadership and followership. Therefore, a qualitative approach may be able to contribute with new knowledge on how leadership and followership functions within urban social policy.

Moreover, a case study methodology has been chosen at it is an usual approach utilized by those conducting work in "social science… as well as those in practice-oriented fields",[97] and according to Yin has a definition consisting of two parts: its an empirical study that studies a phenomena in a real life situation, especially where the delineations between "phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident"[98] and a part that involves several variables of interest, including multiple sources of data, and it benefits from former theoretical propositions.

This is an in-depth inquiry and so followed a single case study design based on advantages of qualitative research as it allows us to gain understanding[99] as well as observing deeper contextual data. This methodological approach can thus be understood as an intensive research design that focuses on one case, instead of several.[100] In this sense, it is intensive in both being non-comparative with other cases but also as it utilizes qualitative approaches. As Neighbourhood mothers 2.0 is rather unique in Swedish context, the use of a single case study is deemed necessary as the other similar projects are more recent start-ups, and because single case studies allow for the observation of deeper contextual data.

4.2.1 Case of Neighbourhood mothers

This thesis will analyse the roles of Neighbourhood mothers and how they view their roles within the project Neighbourhood mothers 2.0. This project was chosen as it was the first of its kind in the Swedish context, and therefore have been operating for a comparatively long time. Newer projects in several other municipalities exist but has more recently been started, and so they have yet to become as established as the one in Helsingborg. As the project has been active since 2013 (albeit in a smaller form until 2015), the Neighbourhood mother obligations within the

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[95] Abrahams, 1996, p. 769f.
[96] Connolly, 2002, p. 246.
[97] Yin, R., *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 4th ed., Thousand Oaks, CA:Sage, 2009, p. xiii.
[98] Ibid. p.13
[99] Vromen, A., "Debating Methods: Rediscovering Qualitative Approaches" in Marsh, D., Stoker G., (ed.) Theory and Methods in Political Science, 3rd ed., Basingstroke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, p. 255
[100] Teorell, J., & Svensson, T. *Att fråga och att svara: samhällsvetenskaplig metod*. Liber. 2007, p. 80.

project have become more set and allows for insights into the role of the Neighbourhood mothers. As such we can join the focus of female immigrant volunteering with the foci on leadership and followership. The Neighbourhood mother is an auxiliary position to the organisation but has a central purpose in the urban areas, making it vital for urban social policy.

4.2.2 Limitations of a single case study

While a case study has the previously mentioned benefits, it is also associated with the drawback of lacking generalizability. Due to the fact that it is only one case being studied, there is little applicability for the larger formation of cases. A single case study is additionally considered lacking in the ability to consider causality as this requires comparisons of cases. There is then a trade-off between gaining depth and gaining causality in the usage of single case study approaches.[101]

While the limitational issues of single case studies have been noted, I do not consider it to be of vital importance to the research outcomes for this thesis. As the aim of the thesis is to understand human experience, and to an extent how the understanding of roles transfer, by considering interviewees answers, there are some causality. Nonetheless, causality is generally connected to the aim of quantitative studies that has more of a positivist endeavour, and research that aims to produce generalizable results.[102] Qualitative studies rarely has the goal of producing generalisable conclusions, and so, this criticism is more or less irrelevant for qualitative single case studies, as for this thesis, as it aims to provide in-depth understanding of a phenomena.

Finally, while the approach of single case study indicates studying a single case, not one phenomenon, it allows for the perception of a multitude of patterns, relationships and interpretations within the case to emerge.[103] There by it allows for in-case comparison.

4.3   Interviews

To gather the data for this thesis, primarily interviews where used, with a (secondary utilization) of ethnographic interviewing as preparation. Case studies often uses information from multiple sources, and within qualitative studies semi-structured

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[101] Bhattacherjee, A., *Social Science Research: Principles, methods and Practices,* Textbook collection, book 3. 2012, p. 93, Esaiasson, P., Gilljam, M., Oscarsson, H., & Wängnerud, L., (eds.) *Metodpraktikan: Konsten att studera samhälle, individ och marknad,* 4th ed, Stockholm: Norstedts juridik, 2012, p. 109.
[102] Vromen 2010, p. 255-6
[103] Ibid., p. 255.6

interviews as well as ethnographic interviewing are common data gathering methods.[104] The main advantages of interviews are that they are useful in obtaining detailed information about personal perceptions, opinions and feelings, allowing for more detailed questions to be asked. As such, they are useful when attempting to gain in-depth insight into subjective understanding and perceptions[105] of roles and thereby suitable for this study which was why the technique was chosen. In this chapter the types of interviews used are presented; ethnographic and semi-structured interviewing. Following is the presentation of the sampling of interviewees and issues, as well as the thematic analysis.

4.3.1 Preparatory ethnographic interviewing

As the integration policy form is a novelty, and less is known about it in a Swedish context, there was a need to get more in-depth knowledge than the official research reports could offer. As a preliminary step to do this, I participated in a handful of different meetings with the steering group, with the Project group and at the multi-cafes. The focus of participant-observation fieldwork[106] is to have 'friendly conversations' with a conversational, informal style of interviewing. The analysis then relied on data that is notes, immersions, development of rapport and, of course, casual interviewing. As it functions better as input rather than a stand-alone data gathering method, I'd use it as complement, especially in shaping specific questions in regard to the Neighbourhood mothers work. Thereby I used this to gather more data into the case before posing questions towards the Neighbourhood mothers.

The more observational method relies on the interaction between individuals, namely groups, as in opposition to the main data gathering methods, namely semi-structured interviews presented in the next part, and helped in understanding how people talk of their roles as opposed to how they act out their role.[107]

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

Before actually gathering data, I had to conduct relevant background research (as previously mentioned), asking questions to clarify practical issues, consider research ethical issues[108] and reach an agreement with the interviewees in regard to e.g. anonymity and whether it's okay to audio record.[109] Preparations for asking the

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[104] Cresswell, J.W., *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, 3rd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2013, p 97.
[105] Roulston, 2013, p. 26.
[106] Suvarierol, S., "Everyday cosmopolitanism in the European Commission", Journal of European Public Policy, vol. 18 no. 2, 2011, p. 185.
[107] Roulston, 2013, p. 19.
[108] Ibid. p. 97f.
[109] Harvey, W. S. "Strategies for conducting elite interviews", Qualitative research, vol. 11 no. 4, 2011, p. 433f.

questions entails studying up on the working method within and form of the project beforehand to know the different aspects and people talked about. As Charles Briggs put it one needs to "learn how to ask"[110] before conducting interviews.

To answer the research questions, and to fulfil the thesis purpose, the best way forward is interviewing. As it is such a limited project, the most effective way of gathering data is to approach the individuals who are active in it. Interviewing is part of our daily life,[111] but in research one must define the characteristics and assumptions of this data generating method.

The type of qualitative approach I have elected is of the interpretative kind, and this type is concerned with understanding social phenomena from the perspectives of the individuals involved. In this understanding the knowledge takes the shape of explanations of how these people interpret and make sense of their daily life and interactions.[112] More specifically I am drawing on phenomenological interviewing where detailed and in-depth descriptions of the human experience is the focus. To reach this information, the phenomenological approach utilizes open questions to gauge perceptions, understandings, and feelings. The phenomenological interview approach usually only has one or two guiding questions, but for the purpose of this study there is more logic to using semi-structured interviews, with a few more guiding questions, as to allow for the researcher to have a little more control over the topics and aspects discussed.[113]

This interview type is combined with a constructivist conception of the interview, where the interviewer plays an active role in the creation of data, and the data is generated to provide detailed knowledge and understanding concerning the interview subject's "beliefs, perceptions, experiences and opinions". As the interviewer is an active participant, the data is co-constructed by the two parts. As the role identity theory settles on a more constructivist basis[114] wherein the understanding of roles relies mainly on relationships, it's more fitting for this perception of knowledge production in regard to data.

The set of open-ended questions were used to elicit the opinions and views covered topics which included descriptions of roles and relationships with respect to the work done, relationships with respect to the Project group, meanings and understandings of "leadership" in the context of the project multi-cafes and contingency factors associated with different leadership styles within the project. This allows for the individual's own account and the variation of leadership situations. This gives sensitivity to the milieu[115] where leadership and followership is happening.

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[110] Roulston, 2013, p. 105f.
[111] Edwards R.; Holland, J. *What is qualitative interviewing?*. Bloomsbury, New York, 2013, p. 1.
[112] Ibid., p. 16.
[113] Roulston, 2013, p.20.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Bryman, A., Bresnen, M., Beardsworth, A., Keil, T., "Qualitative Research and the Study of Leadership", Human Relations vol. 41 no. 1, 1988, pp. 13-30.

4.3.3 Sampling of interviewees and issues

After having participated in some meetings and multi-cafés I had met around two dozen Neighbourhood mothers. As there were many new Neighbourhood mothers, and I wanted deeper insight into the work methods of the Neighbourhood mothers it was necessary to also talk to women with more experience. Thereby I contacted the project leader and sent her a request for contacting Neighbourhood mothers that might be interested in being interviewed about their role. She suggested that she contact the women and seeing as she had a better awareness of who could be able and willing, I found that more effective. Naturally, this comes with certain issues. As she chose whom to call there might be a risk, she opted for individuals that were more positive towards the project and could give an unevenly beneficial picture. While this is an issue, I regard it as minor, due to the nature of the voluntary work. Those who opt to stay and continue to volunteer are already assumed to have a optimistic view of the organisation and the job. Those who have left the project have then either lost motivation or prioritised other things.

There were 9 interview participants in total, and as you see below in Table 2 they were all given pseudonyms for anonymity. Furthermore, third column shows the time they entered the project and the last column show the year the got the Neighbourhood mother certification.

Name (Pseudo-nym)	Age range:	Active in the project since:	A Neighbourhood mother since:
Fatima	30-35	2016	2017
Hayat	45-50	2017	2018
Shamina	45-50	2016	2018
Karima	50-55	2017	2017
Jamila	45-50	2013	2014
Lana	45-50	2013	2014
Hanifa	35-40	2017	2018
Tarana	40-45	2016	2016
Dalia	50-55	2019	2019

Table 2: Interview participants

4.3.4 Interview guide

With the role identity theory as a conceptual foundation where focus lies on behaviour and concept of self through relationship, it informs the interview guide to put emphasis on behaviour and expectations on the role and attached relationships such as with the Project group and the target group. By beginning with asking questions

about the previous experience we can establish how they perceive their previous roles impact the new role of a Neighbourhood mother. The role of Neighbourhood mother is essentially a volunteer role, and so asking questions about the motivations for the participation we can explore the processes as to why the decided to enter the role. In Table 3 below we can see an example of questions that were asked and the theoretical assumption they originated in.

Theoretical framework	Interview questions
• Voluntary identity is formed by the individual's reasons (motivation) (Finkelstein et al 2005) as well as the multiple roles that the individual has amassed through their life (Warburton and McLaughlin 2006)	• Can you tell me why you wanted to become a Neighbourhood Mother? • Can you tell me about yourself, e.g. what you've previously studied and/or worked with? Do you have a family? Is there anything else you have done [previously]?

Table 3: Example of Appendix 4 1. Volunteer identity

Motivations is vital to the volunteer identity contextualisation, and this is what the first questions emphasises. The second question puts focus on previous roles which lets us gain insight into their experience and accumulated roles and focusing on contextualised attributes of a typical Neighbourhood mother.

Both leadership and followership emphasise the self-clarity of the role and so below in Table 4 is the question directed at the self-perception of leadership.

Theoretical framework	Interview questions
• Leadership identity entails the self-understanding of oneself as a leader (Leader role identity self-clarity) (Stryker 1980, Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Sluss et al 2011)	• As a NM, do you think you're a leader? (*self-clarity*) Why?/why not?: Can you give examples?

Table 4: Example of Appendix 4 2. Volunteer leadership

There is a self-clarity question directed at followership as well but in the example below shows some questions directed at understanding behaviour related to followership in the Neighbourhood mother role. Alike to followership there are also questions on leadership behaviour and so here is presented some of each.

Theoretical framework	Interview questions

• Role orientation
   o Proactive behaviour:
     - resistance/deferring to others (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)
     - voice and influence on leaders – they are able to be honest with, advising and dissenting towards leaders (Varela 2013),
	- Do you feel like you can influence the (various) meetings? Do you get to share your thoughts and ideas even if someone doesn't agree?
	- Do you bring ideas and interests from the target group to the workshops? Do you want to be more responsible in developing multi-cafes and other activities? (or other aspects of the project not mentioned?)

Table 5: Example of Appendix 4: 3. Volunteer followership

4.4 Thematic analysis

To analyse the data, I have chosen thematic analysis for the processing of the gathered data. The purpose of this thesis was to explore the Neighbourhood mothers' understanding of their roles within their roles, and this was done by finding reoccurring themes within the data. As such, thematic analysis is "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data."[116] It aids in searching and identifying common threads in interviews as well as seeing the diverging concepts and understandings.

The first step is to compile the data, and in the case of this essay this meant transcribing the data from interviews. This allows for the continuous reading, and rereading of the material, to both become familiar but also to develop codes. Transcribing the data, yourself makes it possible for the researcher to become intimately familiar with the data as well as providing a sense of entirety of it, which in turn gives opportunity to greater understanding of phrasing or the meaning of a certain term within the given context. Having organized and given consistency to the data, the next step is to discover the components.

After the compilation of the data, it needs to be disassembled. This involves taking the data apart and creating meaningful groups. This is done through coding. Coding within qualitative research means "the process by which raw data are gradually converted into usable data through the identification of themes, concepts, or ideas that have some connection with each other."[117] The analysis would thus be commenced by reading the transcriptions and formulate pre-codes by circling words, notating and labelling in the margin. This is rudimentary codification that helps the continuous manual codification of other transcripts while also checking for emerging concepts. By doing this iterative and recursive process, one can amass a list of codes that can be adjusted and revised as necessary. This data reduction helps the researcher to think and rethink the relevancy in codes and their meaning. Following this is a conceptualisation process of generating of abstract categories that help develop ideas researchers have about their data also known as data complication. By reading and revisiting data, codes and categories one can try to come up with different ways of thinking about it.[118] This is done to expand on the data to create new questions and interpretations, allowing for new context by reconceptualization. The transcripts can even help out in the codification process as one person's transcript can help make sense of another's, inducing a recoding process. When this process is done, the method moves on to finding themes, and consider what works and what does not, and how codes combine to form themes. Wolcott

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[116] Braun V, Clarke V. "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative research in psychology*, vol. 3 no.2, 2006, p. 79.

[117] Austin, Z., Sutton, J., "Qualitative research: getting started", *The Canadian Journal of Hospital Pharmacy*, vol. 67 no. 6, 2014, pp. 436ff.

[118] Roulston, 2013, p. 150ff.

described three dimensions that are prominent in report to different degrees; description, analysis and interpretation. I draw on these three as ways of presenting data from the interviews and fieldwork. As in Wolcott's view I focus on identifying the important features and make a systematic description of interrelationships among these. In Wolcott's view the analysis is used to inform of why things work while the part of interpretation functions as a transcendence of factual data, and search for meaning.[119]

This approach then uses an inductive design as the codes are initially done freely, without any set attempt to fit them into the theoretical framework, as the analysis focus on finding ant relevant information that is related to the thesis topic. It needs to be noted, that as the interview guide was informed by the theoretical framework, it is to be expected that the themes found would correspond to existing theory. after the initial coding, the findings are analysed in relation to the theoretical framework, which furthermore indicate a deductive design.

The benefits of thematic analysis are that it is a flexible method, able to yield rich outcomes. The drawbacks are also the flexibility, as this flexibility may lead to inconsistencies and lack of coherence, along with the problem of being be time-consuming, but this can be mitigated by demarcation.

4.5   Limitations of interviews, ethics, and positionality

In this subchapter the limitations of semi-structured interviews are discussed, which are; validity concerns relating to biases, and reliability in regard to data-gathering and analysis. I discuss and address these issues in the first part. The second part contains ethical view on interviewing and considerations that were made regarding the interviewees, as well as the researcher positionality toward the project.

Its usefulness in gaining in-depth information makes it especially suitable but has some ethical implications. It's important to explain and inform the purpose of the interview and its subsequent usage to the interviewee clearly, along with informing the interviewees of their right to both confidentiality and to withdraw or opt out of answering questions. This will be further explicated in chapter 4.3.6. Ethical considerations and researcher positionality.

4.5.1 Limitations of semi-structured interviews and addressing the limitations

While interviews are deemed appropriate in answering the research question, the usage of interviews are connected to potential biases that could affect the validity

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[119] Roulston, 2013, p. 154.

and reliability of the study. Validity concerns the measurement of the study, i.e. if the study measures what it claims to measure, and reliability concerns the consistency in data-gathering and in analysis through the study.[120] By that, these deal with the relationship between theory and operationalisation.[121] Biases that influence the validity and reliability can be seen throughout the process of interviewing, as this includes the interviewer, interviewee, questions, sample and analysis bias. The interviewer may introduce bias by such things as facial expressions and body language, or even through characteristics such as age and gender. Interviewee bias is the issue of them providing untruthful accounts for self-serving reasons, and question bias suggest that results are due to the framing of questions, and how they are asked. Sample bias adheres to the interviewee representativeness, and analysis bias involves the concern how data is collected and analysed.[122]

These issues have been difficult to completely eradicate, but I have aimed for reducing them by introducing awareness, transparency, and reflectivity throughout the research design decisions. Practical measures to reduce the biases have been taken by asking open question aimed to be as objective as possible, and by comparing accounts in order to control for eventual interviewee bias. Furthermore, by analysing data using a beforehand chosen method, one additionally reduces ambiguity in the data interpretation.

Nonetheless, the Neighbourhood mothers are immigrant women and due to this, there are some considerations to be taken when interviewing them. As I do not speak any of their native languages, and they might not always fully manage the Swedish language, I have to be mindful of the words I utilize in the questions, as well as being flexible in explaining them. Being mindful of the interviewee,[123] I thus need to fit my questions about their roles so that they are suitable for the interviewee as well as being able to explain terms and words.

4.5.2 Ethical considerations and researcher positionality

As it is a small project with a smaller amount of people engaging in it, the interviews will have to be of a qualitative kind, which is further supported by the fact that the Neighbourhood mothers have varied Swedish language skills, and so I have decided against utilizing survey methods. According to the project Neighbourhood mothers 2.0's accompanying researcher, surveys has had a history of very limited success within the project due to the limitations of language. Hence, qualitative interviewing allows for getting in-depth information from the comparatively small pool of available interviewees.

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[120] Bhattacherjee 2012, p.56.
[121] Esaiasson et al, 2012 p. 60.
[122] Elman, C., Kapiszewski, D., & Kirilova, D. "Learning through research: Using data to train undergraduates in qualitative methods." *ps: political science & politics*, vol. *48* no. 1, 2015, p. 196.
[123] Roulston, 2013, p. 13.

When conducting interviews, it becomes critical to reflect on the ethical considerations of observing and presenting personal opinions and through might be of sensitive nature, and no necessarily something the interviewee wants to be made public. Eventual presentations of the data may have repercussions on both a professional and personal level for the study participants, and must therefore be respected.[124] This is a fundamental issue in interviewing and has been addressed by offering the interviewees anonymity and by being clear towards interviewees in regard to the research topic and how and as well as why the gathered data would be used. All the Neighbourhood mothers interview participants are legally adults and was informed of their rights to withdraw at any moment form the research, their right not to answer and that the answers wouldn't affect their job as Neighbourhood mothers. As the total number of interviewees are fairly limited the offered anonymity is also somewhat limited, although this has been addressed by presenting interviewees with this issue and by giving the interviewee a different denomination.

During the research, I reflected upon my position as well as matters concerning language, origin, and educational background. Consideration of clothing was made, as not to accentuate any power dimensions between me and the interviewees. Still the interviewees perception of me may have constructed a language power dimension, especially so that I am Swedish, and they are newcomers to this country. To remedy this, I attempted to be open for any questions they had, as to increase understanding between us and make them more comfortable.[125]

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[124] Roulston, 2013, p. 87-9.
[125] Ibid. p. 42.

5 Analysis

The findings from the field research conducted in Helsingborg will be presented and analysed in this chapter. The purpose of this research is to explore the women's experience as Neighbourhood mothers and thereby understanding from their perspective how a leader and follower identity becomes prominent in their roles.

To recapitulate the study, it aims to answer the question: How do the Neighbourhood mothers understand their role as leaders and followers within the project *Stadsdelsmammor 2.0*, and how does their previous experience and within-project learned knowledge contribute to these understandings? with the theoretical framework consisting of volunteer role identity theory and a co-constructing and negotiating understanding of leadership and followership. This framework has informed the interview guide, and the interviewees answers are analysed in this chapter. The type of analysis used here is thematic analysis and it examines patterns of meaning within the data i.e. themes in order to answer the question.

At first the Neighbourhood mother's voluntary identity will be analysed based on their understandings of motivations, previous work, and as to put their volunteer role into their context. Second, the theme of collective identity that helps them understand themselves as leaders are analysed, and third, the theme of followership induced by particular relationships with the Project group are discussed.

5.1 The volunteer role of Neighbourhood mothers

From the interviews with the Neighbourhood mothers it was understood that the primary behavioural attribute of the voluntary identity was helpfulness. A Neighbourhood mother needed to be helpful towards people, as to be able to do her job and fulfil the goals of the project. While this was the foremost necessary capacity for a typical Neighbourhood mother to do her job, the understanding contained a range of different things. The Neighbourhood mother's role was foremost interpreted to be helpful in a way that enabled people to help themselves, as Hayat expressed "I want to help them and teach them to do things[themselves], not only helping them each time". Aiding people in becoming self-sufficient was a central task that was important for Neighbourhoods mothers, giving contextual nuance to the theoretical understanding of volunteer prototypicality,[126] i.e. the strengthening

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[126] Boezeman & Ellemers, 2014, p. 170ff.

of the individual to learn to do things for themselves. This meant that the Neighbourhood mothers were a person the target group could rely on for what is better described as empowerment, understood as enabling and strengthening individuals, rather than a service that helped them with the same thing over and over. Hanifa expanded on this topic by saying:

> (…) they need someone to show them how to live in a new country. The… everybody know it's different when you live here or in your home country. But it's really important to know the difference. The project can help with that.

They saw their role as important for the target group's greater understanding and knowledge of the Swedish society. This perception was an overall red thread through the interviews, as in correlation with the goals of the project.[127] The altruistic motivation of wanting to help people integrate was clear in all the interviews, with the interviewees emphasising the necessity of becoming part of the society as an migrated individual in host society. This is in cohesion with previous studies[128] into the volunteering role and is thereby corroborated by this thesis also. Warburton and McLaughlin told us that women's voluntary work was an opportunity to gain roles that had social significance that Abrahams[129] saw to be useful in remedying issues that the women considered to be important to their identities. Most interviewees suggested that the multi-café and neighbourhood activities were something that they quite enjoyed doing, and which gave them a great deal of satisfaction as they could help people alike to them.

> (…) it's [your] choice to help people (…) right now there's nothing I dislike [about the work] because it is enjoyable, and I feel glad when I help someone in need.[130]

The positive feelings were related to the element of choice. Being a Neighbourhood mothers and participating were activities that they chose to do, as exemplified in following two comments:

> If we can't come, we write that we can't [because] of work or so. It's voluntary – no one is forced.[131]

> I like to work as a volunteer (…) I have knowledge, I have information, I want to share it with women who need help.[132]

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[127] Swedish Migration Agency, "Co-financing agreement: Agreement on co-financing from the Asylum, migration and integration fund regarding the project 'Stadsdelsmammor 2.0' between the municipality of Helsingborg and the Swedish Migration Service, function of the funds", Norrköping/Helsingborg, June 2016, p. 4ff.
[128] Warburton & McLaughlin, 2006, p. 56f.
[129] Abrahams, 1996, p. 769f.
[130] Karima
[131] Hanifa
[132] Dalia

Comments like those above demonstrate a high level of personal agency that many of the Neighbourhood mothers interviewed associated with the volunteer activities, as in Lana's comment below:

> (…) they haven't promised to pay us a salary or something, we just come (…) so many women wants to [be] Neighbourhood mothers because they think they get jobs, but that is wrong – it's not like that. [This work] (…) comes from the heart, we help everyone (…)[133]

The personal choice to assume the role of Neighbourhood mother show an intentional action to the person's goals of helping others and acts accordingly. This can clearly be seen in the comment above, and the interviewees tended to underscore the element of free choice in participating and the positive effect it had on them. the rewards of the role is then tied to the strengthening of identity, when the person continuously assume the role, making it more prominent.

As part of this altruistic understanding the women also understood their role as a legitimising factor, were they could help more individuals who might not have been reached by the more common service methods by the Labour Market Administration. By adopting the role, the women expressed the understanding that the role position mattered to others, giving them an official status that helped them reach and work with people they thought needed help. Dalia pressed especially on this subject by saying:

> I have the ability to help them (…) and I know some women who came to Sweden from the male world, where women are [number] two, and never number one, and here some just sit at home. They can't go into society. I want to help them, and Neighbourhood mothers is one way.

This quote implies that the position of Neighbourhood mothers was viewed not only as helpful in a more rudimentary way of aiding individuals with everyday difficulties, but also helpful for the woman in the Neighbourhood mother position in realising her desire in taking initiative over her own life while also helping less strengthened or restricted individuals to enter the Swedish society. Being a Neighbourhood mothers as a part of the Labour Market Administration were then an enabling role for the women to bridge eventual cultural divides and invite women into a secure sphere where they could learn more. As such, the altruistic motives were underbuilt by the official position of the role. The interviewees voice the opinion that Neighbourhood mothers' ought to have a more holistic perspective encompassing the "whole family" (Tarana) rather than just women or adults as to not induce "chaos within the family" (Hayat) when women become more socially engaged in the society than their husbands. Introducing a family-benefiting aspect into the Neighbourhood mother role then presented an obligation of taking care of more people as to mitigate conflict. this obligation was both viewed as negative and positive, as they saw issues with engaging men while also seeing the positive benefits of lifting

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[133] Lana

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the whole target group. In regard to children near all Neighbourhood mother interviewees saw their family roles as extremely meaningful, both within their own families but also with younger individuals unrelated to them.

The altruistic motivation was furthermore related to the findings that there were in correlation to Thompson's findings, namely that women engaged in voluntary work in order to help and realise themselves. Fatima expressed this 'self-help' motivation by:

> "I wanted to become a Neighbourhood mother because I got more (…) education. (…)
> But when I got the education (…) I changed [my mind] and wanted to help others."

As the quote above indicate, Neighbourhood mothers were motivated to volunteer to develop themselves and gain control over their lives was clear in the interviews. In coherence with Fatima's expression above, the informants overall stated a desire for self-development in order to fit into the Swedish society and saw the position of the Neighbourhood mothers as useful for them in realising this desire. This self-actualisation was central to the individuals, feeling that they were empowered by their work, both through education and the rewards of seeing others succeed, and so the results presented here corroborate with previous research by Thompson. The in-project education helped them thereby understand the usefulness they could be to others and engaged them in investing in the role. The diploma course gave them various keys of knowledge, self-security, and information that they could utilize within the role. Information played a big part in this, as the women felt like the information, they gained strengthened them visa-vis others in society. This strengthened conception of oneself had overall positive connotations, especially as the Neighbourhood mothers saw they could bring to others then emphasised their emotional gratification. As Hayat said "(…) a woman who is lost and weak, and then see her become strong and move on is great. I feel like I also get stronger." Engendered feelings of well-being[134] have been associated with all types of volunteering, and evidence from this study attests to the positive relationship between the individual's wellbeing and their role. There are thereby rewards for the Neighbourhoods women in adopting their roles, as they good emotions out of it, feeling like it's a beneficial aspect of their role. As Abrahams pointed out, the community work helps individuals secure identities,[135] and role identity theory helps us understand that the rewards one gets for continuously assuming a role makes it more prominent for the person. The benefits of being a Neighbourhood mother and the security in the voluntary work thereby makes the role meaningful and play a central part in shaping their self-perception by defining their place within the community.

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[134] Warburton & Winterton, 2010, p. 1048-9.
[135] Abrahams, 1996, p. 769ff.

5.1.1 Previous voluntary work and high education

Tied to the findings of the study presented above, some additional common threads of having acquired higher education in their home countries was found. Most had had obtained higher education such as law and engineering while others were former teachers or instructors. These experiences thereby aided them in the role as a Neighbourhood mothers, giving them a foundation to base their voluntary role upon. Dalia had been an attorney that had worked with family law in the home country, emphasising the understanding she had of women and the knowledge she could bring to the role of Neighbourhood mother as the target group women "(…) can talk to me about what they need. Maybe I can help them – if I can – I think that is… my talent (…)". She clearly expressed the thought that her background as an attorney into family law was vital in the role of Neighbourhood mother, but continued by expanding this:

> I think that [when] other women know that I have experience, I have (…) my background – they trust me. That I can help, that I have the ability to help them.[136]

What Dalia says in the quote above is that beside her professional role of having been a family law attorney, the identity of immigrant in Sweden played a part in her assuming the role of Neighbourhood mother and fulfilling it. For her it brings substance to her role identification, indicating that she feels the role is a good fit. The generativity of the previous experiences thereby aids her in her understanding of the role identity that she assumes as a Neighbourhood mother. This generativity was present for all the women, as many of the women had previously worked with women on a professional basis before coming to Sweden. Furthermore, continuity of roles was the focus of the women, recognising that they sought out opportunities to develop what they already knew in new circumstances. Jamila had been a teacher in her home country and had utilised this experience in former voluntary work within Sweden as she helped "(…) unaccompanied children, as an interpreter and coach (…)". What Dalia and Jamila shows are that they have used their previous roles within the volunteer roles of Neighbourhood mothers alike to many of the other women, and this accumulation is in cohesion with previous studies, especially as the lack of conflict between roles is emphasised in the answers of the Neighbourhoods mothers.

The Neighbourhood mothers' role identity is stressed to be a positive role with negligent drawbacks of the previous timing of multi-cafés that was scheduled late in the evening. Nonetheless, the findings suggest that what's particular about the highly educated Neighbourhood mothers is that they felt like their background gave them the understanding of themselves as more capable of fulfilling their role, due to their previous experiences and learnings. Karima pointed this out further by saying that "(…) [the Neighbourhood mother] can help within her area of experience. So that has major importance for me (…)". Professional roles thereby aid the Neighbourhoods mothers' individuality in previous experiences was thereby seen as an

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[136] Dalia

advantage in the fulfilment of the role, as it both helped the person that assumed the role but also the project as the Neighbourhood mothers could help the target group in a more varied way and exchange knowledge between themselves, and thereby learn from one another. This is in line with Winterton and McLaughlin's argument [137]that women amass roles that are utilised in their understanding of volunteer identity.

5.2 "We"-ness among Neighbourhood mothers

Beside the basic understanding of the role of Neighbourhood mother as previously presented, findings of collective sense of belonging was divided into three parts. Their immigrant identity, collective responsibility towards the project and the division between those employed and those unemployed. In this part I will further discuss these parts of the theme of the group understandings i.e. "we"-ness the Neighbourhood mothers view.

5.2.1 Immigrant identity

The identity of being immigrant was prominent in the respondents' answers. The division between being an immigrant in a host society was expressed by Jamila through her observation that: "(…) others who have seen me, that I am from Neighbourhood mothers, they dare to come over and ask, because we [immigrants] don't usually ask a Swede." The identity of being a foreigner was then been seen as something that connected them and with the Neighbourhood mothers viewed as a more secure entity that could act as an intermediary, just alike to the purpose of the project. Uniting beneath an immigrant identity - that has been noted in previous literature[138] - then aided in the function of the role, as they could approach and be approached by immigrants that wanted help or out of curiosity. The importance of having the same background was significant in their role, for Lana thought the project was a gateway for many as she said:

> "(…) women are very sensitive, and typically as immigrants. As an immigrant you don't have the freedom (…) but through the Neighbourhood mothers project it has increased [their] social network (…)"[139]

As the quote above indicate, the freedom for immigrants are in varying degrees restricted, especially for women as cultural and social differences impact their lives in new country. The Neighbourhood mothers thereby saw the project as a place to

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[137] Warburton & McLaughlin, 2006, p. 55f.
[138] Guo, 2014, 51ff.
[139] Lana

expand their freedoms through gaining more contacts and networks, both for themselves but also for the target group in similar situations.

The findings brought forth the evident importance of cultural connections and shared experiences, which provide further impetus for the Neighbourhood mothers with similar background to help each other. As Dalia commented "If I wouldn't have the same background [they would think] 'How shall this woman help me?'". The shared experience of being immigrant and understanding barriers that exist in the Swedish society that hinders immigrants, then induces the self-perception of being capable of aiding others in a similar position. Alike to Dalia, most Neighbourhood mother interviewees shared common experience as immigrants to Sweden and had met similar barriers in the process of settling and adapting to the Swedish society. The Neighbourhood mothers saw their immigrant identity as a resource in helping others. This sense of belonging then mattered a lot to the women in the position of Neighbourhood mothers. As they relied on their identity of being an immigrant to engage individuals while keeping the activities open for different cultural expressions.

This was moreover tied to a gendered identity as Jamila pointed out "Women are the ones with patience and strength (…) but the immigrant men (…) always need to do [work]". The Neighbourhood mothers saw themselves as more suited for work like this, emphasising the disinterest the immigrant men had for the type of work they performed within the project. So, while the women could engage men to participate, they saw the Neighbourhood mother role as inherently better suited for women, what with the attributes the women originally had as opposed to men. Regardless of the disparate view on women and men, the collective identity of immigrant within the group, then helped the Neighbourhood mothers fulfil their roles as they could understand problems and tailor activities to the target group. This is then in line with the argument Guo presented. The more general relationship[140] with the target group thereby allows for the maintenance of the cultural identities, as the centrality of multi-culturalism was emphasised and "open"[141] mindsets within the activities. Handy and Greenspan suggested that voluntary work could attenuate the issues which emerge due to relocation, and previously, the findings show that the voluntary role of Neighbourhood mothers aid the women themselves in findings 'footing' in society.

5.2.2 Collective responsibility and the understanding of leadership

Along with the evident collective identity of being an immigrant, the understanding of collective responsibility for the project was also prominent. The perception that the individual Neighbourhood mother was part of a group was vital in their under-

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[140] Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, p. 95f.
[141] Tarana

standing of themselves. The sense of belonging was established through the perception of sharing responsibility for the project work and that teamwork was necessary to achieve goals. As expressed by Dalia "(…) in our work – we have to work as a team." The understanding that Neighbourhood mothers are a group and that they support and help one another was pervasive in the interviews, as nobody saw themselves as a sole worker that made things possible by themselves.

The identity that presents here are of a more occupational kind rather than a social one as it is directed towards work, and this work-related grouping is then derived from their similarities in wanting to help others as well as themselves within the circumstances of social exclusion. The reliance on another thereby tells us of their perception of themselves as part of something bigger. Karima pointed this out as quoted below.

> Every person has a part of the responsibility within the project, so if we assembled the (…) work every person does, so you can see how the result becomes great results. (…) Great help for people. And it affects the society in different ways.[142]

The perceived responsibility for the success of the project is then also understood in terms of affecting people and society on a larger scale, giving purpose to the work and creating meaning for each person in fulfilling their role as they can support the target group.

Tied to this understanding of shared responsibility for the end results of the project, were the findings that the Neighbourhood mothers saw themselves as leaders in their roles. All nine interviewees expressed the view that they regarded themselves as leaders, making the findings conclusive on this point. The self-clarity was prominent, and it originated in the collective identity of being a Neighbourhood mother. The understanding that the group Neighbourhood mothers had the tasks guide and supervise the group. Dalia saw her leadership through her aim to "strengthen" the target group as she felt "there are some women here who need help and I want to help them. I hope I can." The understanding of their leadership is then closely tied to their understanding of the goal of Neighbourhood mothers project to "empower"[143] the target group. Alike to previous studies,[144] the understanding that the position of Neighbourhood mothers allowed the women to gain a role where they could experience social significance.

Of course, many expressed that the understanding of leading the target group was contingent on other Neighbourhood mothers participating in the particular activity. Karima expressed this by:

> Sometimes I feel like a leader in the group. It depends on which activity since there are a few Neighbourhood mothers, they have less experience than me (…) So, sometimes I feel like a leader.

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[142] Karima
[143] Swedish Migration Agency, "Co-financing agreement: Agreement on co-financing from the Asylum, migration and integration fund regarding the project 'Stadsdelsmammor 2.0' between the municipality of Helsingborg and the Swedish Migration Service, function of the funds", Norrköping/Helsingborg, June 2016 4ff.
[144] Warburton & Winterton, 2010, p. 1048ff.

This understanding was evident in the findings, seeing their leadership as coming from the group of Neighbourhood mothers as a collective. The sharing of leadership[145] within the project then speaks to the previous studies where the relationship-based leadership[146] take prominence, especially in regard to women. Moreover, the previous experiences played in as the Neighbourhood mothers expressed the perception that each woman contributed with her own skills and knowledge's when appropriate in line with Connolly's argument that leadership prominence was based on suitability of the situation. The ideal Neighbourhood mother was thought to have her own network, resources, commitment, and various backgrounds. Whereas, as the relationship-building between the Neighbourhood mothers and others are built into the role, the importance of networks and sharing of resources within the group then becomes a prominent aspect of the Neighbourhood mothers role itself. In and of itself, the Neighbourhood women assume an aspect of leadership that is inherent in the ideal role, and utilise this in the work, especially in the aims to develop and support[147] the target group they regard as followers.

Moreover, the findings show that some Neighbourhood mothers associated their conception of the leadership role more closely to previous experiences, alike to Shamina whose family structure had impacted her early on.

> I'm used to being a leader (…) I'm the first child of my mother (…) I became a leader for my siblings (…)The other responsibility is that I live here (…) and that I need to take initiative, for all things, in my family, among my friends.(…) It's part of my personality.

The women's place in family structures, as older siblings, mothers, wives, therefore helped them in understanding their leadership as Neighbourhood mothers, whereby the previous roles gave them a security in conceiving themselves as leaders for the target group. Moreover, while previous role experiences mattered, the in-project education i.e. diploma course, aided in securing a leadership identity. Lana pointed this out by saying "(…) [the project employees] have taught us that we are to be good leaders. They always encourage us to be. It's good." The Neighbourhood mother education was then viewed to impact their view on the leadership they expressed. This education then guided them into the role and how they viewed their leadership in order to become more streamlined to the ideal that is articulated in the project plan.

Whilst many of the interviewees expressed the ability to be positive in their work, and show optimism, in accordance to previous studies of volunteer leadership,[148] the Neighbourhood mothers thought it was hard for them to not empathising with individuals from the target group, rather than showing sympathy more distantly. By showing concern and feeling too helpful and self-less, Dalia commented "I get sad if they have problems, and I want to help [but] sometimes I can't." The

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[145] Connolly, 2002, p. 239ff.; Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, p. 95f.
[146] Connolly, 2002, p. 239f.
[147] Dwyer et al, 2013, p.199f.; Gardner et al, 2005, p. 34ff.
[148] Dwyer et al, 2013, p.199f.; Silard, 2018, p. 319f.

Neighbourhoods women understood that through their leadership, the target group depended on them, and that negative emotionality arises from the inability to help someone. While the overall role of Neighbourhood mothers was regarded as positive and beneficial to the women occupying the role, the view on leadership was negatively impacted by their feelings of being unable to help. Still, most of the women considered themselves to be inherently positive in their role as Neighbourhood mothers, as there were more benefits than drawback for them in the role, as previously discussed in regard to the voluntary identity.

5.3 The Project group individual connection and 'followership'

This part presents the main themes that were found regarding particularised relationships[149] the Neighbourhood mothers expressed regarding the Project group i.e. personal associations to one person or the whole group, and how the Neighbourhood mothers regard themselves as being in a position of followership. The close relationships were particularised regarding one or all employees of the Project group, and through this relationship the Neighbourhood women saw themselves internally as being followers.

5.3.1 Particularised relationship with the Project group

Findings from this study show that all of the interviewees have a valued and close relationship with the Project group, overall expressing the more specific relationship they had with the Project group. This role relationship was based on both friendship and volunteer role attributes where the Neighbourhood mothers could go to the Project group with both their own issues and the target groups and get support all the time. Moreover, the Neighbourhood mothers described the Project group employees as "friends",[150] indicating the relationship as more of an individual kind in comparison to the one the Neighbourhood had to the target group.

In relation to the findings above, the diploma course mattered in the relationship as the "[Project group] don't give information as teachers, [but] (…) as friends".[151] While the Neighbourhood mothers viewed the role relationship to the target group as a more general one where the immigrant identification contributed with giving the role more breadth and with a more profession-based view on their work, the relationship with the Project group indicate indicated to be more of a social and individual role. The Project group had given them benefits of education

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[149] Sluss et al in *APA handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 1. Building and developing the organization*, Zedeck, S. (ed.), 2011, p. 506.
[150] Lana
[151] Hanifa

that spoke to their motivation of self-help and as such, the Neighbourhood mother role became more personal for the women in their role relationship with the Project group. They saw that relationship less as official work, and more alike to a situation where they could learn more about society and create connections like the situation the target group had to the Neighbourhood mothers. The Project group itself then constituted a type of social network for the Neighbourhood mothers, rather than a professional one.

The previous part plays into the next findings which showed that the Neighbourhood women had one particular Project group employee who was especially mentioned when women talked about who they sought help from when in need. This person was regarded as a stable element they could near-always rely on for support and continuous encouragement. Fatima expressed this as:

> She wants to help others and she's good at it. Everybody likes [her] (…) she always shows that she likes them (…) I'm [closest] to [her].

The helpfulness of the Project group was continuously remarked upon by the Neighbourhood mothers, indicating that although the Project group was employed to supervise the project, they were also exhibiting some of the prototypical volunteer behaviour of self-lessness and helpfulness[152] that showed that they were viewed as model leaders for the Neighbourhood mothers. This deeper understanding of the relationship introduced higher prominence for the individual to assume the role of Neighbourhood mother, as this relational identification has positive connotations for the Neighbourhood mothers. The Project groups was regarded as part of the as themselves and aiming to serve the team of Neighbourhood mothers in their work as to "help achieve the goals."[153] As such this gave the Neighbourhood mothers a sense of belonging to the project itself, seeing both the Project group and the group of Neighbourhood mothers as belonging to one another. The findings of strong relational ties speak to the prominence of the Neighbourhood mother role for the women in the presence of the Project group.

5.3.2 Dependency on the Project group for 'followership'

In relation to the findings above, where the Neighbourhood mothers saw themselves in specific and meaningful relationships with the Project group, findings also showed that the Neighbourhood mothers had less self-clarity in regard to their followership role identity, as they saw the Project group as leaders but did not express 'follower' for themselves Hanifa expressed this as "(…) I think they are leaders now, really active and it's a relief that they are really good (…)". She considered it a "relief" that they were good leaders of the Neighbourhood mothers, as to "help"[154]

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[152] Finkelstein et al, 2005, p. 404ff.
[153] Hayat
[154] Tarana, Hayat

the Neighbourhood mothers fulfil their roles. Thereby it is necessary to not that the findings showed that the Neighbourhood mothers followership was dependent on their view of the Project group as leaders and how the Neighbourhood mothers fulfilled their roles towards these individuals. Thereby, the findings show that the overall group of Neighbourhood mothers did not construe themselves, as in Uhl-Bien et al's understanding, as a 'follower' and so their followership identity is not consistent over the group as was the leadership identity. The overall 'followership' identity the Neighbourhood mother expressed was formed in relation to the Project group through individual relationship, and how they behaved towards them. . It needs to be noted that the Neighbourhood mothers had thought of themselves more as leaders of the target group than followers to the Project group when asking about their self-clarity.

The findings showed that as the Project group was invested in the project and exhibited the volunteer prototypicality of being helpful and acting selflessly towards them, the Neighbourhood mothers considered them to be good leaders that was goal-directed towards integration and taking care of the target group. Lana expressed this by saying "[We take instructions] from [the Project group] because we believe in them." The Neighbourhood mothers had then internalised a followership identity in relation to the Project group, as per the understanding of volunteering which is then in line with previous literature[155] on the subject. While the prototypicality showed, additional findings indicated that the supervisor position of the Project group mattered to the Neighbourhood mothers, as we can see in the next section.

Findings showed that they Neighbourhood mothers would fulfil both a traditional followership behaviour of 'obedience' and the active follower understanding of self-management[156] was evident in all interviews. The Neighbourhood mothers considered the Project group to be in the superior position, as Tarana said "they are the bosses", and saw it as an obvious obligation to follow instructions from them. Furthermore, the findings suggested a strong indication that the Neighbourhood mothers viewed their followership identity as proactive, as Shamina commented: "I try to cooperate to develop the project, it's just not me deciding (…) we work together." The development was mentioned in relation to the work with the Project group as Karima's statement exemplifies: "[They expect] us to develop this project by more suggestions, more opinions, and that we get more people here." The collaborative aspect of 'development' was important in their role, as consistent with Hassan and Silong's argument that women primarily collaborated and focus on work to reach certain goals.

Moreover, in line with theory on proactive followership theory the Neighbourhood mothers expressed explicitly that they discussed the work and gave "critique

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[155] Varela, 2013, p. 270.; Uhl bien et al, 2014, p. 96f.
[156] Ibid.

to improve the project"[157] as to take a proactive stance towards the organisation of work. The Neighbourhood mothers saw their roles in relation to the Project group as voicing "opinions",[158] "ideas"[159] and "thoughts"[160] honestly and informally as to reach the goals of the project as well as bringing forth ideas from the target group, whereby they bridged the gap between the administration and the target group. Theory told us that followers exercise influence in various ways over the leaders through resistance, dissent, voice and honesty, something that the Neighbourhood mothers thereby expressed as they did. These understandings of their role contribute to the perception that leadership was shared, as the Project group involved the Neighbourhood mothers in the process of developing the project, and creating relationship-based leadership with the Neighbourhood mothers, consistent with Sacks'[161] argument that women's leadership was more based on relationship-building and bottom-up approaches. In situations where they act together, the followership identity of Neighbourhood mothers became prominent and the findings then suggest that they internally identify the Project group as leaders, albeit leaders who consulted the Neighbourhood mothers as in cohesion with Penner et al's perception of leadership.[162]

The last thing the Neighbourhood mother pointed out within the work relation to the Project group was the insecurity they felt in expressing their opinions and suggestions. While the Neighbourhood mothers emphasised their work towards developing the project, there was still some insecurity in presenting the Project group with ideas, opinions, and suggestions for improvements. Shamina expressed this through "They don't listen to me, all my ideas of how to develop, all my ideas that I am a person that wants to modernise things." The Neighbourhood mothers indicated this insecurity to be based in the Project group's viewed control over the project work, as the Neighbourhood mothers did not do things without speaking to the Project group. This was not the case for the two participants who had been in the project for longer, and who had been recruited personally by the Project group members, showing thereby that the newer Neighbourhood mothers felt this insecurity. Their subsequent lack of initiative-taking then detracted from the proactive followership identity, thereby indicating that the Neighbourhood mothers still had some progress to make before becoming effective followers in line with theoretical assumptions presented by Uhl-Bien et al and Carsten et al.[163]

As the Neighbourhood women had self-clarity in leadership identity, but not in followership identity, thereby tells us that the leadership identity is more prominent for the Neighbourhood mothers. The followership identity was created in relation

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[157] Fatima
[158] Karima
[159] Shamina
[160] Karima
[161] Connolly, 2002, p. 239ff.
[162] Penner & Finkelstein, 1998, p. 525; Finkelstein et al, 2005, p. 404ff.
[163] Uhl-Bien et al, 2014, p. 95f.; Carsten et al, 2017, p. 731ff.

to the Project group but had simultaneously somewhat conflicting views on the be-
haviour attached to the unacknowledged followership identity, making the role un-
clear for them.

6 Discussion

To reiterate, the purpose of this thesis was to explore the immigrant women's experience as Neighbourhood mothers, and thereby to understand from the Neighbourhood mother' perspective how a leader and follower identity becomes prominent in the role of Neighbourhood mothers and associated behaviour within the organisation. The research question was: How do the Neighbourhood mothers understand their role as leaders and followers within the project *Stadsdelsmammor 2.0*, and how does their previous experiences and within-project learned knowledge contribute to these understandings? A qualitative research design was used that utilised individual interviews with Neighbourhood mothers to gain their understandings of their roles as functions in the project.

The findings in answer to the research question rests in the understanding that the volunteer role consisted of previous roles that helped them assume and understand their role, and that leadership was seen to be a part of this role. They saw that their leadership relied on the previous experiences, as the Neighbourhood mothers had overall previous experience in voluntary work or various types of community participation with women and children. They had greater self-clarity in identifying themselves as leaders, and they drew on both gendered and family roles, professional roles, and volunteer work roles in assuming the leadership identity. They saw themselves as leaders primarily since they were part of the target group and that they had gained knowledge's that could benefit the target group participants in the project. They thereby utilised their background, knowledges and within-project education in their understanding of their leadership identity and made it more prominent. The strong link between their immigrant background and leadership identity was not quite anticipated but still speaks to the understanding of volunteer prototypicality and role enhancement that is argued by Boezeman and Ellemers and Warburton and McLaughlin respectively.

There was greater reluctance in identifying as a follower. Their followership identity was not explicitly expressed and was rather created through reciprocal relationships with the Project group and certain behaviour that was in cohesion with the theories on proactive followership behaviour. While followership was something they did not identify with externally, there was internal processes that made them see themselves as having a followership identity. Based on the Neighbourhood mother women's understandings of their role as follower, there are progress to be made in clarifying further the role of Neighbourhood mothers amongst themselves and towards the Project group. It would therefore be beneficial to the project if further emphasis was put on creating more effective exchange between the Project group and the Neighbourhood mothers as to increase role security for the latter.

While the Neighbourhood mothers described an individual relationship with the Project group there was still trepidation in presenting ideas for development of the project. To solve these issues of unclear followership role identities I suggest that within project education would develop their understanding of how the Neighbourhood mothers can help impact the project work formation by more effective communication of ideas and opinions, and with further emphasis on cooperation to perform the work effectively and with more imitative-taking from the Neighbourhood mothers. As such, the study results can help at improving the management of the project, as explore how the Neighbourhood mothers view themselves and their view on work.

Some limitations of this study need to be further noted. This thesis has been qualitative and focused on the role identities of Neighbourhood mothers, which makes it limited and highly contextualized, meaning that it has marginal generalizability outside of the project itself. If one concentrated on either leadership and followership, deeper information could be gained about that particular role and its attached behaviour which in turn would allow for more specific recommendations to be made in regard to progresses of the project. It is useful in developing the project education and tasks for the Neighbourhood mothers to give them tools to be more effective followers to their own perceived leaders and for better teamwork within the project.

6.1   Suggestions for future research

There are many questions to ask about the Neighbourhood mothers, the project itself and the work within it. As it is expanding over Sweden, and other Nordic countries, it would be relevant to consider it for future research on a broader scale and establish more common threads between their working methods and functions within the organisation of work. This would in turn further benefit the management of the project form that uses the target group itself for integration. For now, I suggest that the Neighbourhood mothers leadership could be further researched through the understandings of building social capital as to understand how they build and maintain networks within the city and society. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study the project in a similar vein to what Marquardt and Schreiber did,[164] where the governmentality theory takes precedence in understanding how the project functions as a tool to produce citizens and open up the neighbourhoods that are considered to be alienated.

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[164] Marquardt & Schreiber, 2015, p.44ff.

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Appendix 1

First contact

Hej!

Jag heter Ellinor Hammarsköld och är en Master-student inom Statsvetenskapliga institutionen i Lund. För tillfället studerar jag Välfärdspolicy och management (Welfare policy & management) och gör mig nu beredd på att skriva mitt examensarbete i januari. Då jag är i från Helsingborg så har jag ett intresse för vad som händer i staden, och har då fått information att ni har ett integrationsarbete i form av Stadsdelsmammor 2.0 i olika stadsdelar.

För mitt examensarbete som jag ska utföra nästa termin så skulle jag därför vilja få möjlighet att studera Stadsdelsmammor. Det som ytterst intresserar mig är era anställdas förhållningssätt till denna förhållandevis nya integrationsmetod som Stadsdelsmammor innefattar. Det jag vill titta på är alltså inte måluppfyllelsen, utan snarare de anställdas arbetssätt och relation till deltagarna.

Jag skulle gärna vilja boka in ett möte med dig/er för vidare samtal, om ni skulle vara intresserade av att låta mig komma och studera projektet.

Ni kan kontakta mig antingen på mejl eller per telefon [number].

Vänligen,
Ellinor Hammarsköld

Appendix 2

Informationsbrev

Tack för att du vill ställa upp på intervju!

Jag heter Ellinor och studerar på Lunds universitet och skriver en masteruppsats i Statsvetenskap (program: Welfare policy and management) om projektet Stadsdels-mammor 2.0 i Helsingborg.

Uppsatsen handlar om era upplevelser av och syn på rollen som Stadsdelsmamma i projektet *Stadsdelsmammor 2.0.* Informationen som ska samlas in är erfarenheter, upplevelser och uppfattningar kring din roll i projektet Stadsdelsmammor 2.0 i Helsingborg för att bättre förstå ert samarbete och organisation av arbete.

Intervjun kommer ta ca 45 - 60 minuter och jag kommer spela in svaren så att jag inte missar något då vi pratar. Intervjun är frivillig och du har självklart rätt och möjlighet att avbryta intervjun eller låta bli att svara på frågor du inte vill svara på. De som deltar äger rätt till det material de varit med och skapat.

Hela materialinsamlingen och även hanteringen av material kommer behandlas konfidentiellt så att ingen obehörig får tillgång till intervjuinspelningarna eller tran-skriberingarna. Jag är den enda som kommer lyssna på det inspelade materialet. Du kommer vara anonym, alltså jag kommer byta namn på dig så att ingen vet vem du är. Jag kommer även anonymisera ev. plats ifall det skulle kunna härledas till en specifik person. Jag kan inte se att det skulle finnas några risker att deltaga.

Frågor jag kommer ställa är exempelvis dessa:
Varför ville du bli Stadsdelsmamma?
Vad gillar du med att vara Stadsdelsmamma?
Hur ser du på samarbetet mellan stadsdelsmammor?

Det är bara att säga till om du har några frågor!

[I included contact information if they had additional questions]

Appendix 3

Theoretical framework (summarised)	Interview guide questions
1. Volunteer identity formation	
• Voluntary identity is formed by the individual's reasons (motivation) (Finkelstein et al 2005) as well as the multiple roles that the individual has amassed through their life (Warburton and McLaughlin 2006)	• Can you tell me why you wanted to become a Neighbourhood Mother? • Can you tell me about yourself, e.g. what you've previously studied and/or worked with? Do you have a family? Is there anything else you have done such as participating in an organisation?
• The multiple roles are then emphasised through role enhancement, where women use both personal and professional roles (multiple roles) (Warburton and McLaughlin)	• How do you think your previous experiences have influenced your job as Neighbourhood Mother? Can you give examples? • How do you think this impacted your identity as Neighbourhood mother?
• General characteristics of volunteers are: Pro-sociality, optimism, empathy, helpfulness, confidence, shares the values of the organisation (Finkelstein et al 2005; Penner and associates)	• How do you think a Neighbourhood mother should be? • Do you think it's easy to be positive? Why/why not? • Do you think you're social and empathic? Why/why not? • Do you agree with the values of the project? Why/why not?
• Within the volunteer role identity, the position in the structure affects the self-viewed role identity (context matters) (Sluss et al 2011, Stryker 1980	• Can you tell me about the Neighbourhood mothers work tasks in the project? • Can you tell me more about the activities in the multi-cafes you've been responsible for? Have you ever been responsible for arranging or leading one? Have you done something else outside of the multi-café? • What would you say are your strengths as a Neighbourhood mother? Weaknesses? (E.g. conversation, support, give info, plan)
• Role relationships between individuals of the organisation gives meaning-making to the position, such as both an individual understanding of one self vis-a-vis another and a collective identity (particular relationship) (Sluss et al 2011, Stryker 1980)	• Do you have a particular relationship with someone in your work as an NM? The target group, other Neighbourhood mothers or the Project group? • Do you feel like a part of the group? Why/why not? • What do you think is good/bad about being a Neighbourhood mother?
2. Volunteer leadership	
• Leadership identity entails the self-understanding of oneself as a leader (Leader role identity self-clarity) (Stryker 1980, Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Sluss et al 2011)	• As a NM, do you think you're a leader? (*self-clarity*) Why?/why not?: Can you give examples?
• Leaders work to empower the followers who depend on them (Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Hassan & Silong 2008) and as such they:	o Do you engage the participants in developing new work methods and making decisions? o Are you able to help in such cases that they ask for your help? What kind of things do they need help with?

o Consult with followers (Penner et al, 1998, 2005, Uhl-Bien et al 2014) and engage them in decision-making (Dwyer et al 2013) o Show concern (Uhl-Bien et al 2014) o Positive outlook/inspirational (Silard 2018; Dwyer et al 2013) o Development and support of followers (Dwyer et al 2013, Gardner et al 2005) o Prototypical behaviour: Self-less and helpful (and other contextual behaviour) (Boezeman & Ellemers 2014 o Relationship-building (Gilligan 1993) o Meaning-making in the work (Boezeman & Ellemers 2014. Dwyer et al 2013) o Share power (Uhl Bien et al 2014, Connolly 2002)	o Do you feel it's easy to show a positive outlook in the work? o Do you support the target group (or other Neighbourhood mothers) in your work? Do you feel it's easy to support and encourage people? (development and support) why/why not? o How do you think a typical Neighbourhood mother should be? o Can you tell me about building and develop relationships as a Neighbourhood Mother? Are you good at it? Or not? Why/why not? o Do you feel your work is meaningful? How? o Do you feel like you share power in the project with others? Who?
• Leaders feel like they have the support of the followers (Uhl-bien et al 2014)	• Do you feel like you get support from [perceived followers]?
3. Volunteer followership	
• Followership identity entails the self-understanding of oneself as a follower (follower role identity self-clarity) (Stryker 1980, Uhl-bien et al, 2014, Sluss et al)	• In the role of Neighbourhood mother, do you feel like a follower? Why/not? Can you give examples?
• Motivation to participate in the particular organisation and mission consciousness (agreement with the vision and goals of the organisation (Dwyer et al, Uhl-Bien et al 2014)	• Do you agree with the values and goals of the project? • Do you feel motivated to continue your work as NM?
• Leadership and context influence the role construction. The role orientation of followers may advance or detract the leadership process if the leadership style and follower orientation does not fit. With the followership role open to interpretation the construction of the role there are various orientations (e.g. passive, resistant, proactive, non-following) (Uhl-bien 2014)	• What do you think about the cooperation with the Project group, other Neighbourhood mothers and participants? How is it good/bad? Why/why not?
• Role orientation o Passive behaviour: Obedience (allow influence from leaders) (Uhl-Bien et al 2014) o Active behaviour: Self-managing (Varela 2013) o Proactive behaviour: - Initiative-taking (Uhl-Bien et al 2014, Carsten et al 2017), - resistance/deferring to others (Uhl-Bien et al 2014) - voice and influence on leaders – they are able to be honest with, advising and dissenting towards leaders (Varela 2013), - Feedback seeking (Uhl-Bien et al 2014)	o Do follow instructions when others require you to? By who and why? o Do you consider yourself to be self-managing in your work? - Can you handle issues or take initiative when not asked? - Do you feel like you can influence the (various) meetings? Do you get to share your thoughts and ideas even if someone doesn't agree? - Do you feel like you can affect the Project group (or other Neighbourhood mothers)? Do you bring ideas and interests from the target group to the workshops? Do you want to be more responsible in developing multi-cafes and other activities? (or other aspects of the project not mentioned?) - Do you feel like you get support in your work when needed? By whom? Why do you go to this person/-s for help?

Appendix 4

Interview protocol (translated)

[Explain again what the study is about. Inform again about ethical standpoints and eventual risks]

Initial questions – voluntary identity
1. How long have you been participating in the project?
2. How did you find out about the project?
3. How long have you been a Neighbourhood mother (when did you finish the certification course)?
4. Can you tell me about yourself, e.g. what you've previously studied and/or worked with? Do you have a family?
   - Is there anything else you have done such as participating in an organisation?
5. Can you tell me why you wanted to become a Neighbourhood Mother?
6. How do you think your previous experiences have influenced your job as Neighbourhood Mother? Can you give examples?
- How has the within-project Neighbourhood mothers education helped and motivated you in your work?
- How do you think this impacted your identity as Neighbourhood mother? How do you think you are in the Neighbourhood mother role?
7. How do you think a Neighbourhood mother should be? Do you think you're social and empathic? Why/why not?
8. Do you think it's easy to be positive (for yourself)?
9. Do you agree with the values of the project? Why/why not?

Leadership
10. Can you tell me about the (Neighbourhood mothers) work tasks in the project?
11. Can you tell me more about the activities in the multi-cafes? Have you ever been responsible for arranging or leading one?
12. Have you done something else outside the multi-café?
13. As a Neighbourhood mother, do you think you're a leader? Why?/why not?: Can you give examples?
14. Do you feel like you share power in the project with others?
15. Do you feel like you get support in your leadership from [perceived followers]?
16. Are you able to help in such cases that they ask for your help? What kind of things do they need help with?
17. Do you engage the participants in developing new work methods?
18. Do you support the target group (or other Neighbourhood mothers) in your work? Do you feel it's easy to support and encourage people?
19. Do you feel it's easy to show a positive outlook in the work? Why/why not?
20. Do you feel your work is meaningful? How/why?
21. Are you able to convince others of the importance and usefulness of the project?

22. Can you tell me about building and develop relationships as Neighbourhood mothers? Are you good at it? Or not? Why/why not?

Followership
23. In the role of NM, do you feel like a follower? Why/not? Can you give examples?
24. Do you consider yourself to be self-managing in your work?
25. Do you feel like you get support in your work when needed? By whom? Why do you go to this person/-s for help?
26. Can you handle issues or take initiative when not asked?
27. What do you think about the work with the Project group, other Neighbourhood mothers and participants?
28. What do you think about the cooperation with the Project group, other Neighbourhood mothers and participants? How is it good/bad? Why/why not?
29. Do you feel like you can influence the (various) meetings? Do you get to share your thoughts and ideas? Why?/why not?
30. Do you feel like you can affect the Project group (or other Neighbourhood mothers)? Do you bring ideas and interests from the target group to the workshops? Why?/why not?
31. Do follow instructions when others require you to? Why? /why not?
32. Do you feel motivated to continue your work as Neighbourhood mother?
33. Do you want to be more responsible in developing multi-cafes and other activities? (or other aspects of the project not mentioned?)

Final questions relating back to the questions in the beginning
34. What would you say are your strengths as a Neighbourhood mother? Weaknesses? (E.g. conversation, support, give info, plan)
35. What do you like about being a Neighbourhood mother and the work? What do not you like? Why? (*further establish motivations for project participation*)
36. Do you have a particular relationship with someone in your work as an Neighbourhood mother? The target group, other Neighbourhood mothers or the Project group? (Often clarified by: Who do you think you're closest to in your work as an Neighbourhood mother? The target group, other Neighbourhood mothers or the Project group?
37. Do you feel like a part of the group? Why/why not?
38. What do you think is good/bad about being a Neighbourhood mother?

The interview is drawing to an end; is there anything you want to add?
39. Is there something I have missed asking you about?

Thank you for participating!

Some ways to develop the conversation:
- You told me about (…) can you develop that a little further?
- So, by (…) you mean that (…). Did I understand you correctly, or do you want to explain further?
- In what way?