



JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY

*School of Education and
Communication*

Research Report

Multi-level governance and civil society's work on integrating migrants after the migrant crisis of 2015 in Jönköping

Karla Escobar

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Jönköping University
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Foreword

This report describes how civil society and the public sector in Jönköping municipality collaborated with each other in assisting the welcoming and integration of the refugees who arrived in the municipality during the so-called ‘migrant crisis’ of 2015. The report is part of a more extensive study which is aimed at comparing civil society’s role in the migrant reception system in Canada and Sweden. The study was financed by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council in Canada. The report’s principal author is the political scientist Karla Escobar. Associate Professor Marco Nilsson, also a political scientist, contributed to the theoretical analysis of the material used in this report and edited the text. Helene Ahl, Professor of Business Administration, is the project leader and is responsible for the design of the study. Her role in this study was co-author, sounding-board, and editor.

Many other people contributed to this study to whom we wish to express our gratitude. First and foremost, we thank Professor Benson Honig and his colleagues at McMaster University in Hamilton, Canada, who initiated this study. Then we must thank our collaborators at Jönköping municipality, Jönköping county, Leader Västra Småland, and the Integrera Mera association who participated in an introductory meeting where we discussed the design of the study and other questions. Many thanks to Beatrice Ruderfors and Ellen Adolfsson, who conducted and transcribed the interviews for the study. We also thank all of our informants who generously provided their time and energy for the study. Last but not least, an enormous thank-you to Sara Bref, who was the project’s administrator and who provided us with an excellent overview of the Swedish migrant reception system.

Jönköping, December 2020

The Authors

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1. Background and purpose

2015 was a year of great unrest around the world. A series of new crises broke out in the Middle East and Africa, whilst several on-going conflicts were taking place in Afghanistan, Syria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia. At the end of 2014, the number of refugees in countries where there was conflict was 46.7 million people (UNHCR, 2014: 5). During 2015, the number of refugees increased to 65.3 million people, which was the first time in history that it had exceeded 60 million. In relation to the world's total population of 7.349 billion people, one person out of 113 was a refugee in 2015 (Forsberg, 2016).

Of those who migrated to Europe from conflict, war, and oppression during 2015, 75% of them came from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Italy and Greece received the largest part of the exodus of refugees who entered Europe via the Mediterranean Sea, but many refugees travelled further, often to Sweden and Germany. These two countries were responsible for 43% of all asylum seekers in the EU in 2015 (UNHCR, 2015).

In connection with the global refugee crisis of 2015, 162 000 asylum seekers entered Sweden; a twofold increase over the previous year. The majority of the year's intake arrived during the final quarter of the year, and the majority of these people were from Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq. The number of unaccompanied minors was significant in that they constituted 20% of the number of asylum seekers for the year of 2015.

The counties where the largest number of refugees applied for asylum were Skåne, Stockholm, Västra Götaland, Gävleborg, and Östergötland. Malmö municipality accepted three times as many unaccompanied minors than any other Swedish municipality during 2015. The municipalities of Mölndal, Stockholm, Göteborg, Sigtuna, Solna, Trelleborg, and Norrköping collectively accepted more than a thousand unaccompanied minors during the same period (SOU, 2017: 12).

The Swedish Migration Board is the authority that deals with the asylum process in Sweden, and processes applications for residency or Swedish citizenship. People who look for protection in Sweden can hand in their asylum application either to the police on entry into the country or directly to the Swedish Migration Board, which has offices at several locations across the country. At this point, the asylum seeker is provided with an LMA card (as per the law concerning the reception of asylum seekers), which includes a photograph of the cardholder and indicates that the cardholder is an asylum seeker.

During the period when the asylum seeker is waiting for a decision regarding their residency status, the Swedish Migration Board will provide temporary

accommodation for that person. If the asylum seeker wishes to work when they are waiting for a decision, then they may be granted an exemption from the usual work permit requirements. In such a case, the asylum seeker needs to contact the Swedish Tax Agency to be issued with a *samordningsnummer* (a so-called ‘coordination number’) which is necessary for people who do not have a Swedish identity number, to pay tax, for example.

The children of asylum seekers have the right to attend school. If an adult asylum seeker wishes to study Swedish during the application process, then there are many NGOs who arrange study circles and the like, which can be used by the asylum seeker. When an asylum seeker is granted residency, then that person must be registered in Sweden, a process which is dealt with by the Swedish Tax Agency. Then the person will receive an identity number which is needed if a Swedish identity card is to be issued to the person. An asylum seeker who is granted residency needs to be registered at an address in Sweden if they would like to study at SFI (Swedish for immigrants) and to have access to the Swedish welfare system, for example, social security. The Swedish Social Insurance Agency will decide as to whether the asylum seeker has the right, for example, to maternity pay, a state pension, and child allowances. The Swedish Social Insurance Agency is also involved in the payment of ‘establishment support’ for those who participate in the Swedish Employment Agency’s establishment program.

The Swedish municipalities are legally obliged to offer Swedish language courses for immigrants (SFI). In addition to language skills, opportunities must also be offered to immigrants to learn about Swedish society and the labour market, and thus the municipalities engage in close cooperation with other agencies, for example, the Swedish Employment Agency (Bref, 2108).

The official reception system was, however, not ready for the large number of refugees who arrived in 2015. When the global refugee crisis came to Sweden, there was only a low level of awareness within the Swedish government and the Swedish Migration Board of how the refugee crisis would develop and how it would impact on Sweden. During the same year, when the refugee crisis took place, the number of refugees exceeded the capacities of the public sector. The government reacted quickly by changing the relevant legislation by closing the borders to the country, amongst other interventions. The Swedish Migration Board dealt with the situation in a long, drawn-out process of registering the refugees and providing a roof over their heads. These circumstances caused increased waiting times for the newly-landed to be registered and for the municipalities to get a reply from the government concerning compensation for their work. The authorities for civil protection and readiness coordinated situation reports for the government and arranged conferences for collaboration between the authorities and civil society. The municipalities and the county councils had to finance a large part of the costs

associated with the reception of these refugees, especially since only a small number of municipalities acted as ‘arrival municipalities’ for the majority of the refugees. The municipalities had to pay for the schooling, healthcare, elderly care, and dental care when the Swedish Migration Board opened refugee accommodation units in these municipalities.

In total, 2.3 % of the population of the country received residency based on their refugee status between 2013 and 2016, namely, 228 000 people. This circumstance continues to place demands on the government to create opportunities for these people to integrate into the labour market (Ruist, 2018). The situation for labour market integration, over the past few years, has shown a negative development compared to the 1980s and 1990s when the employment numbers amongst foreign-born residents were just as high as they were for native-born residents. The current discrepancy can be explained by the fact that foreign-born residents have less work experience, possess lower levels of Swedish language proficiency, lack social networks, and lack informal contacts on the labour market. They are also discriminated against on the labour market, and there are fewer simple jobs for them to do (Asplund, Tovatt, & Thalberg, 2017).

As we see from the above, the authorities and municipalities were responsible for receiving refugees and for interventions regarding labour market integration. However, these institutions were not sufficient to the task. At this point, civil society stepped forward and offered several interventions voluntarily, not least during the large influx of refugees during 2015. Whilst the public sector was responsible for the formal reception of these people, civil society provided several social interventions with regards to the reception of these refugees, for example, meeting newly-arrived refugees at central train stations and ferry stations. They also provided the refugees with accommodation and employment (SOU, 2017, p. 12).

Furthermore, the government aimed to strengthen civil society’s ability to contribute in this area. The authorities have been instructed, through various interventions, to improve the conditions for the integration of refugees through cooperation (Proposition, 2017/18, p. 1). The County Administrative Board, for example, has acted in response to a government directive to free up funds for charitable associations within the framework of TIA (*Tidiga insatser för asylsökanden* ‘Early interventions for asylum seekers’) (Stockholm County Administrative Board, no year). The Swedish Adult Education Association has also offered financing for Swedish language teaching.

In a debate article written by the general director of the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (MUCF), the importance of civil society for the reception of refugees was discussed. The article argued that civil society was key to the refugee reception process because the public sector’s dealing with the refugee crisis was insufficient to the task (MUCF, 2016b). A later report confirmed that civil society

had been a central driving force in the reception of these refugees (MUCF, 2016a). It is thus essential that we investigate how the voluntary organisations in civil society cooperated with each other and the public sector in connection with the integration of newly-arrived refugees during the refugee crisis of 2015. This includes examining the social interventions and other types of interventions which took place at the time.

We have situated our study in Jönköping municipality. This municipality covers 155 km² and is populated by 141 496; thus, it is one of the ten largest municipalities in Sweden. Jönköping is a residential city and the administrative seat for the region. Several state authorities are located there, including the County Administrative Board, the Swedish Board of Agriculture, the Swedish Forest Agency, and the Swedish National Courts Administration (Jönköping municipality, no year(b)). The municipality hosts a vibrant industrial life with over 400 active businesses of various types. These conditions allow us to examine a rich number of different pathways towards integration, which can be compared with each other (Jönköping municipality, no year(a)). The strong tradition of setting up associations in the city exists, in part, because Jönköping was an important centre for the (at the time) rapidly expanding free church movement during the 1800s and early 1900s (Sveriges Radio, 2016). Even today, there are approximately 80 churches and congregations in the municipality, including congregations affiliated to the Swedish (Lutheran) church. The people who live in the municipality also have high levels of social engagement. The churches in Jönköping became world-famous in 2014 when, as a form of counter-demonstration and warning, they rang their church bells in response to a neo-nazi demonstration (Dagens Nyheter, 2014). The associations that operate there enjoy robust support from the municipality. SVT Sport nominated Jönköping as ‘sports municipality of the year’ in 2018, with the following motivation:

In Jönköping municipality, there is a strong interest in associations and a broad range of sports activities. During 2018, several interventions were made which contributed to increasing the municipality’s residents’ opportunities to participate in sport and to improve the associations’ performance of their operations and to develop in the municipality. (SVT, 2019).

Jönköping municipality inaugurated a joint committee where the municipality’s representatives and representatives from civil society can meet with each other and discuss and, if possible, collaborate on interventions directed at the integration of refugees. The work that is done in integrating refugees includes several levels; the state level, authorities, municipalities, and civil society. However, the interventions that are provided by civil society are voluntary and cannot be controlled in the same way as official organisations can. We thus employ a multi-level perspective and a

sociological institutionalist framework to investigate how civil society uses collaboration between volunteer organisations and the public sector to integrate newly-arrived refugees into the labour market after 2015.

1.1. Aim and research questions

This study employs a multi-level perspective in an investigation into how civil society in Jönköping municipality worked in integrating refugees into the labour market after the refugee crisis in 2015. The following research questions are addressed:

With whom did the civil society organisations collaborate, and what challenges did they face in this?

Why did the civil society organisations collaborate with other actors?

In this study, we use theories of multi-level governance and sociological institutionalism in our description and explanation of different forms of collaboration.

1.2. The structure of the study

This study consists of eight chapters. The first chapter describes the background to the problems which we examine in this study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the research area, including a general overview of labour market integration, and more specifically an interrogation of the relationships between the state and civil society in integration work. In Chapter 3, we present a discussion of theories of multi-level governance and sociological institutionalism. Chapter 4 presents our research method, and in Chapter 5, we reveal the results of our study. Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 include an analysis and discussion of the study's research questions. The study concludes with Chapter 8, which comprises the conclusions of our study.

2. Research overview

2.1. Research on integration into labour markets

Since the end of the Second World War up until the 1970s, immigration to Sweden consisted of labour migration. After the ravages of the war in Europe, the Swedish industrial sector was left intact, but it suffered from a severe lack of labour. People migrated from the other Scandinavian countries and from across Europe to Sweden. Many Swedish companies arranged international recruitment drives, for example, in Italy. Since the 1970s, when residency began to be issued based on humanitarian reasons, immigration to Sweden has been dominated by an influx of refugees and family dependants. Since this time, the employment figures for foreign-born residents have been lower than for Swedish-born residents. During the 1970s, people primarily emigrated from Iran and Chile to Sweden, whilst after the 1990s, they came from African and Asian countries, including Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, and Somalia (Petersson, 2013; Aldén & Hammarstedt, 2014). In conjunction with the influx of immigrants during this time, the Swedish government was desirous of creating a multi-cultural society which would follow the principles of equality and the freedom of choice (Eastmond, 2011). People who had newly-arrived to Sweden would thus enjoy the same rights as local residents (Graham & Soinen, 1998). When the ‘establishment program’ was launched by the government in 2010, it was envisioned that refugees would be given two years to learn the Swedish language and about Swedish society to facilitate their job opportunities (Petersson, 2013). The rest of the world has thus viewed Sweden and the Swedish welfare system as robust and multi-cultural (Bloch & Schuster, 2002; Koopmans, 2010).

In Sweden, the metrics used to measure labour market integration are ownership of capital, employment rates, income, and entrepreneurship. These factors are also used to measure the degree of self-reliance people enjoy (Ruist, 2018, p. 27). People who have residency in Sweden must have access to the opportunities that are needed to become self-reliant. An inquiry that was conducted by the Ministry of Finance (Joyce, 2017) compared five different countries’ refugee systems (Sweden, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Germany) which had similar conditions for refugees to integrate into the labour market. The inquiry identified several points where Sweden differed in its approach to refugees, compared to the other countries. One of these points included the role that civil society played. In Germany and the Netherlands, civil society plays a larger role in welfare politics and has taken on a larger part of the responsibility for the reception and integration of refugees in these countries. In these countries, volunteer organisations provided a large proportion of the social support given to new arrivals and also provided several different integration courses on assignment from the state and different municipalities. In Sweden, Norway, and Denmark however, civil society has not had the same role in

integration politics despite it being shown during the 2015 crisis that volunteer organisations and other types of organisation can offer essential inputs to the refugee reception process.

Another important point on which Sweden showed itself to be different from the other countries was that the establishment program that it offered was shorter. The Ministry's inquiry stated that this could influence the refugees' long-term establishment in the labour market (Joyce, 2017). In a different article, it was argued that Sweden has, instead, focused on creating a such a generous refugee policy which has negatively influenced opportunities for labour migrants (i.e., non-refugees) to find attractive jobs in Sweden (Haberfeld & Lundh, 2014; Birgier, Lundh, & Harberfeld, 2016). This situation stands in contrast to what can be found in other Scandinavian countries, which have focused on economic growth and employment opportunities (Halvorsen & Jensen, 2004; Schierup, Hansen, & Castles, 2006; Sainsbury, 2012).

The conditions relevant to labour market integration have also changed during the passing years because the Swedish manufacturing sector has moved large parts of its manufacturing processes to so-called low-cost countries. Consequently, there have been fewer job opportunities which need only low levels of education and language proficiency. The rate of integration has thus decreased; whilst it took 2—3 years for men, and five years for women to find employment during the 1980s, it now takes 15—20 for newly-arrived men and women to achieve the same employment levels (Ruist, 2018). The government claims in its inquiry that future integration of refugees will take place at approximately the same pace as it has done during the last 20 years (Ruist, 2018).

There are also other factors which are relevant to the integration of refugees. The Migration Studies Delegation (Delmi) has highlighted literacy as an important factor. Literacy was measured across three different educational levels in people who looked for refuge in Sweden from the Middle East, Asia, and South America and was then placed into relation to employment rates. In comparison with Swedish-born residents, the human capital (in terms of education and literacy skills) was, in average, lower in the foreign-born population across all educational levels, which impacted on their job opportunities (Pareliussen, 2019). Age was also a variable relevant to the employment differences between residents who were born in Sweden and foreign-born residents. A large proportion of new arrivals who are over 40 years of age, in essence, never enter the labour market (Österberg, 2019). Furthermore, research has shown that there exist stigmatisation and discrimination of refugees in the labour market (De los Reyes & Winborg, 2002; Borevi & Strömblad, 2004; De los Reyes, 2006).

In contrast with previous studies which have examined the role of language proficiency, age, the structure of the labour market, and differences between

different reception systems in the different Scandinavian countries, in the present study we analyse materials from a governance perspective and the perspective of sociological institutionalism. We employ theories of multi-level governance which are focused on how different decision-making levels control employment. We also invoke sociological institutionalism as we explain how cultural patterns influence power relations.

2.2. Research on multi-level governance and civil society

Since the 1980s, research on integration policy has identified the state as the natural party responsible for the formation and implementation of refugee policies and integration processes (Hammar, 1985; Brochmann & Hammar, 1999). The state has proposed several different integration models (Duyendack & Scholten, 2012), but since the beginning of the 2000s, integration research has begun to focus on the local level, and the dynamics found there. Whilst new research has developed within the field of integration studies, multi-level governance has begun to be used descriptively to explain how several different levels of governance can be seen to intervene in integration work (Zincone & Caponio, 2006). From an empirical perspective, however, there is not as much research into how the sub-national level designs its own integration policies (Compomori & Caponio, 2016).

Research into integration policies has shown that integration strategies that are directed at achieving defined results and are pragmatic in their approach lead to a situation where cooperation with actors from the horizontal level is secured. For example, civil society can share information regarding a specific group of refugees or, in some instances, assist in implementing political strategies. At the same time, it is claimed that multi-level governance can lead to conflicts of interests (since multiple actors are involved), which can impact on the shared work that needs to be done to integrate refugees into the labour market (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017). In a scholarly article on multi-level governance of integration work in three different regions in Italy, the researchers concluded that civil society played a subordinate role in integration work since hierarchical structures were central to this goal. However, civil society played a larger role in those regions where bottom-up governance was practised instead of a top-down decision-making process. This was also the case where civil society was allowed to take part in the decision-making process. The authors found that the outcomes across these dimensions, in turn, were dependant on regional politics, the role and degree of engagement of the officials involved, and how welfare policies were traditionally dealt with (Campomori & Caponio, 2016).

In another article, the different consequences of running a centrally governed refugee reception system in Malmö was compared with a locally governed system in Aarhus, in Denmark. In Malmö, the influx of refugees was seen as a drawn-out

crisis, whilst a feeling of control was experienced in Aarhus. This was because they [in Aarhus] were able to build on previous experience of the refugee crisis from the 1990s. The Swedish law concerning the possibility for the asylum-seeker to choose where they wish to live in Sweden has, during the past two decades, been met with criticism based on differences between the government's and the municipalities' approach to this issue. Municipalities which include popular residential locations for refugees claim that their finances are overburdened. In Denmark, the local level of governance has, instead, been granted influence over the content of the national-level integration strategy (Myrberg, 2015). A third study compared civil society's collaboration in interventions concerning refugee reception in eleven different countries (Nagel & Kaya, 2020: 25). In some of these countries, for example, Austria, civil society organisations and even companies were granted social contracts, and thus became operative partners with the public sector. Because the state financed these organisations' work, the scope and direction of their work were regulated by a legal framework. In Sweden, the situation was different. The relevant volunteer organisations' relationship with the state was regulated through contracts which limited their role and their degree of engagement in the reception of refugees. The organisations were given practical roles but allowed no political voice regarding the reception process (Nagel & Kaya, 2020: 25).

Even though previous research has characterised the relationship between the state and civil society as limited, civil society played an essential role in the reception of refugees after the 2015 crisis (SOU, 2017, pp. 12, 81). Civil society claims that their contribution could have been made better use of. A research report published by the Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society (MUCF) argued that civil society was an essential driving force and source of competence in working on the reception of refugees. The organisations that were asked to provide information for MUCF's report stated that they had experienced difficulties after the refugee crisis of 2015. For example, they claimed that there was a lack of knowledge and understanding about civil society in the public sector and they argued that there was a lack of a long-term financial commitment to their organisations and the development of their operations. The same study also identified several obstacles, including an overly-inflated bureaucracy and administration and limitations in existing procurement legislation. The study also found that the civil society actors in smaller municipalities and with less formal organisational structures operated under different conditions compared to the larger municipalities, which implemented a more formal organisational structure (MUCF, 2016a).

Immigrant organisations which are part of civil society, according to a summary report, have contributed positively to the integration process since the 1920s. These activities involve resources which the target group itself possesses. For example, the staff at the organisations often come from the same target group, their offices are located in the same geographical location as the target group, and their activities

and networks are based on the target group's needs. These organisations have a foundational interest in fulfilling the social needs of newly-arrived immigrants in their new country. They share the same experiences, language, culture, and collective memories with the newly-arrived. In the report, Mikael Hellström compares the Swedish migrant labour market integration process with the work being done in Canada. He found several differences and similarities. The most significant difference, he claims, is that the Swedish system is characterised as being more controlled from the top, which, he claims, influences the organisations' view of, and trust in, the authorities and the work that they do for newly-arrived refugees on the labour market (Asplund, Tovatt, & Thalberg, 2017, pp. 28—37).

However, differences in forms of governance are not the only differences that are relevant here. Civil society is structured differently in different countries. The organisational structure of civil society in Sweden is a consequence of historical events and has been shaped under different social and political circumstances. During the late nineteenth century, a veritable host of different associations or 'citizen's associations' were established in Sweden. These associations were, in cases, expression of internal solidarity and independence from the state, and, in other cases, an expression of opposition to the state, for example, as found in the early free church movement (Trägårdh, 2019). During the 1960s and the 1970s, however, the welfare state system laid claim to people's engagement and solidarity within civil society, where it complemented the official production of social welfare with its own 'services'. The march of history and empirical research has shown that this movement towards the provision of 'service' was caused by considerable social interest in voluntary work, both in organised forms and in the form of informal interventions. The Swedish civil society thus differs from other comparable countries in economic and organisational terms—for example, the Swedish civil society is comparably larger. There are approximately 200 000 non-profit associations in Sweden, with 24 000 of them large enough to have employees (von Essen & Svedberg, 2019). They are also growing in size. The turnover of these organisations measured in terms of the GDP of Sweden grew from 4.1% to 5.3% between 1992 and 2002 (von Essen & Svedberg, 2019).

The state financially supports many civil society organisations, especially in the domains of culture, recreation, and social care. However, this support has changed in character—from a direct contribution to associations without requirements concerning the performance of these organisations, since it was assumed that these organisation's activities provided value in themselves, to a situation where specific, welfare-producing operations are funded (von Essen & Svedberg, 2019). Furthermore, the Swedish civil society is more professionalised than in comparable countries. Approximately half of the adult population in Sweden provide voluntary work; on average, this was recorded at 16 hours per month in 2009 (von Essen & Svedberg, 2019). In fact, some reports indicate that Swedish citizens, from an

international perspective, are exceptionally more active in providing voluntary work (von Essen et al., 2019). In Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries, two out of every three citizens are members of at least one association, whilst hardly half of the citizens in the USA, the Netherlands, England, and Germany provide voluntary work. Only one-fourth of the citizens of France and Italy are members of non-profit associations (Vogel et al., 2004).

In summary, previous research has shown that, historically and currently, civil society has shown strong support for and a willingness to engage in social issues. However, civil society has, in many cases, been subordinated by the central hierarchical structures. Governance has changed in response to the conditions found at the local political level and the civil servants at the local level. Governance has also changed in response to ‘soft’ factors, including local history and traditional ways of working. It is thus of interest to use a governance perspective and a sociological perspective to study how one of the largest refugee crises since the 1990s has influenced the role played by civil society in Jönköping, a place where civil society is well-known for its broad engagement in social issues.

3. Theoretical perspectives

3.1. Multi-level governance

Studies about the EU have long been dominated by neo-functionalism and intergovernmentalism (Stephenson, 2013). According to the view provided by intergovernmentalism, the development of the EU is strongly influenced by the member countries' institutional roles, whilst neo-functionalism argues that the increasing levels of integration can be explained in terms of the countries' social and economic motives (Piattoni, 2010, pp. 17—18; Petrariu, 2019). Critics of these theories argue, however, that these theories fail to explain how different actors interact with each other across different levels. The theory of multi-level governance presents an alternative model of how a network of arrangements can give rise to a system of interactions between different levels in a society where power relations spread out in relation to each other. Studies of integration processes in the EU, moreover, have claimed that changes in power relations can lead to structural changes in the countries' systems of governance (Piattoni, 2010, p. 2).

The theory of multi-level governance was first formulated in connection with three different events which took place in the EU. The first event was the reform of the EU's structural funds, which in 1988 gave rise to the notion of 'partnership', where projects were governed by local actors from multiple sectors of society. The second event was the creation of the EU's internal market in 1992, which mobilised several interest groups within a network collaboration. The third event was the adoption of the 'Proximity Principle', which mandated that policy should be made at the lowest level possible. This principle was formulated in a treaty on the EU in 1992 (Stephenson, 2013). In step with these developments within the EU, the theory of multi-level governance was also developed and became quite popular amongst researchers. It can be an advantage for a theory to be widely used since under such circumstances, the theory's explanatory power can be more easily tested. However, one disadvantage with this is that the limits of what the theory might reasonably explain may become somewhat diffuse. One point of criticism of the theory of multi-level governance was that it is assumed to be an 'umbrella theory' of sorts, lacking the ability to explain causal connections, and thus the theory could be classified as a concept, instead. At the same time, it is a useful descriptive theory. Criticism against the theory has been responded to by noting that the other dominant theories in the research area (for example, policy network theory, normative power theory, and coalition theory) can also not predict anything. It has also been claimed that the theory of multi-level governance can be employed to produce a description of the daily decision-making process in the EU and provide an increased understanding of what governance looks like today, and not so much on how such governance came into existence (Stephenson, 2013).

The theory's founders, Marks and Hooghe, set out by investigating the new institutions which were created within the EU member countries. They claim that their primary task was to describe the decision-making that took place at the sub-national level and to examine the connections that the sub-national level had with other levels. These scholars then defined multi-level governance as "a system of continuous negotiations among nested governments at several territorial tiers" (Stephenson, 2013, p. 820) which were the result of a process of the creation of new institutions and shifts in power from the central level to the sub-national level. There are two different ways to describe multi-level governance, namely Model One and Model Two. Model One consists of a limited number of levels where *civil servants* direct negotiation, for example, at an authority, *with general purposes*. In Model Two, negotiation takes place between *flexible actors who are focused on providing a service (Service directed organisations)*. These may include temporary actors who offer a specific service, for example, a school or a non-profit organisation, where the primary purpose of the organisation is to solve a problem. Model Two includes organisations which overlap each other; of which several can be involved in interacting with each other. This leads to a situation where the borders between the organisations become blurred and where hierarchical structures become less significant. In Model Two, *informal relationships* are more straightforward to establish than in Model One (Marks & Hooghe, 2004).

In reality, it is not always possible to distinguish these two models from each other, since both models are often present in combination with each other. Marks and Hooghe claim that Model Two is generally imbedded in Model One (Stegman McCallion, 2007). This point can be illustrated by dividing the models across vertical and horizontal dimensions which can be seen as interacting with each other (see Figure 1). The vertical dimension consists of *general-purpose civil servants* whilst the horizontal dimension consists of *organisations which are focused on providing a service*. Model Two can be identified when actors from the vertical dimension interact with actors from the horizontal dimension. In other words, both Model One and Model Two create different dimensions in a flexible system of multi-level governance. The horizontal and vertical interaction are central parts of multi-level governance since these dimensions can be used to describe how a method of governance can vary, and which actors are interacting with one another (Stegmann McCallion, 2007). Model Two includes at least three dimensions. The first describes what actors interact with and how they do this, namely, primarily horizontally. The second dimension describes how this interaction takes place, for example, often informally. The third dimension describes the nature of the actors, that is to say, whether they are directed at providing a service and whether they are flexible.

The strong point of the theory is that it describes where governance exists between actors who interact with one another and thus it can be assumed that it can describe

the power relations that exist between different levels (Marks & Hooghe, 2004). However, suppose multi-level governance, per definition, consists of actors as a collection of efficient actors and levels of governance which interact with each other “for the common good”, in pursuit of a common goal (Harker, Tylor, & Knight-Lenihan, 2017). In that case, it has only a limited ability to explain the power relations and to identify who the most important actors are and why the power factors are the way they are.

Awesti (2007) has attempted to move on from the theories’ descriptive nature and tested three different theories within the area of neo-institutionalism in an effort to explain how regulations and resources can influence the execution and the dynamics of multi-level governance. Awesti found the following: (i) *Rational choice-institutionalism* can be used to explain how multi-level governance is influenced by national leaders who weigh the pros and cons against each other when they make a decision; a practice which indirectly influenced the leadership’s authority. (ii) *Historical institutionalism* can explain how the historical direction in which institutional structures and processes prevented future change; a circumstance which influenced the development of relationships so that historical norms and values dominated multi-level governance. (iii) *Sociological institutionalism* can explain how a particular behaviour within multi-level governance was dominant; behaviour which actors at the sub-national level try to preserve so as to strengthen their own position in relation to the other levels. Consequently, these structures are strengthened in multi-level governance in such a way that specific regulations are emphasised, thereby preventing the loss of typical ways of working within multi-level governance. This approach encourages an increase in interactions but also resulted in a certain inertia within these structures (Stephenson, 2013). We find that sociological institutionalism can be of use as we present our results, and so we present this theory in more detail in the next section.

3.2. Sociological institutionalism

Sociological institutionalism first emerged during the 1970s when sociologists began to question the assumed causes of a bureaucracy’s efficiency and the rational way in which it operated. The general conception about the organisations’ productivity was based on the explanation that modern governance operates in a way that is rational and efficient. Many sociologists instead claimed that the processes that lie behind the productivity could be explained in terms of an organisational culture which had not necessarily developed to function efficiently but was the result of re-occurring ways of operating. According to sociological institutionalism, actions which take place within an organisation can be explained in terms of culture. This theory focuses on explaining why organisations act in the way that they do, that is to say, how different ways of taking action leads to a

culture, which, in turn, influences future ways of taking action and thereby the development of the organisation. Institutional rules, norms, and structures are thus not seen as rational solutions to problems of efficiency but are viewed as culturally constructed, instead. According to the theory, reoccurring behaviour is a result of the *logic of appropriateness* which indicates that an action is in accordance with what has already been taken as 'given' (Hall & Taylor, 1996). This is especially the case with respect to expectations, roles, and identities:

The logic of appropriateness is a perspective on how human action is to be interpreted. Action, policy-making included, is seen as driven by rules of appropriate or exemplary behaviour, organised into institutions. Rules are followed because they are seen as natural, rightful, expected, and legitimate. Actors seek to fulfil the obligations encapsulated in a role, an identity, a membership in a political community or group, and the ethos, practices, and expectations of its institutions. (March & Olsen, 2011, p. 478)

Sociological institutionalism differs from the other theories within neo-institutionalism (i.e., rational choice theory and historical institutionalism) in three different ways. First, the theory possesses a more profound and broader explanatory power by virtue of its focus on culture, in comparison to other typical institutional theories which explain behaviour as being caused by formal rules within an organisation (Hall & Taylor, 1996). The other difference is that an institution, according to the theory, constitutes a culture in itself. The third difference is that the connection between institutions and individual actions gives rise to a particular culture. Institutions influence individual ways of action which are formed as cognitive scripts, social perceptions, and models of how a particular thing or event should be. Because social roles influence individual actions, it is determined that institutions influence behaviour and expectations about what is 'given' at any one moment. Thus, a social way of action can also be an efficient way of action, which is the sociologist's explanation for rational productivity within an organisation.

3.3. Operationalisation

The two models of multi-level governance are used to describe (i) which actors integrated refugees into the labour market and (ii) how this took place. The models used in the analysis focus on the actors' interactions with each other (in the public sector and civil society) and on how the governance of the work that was done shifted between the public sector and civil society. The models are not only used to describe multi-level governance of the work done in integrating refugees into the labour market in Jönköping but also to explain why the organisations included in this study interacted with each other. The logic of appropriateness is foundational to the explanations why the actors in this study interacted with each other and governed with other actors from different levels.

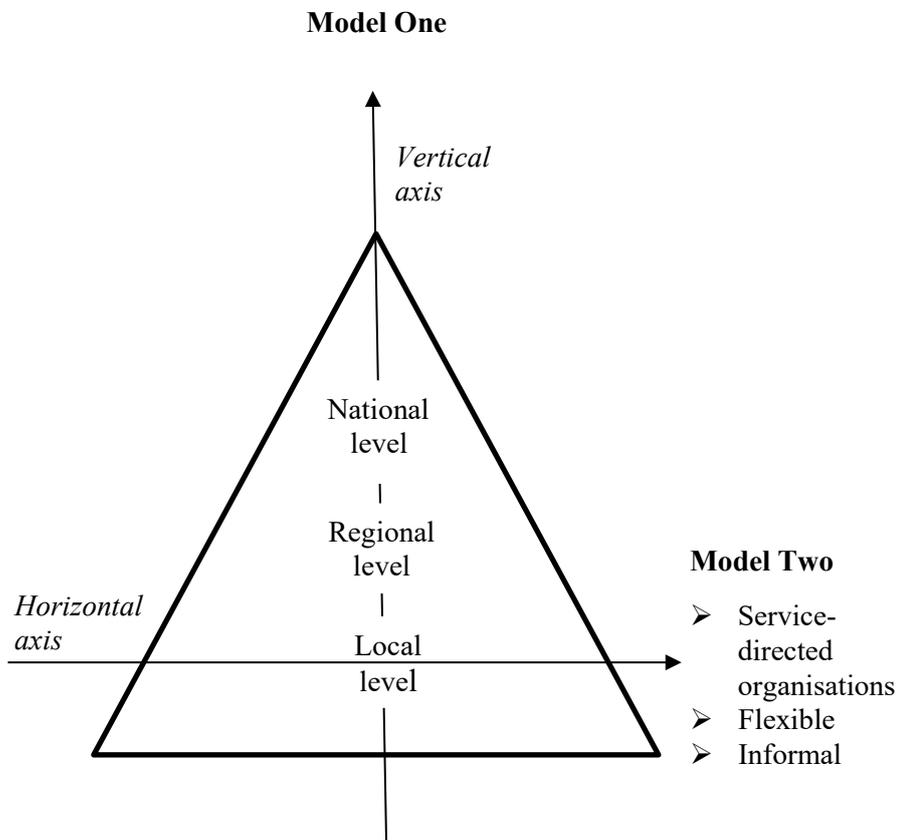


Figure 1.

Operationalisation

4. The study's methodology and design

4.1. The research design of the study

This study includes a qualitative comparative case study of civil society in Jönköping and its work with integrating refugees into the labour market after the refugee crisis of 2015. We conducted a series of interviews in the data collection stage of the study. This is an excellent strategy to apply when one wishes to collect information from a specific target group (Ritchie, Lewis, McNaughton Nicholls, & Ormston, 2014, p. 38). The study takes an inductive approach which entailed that the empirical material was first collected and then linked to several theoretical concepts. Note that an inductive method allows for a more flexible approach which allows for inspiration to be obtained from other relevant field studies (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, p. 51). This means that the theory explains the interview materials and not vice versa; thus, the existence of that which is to be explained precedes the choice of theory (Lowndes, Marsh, & Stroker, 2018, pp. 177—182).

The theory of multi-level governance is suitable for our purposes because the actors included in this study interacted with each other to a large extent in connection with their work on integrating refugees into the labour market. Because of the theory's descriptive nature and its limited ability to explain causal connections, it was judged that sociological institutionalism was also suitable for this study to explain the causes behind the interactions and the governance that took place. Qualitative comparative studies are more aimed at developing an understanding of a problem area that measuring differences, as is done in quantitative studies. A comparative study will provide, amongst other things, the researcher the opportunity to investigate how a phenomenon is made manifest to different observational units (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014, p. 65). In our study, the observational units are compared with each other and analysed with the help of the two theories described above.

4.2. Choice of observational units

A comparative study entails that the choice of units that are included in the study [i.e., the observational units] must be structured according to similar features (Arthur et al., 2014, p. 148). Although the actors from the public sector were different from the actors from civil society, what they had in common is that they all worked towards the integration of refugees. Table 1 provides an overview of which actors from civil society and the public sector are included in this study and what interventions they made in connection with the refugee crisis of 2015. The comparison that is made in this study is not focused on differences in the actual work that was done. Instead, it focuses on *how* the work that was done on

integrating refugees differs between the actors included in this study. A multi-level perspective and a sociological perspective is adopted for this purpose. If the study were focused on how the actual work had enabled the process of labour market integration, then we would have needed to focus on similar work that was being performed by all of the actors, instead. The actors in this study were selected from The Network for Refugee Support and Integration [Flyktingstöd och integration], which is a network in Jönköping where actors from both civil society and the public sector get together and are engaged in collecting and sharing information about the reception of refugees and other socially-relevant events. The organisations included in civil society represent the broad business and industrial life in Jönköping, and consequently, these organisations are very different. Some of these organisations have a very long history behind them, whilst others, for example, Integrera Mera [Integrate More] and All-In, were started in connection with the refugee crisis and have the specific aim of facilitating integration.

Table 1.

An overview of the different actors' interventions within the area of integration

Public sector	
The City Council	To promote collaboration and coordination.
Social Administration	Arrange accommodation, school admission, and support and guidance for unaccompanied minors.
Social Services	Residential unit: work with families and single people share information about the rules governing transit accommodation.
Culture and Leisure Services Department	Responsible for the Network for Refugee Support and Integration. Promotes dialogue and contact between member organisations.
Jönköping County Council	Provide protection and a haven for journalists who come from oppressed countries.
The Swedish Public Employment Service	Responsible for the establishment program, matches educational attainment with jobs.

Civil society organisations

Churches and church-based organizations

Fjällstugan	Attend the integration council, where different representatives from different activities are present to discuss how one can work together in the future.
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Ansgari kyrkan	Arrange language cafes and general activities (knitting, games, sports).
Equmeniakyrkan	Provide support and is a resource for congregations regarding, for example, language cafes and school homework
Bankeryds missionsförsamling	Language cafes, nature experiences for newly-arrived refugees, indoor hockey for unaccompanied minors.
Studieförbundet Bilda	Support member organisations with study circles, culture study circles, and other group activities, for example, courses in Swedish for asylum seekers, and film viewings for residents of the HVB home in Jönköping.
Pingstkyrkan (<i>The Pentecostal church</i>)	Arrange language cafes.
Öxnehagakyrkan	Arrange language cafes and give guidance to refugees.

Nonprofit organizations and similar

IM (Individuell människohjälp)	Arrange language cafes for women
All-In	A social business which is commissioned by both the private sector and the public sector to provide services within industry. Guide unaccompanied minors, provide job opportunities and in-work experience for unaccompanied minors.
Röda Korset (<i>The Red Cross</i>)	Arrange language cafes for newly-arrived refugees and people who have residency.
Erikshjälpen	Arranges football for everyone who is interested.
Husqvarna FF (<i>Husqvarna Football Club, FC</i>)	Integration project and collaboration with the Smeden activity hall. Arranges football and other activities.
Smålandsidrotten	Works specifically with local sports associations to include different target groups of young people who have different abilities.
Zlatanera Cup	Arranges games, football, and a community for newly-arrived individuals.
Integrera Mera	Validation of previous educational attainment and organises work for newly-arrived individuals. Arranges job fairs.
Österängens konsthall (<i>Österängen Art Gallery</i>)	Language cafes, art projects with newly-arrived individuals in the area of film and creativity

4.3. Data collection

During the spring of 2018, we conducted structured and semi-structured interviews with representatives of a total of 23 actors in Jönköping. A structured interview entails that there is a list of questions that is structured in terms of pre-determined questions. Even a semi-structured interview employs a structured list of questions which are asked of every informant in the study, but it is also flexible in the sense that follow-up questions can be asked (Gillham & Jamison Gromark, 2008). According to Ritchie et al., (2014), the selection of respondents in a study such as this is based on two criteria: (i) a high degree of diversity within the group, and (ii) symbolic representation in the target group (Ritchie et al., 2014, pp. 111—146). The organisations which were selected to be part of this study represent both the public sector and the non-profit sector's work on integration since everyone involved had taken on this assignment. They were also employed different approaches in dealing with the refugee crisis, which created a high degree of diversity in the study.

The respondents from the public sector consisted of civil servants who were responsible for the specific aspects of the integration work about which we asked them. From amongst the larger civil society organisations, we interviewed permanent employees who were assigned to work with integration and temporary employees who were employed for a specific project. In the smaller organisations, our respondents included founding members, chairpersons, board members, and engaged members. The interviews were conducted at the respondents' place of work or their home. The list of questions that was used during the interviews can be found in Appendix 1. The interviews were recorded and transcribed. In total, the interview materials consist of 178 pages of transcribed text.

4.4. Ethical aspects

This study complies with the Swedish Research Council's ethical guidelines. The interviewers presented themselves as researchers and informed the interviewees of the purpose of the study. The respondents provided consent for their participation. Because the object of this research comprises organisations and not people, ethical approval was not applied for. We did not ask any questions about particular people, and no personal details were taken down (besides the respondent's name and contact details, for practical reasons). The recorded interviews were stored in a safe place with the project leader at Jönköping University, and only the authors of this report have had access to the transcribed materials.

4.5. Thematic analysis

The method of analysis that was used in this study is thematic analysis since it is flexible and inter-disciplinary. This meant that it could be used across different scientific fields with many different basic assumptions (Braun, 2006). The purpose of thematic analysis is to highlight and report on different types of patterns that exist in the empirical material. By creating systematic order in interview materials, the researcher can discover subjects which can be developed further into a theme (Spencer et al., 2014, p. 271). The inductive approach was chosen for this study after the interview materials were read for the first time. At that point, it was decided that multi-level governance and sociological institutionalism were the theories that were most suited to our research questions and were suitable theoretical points of departure to explain and highlight different parts of the interview materials that we had collected. According to Spencer et al., (2014 p. 279), authors should capture and present the phenomenon in question as close to the interview materials as possible. We have thus striven to account for as much as possible of the interview materials. Braun (2006) outlines the following steps in a thematic analysis: (i) acquaint oneself with the data material; (ii) generate a set of initial codes; (iii) search for themes; (iv) evaluate the themes; (v) define and label the themes; and (vi) compile a report.

In Step 1, where the aim is to become acquainted with the data material, the primary author read through the interview materials carefully so as to identify changes in the interactions between the organisations and the governance of the work done towards integration as well as similar motivations behind the collaboration.

In the second step, the material was coded. The MS Office EXCEL program was used to sort the codes which were similar to each other between the actors included in the study.

In Step 3, regularities began to emerge in (i) the actors' interaction patterns, (ii) the governance of the work that was done, and (iii) the motivations behind the work with integration. This included how the organisations' narratives about the founding of their organisations or their operations were similar to each other.

In Step 4, the themes were evaluated according to the patterns which had been identified; i.e., whether a pattern related to one church was relevant to all churches.

In Step 5, the patterns were defined in terms of their theoretical relevance. This included the degree to which a pattern could be described by Model One or Model Two and be explained in terms of the logic of appropriateness.

In the final step, Step 6, the themes that were identified in Step 5 were reported on. Figure 2 presents a summary of the thematic procedure for the theme "service-oriented organisations".

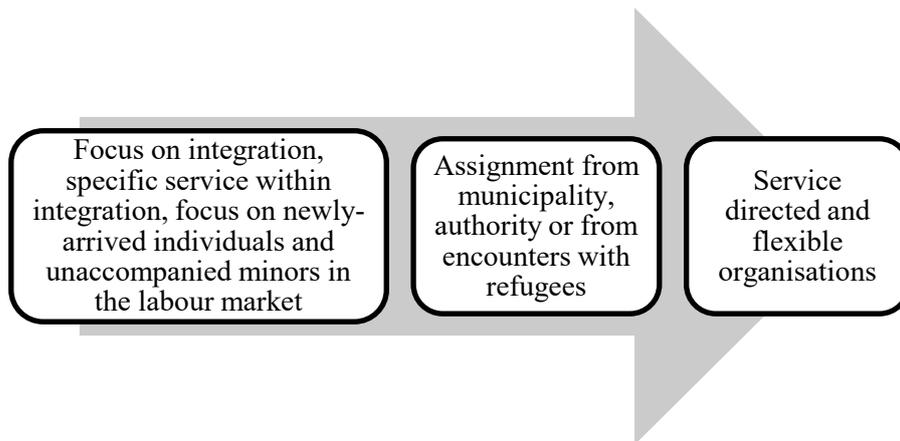


Figure 2.

The coding process of the interview materials

An example of an extract from which the codes were derived:

This is a small part of the larger refugee reception [process]. I work as an area manager, so I have been involved since 2015 **when the municipalities made a strategic decision that we must take responsibility in our own municipalities.** To arrange accommodation, school attendance, and support these youths in their integration. (Social Administration)

The aim is quite clear; it is to get newly-arrived individuals closer to the labour market and primarily unaccompanied minors. **The starting point was that I was working with unaccompanied [minors] and someone said that that he had applied to one of the largest employers in the municipality.** Everything looked promising until the employer saw that he did not have any previous employment in Sweden and they could not then employ anyone who could not provide a reference in that way and then I thought that we could help in some way. (All-In)

5. Results

The results section is organised in terms of the order of the interview questions which the respondents answered. The interviews began with several questions about the organisation that the respondent worked for and about integration. These were followed by questions about with whom and how the organisation collaborated with other organisations. The results of the interviews were then related to the theoretical perspective of this study and is reported on in the section where we present our analysis.

5.1. The organisations' background, size, and resources

5.1.1. *The organisations' background*

All of the organisations that were included in this study reported that the work that they do to help refugees to integrate into the labour market is either by assignment from the municipality and authorities, or from their interaction with refugees and their [the organisations'] desire to provide assistance or a combination of both.

The respondents in the public sector reported that the refugee crisis and certain changes in some vulnerable regions of Jönköping caused the municipality to establish several new initiatives. The City Council in Jönköping, for example, reported on how the municipalities funded collaboration processes in four vulnerable areas: Råslätt, Österängen, Öxnehaga, and South Huskvarna. Funding was provided to area groups to enable integration work and collaboration regarding security issues. The collaborative network in *Flyktingstöd och Integration* [the Network for Refugee Support and Integration] consisted of participants from civil society and the public sector. Jönköping County Council initiated the network and then was taken over by civil society. The municipality later assumed overarching responsibility for the network and moved it to the Culture and Leisure Administration. The municipality also initiated the interventions made by the Social Administration. The Public Employment Service in Jönköping has worked on integration since 2010 when the responsibility for labour market integration had been removed from the municipality. The goal of this change in responsibility was to reduce unemployment rates amongst newly-arrived individuals. However, the politicians also identified that there was a need to help unaccompanied minors at school. Another department in the Social Administration noted that newly-arrived families who were housed in transit accommodation needed help with information about how the different parts of the new accommodation functioned.

This is a small part of the larger refugee reception [process]. I work as an area manager, so I have been involved since 2015 when the municipalities

made a strategic decision that we must take responsibility in our own municipalities. To arrange accommodation, school attendance, and support these youths in their integration. (Social Administration)

The associations which have direct contact with the labour market (All-In and Integrera Mera) were established after their founders came into contact with refugees. The interview respondent from Integrera Mera reported how their conversation with a newly-arrived person gave rise to the insight that many other newly-arrived people possessed professional competencies in areas where there was a shortage of labour in Sweden. In response to this insight, the organisation arranged job fairs for newly-arrived individuals and companies in Jönköping. The interview respondent from All-In reported how a conversation with a refugee revealed to the respondent how employers' lack of trust in newly-arrived people and a lack of assurances prevented the integration of refugees in the labour market:

The aim is quite clear; it is to get newly-arrived individuals closer to the labour market and primarily unaccompanied minors. The starting point was that I was working with unaccompanied [minors] and someone said that that he had applied to one of the largest employers in the municipality. Everything looked promising until the employer saw that he did not have any previous employment in Sweden and they could not then employ anyone who could not provide a reference in that way and then I thought that we could help in some way. (All-In)

The sports associations that are included in the study reported that work with integrating newly-arrived individuals is, amongst other things, linked to their value systems which are intended to bring society and sports together. However, their work was also done on assignment from the municipality or from the state. For example, Smålandsidrotten [Småland Sports Association] is a part of the National Sports Association, from whom they received money to work with diversity issues and inclusion of asylum seekers, but also with people who have residency during an initial settling-in period. According to Smålandsidrotten, sports associations must work inclusively, if sport is to survive and if the organisation is to be open to everyone. Husqvarna FC worked with social projects that were also financed by the municipality, for example. Amongst others, they worked with people with different needs from the four vulnerable areas in the municipality. Zlatanera Cup was founded after an internal discussion amongst the founding members in connection with the refugee crisis of 2015.

The people who were interviewed for this study who came from non-profit organisations and various churches reported that their activities for newly-arrived people began in connection with the refugee crisis, once the government had reserved funding for specific social interventions with integration work. This was

intended to provide asylum seekers with the opportunity to develop their Swedish language proficiency during the time their asylum application was being processed:

Then if you look now at the connection with the refugee situation, we received the money. The government has allocated money, for example, to the Red Cross and other volunteer organisations, and so then we have been able to request funding from the Red Cross for our local operations, and we have been able to receive money from the municipality's integration unit. (Red Cross)

5.1.2. *The organisations' size*

Of all of the non-profit associations included in this study, only Erikshjälpen had more than six employees. The other associations' staff numbers varied between one and three, whilst volunteers primarily conduct the Red Cross's operations in Jönköping. A large proportion of their funding is provided by the state, the municipality, Jönköping County Council, and local businesses. One of the most frequently mentioned sources of funding was Jönköping County Council which used the Tidigare Insatser (TIA, Early Intervention) fund to distribute project funding for work with unaccompanied minors and young people. The funding also depended on what type of operations was conducted by the organisations. For example, the Red Cross, Erikshjälpen, and Österängen's art gallery made money from the sale of second-hand clothes and their cafes.

Even the churches included in this study financed employees in their integration work with funds they received from the County Council via the TIA fund. How a church received its funding also influenced its interaction with other churches. The Free Churches which are more dependent on the weekly collection plate and gifts from their congregants cooperated more with each other than with the Swedish Church, which enjoys a more stable source of funding. Notwithstanding these differences, the churches were of similar size in terms of the number of employees they had, their income, and the volunteer work they provided. The number of employees varied between none at all to seven. All of the churches claimed that there was a great need for volunteers.

The money comes from the County Council, and it is them, of course, who made previous interventions of asylum seekers which I work quite a lot with. These are, of course, interventions for people over the age of 18 years. [The money] has to be...directed towards them and Swedish language [teaching], work-life, the labour market and healthcare which we then work with. (Equmeniakyrkan)

Out of the sports associations and Zlatanera Cup, only the Småland Sports Association had paid staff in addition to leaders who worked voluntarily for the

local sports associations. The income of each organisation is mainly dependent on either sponsorship and funding from the state and municipality. Zlatanera Cup is the only association which is entirely dependant on collaboration with local businesses, whilst Husqvarna FC and the Småland Sports Association receive funding from membership fees and a state subsidy.

The organisations which are aimed at providing work are primarily financed by state, regional, and municipal contributions. All-In receives funding from the European Social Fund via Leader Västra Småland, which financed four employees in the project, of whom three are guidance councillors, and the other is the project leader for the 2.5-year duration of the project. Integrera Mera is financed by project funding from the County Council, but, in general, all the other interventions that are made in connection with the job fairs is voluntary.

The actors within the public sector finance their operations through municipal or state funding. Integration work is most often performed by a person who is assigned a particular function, for example, in the Culture and Leisure Administration and the City Council's office. However, the whole budget for integration work is held by the City Council at Jönköping municipality, since it is the entity which coordinates the funding for integration work across the different associations. This funding is intended for work with integration in, amongst others, Jönköping's four vulnerable areas: Öxnehaga, Österängen, South Husqvarna, and Råslätt. These funds should also be used to support collaborative processes and provide conditions for civil society associations to cooperate with each other:

The tools that we have at the strategy unit include, amongst others, municipal project money for integrations and collaboration. These are not large sums of money but are still a tool which can be used to encourage and support associations in civil society, and even specific projects that fall under municipal control which promote integration and participation. However, it is also used to create or distinguish between four priority suburbs in Jönköping municipality, which are Öxnehaga, Österängen, South Husqvarna, and Råslätt. (City Council)

At the Social Administration, Social Services, and the Public Employment Service, two employees are assigned to work with integration. In Jönköping county, there is no dedicated unit for integration. Instead, it is included in a role within the Culture and Development unit. None of the actors from the public sector reported on volunteer work being done. The turnover for the organisations which have been tasked to work with integration varies between a few hundred thousand SEK and 14 million SEK.

5.1.3. Resources

Nearly all of the people who were interviewed for this study claimed that collaboration was a necessary condition for working with integration, since collaboration brought various types of resources to the table which are essential to the organisation. Furthermore, they increase the actors' ability to make their own decisions concerning integration. Collaboration is a source of additional information about the situation; it is a source of personnel and resources which may otherwise be lacking in one's own organisation, and thus creates the necessary conditions to actually perform integration work. Collaboration makes it possible for organisations to reinforce and complement each other's integration work. The respondents who came from organisations that were actually engaged in performing integration work reported that collaboration was driven by a willingness to contribute to decisions which concerned integration instead of only following the state's mandate in this area. The respondents from the churches reported that collaboration led to a better world and that the different organisations complemented each other's activities:

I believe that you are stronger together if you complement each other. Sometimes, organisations don't have to do the same thing. You get further if you know each other and inform each other about each other's work. You learn from each other. (Erikshjälpen)

Österängen Art Hall also emphasised the importance of networks and collaboration with other nearby organisations. Other resources which are needed in this area, in addition to the benefits which flow from collaboration, are opinions, ideas, and engagement. The sports associations, for example, claimed that there is a constant need for people's engagement and material resources, whilst Zlatanera Cup emphasised the need of a network of contacts which includes not only people from different associations but also from the world of business and industry. All-In also agreed that resources from the business world were necessary for their operations. Two of four churches replied that the volunteer work that they perform in their language cafes is their largest resource, and thus they have a great need for volunteers. The respondent from Zlatanera Cup summarised this need for both a network of contacts and for volunteers in the following remarks:

You need a contact network. The right people are needed to get to know the world of business and the world of associations. Also, we need human resources to help out during the day. (Zlatanera Cup)

Table 2.

A summary of the responses to questions pertaining to background, size, and resources

Area	Response
Background of the integration work	(1) Public sector (excluding Jönköping County Council): Assignment from the municipality to interact with civil society and between associations which are focused on integration. (2) Civil society (churches and non-profit associations): Assignment from authorities, whilst some were founded in direct response to the refugee crisis.
Size and financial maintenance	(1) Public sector: Municipal funding. (2) Civil society: State, regional, and municipal funding. Sponsorship by local businesses.
Resources	(1) Public sector: Need for collaboration. (2) Civil society: Need for networks, interactions with other non-profit associations, and volunteer human resources.

5.2. Working with integration

5.2.1. *The scope of integration work*

The public sector (Jönköping County Council, the Social Administration, and the Culture and Leisure Administration) had specific employees who were tasked with working on integration issues on a full-time basis. Amongst the civil society organisations, this varied, and in cases where they have employees who worked on integration, these were primarily financed by state or municipal funding. The organisations, All-In, Integrera Mera, and Zlatanerna Cup, only worked on integration—it was the refugee crisis that caused these organisations to be founded. For others, including the Red Cross, who were rapid in using volunteer interventions to arrange emergency assistance after the refugee crisis, their interventions towards integration became a large part of their operations. The sports associations blended integration work into their usual operations, and the churches broadened the scope of their integration work quite dramatically in response to the refugee crisis. Some of the churches employed staff who spend approximately half their time on integration work whilst other churches were completely reliant on volunteers. Öxnehaga church, for example, had one volunteer who was available to assist newly-arrived people, 24 hours per day. This extensive work with integration is reflected in the Social Administration’s description of this particular operation:

All of our work is directed towards this. To get them to enter society. (Social Administration)

5.2.2. *Jönköping as a suitable location for integration work*

The majority of the people whom we interviewed informed us that Jönköping can be characterised by a high degree of participation in civil society organisations by the people who live in the municipality and that this organised form of volunteer work is part of Jönköping's history and is thus an important tradition. The respondents also claimed that Jönköping possesses the prerequisite social and economic conditions which favour civil society activities. The sports associations, for example, reported how easily local businesses make resources available. The churches, on the other hand, highlighted their long history of solidarity and social engagement and claimed that their current-day engagement stems from this tradition. The public sector also referred to historical practices and tradition as a necessary explanation as to why Jönköping is currently such an excellent place to engage in integration work. There also exists the necessary political conditions for this too, because the municipality is keen to collaborate with civil society:

The civil society in Jönköping is particularly strong, and the tradition with the churches is robust, as it is in the business sector, too. The necessary conditions are better here than in many other places, and this is because of tradition, perhaps. (Culture and Leisure Administration)

The Public Employment Service also mentioned the healthy civil society in Jönköping and the number of industries that are located within the municipality and the consequent good labour market.

Yes, there is, of course, a good labour market in Jönköping, and there are lots of industries, and we have a quite well-functioning civil society when it comes to integration. The churches do a thorough job for newly-arrived individuals. (The Public Employment Service)

Several organisations motivate their involvement by reporting that they wish to become engaged in the vulnerable areas in Jönköping. Two of the organisations that were interviewed claimed that some regions of the city had a great need for social and economic support, and that is why they specifically work with integration in these particular areas. Jönköping did not have an official art gallery; a circumstance which prompted an organisation to open an art gallery in one of the vulnerable areas of the city and thereby use art in its integration work.

In Jönköping, there are four areas which need to be developed both economically and socially, and for us, it feels good to be there, because then we can work on our issues. They are integration and sustainability; we want a society which is cohesive in the long-term. (IM)

5.2.3. *Different types of activities*

All of the organisations included in this study performed similar activities. The most common activities in Jönköping were the arrangement of language cafes and language instruction. These activities have even depended on the organisations' regular operations. For example, the sports associations which participated in this study work with integration by using sport. For example, they might arrange football training for newly-arrived boys. It is more difficult to attract girls to play football, and so they used different activities instead, for example, cooking classes. Husqvarna FC cooperated locally with Bilda and Österängen's art gallery in Smeden to combine sports with other cultural activities for newly-arrived teenagers. The churches were most active in providing Swedish language instruction and other educational activities. For example, newly-arrived individuals were provided with the opportunity to meet with the staff from critical social services, such as the fire station. The churches are also active in disseminating local values and engaging in discussions about social issues regarding the police, ambulance service, and other important social actors:

We have had Swedish language instruction, 120 students from Monday to Friday for two years now, which is an excellent aid for integration. Many people who have asked for asylum have been able to do the SFI examination when they receive residency. We have language cafes which have grown. There, we have highlighted many important social issues. We have had the police, the ambulance service, we have talked about the environment and equality. We have a different theme each time. Many new relationships have been established, and so many have been invited to other people's homes. We have summer activities where one can speak Swedish, paint, and do sports. (Pingstkyrkan)

However, the work-directed organisations and the Public Employment Service have had the greatest focus on integration in the labour market. Two of these organisations mentioned, amongst other issues, how a lack of employment insurance and not being sure of what decision the Swedish Migration Board will make leads to difficulties in their integration work with asylum seekers. This could be interpreted as a system failure, according to All-In, who claimed that asylum seekers could have an uncertain status which prevents them from integrating with the labour market:

The biggest system failure we have is that we don't work with integration with asylum seekers because they have to be insured, and they can't be insured because they are asylum seekers. (All-In)

All-In and Integrera Mera thus spent time on creating employment opportunities for newly-arrived individuals. All-In worked directly with manufacturing industries

to create job opportunities for newly-arrived young people, whilst Integrera Mera arranged large job fairs for newly-arrived individuals.

The state tasks the Public Employment Service to match people's competence with work opportunities and also to mediate subsidised employment for refugees. However, the public sector also worked in the social and collaborative domains during the refugee crisis. Certain agencies were tasked to take care of newly-arrived young people and support them in their school attendance and with new homes, whilst other agencies supported newly-arrived families in transit accommodation. Two agencies were tasked to coordinate contact pathways between civil society and the public sector in vulnerable areas during the refugee crisis. How civil society and the public sector often mixed social work and labour market integration together can be seen in the following response from Integrera Mera, for example:

Our focus has been on labour market integration, but we have provided other 'soft' activities, of course, for example, in the form of concerts. We also held an international food festival.

5.2.4. *Performance measurements*

Only the Public Employment Service had concrete goals and performance indicators for their work. Almost all of the other organisations in this study believed that integration work could not be measured, except in terms of the number of visitors who participate in an activity. Whilst Integrera Mera said that financial contributors could demand a more rational evaluation of the results of integration work, All-In argued that integration processes are not measurable because the success that newly-arrived young people may experience is challenging to report on. Of course, it is possible to report on the number of participants in an activity, but this is not necessarily a measurement of integration.

But then it is not just about securing a job; instead, we are also guides for unaccompanied minors who have come closer to the labour market. One young person had received counselling and was able to secure a high-flying job, and he was worthy of it, of course, but in this area, we don't have so many performance measurement tools. This is from a student counsellor's perspective. (All-In)

Many of our respondents claimed, however, that the results of their work can perhaps be evaluated when newly-arrived individuals succeed in securing accommodation, a job, and have learned Swedish. However, Österängen's art gallery stated that it takes 10—15 years before a person is integrated, which makes a quick evaluation of the performance of these organisations impossible. The Erikshjälpen association claimed that this involved assessing how deeply a person had established himself in society, something which is difficult to measure

objectively and then report back to the association's financiers. Then there is the difficulty with following up on people who had participated in the association's activities, not least because newly-arrived individuals can be quickly re-located to another location in Sweden. The churches and even the public sector informed us that they do not measure the results of their work, either because of the problems associated with the actual process of making measurements or because performance measurement was not as important as the value that integration work is assumed to produce:

It is difficult to measure results. One measures either quantity or quality. How deep the integration is or how many people you have reached. I believe that many organisations can show better figures than we can. (Erikshjälpen)

There has been no need for performance evaluations, because the point is, of course, what the network produces, the benefit is the value that exists in creating this meeting place. (Culture and Leisure Administration)

Neither did the sports associations measure the results of their work following strict rules or metrics set out by the state or the municipality. Husqvarna FC does not impose any demands to measure the results of its integration work in terms of figures, and this is the same for Zlatanerna Cup. The sports associations do, however, measure their integration work in terms of how social interventions support the inclusion of children and young people who have disadvantaged backgrounds. This practice is also applied by Småland Sports, who demand that their local chapters must work more on inclusion:

For that exact reason that we have become broader and we try to get the local chapters to think of the larger picture and not force everyone to... this is perhaps our structure which sometimes is wrong. That is what we have to change so that everyone can feel welcome. (Smålandsidrotten)

5.3. Opinions about factors which promote integration

5.3.1. *Employment*

The respondents were asked to identify what they thought were the most critical factors which promoted integration. They all ranked 'employment' between '9' and '10' on a 10-point scale in response to the question of how they judged employment as being essential to integration for newly-arrived individuals. The majority of all of the organisations were in agreement that employment increases the possibility of integration because newly-arrived individuals are then able to find themselves in a social context, i.e., a workplace. Employment also creates economic opportunities which reinforce the newly-arrived person's sense of autonomy—to be able to

provide for oneself and thereby reduce one's dependency on authorities and the municipality.

You create relationships, that how is it, of course. You accept help differently, it doesn't cost you anything, and this teaches you the whole of the Swedish model and business life and so..., but with a job, it's like you can look after yourself, you provide for yourself, and you feel, ok, I can cover my own costs. (Zlatanera Cup)

5.3.2. *Accommodation*

'Accommodation' was a factor that was ranked between '6' and '10' on the 10-point scale. Many of the people who were interviewed claimed that having accommodation did not play an as important a role as 'employment' for the actual process of integration. They suggested that newly-arrived individuals can be integrated even if the person does not have a permanent home, or that having a job will cause a person to obtain accommodation more quickly.

What is more important, a job or accommodation? It is difficult to decide, but I can say that if you have a job, then it is much easier to get accommodation later. So, having accommodation is very important, but I think that I would rank having a job over having accommodation, but I give '10' to both. (Integrera Mera)

5.3.3. *Educational attainment*

Two out of all of the organisations who participated in the study claimed that the refugees' level of educational attainment was a significant factor for integration, whilst the majority of the organisations stated that previous education had no impact on integration—work opportunities existed, and one could obtain knowledge in Sweden. The organisations which claimed that possessing an education had a positive effect on integration argued that an education from one's home country could strengthen the possibility of a newly-arrived person to continue with their career in Sweden.

Then I think that in Sweden, we evaluate a person's education, there is nothing wrong in that it is unnecessary, but you also have to be...realistic...I would say '6' or '7'. (All-In)

Yes, education is obvious. We have women who held leadership roles at university and lawyers, and the breadth is extensive, and they were keen on having their education validated in Sweden, and learn Swedish to get into [the system]. (IM)

5.3.4. *Health*

'Health' is a factor which was ranked the lowest by our respondents. The majority of them thought that a person's health was important, but that integration was mostly dependant on having a job and language skills. Enjoying good health could, instead, be seen as a result of a person having a job and, thereby, the person was even more integrated into society:

I don't really know how I should grade it ['health']. I think that it is quite important to work, and then you feel better. Some people whom I have met on the labour market have said that it takes time to enter work life, and then you just go home and don't feel so well, and then 'health' becomes more important in some way. (All-In)

5.3.5. *Language*

'Language proficiency' was ranked high by all of the organisations that were interviewed for the study. 'Language proficiency' was thought to strengthen the newly-arrived person's ability to understand society, something which also facilitated the person's job opportunities and social interaction:

Yes, I put that at '10'. Without the language, you will get nowhere in Sweden. (IM)

5.3.6. *Mutual integration*

The organisations included in this study were asked to choose another factor which they thought was necessary for a successful integration process. The majority of informants referred to 'mutual integration', a factor which should be promoted from both sides. Swedish people should be open to learning about and inviting in newly-arrived people to Sweden, whilst newly-arrived people should make an effort to adapt to local values.

From our side, 'mutual integration' is difficult to achieve. They [immigrants] can participate and be part of society, but from the Swedish people's side, they [Swedes] don't open up their doors. (IM)

But I believe that it is important to recognise the cultural codes. It might not be possible to say that we all share a common set of values in Sweden, because it is not consistent. But I believe anyway that we are different across several points, if you compare, for example, with the Middle East. (Erikshjälpen)

Some organisations suggested that the concept of 'integration' needs to be re-defined since it contains a tension between (A) the party who does the integration

work and (B) the party who is to be integrated. This tension creates an imbalance of power, where the newly-arrived person is placed in a subordinate position, whilst the person who controls the integration process is in a superordinate position:

This is a question of defining what ‘integration’ is, an inclusion which one should be able to talk about. Certain people state that there is a power aspect in the integration process so that those people who come here [immigrants] have less power than those people who define ‘integration. (All-In)

Table 3.

A summary overview of the answers about “work and integration”

Area	Answers
The scope of integration work	<p>(1) The public sector: certain services and activities are dedicated to working 100% with integration.</p> <p>(2) Civil society: variable, between voluntarily-governed activities within the area of integration to several employees who work with integration to projects which are entirely directed towards integration work.</p>
Jönköping as a suitable location	The public sector and civil society: There are favourable conditions in Jönköping, including high levels of participation in associations, social involvement/engagement, and contacts with the business sector.
Different types of activities	<p>(1) Public sector: support provided in the form of information about how transit accommodation works, coordination of support for unaccompanied minors and young people, network cooperation via <i>Flyktingstöd och integration</i> [the Network for Refugee Support and Integration], and collaboration processes.</p> <p>(2) Civil society: language cafes, educational activities, social intercourse.</p>
Performance evaluation	<p>(1) The public sector does not evaluate the results of its work—evaluations for the municipal board or local follow-ups for internal analysis.</p> <p>(2) Civil society does not evaluate the results of its work. The performance indicators that exist are difficult to evaluate. The results of their work cannot be measured.</p>

Factors which can favour integration.	<p>There is a common perspective amongst all of the organisations that gainful employment is an essential pre-condition for integration.</p> <p>‘Accommodation’ was not ranked as an important factor.</p> <p>‘Education’ was not ranked highly as being necessary for integration because new knowledge can be acquired in Sweden.</p> <p>‘Swedish language proficiency’ was ranked as one of the most essential factors for integration. This was very important if one is to be able to provide for oneself and become independent from the authorities and support systems.</p> <p>‘Health’ was not ranked as an important factor.</p> <p>‘Mutual integration’ was a factor for the majority of organisations which considered it to be of some importance to integration. This entails that society should be more open to newly-arrived people and that newly-arrived individuals should be open towards local values. The power aspects related to this process were also problematised.</p>
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5.4. Collaboration

5.4.1. *Organisations that collaborated together*

It was made apparent in all of the interviews that we conducted that the most central collaboration partners are the public sector, local businesses, and civil society. The majority of the collaboration partners were identified via the Network for Refugee Support and Integration.

We have collaborated with the sectors Swedish Migration Board, the Public Employment Service, the County Council. We have collaborated with Jönköping University, Gothenburg University, we have collaborated with the municipality and representatives from civil society. We try to collaborate with all social structures (Integrera Mera)

A large proportion of the organisations that were interviewed, not least the sports associations and the organisations that were directed towards employment, claimed that local businesses are important because of the resources that they contribute. The sports associations collaborate with local businesses for sponsorship of

materials, whilst Zlatanera Cup has established its operations with support from local businesses. The organisations that arrange employment also specifically reported that contacts with both the world of the official authorities and local businesses are important. The churches that were included in this study reported that collaboration takes place with other churches and congregations as well as with non-profit organisations and the municipality. The municipality stated that collaboration with civil society is an important area of work which the politicians have chosen to support:

We try to create conditions for collaboration between associations, but those whom we collaborate with inside the municipality with different administrations collaborate with the Public Employment Service and the County Council. (Municipal City Council)

Although other parts of the public sector (Jönköping County and the Public Employment Service) reported that their collaborative work primarily was with other authorities, the respondent from the Public Employment Service reported that collaboration could also take place with other actors from the *Nätverket för flyktingstöd och integration* [the Network for Refugee Support and Integration] via personal initiatives.

5.4.2. *Informal relationships*

The respondents from the sports associations, the organisations directed towards employment, and the non-profit associations reported that collaborative relationships could be either formal or informal. These relationships differed depending on which combination of collaborative partners was involved and also depending on the collaboration's background. Contractual agreements with the public sector were examples of formal contacts, whilst contacts with civil society could be more informal in nature. The fact that these relationships could be quite different depended on the background to the collaboration. The respondents from Zlatanera Cup reported, for example, that trust in local businesses enabled the relationship that they had with them to be informally maintained:

With Södra in Jönköping we, of course, we signed a contract because we applied with them to the municipality, but otherwise, we don't do that. We don't even write up a contract with our partners. They trust us, and they know what we do. (Zlatanera Cup)

The respondents from the Red Cross also reported that previous experience of working with other actors allowed their relationships to be informal:

It is very informal. We know each other for these past years. We know about each other's operations. (Red Cross)

The collaborative partnerships do, however, become formal when the organisations report on their work and the results of their work to their collaborative partners. Integrera Mera also reported that formal relationships might seem off-putting for civil society, and thus formal agreements are limited to the public sector.

The churches included in this study also noted that the collaborative work done between churches was informally regulated. The public sector reported that formal and informal relationships could vary, depending on who the collaborative partner was. The Social Administration, for example, informed us that formal relationships are established when a contract is signed, but not otherwise:

Very much, both. When one applies for funding, then it is formal. But if it is more about goodwill and intentions and needs, then we don't write up a contract. (Social Administration)

5.4.3. Agreeing with other organisation's goals and ambitions

The majority of the organisations that were interviewed deemed that knowledge about each other's goals and ambitions was of importance to their collaborative work during the refugee crisis of 2015. Before the refugee crisis, the Red Cross did not need to collaborate with other organisations, but after the crisis, the organisations' need for each other has grown over time, claimed the respondents.

The majority thought that collaboration with other organisations was necessary if they were to help the number of refugees who needed help. Then, friendship within civil society was seen as more important than closely examining each other's operations. The churches and sports associations emphasised, for example, the value of personal contacts and the importance of a shared perspective on integration as part of their collaboration:

Yes, I know that we have a good overview of the other organisations' backgrounds. I think that this is quite important because then I know, of course, perhaps why they are involved in this. (Smålandsidrotten)

The sports associations also highlighted the importance of having an understanding of each other's differences so as to be able to deal with potential conflicts:

But I believe that problems can sometimes arise in collaboration work because you don't really keep track of each other. Of course, how one works can be different for different associations, and then there might be a reason why a collision might take place. (Husqvarna FC)

5.4.4. *Obstacles for future collaboration*

The respondents claimed that obstacles for future collaboration consist of short deadlines for applications and reductions in available funding. Primarily, it is continued funding that concerns these organisations, especially since a great deal of energy is expended in applying for funding. The short lead times make it difficult for organisations to prepare their applications on time. Furthermore, the number of refugees has decreased, which has also reduced the number of specific announcements for funding and the scope of volunteer work:

Thus, short project times take up far too much time and energy. That is why many organisations don't apply for these funds because there are such short lead times. You have to have volunteers who can hang on in there. In 2015 there was no problem in collecting clothing and getting people involved. But to keep them at it, that is, of course, a problem, too. (Red Cross)

The sports associations had different thoughts on what constituted potential obstacles for future collaboration. Husqvarna FC thought that future collaboration could be hindered by a decreasing level of interest and fewer resources from other football clubs, whilst Zlatanera Cup saw no obstacles for future collaborations. The churches also did not report on any obstacles, but they did state that if a collaboration comes to an end, then this is the result of them not needing each other.

The public sector thought that legislation could pose an obstacle for future collaborations; for example, the so-called 'High School Law' which forces certain unaccompanied minors to return to their home countries once they have finished their high school education. Certain non-profit organisations may experience the municipality's regulations as complicated and thus pose as an obstacle to understanding how the public sector functions:

Civil society can sometimes perceive the municipality's regulations...there is no obstacle, but the municipality's regulations can sometimes be a bit complicated for people who don't live in that world. (Culture and Leisure Administration)

Table 4.

A summary overview of the patterns identified with ‘collaboration’

Area	Answers
‘Collaboration’	(1) The public sector collaborates with civil society via the <i>Flyktingstöd och integration</i> [the Network for Refugee Support and Integration] and collaborative processes in the four vulnerable areas in Jönköping. (2) Civil society collaborates with the public sector, non-profit associations, and local businesses.
‘Informal relationships’	Civil society and the public sector: The majority of the respondents claimed that formal relationships exist via direct contracts with the public sector, but also informal relationships with other contacts.
‘Agreement with other organisations’	For civil society, understanding across organisational boundaries was essential to establishing personal relationships and to preventing conflicts.
‘Obstacle to future collaboration’	(1) The public sector: the regulations can place limits of a newly-arrived person’s potential in society and also limit the person’s contact with civil society. (2) Civil society: applications for resources and funding are energy- and time-demanding, and difficult to formulate. The number of volunteers has decreased as well as their motivation to work with integration.

5.5. Competition

5.5.1. Competition with other organisations

All of the respondents from civil society claimed that they were in competition with each other for funding and volunteers. When the refugee crisis became less severe, the organisations had to compete more so for volunteers in comparison to what the situation looked like at the beginning of the refugee crisis, when there was a broader degree of social involvement in the issue:

There exists a certain amount of competition. You might say that we compete over children and young people. They are very transient, of course. You also compete over leaders with other associations. It is not equally obvious to come up to the plate and involve yourself on a non-profit basis. (Husqvarna Football Club)

It depends on how you look at it. I see it more as that we complement each other and work towards the same goals. But, of course, there is competition over the target group and volunteers and even over financial resources. If you are similar organisations, then you apply to the same fund. (Erikshjälpen)

These organisations claimed that it is difficult to motivate their applications for integration project financing because the number of newly-arrived individuals had decreased in Jönköping. Furthermore, some of them claimed that there was ‘friendly corruption’ between people in the public sector and civil society which, they suggested, made it more difficult for the smaller non-profit associations to access funding for their projects.

The decreased number of refugees also entailed that there were fewer people for whom activities needed to be arranged. However, the majority of the civil society organisations which were interviewed for this study stated that they were not in competition over newly-arrived individuals. They suggested the opposite, in that they encourage newly-arrived individuals, for example, to visit the language cafes that are offered by other organisations, too:

I believe that the possibility to move between different organisations and projects is good, because, in part, each organisation should know about each other’s activities, but also because the individual can receive further recommendations. (Integrera Mera)

Table 5.

Summary overview of the patterns identified with ‘competition’

Area	Answer
‘Competition’	(1) Public sector: no competition was found. (2) Civil society: competition exists over the number of volunteers and sometimes over newly-arrived individuals. It is feared that ‘friendly corruption’ has also made it more difficult for smaller organisations to receive support.

6. Analysis

By analysing how the organisations collaborated vertically and horizontally, we identify the following themes: ‘service-directed organisations’, ‘need for horizontal interaction’, ‘a tradition of horizontal interactions’, ‘activities are locally entrenched’, ‘indicators that are difficult to apply and unmeasurable results’, ‘a common perspective on important factors for integration’, ‘informal relationships during horizontal interactions’, and ‘competition on the horizontal level’. These themes present integration work in different ways in a multi-level perspective and from the perspective of sociological institutionalism.

6.1. Service-directed and flexible organisations

When the organisations included in this study were asked about their background, the scope of their financial model, and which funding sources they used, they demonstrated a great degree of flexibility concerning how they provided their services. This took place even though their funding was primarily from state sources. The organisations interacted flexibly with actors from both the horizontal and vertical levels; thus, it is possible to describe these interactions with both Model One and Model Two. Model Two includes three different dimensions of horizontal interaction: flexibility, service-directed, and informal relationships. It was noted that flexibility was a primary characteristic of the organisations that were interviewed for this study. One expression of this flexibility was found in how these organisations adapted their operations or created new service-directed departments in connection with the refugee crisis. Of interest is how this flexibility was present in both the non-profit organisations and the public sector which, by virtue of a decree made by the politicians, established new areas of operation then the refugee crisis began. The Social Administration and the Culture and Leisure Administration adapted their operations according to the municipality’s requirements to deal with the consequences of the refugee crisis in Jönköping, for example. This flexible approach which was adopted by the public sector is described by Model Two, which emphasises how the actors were service-directed organisations. The public sector acted in a service-directed manner because of the vertical governance from the municipality which instructed the public sector to take action after the refugee crisis of 2015. Simultaneously, the municipality gave these public sector organisations the mandate to act flexibly so as to better provide the services that they offered at the time. Thus, this flexibility increased the efficacy of these actors’ service-directed actions.

Several non-profit organisations and organisations with a specific purpose within the labour market were created as a flexible response to the deficits in the existing regulatory system and because some newly-arrived individuals possessed

unexploited competencies. These organisations then acted quite quickly and in a service-directed manner to support the refugees as they entered the labour market. Integrera Mera was founded, for example, with support from the County Council in Jönköping and from contacts in the local business sector. This was an exciting result where civil society's organisations became service-directed and flexible when they were confronted with the events of 2015. Note that they received financial support from the public sector, that is to say, a vertical governance of integration work was in place. However, financial support was also offered by local businesses, i.e., horizontal governance of integration work. In terms of Model One and Model Two, the organisations in this study can be described by a combination of these models since the dynamics of both models are simultaneously present in our analysis of the organisations' flexibility and service-directed activities.

6.2. The need for horizontal interaction

The majority of all of the organisations included in this study claimed that horizontal interaction was necessary for their future development. They all stated that there exists a mutual dependency and a need for the organisations to support each other. This was true for both the public sector and civil society. Both sectors indicated that these interactions were based on specific needs. The majority also thought that contacts from networks and collaborative efforts actually was a source of resources for their own organisations. For example, the various administrations (the Municipal Council, the Culture and Leisure Administration, the Social Administration, and the Housing Department) valued their contacts with civil society quite highly because of the tasks that were assigned to them by the municipality. This is something which can be explained in terms of the logic of appropriateness, i.e., an approach which is in harmony with what is already taken for granted (Hall & Taylor, 1996). Our informants from the public sector reported on a similar motivation concerning their interactions with civil society and municipal companies. They claimed that dialogue is vital between the municipality and civil society during circumstances like the refugee crisis, but also during other situations which have socio-economic causes. This was why they interacted with non-profit organisations and municipal companies. This interaction can also be explained by the fact that the municipality expects its employees to maintain a dialogue between the public sector and civil society in times of significant social events. This institutional influence on behaviour (and expectations with respect to what is taken for granted at that moment) was a factor in why the administrations that were interviewed for this study (the Municipal Council and the Culture and Leisure Administration) cooperated horizontally and even governed collaboratively with civil society during times when such interaction was needed, to flexibly and effectively provide services.

Civil society, on its part, motivated interaction with other actors based on a need for networks, volunteers, and other resources. Note that these factors were previously foundational to the civil society's *modus operandi*. The labour market organisations, All-In and Integrera Mera, and also Zlatanera Cup, needed networks and contact people in the business sector, whilst the churches needed volunteers for their language cafes. Furthermore, some of our informants from civil society reported that horizontal interaction is of some importance to civil society's ability to make its own decisions concerning questions of integration. An institutionalised logic of appropriateness can thus, even at the level of civil society, explain multi-level governance at the horizontal level, both in instances when the municipality created expectations in their administrations and when civil society organisations followed their tried-and-tested routines concerning interactions with others. March and Olsen argue that the logic of appropriateness can contain both cognitive and normative elements (March & Olsen, 1995, pp. 30—31). The normative aspects were found to be strongest in the municipal administrations because they were based on the client's 'expectations' of appropriate behaviour, whilst the cognitive aspects of the civil society organisations were made manifest in routines which were based on ideas about what was 'natural' behaviour. It is in such a context that one can clearly observe how sociological institutionalism and the logic of appropriateness can be employed in different ways to explain how different forms of horizontal interaction in Model Two were created in Jönköping.

6.3. A tradition of horizontal interactions

The majority of all of the organisations, irrespective of their background, reported that they thought that Jönköping is a favourable location for the integration of refugees. Both civil society and the public sector were in agreement that the conditions in Jönköping were conducive to horizontal interaction which can be described in terms of Model Two. The horizontal interaction that took place in Jönköping after the refugee crisis of 2015 can, in part, be explained by the logic of appropriateness since it is based on a broad, historical, social engagement and cooperation on the horizontal level between non-profit associations and churches. Horizontal collaboration had, quite simply, become an institutionalised part of the structure of the local civil society, which, according to our respondents, explained why integration in Jönköping worked so well with support from civil society. The logic of appropriateness explains how traditional support from civil society, which is deeply rooted in the community, enabled people to act in accordance with what is considered to be appropriate from a historical perspective. This historical tradition of horizontal collaboration in Jönköping also allowed for a continued willingness or ambition within the local actors to proceed in developing their collaborative efforts with other actors on the horizontal level.

The logic of appropriateness thus creates a self-reinforcing mechanism which can explain how the culture of the local civil society (and, thereby, horizontal collaboration) can be strengthened and spread further afield. Consequently, sociological institutionalism can also explain an essential mechanism within multi-level governance which, thus far, has only been focused on describing how organisations act in relation to different levels.

6.4. Activities are locally situated

The activities which the organisations performed were, in no small part, in response to the refugee crisis in Jönköping. Even though the organisations included in this study have different backgrounds and histories, it seems that all of these organisations have performed similar activities, including arranging language cafes, Swedish language instruction, sharing of general information about Swedish society, sewing courses, or art projects. Even though the activities which civil society provided were made possible by state funding (i.e., funded by the County Council in Jönköping via TIA, municipal funding, and from support from the Swedish Sports Confederation and the European Social Fund), they were all locally situated. This support led to more job opportunities, new businesses, and new conditions for collaboration on the horizontal level. In the long term, these financial contributions could even increase the normal yearly turnover of these organisations. Using funding from state, municipal, and County Council sources, these organisations have been able to act in a more service-directed manner, for example, when they encounter a refugee, listen to their story, and then start an activity which will fulfil this person's needs. The vertical governance of state funding for social interventions for newly-arrived individuals after the refugee crisis of 2015 had led to the establishment of locally situated activities. This is an affirmation that civil society in Jönköping has been able to interact with actors on the horizontal level whilst simultaneously interacting with actors on the vertical level, i.e., the public sector, in their efforts to secure funding.

The activities that the municipality performed were also locally situated. They were vertically governed but were performed with actors on the horizontal level. For example, the Social Administration provided support for young people, in collaboration with their family residences and the school system, to ensure that they can successfully enter society. The Social Administration also collaborated with the municipal housing company, Vätterhem, to distribute information about how transit accommodation works for newly-arrived families. The clearest example, however, can be found in the City Council and the Culture and Leisure Administration which interacted with local civil society organisations in the Network for Refugee Support and Integration and in the collaborative processes which were implemented in several socio-economically vulnerable areas in Jönköping. This approach was echoed by the Public Employment Service, which, because of personal interests and

involvement, interacted with other actors in the Network for Refugee Support and Integration. Consequently, the description of multi-level governance with Model One and Model Two is relevant to this theme since the activities were local. This observation is based on the fact that resources, contacts, and financial support came from vertical and horizontal levels.

6.5. Performance indicators that are difficult to apply and results that cannot be measured

There exist, however, obstacles to increased interaction. The trend has been to go from (A) political and regulatory governance of authorities to (B) a goal and results-directed form of governance. The integration of information concerning results in the setting out of budgets, and the management and reporting of operations has become a standard component in public administration and civil society which is financed by public funds (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000). This results-directed governance may well allow for a great deal of flexibility in how policy is created at the grassroots level and enables actors to be more service-directed, but, at the same time, these new control mechanisms constitute a problem for many people in civil society.

Previous research has claimed that the implementation of goals and results-directed governance is problematic because it influences the culture of the whole organisation. In particular, it should be appreciated that civil society organisations have a 'culture' which is not based on such governance principles (Mayne, 2007). Vertical goal and results-directed governance of project applications in Jönköping thus constitute an obstacle which sometimes prevents civil society actors from applying for project funding. The donor organisations' goals with respect to integration are perceived as challenging to achieve. Our informants also claimed that integration is difficult to measure, and thus the exchange that takes place between the people who provide integration and those who become integrated cannot be reported on. It is also difficult to report on increased language proficiency or what level of knowledge that refugees have achieved after completing a course.

The performance indicators which authorities or donor organisations use are often too complex to understand and time-consuming, which causes organisations to refrain from applying for funding. Vertical governance of project applications thus prevents actors on the horizontal level from applying for project funding. Consequently, there exist challenges in Jönköping for actors in the public sector and civil society in cases where detailed vertical governance (in the form of results-directed governance, which can be best described in terms of Model One) reduces the possibilities for increased horizontal interactions. Previous research indicates that strong leadership can create a cultural change which may allow goal- and results-directed governance to function more effectively (Mayne, 2007). However,

such an approach would simultaneously go against the foundational spirit of many civil society organisations which base their operations on collaboration and volunteerism.

6.6. Shared perspectives on essential factors for integration

Horizontal interaction in Jönköping is facilitated by the fact that the organisations have shared perspectives on which factors favour successful integration. All of the organisations included in this study ranked the factors of ‘employment’, ‘accommodation’, ‘education’, ‘health’, ‘Swedish language proficiency’, and ‘mutual integration’ in almost precisely the same way. All of the organisations shared the view that ‘employment’ and ‘Swedish language proficiency’ are the most essential factors for integration. The factors of ‘health’ and ‘education’ were, in contrast, both ranked low by all of the organisations in this study. The respondents claimed that a refugee’s previous education was not of any particular significance for integration since one could acquire an education in Sweden.

An additional factor which was emphasised by the organisations was the factor of ‘mutual integration’. The organisations reported that integration can be achieved by means of mutual cooperation, which entails that integration takes place via an open approach demonstrated by newly-arrived individuals and Swedish society. Our informants claimed that both parties must make an effort in this direction. In this case, the interaction that takes place can be best described by Model Two because the actors in this study shared a common view of what factors are essential to integration. Furthermore, they noted that ‘mutual integration’ is a factor that is often lacking in the current integration process. The fact that all of the organisations ranked all of these factors in the same way indicates that their integration work is based on the logic of appropriateness, i.e., an internalised view of what is socially defined as ‘normal’ (March & Olsen, 2011). This is probably the case, primarily because all of the factors were motivated by how important they were in terms of the respondents’ perceptions. This shared view regarding the factors which promote integration thus facilitates such horizontal interaction, which is described by Model Two. Thus, sociological institutionalism can also contribute in this context by explaining an essential mechanism within multi-level governance which is solely focused on describing how organisations act.

6.7. Informal relationships during horizontal interactions

There exists a strong connection between informal relationships and horizontal interaction. The work-directed organisations collaborated with each other, in contrast to the relationship between (i) the non-profit associations and churches and (ii) local businesses. These companies acted as both the customer (All-In) or as a potential employer for newly-arrived individuals (Integrera Mera). The sports

associations also collaborated with the business sector. Certain entities were, to varying degrees, dependant on business sponsorships, whilst Zlatanera Cup was one actor who was in most need of sponsorship. The public sector interacted with actors from network groups, i.e., via collaborative processes and via the Network for Refugee Support and Integration. Different organisations from civil society are represented in this network. The organisations included in this study reported that their interactions with organisations that are located *nearby* are of importance to them; a central point of departure in the Model Two theory of multi-level governance.

The organisations also claimed that interactions on the local level led to improved quality in the organisations' integration work—they were able to learn from each other and exchange resources in the form of information, and this increased their opportunities to support integration work on their own. Even the public sector thought that it was important to continue with horizontal interaction with civil society. In the theory of multi-level governance and Model Two, informal relationships are described as a dimension which is more readily present in interactions on the horizontal level. The non-profit organisations included in this study reported that contracts with the public sector were of a formal nature, whilst informal relationships existed more often between other non-profit associations. Thus, more mutual relationships were present in these horizontal interactions. The public sector also reported that their contact with civil society could also be informal in nature. Individual personal relationships facilitated an understanding of each other's backgrounds, which is a vital prerequisite which reinforces the 'local' culture of horizontal collaboration. Our informants told us that new relationships can more easily be established when the other organisation shares the same values and goals as one's own. Again, we note the role of the logic of appropriateness. In summary, informal relationships are present primarily in connection with interactions with local actors on the horizontal level (Model Two), whilst formal relationships are present primarily in connection with interactions with actors on the vertical level, for example, during the writing of contracts (Model One).

6.8. Competition on the horizontal level

When asked whether they experienced any form of competition, the organisations answered that they did experience competition with regards to recruiting volunteers and securing project financing. The public sector indicated that they did not experience any competition. The organisations highlighted the disadvantages associated with project funding applications and reported, for example, that organisations which are not familiar with the process often decline to apply. Sometimes there was a certain amount of competition for the same project financing. This poses a challenge to possible horizontal interaction, too.

Given that the intensity of the refugee crisis has decreased somewhat, the number of refugees and volunteers has also decreased. This has led to a situation where organisations compete over the number of refugees and volunteers and has caused difficulties in motivating new project applications. One organisation reported, however, that access to project funding could be facilitated if one had personal contacts in the relevant authorities. Another organisation even claimed the existence of ‘friendship corruption’. The co-existence of several similar-minded local actors on the horizontal level can create competition which goes against the logic of appropriateness, i.e., what one might assume to be exemplary behaviour in the local collaborative culture. This is actually an interesting dynamic within Model Two, which was previously focused on collaboration. At the same time, vertical governance of project applications hinders local actors from making project applications, which indicates that Model One can best explain the intensified competition and ‘friendship corruption’. The exception to this could be found with the churches, who claimed that there was no competition. The churches reported that they were happy when some other actor was granted project funding.

7. Discussion

The aim of this study has been to adopt a multi-level perspective in an investigation of how civil society in Jönköping has worked with the integration of refugees into the labour market after the refugee crisis of 2015. The influx of refugees during 2015 was a unique event which mobilised civil society and provided researchers with the opportunity to investigate how the local level was involved in integration work. In this section, we discuss the results of our investigation, using our research questions as a point of departure.

The first research question was: *With whom did the civil society in Jönköping collaborate, and what challenges did they face?*

A combination of Model One and Model Two was employed to describe the multi-level governance of integration work in Jönköping. Our analysis was based on the interview materials that were collected from various organisations in Jönköping. Both civil society and the public sector systematically interacted with each other on different levels, to enable access to vital resources and to act in a flexible and service-directed manner. Note that these aspects are included in Marks and Hooghe's definition of multi-level governance (2004). According to another definition of multi-level governance, organisations interact with each other so as to achieve shared goals (Harker, Tyler, & Knight-Lenihan, 2017), something which the actors included in this study did—they interacted with each other to solve the refugee crisis. The patterns of interaction that were observed in this study were dependant on the organisations' different needs. What all of the organisations had in common was the interaction with actors on the vertical level, most often using indirect contacts in the network for refugee support and integration, or in collaborative processes, or during project funding applications at the municipality or other authorities on the regional and national level.

This study has shown, however, that interactions between actors on the horizontal level were extensive. Furthermore, more interaction took place at the local level than on the regional or national levels, even though these levels exist in the background as financial actors. This entailed that the governance of the work with the integration of refugees from the refugee crisis of 2015, to a large extent, took place on the local level. For example, the churches, in no small degree, governed their integration work locally and interacted with other churches when difficulties with funding applications led to more significant interaction with other actors on the horizontal level. They could focus more on coffee shop sales to fund materials which can be used in activities, or they could enter into a partnership to recommend refugees to approach other associations. However, the governance of integration work varied between the different church organisations, since individual churches

received support from regional actors. This was also the case for the other non-profit associations included in this study since some of them received funding from TIA or project funding from The Swedish's government Agency for development cooperation (SIDA). There were also organisations which claimed that 'friendly corruption' existed in the authorities, which prevented a just and equitable distribution of funding. This claim poses a challenge to the assumption that the actors interacted with each other for the common good (Harker, Tyler, & Knight-Lenihan, 2017).

Many of the actors in this study also highlighted the interactions they had with local businesses since they were considered to be potential employers for refugees or sources of financial sponsorship. Zlatanera Cup and Integrera Mera were two actors which were almost entirely supported by financial support from local companies, despite the fact that Integrera Mera was the recipient of funding from the County Council in Jönköping and the region. All-In, on the other hand, worked with the European Social Fund to finance their projects, even as they interacted with local businesses to create new jobs for newly-arrived individuals. Integrera Mera had also turned to local businesses to create a network of employers who could potentially employ newly-arrived individuals. Zlatanera Cup financed its whole organisation via company sponsorship.

Consequently, we note that the local business community consists of companies which have the resources and willingness to support refugees. The sports associations included in this study also highlighted the importance of local businesses in connection with integration work. Husqvarna FC and Småland Sports believed that local businesses could support this work with the sponsorship of activities for newly-arrived individuals. Husqvarna FC also emphasised the connection between non-profit organisations, like Smeden in Jönköping, where they have a local collaboration project. This project brings sports and cultural activities together so that newly-arrived young people are provided with the opportunity to try out different sports activities, music, and culture at Smeden. Thus, the work with integrating refugees was spread across different levels, and the power or control over how this work proceeded was shifted over to the non-profit sector in Jönköping.

There exists, however, a tendency that its relationships with the public sector can limit the performance of integration work by civil society. Formal contracts and complex project applications limit civil society's ability to continue with its integration work. The transition from governance by rules and regulations to a goals- and results-directed form of governance has made it difficult for civil society to achieve the demands set out by the state (Pollitt & Bouckaert, 2000), and these actors have also not been able to adopt the same perspective with regards to what constitutes results in this context because of their different organisational cultures

(Mayne, 2007). Despite the distribution of work between different levels and an indirect shift in power over to the non-profit sector, it is possible that civil society is assigned a subordinate role in the future and that the public sector will remain to be seen as the obvious actor in integration work (cf. Nagel & Kaya, 2020; Hammar, 1985, Brochmann & Hammar, 1999). When civil society organisations are seen only as supporting actors in the implementation of a particular strategy, then the flexibility in the work of integrating refugees into the labour market and society, in general, is diminished, which, in turn, decreases the service-directed approach for every actor (Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, & Scholten, 2017).

Our second research question was: *Why do civil society organisations collaborate with other actors?*

In our analysis, it was apparent how the logic of appropriateness, in different ways, could explain the causes behind the organisations' interactions with each other. Primarily, history plays a role in this context. Jönköping is a place where humanitarian care for others has a long tradition, which plays a significant role in the actors' interaction with each other and the work that they do. Most of the respondents viewed these traditional patterns of behaviour as an explanatory reason behind the scope of their collaboration on the horizontal level (Hall & Taylor, 1996). They felt that collaboration was a suitable approach because the tradition of interaction within humanitarian contexts was already deeply rooted in this society. Horizontal interactions could also be explained in terms of sociological institutionalism (March & Olsen, 1995, pp. 30—31). Whilst the administrations interacted with other organisations according to their clients' 'expectations' regarding what constitutes appropriate behaviour during a crisis (normative aspects), the civil society organisations interacted with other organisations according to established routines and ideas concerning what is natural behaviour (i.e., cognitive aspects).

The public sector also interacted with civil society in terms of institutionalised behaviour, which explains why civil society was offered the opportunity to intervene in the integration work with the public sector within the Network for Refugee Integration and Support and other collaborative processes. According to Campomori and Caponio (2016), and Zincone and Caponio (2006), the actual realisation of multi-level governance can depend on local conditions. These scholars identify (i) local politicians' and civil servants' role and degree of engagement, and (ii) traditional ways of working with welfare issues and welfare politics as essential factors. In Jönköping, the role and degree of engagement demonstrated by the civil servants are of importance in engaging civil society, but we must not ignore the long tradition of social engagement within the associations which are located in the municipality. Even in other geographical locations, for example, in Aarhus, Denmark (Myrberg, 2015), previous experience of local

integration work has played an important role. We thus observe that sociological institutionalism has been able to explain integration work collaboration in Jönköping. Because of certain historical social events, the civil society in Jönköping has been able to perform integration work in the broad sense of the term, on the horizontal level. This work has also been enabled by the fact that there exists a shared view on integration. Attitudes towards which factors are most important were ranked almost precisely the same way by all of our respondents, which indicates that these actors' previous experiences have been institutionalised into one common perspective. This shared perspective on the factors which promote integration is based on what is already 'given' (Hall & Taylor, 1996) in accordance with the experiences which are institutionalised in terms of expectations and culture (March & Olsen, 2001, p. 478). It is, however, not unusual for broad social engagement to take place in Sweden. Several non-profit organisations, in step with specific political changes, have taken on a larger and larger role in social and service-directed interventions (Trägårdh, 2019; von Essen & Svedberg, 2019; von Essen et al., 2019).

8. Conclusion

The conclusion we draw in this study is that whilst the formal responsibility for integration work lies with the public sector, civil society's involvement in this area can be secured via political support and financial aid. In the context of integration work, a shift in power over to the non-profit sector takes place. This was explained in terms of a deeply grounded tradition of collaboration and a broad degree of social involvement in Jönköping. This study has shown, however, that horizontal interaction can be hindered by the organisational culture and the goal and results-directed governance that is found in the public sector. The lessons that we learn from this study are that the application for project funding should be simplified, and complicated performance indicators should be avoided if civil society is expected to contribute more to integration work.

In previous research, especially within the EU, multi-level governance has been successfully deployed in descriptions of how actors interact with each other on different levels and how operations are directed. The present study, too, had demonstrated how integration work in Jönköping after the refugee crisis of 2015 was characterised by interactions which can be described in terms of Model One and Model Two. What the theories employed in this study have not been able to do is to explain casual connections. By using sociological institutionalism in our analysis of why the actors interacted with each other in the manner that they did, this study has made a significant theoretical contribution. Sociological institutionalism's focus on the logic of appropriateness, which is created when a behaviour gives rise to an institutionalised culture via expectations, roles, and identities, has shown itself to be well-suited to complement the theory of multi-level governance. In Jönköping, a strong culture of civil society had created expectations about appropriate behaviour, which, in turn, influenced the collaboration and governance of integration work after the refugee crisis. The logic of appropriateness has also created a self-reinforcing mechanism which can explain how the local culture of civil society was strengthened and further disseminated.

In light of the above, we conclude this study with several suggestions for further research on this topic. It would be of interest, empirically and theoretically, to perform similar studies in other types of municipalities in Sweden. In Jönköping, we found that the engagement of the public servants and the long tradition of social engagement in associations created a scenario in which Model Two could adequately describe the integration work that was being performed. Lacking comparative studies, we cannot be sure that these factors are always needed to create similar collaborative projects, i.e., 'necessary causation' cannot be established at this time. Neither can we establish whether individual local variations in conditions exist which allow other factors to favour or disfavour the performance

of integration work. A pressing question is also to identify which obstacles or challenges exist with regards to multi-level governance of labour market integration and, more specifically, what social interventions are needed for refugees during the COVID-19 pandemic. A third question touches on possible changes in political policies or changes in the expression of hospitality for refugees in Sweden. Since 2015, more restrictive immigration policies have gathered increasing support in the general population, and refugee policies have been tightened up and have become less generous towards refugees. There are also fewer project announcements by the authorities for integration interventions. We may ask: *How does this decrease in the number of integration projects influence the willingness and the conditions for civil society to continue to contribute to its integration work? Is the role of civil society undergoing a fundamental change?*

A fourth question we wish to raise concerns forms of governance. In Jönköping, the public sector cannot dictate what civil society may or may not do—*civil society* decides, should it so wish, to apply for available funding and participate in the collaborative projects that are being offered. Personal engagement, mutual trust and good relationships are essential to civil society organisations. Furthermore, project funding usually only pays for one coordinator, whilst the actual successful delivery of a service is entirely dependent on the existence and hard work of willing volunteers. In relation to the public sector's legislated commitment to integration work, the civil society organisations' voluntary involvement in this work is the icing on the cake. In many other countries, civil society enters into a contract with the public sector to provide welfare services, something which enables a more substantial control over civil society. A comparative study of Jönköping and a city where contracts govern the provision of welfare services would provide us with further knowledge about the opportunities and limitations that either form of governance gives rise to and how multi-level governance is implemented.

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Appendix 1. Interview questions

Non-government organizations' facilitation of labour market and entrepreneurship experiences of Syrian refugees to Canada and Sweden

Purpose of the study

The commitment and effort of local organizations to help integrate refugees is invaluable, particularly after the influx of refugees in 2015. However, there is a lack of knowledge about what is done or not done and what works best in integrating refugees. Furthermore, we do not know if the different organizations which work in this domain complement each other, collaborate with each other, or even compete with each other.

In order to increase our knowledge about the refugee integration process, the School of Education and Communication will conduct an interview study with representatives from the different organizations that work with the integration of refugees in Jönköping.

A similar study was conducted in Hamilton, Canada. We wish to compare how civil society in the two countries operates in order to learn more about how and under what conditions civil society organisations perform their work. The results will, of course, be shared with all participants.

We begin with asking some general questions about your organization and some specific questions regarding your work for refugees. We will also ask questions about cooperation and competition.

Questions about the organization

1. Background and history of the organization (When did it start, by whom, for what purpose?)
2. Organization form: (non-profit association, church, popular movement, loosely coupled network etc.)
3. Activities of the organization – What do you do?
4. Size of the organization in terms of people:
5. Work hours, paid labour:

Number of employees (and professional background, where relevant)

Number of full-time employees: How many? How many hours a week? Work tasks?

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6. Work hours, volunteers

Number of volunteers: How many? How many hours a week? Work tasks?

7. Organization size in terms of its turnover per year, SEK

8. What percentage of your annual revenue comes from:

The government?

Client fees?

Sales?

Donations (individuals, corporations, and foundations)?

AMIF (The European asylum- migration and integration fund)?

Fundraising events?

Member dues?

Other, if so, please specify?

Follow-up questions about income sources:

If the organization receives government support: Can you describe this cooperation? Is it a commitment over several years?

If the organization has sales income: You indicated that X% of the income was from sales: What type of products or services do you offer and to whom?

9. Apart from revenue, what resources do you need and from where do you get them?

Questions about your work regarding integration

1. In your opinion, what is the result of the work done to integrate refugees into Jönköping?

What part of your operations do you allocate to refugee integration? Describe your contribution to integration in Jönköping. How important is the work of your organization and why does your organisation work in this area?

Is Jönköping a suitable place for this type of work? Why?

Did the large influx of refugees in 2015 impact on the intensity of your work?

2. What service or product does your organization offer?

3. When would you say that a refugee is integrated? How important are the following aspects?

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Employment 1-10. Why?
Housing 1-10. Why?
Education 1-10. Why?
Health 1-10. Why?
Language skills 1-10? Why?
Other – what?

4. How much do you agree with this statement? “Relative to our peers, this organization is ahead in terms of important benchmarks?” Or I do not know. And then that is interesting. Why don’t you know?
5. How does your organization measure performance? Can you describe your performance over the past 3-5 years? Who do you share/report your performance to and how often?
6. What restrictions do the different funding and revenue sources place upon how you run your business (i.e. who services can be provided to/eligibility requirements; inability to raise private donations; political lobbying, etc.)?
7. How much potential for growth exists in the part of your organization associated with refugees? Scale 1-10. Why? How?
8. Would you like to increase the size of the organisation? Or reduce it?

Questions about collaboration with other organizations

With what organizations do you collaborate? How? Has there been any change in collaboration patterns due to the refugee influx in 2015? We are interested in understanding the nature of this collaboration, both formally and informally.

Which organizations (non-profits, government agencies, or for-profit companies) do you collaborate with? For each of the above organizations, we will ask you a few questions:

1. How would you describe the relationship? For example, information sharing, partnership, board interlocks, joint project, other?
2. Is it a formal or informal relationship? I.e., the level within the organization; non-relationships that maybe should exist.
3. Intensity: How frequently do you interact with this partner? How many people from your organization are involved in these interactions?
4. When did this collaboration begin?
5. Do you also compete with this organization? If so, for what resources do you compete over (funding, clients, talent etc.) or do you feel that you are in a competition because you need a certain minimum number of refugees to get funding?
6. Does this organization have the same relationship with you?

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7. What is the objective of this collaboration? Why are you collaborating?
8. How important is this collaboration to you? 1-10 (very important)
9. How well do you think you understand the aims and intentions of your collaborators? How different or similar are they from your own?
10. How far do you trust your collaborator?
11. Are there organizations serving the refugee community that your customers or clients patronise? How? Describe.
12. Where and how do you meet your collaborators?
13. In what online forums do you use to interact with your collaborators?
14. What barriers do you find exist for further collaboration?

Questions about organizations with which you compete

1. Which organizations do you compete with? How? Have you observed any changes in patterns of competition after the 2015 refugee influx? ‘Competition’ can refer to competition over government funds or other funds, but it can also refer to competition over the number of refugee clients.
2. Which organizations (non-profits, government agencies, or for-profit firms) do you compete with? (Get a list of these organizations.)
3. What is the nature of this competition? Is it a competition over refugees? Or about funds? Or other assets or resources? Other?
4. Do you share a common purpose with this competing organization? Or are you trying to achieve very different aims?
5. In what forums do you physically meet with your competitors?
6. In what online forums do you virtually meet your competitors?