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# Negotiating Solidarity

Collective Actions for Precarious  
Migrant Workers' Rights in Sweden

Nedžad Mešić

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UNIVERSITET



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Norrköping, 20<sup>th</sup> January 2017  
Nedžad Mešić





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# Articles

## ASYMMETRIC PARTNERSHIP:

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## Research question rationale and aim

Migration has, in our time, come to constitute the cornerstone of research concerning the transformation of the welfare state and the conditions of workers on the labour market. One of the central themes in this field of research deals with the question concerning a growing demand for cheap and flexible groups of migrant labour. Their ranks have increased not least vis-à-vis the opening of European borders for internal migrant workers, as well as those coming from outside the European Union (EU). However, discrimination and marginalisation on the labour market in arrival countries, legalised residence rejections and irregular migration have, by extension, relegated many migrants to the informal economy.

The relevance for studying the working conditions and citizenship rights for these groups of precarious workers is anchored not solely in the increasing numbers of workers in this category, but also because this development has been denoted as a contributing factor to tensions between workers, strained ethnic relations and the strengthening of extreme right parties. In addition to this, the societal relevance of this dissertation has increased with the latest political developments following the EU refugee protection crisis in which Sweden, after a historically high reception of asylum seekers in 2015, would resultantly adapt the asylum law to the ‘EU-minimum standard’ – which can be expected to result in increasing numbers of undocumented migrants.

Against this background, this study will focus on the collective actions of and the cooperation between collective actors in their efforts to secure migrant workers’ rights on the Swedish labour market. The study addresses a number of joint actions by different actors including: non-governmental civil society organisations, agencies founded on ethnic grounds, trade unions, more loosely held groups and networks; and whose engagement centres on the labour market welfare of discriminated Swedish citizens with a migrant background, unskilled seasonal EU migrant workers and undocumented migrant workers.

The aim of the study is to analyse the possibilities and constraints in collective action concerned with securing citizenship and labour rights of precarious migrant workers on the Swedish labour market, as well as the ways in which this support contributes to the mobilisation of migrant workers as claim makers. By focusing on three categories of workers with migrant backgrounds, vis-à-vis

four articles, the study will scrutinise the prospects for the political establishment of activist citizens with claims for human and labour rights, further elaborated upon within the theoretical part of this introduction.

From this vantage point, the study is guided by the following principal research question:

- How are the fortification of citizenship and labour rights for precarious migrant workers negotiated in collective actions?

A prerequisite for answering this question is to propose responses to the following set of enquiries:

- Why and how are the collective actors responding to the plight of precarious migrant workers?
- What cooperation exists between collective actors and how is it developed?
- Under which conditions do the actors choose different lines of actions?

The principal merit sought with this investigation is to accumulate an in-depth qualitative understanding of collective actors' conditions for engagement. By centring on a broad array of collective actions and groups of workers, the intention is to advance our understandings of the variances in these engagements in relation to the conditions under which they are conducted. The focus is thus set on the articulations of problems and strategy considerations, and their different underpinnings in terms of size, engagement focus and degree of formalisation or institutionalisation.

The first article centres on the prospects for offering protection to workers against discrimination and the establishment of cooperation between collective actors, illustrated vis-à-vis the work conducted by two Stockholm-based Anti-Discrimination Agencies (ADAs) that are orchestrated by Associations Founded on Ethnic Grounds (AFEGs). It offers the opportunity to scrutinise their propensity to act in a self-determining fashion when providing support. It does this by assessing the influence of state funding control mechanisms and the linkages between implicit articulations in these to embrace entrepreneurial organisational forms, as well as the formalisation of organic relations to other societal actors. The second and the third articles centre on seasonal Bulgarian Roma workers in the berry picking industry. They illustrate, in a complementary manner, how, in the wake of austerity, precarious workers' dependency on

contractors becomes institutionalised in an unregulated segment of the industry, as well as which livelihood strategies this encompasses and how this, in turn, influences different collective actors within Swedish society to respond. In these two articles, the internal dynamics among berry pickers are paralleled with the collective responses of social movement actors. In the fourth article, the analysis centres on different trade unions' organisational forms when offering protection to undocumented migrants who are in conflict with employers. The article explores the possibilities and obstacles for including undocumented migrants, under conditions of restricted citizenship, as members in trade unions. The article illustrates some of the obstacles that these collective engagements are subject to, not least in terms of embracing undocumented migrant workers in an inclusive manner, but also the hindrances for the sustainment of members' activism and the trade union dilemmas in navigating between solidarity with undocumented migrants as workers, while simultaneously securing collective agreements.



## Contextualising precarious migrant work and resistance

The following segment guides us through a set of research fields that provide the foundation for the specific enquiries raised in this dissertation. The referenced studies are, in varying scope, directly connected to the articles in this dissertation, yet together they outline the broader analytical context in which the empirical settings of the articles are situated. Here, some societal links between the three studied labour market arenas and specifically the socio-economical processes to which they conform are recognised. Focus will initially be set on the politico-economic developments that have contributed to processes of ‘precarisation’ and, in particular, those encountered by migrants in the labour market. In the two succeeding sections, the specificities of the Swedish case will be acknowledged by firstly centring on the migration patterns to Sweden, and thereafter, on the labour market trajectories and the transformations of the Swedish welfare state.

### Precarious migrant workers in a global market economy

This study has been undertaken from the vantage point of contemporary developments in the labour market, which have proliferated the demand for cheap labour during the last four decades. As the traditional Fordist mass-production industries underwent a decline in profitability and the Keynesian welfare policies became increasingly contested as ‘unsustainable’, numerous nation states in the old industrialised world took on a new course of measures which sought to extend competition, market discipline and the commodification in all sectors of society. The transformation propelling globalisation through the accelerating mobility of capital has been supported by the flexibilisation of national labour and product markets, and the restructuring of national economies (Brenner and Theodore, 2002). The new economical project has, according to Jessop (2002), typically inaugurated socio-economic conditions such as deregulation and the liberalisation of economic forces within and across national borders. Processes of extensive economic liberalisation have resulted in the privatisation of state-provided services and state-owned enterprises; i.e. the introduction of market orientation in the public sector and in public welfare



spending considerations. As a political project, neoliberalism diverges from state interventions accompanying the Keynesian national welfare state model and from interventions aiming to administer social protection within accumulation regimes. In conformity with these aims, the neoliberal project has encompassed enhanced new forms of politico-economic governance suited for a globalising market-driven economy.

The neoliberal policies driving the global open market economies have, by contributing to the production and increase in ‘precariousness’, i.e. precarisation, influenced workers all over the world. This reflects a situation in which the numbers of workers lacking stable, long-term, fixed-hour jobs, aligned with established routes to career advancement – characteristically jobs protected by unions – are becoming ever greater (see Fudge and Owens, 2006; Kallenberg, 2009; Vosko, 2010; Schierup et al., 2015). Specifically, “the concept of precariousness involves instability, lack of protection, insecurity and social or economic vulnerability [...] It is some combination of these factors which identifies precarious jobs, and the boundaries around the concept are inevitably to some extent arbitrary” (Rodgers, 1989, p. 5).

According to Rodgers (1989), the difference between precarious and regular – permanent and secure – wage work can be illuminated through four principal dimensions. The first concerns the time horizon or the prospects for the continued ability to hold a job. The second deals with workers’ individual or collective influence over wages and working conditions. The third concerns protection against discrimination, unacceptable working practices or unfair dismissal through law or customary practice, collective organisation, but also the accepted levels of social protection such as benefits covering accidents, health, unemployment, pensions and the like. The fourth dimension is income, in the sense that low-income jobs may result in economic vulnerability, i.e. poverty (Rogers, 1989). However, it may not be so simple to demarcate the concept of ‘precariousness’, as, e.g., permanent full-time employment also can be precarious, and equally some non-standard forms of employment may be relatively secure such as agency work and fixed-term contracts (Rogers, 1989; Standing, 2009; Vosko, 2010). Nonetheless, the conceptualisation of precariousness succeeds, unlike the concept of ‘vulnerability’, in capturing both insecure and atypical employment. At the same time, the concept addresses the weakening of social relations when “economic productivity becomes the overwhelming priority” – exploring implications for social life beyond simply employment (Anderson, 2010, p. 304). Compared to terms such as ‘risk’ and ‘vulnerability’, which describe similar conditions, ‘precarity’ is furthermore unique for its political potential and has also been employed as self-identification in social movement mobilisations by activists aiming to unite a divided neo-liberal workforce (see Foti, 2005; Waite, 2009; Schierup et al., 2014).

The competitiveness-driven production of labour market flexibility, subjecting workers to the aforementioned dimensions, has succeeded in multiplying the numbers of such workers to the extent that deteriorated employment standards today even threaten to become the new norm (Kallenberg, 2009; Vosko et al., 2009). Those who work under precarious conditions compose an internally rather diverse social category of people, yet one in which migrants and ‘racialised’<sup>1</sup> minorities are disproportionately represented (Neergaard, 2006). Such overrepresentation can be partly illuminated through migrants’ general entry into a structurally unequal ‘dual labour market’ (Piore, 1979) where primary and secondary sectors have been depicted as separated in terms of job security, working conditions, and benefits and wages. The primary sector is occupied by ‘domestic’ workers who are regarded as highly qualified on the labour market, and the secondary is of a ‘dead-end’ nature and workers lose out on benefits; a sector comprised of disposable migrant workers who are considered to be lower qualified (ibid.). The overrepresentation of migrants in the secondary sector has, however, been further problematised as not merely being a result of migrants’ lower skills, but rather as the common result of de-qualifying their educational merits, discrimination and segmentation (Schierup and Paulson, 1994; Schierup et al., 2006; Anderson, 2010). Migrant workers are thus also subjected to underlying labour market processes of marginalisation, exploitation and exclusion (Schierup et al., 2006). It is on such an unequal playing field in labour market terms that migrants have come to serve as a key workforce to northern employers for low-skilled jobs (Castles and Miller, 2009).

While the neoliberal economical transformations have induced distinct implications for migrant workers and their working-life situations, migrants have also come to give momentum to flexibilisation and employment relationships that produce divisions among workers in neoliberal labour markets (Castles and Miller, 2009), as well as the reduction of wage levels and lower labour standards (Bauder, 2006). ‘Precarious migrant workers’ find themselves in situations preparing them to take on jobs at wages and conditions that many would decline in deregulated labour market sectors such as hospitality, private households, sex, construction and agriculture. Thus, under many types of employment arrangements, which may not necessarily be defined as ‘employment’, these workers can provide the flexible labour that is (by

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1. Influenced by Miles (1982, 1993), Mulinari and Neergaard (2004, p. 19) define the concept as “processes through which groups of people, most – however not all – immigrants or children of immigrants are created as different and subordinated vis-à-vis an assumption about their biological or ethnic/cultural differences. Through racialisation a ‘they’ and in tandem a ‘we’ is created where inter alia national affiliation becomes central” (my own translation).

general rule) cheap, undemanding and available when needed (see Shelley, 2007; Anderson, 2010; Standing, 2011; Schierup et al., 2015).

The generation of such demand and supply has furthermore gained momentum through structural changes in the relations between employer and worker, such as the growth of subcontracting, outsourcing and not least informalisation. Informalisation can, on the one hand, be traced to structural conflicts where old welfare state modes of regulation become too restrictive for new neoliberal accumulation regimes aiming to expansively accumulate capital, ultimately perpetuating ‘informalisation from above’. On the other hand, ‘informalisation from below’ reflects the situation of underprivileged groups of people, deploying informal strategies as a consequence of closed routes to formalised labour market inclusion (Slavnić, 2010).

The production of precariousness is thereby also a process in which immigration policies may become contributory. While governments may seek to present such regulations as means of protecting national labour markets from foreign workers and migrant workers from exploitation, they can furthermore, in practice through tap-regulation or the moulding of employer-customised types of labour, also undermine labour protection. Self-employment, fixed term contracts and the binding of legal status to employers are some of the atypical employment relation types that can be enforced with migration law. Some of these migration statuses become institutionalised as highly precarious and contribute, combined with less formalised migratory processes, to the clustering of precarious workers in parts of the labour market (Anderson, 2010; see Strauss and McGrath, 2016).

The precariousness of migrants in the labour market is thus commonly intertwined and reinforced with a precarious migration or citizenship status.<sup>2</sup> By scrutinising this ‘work-citizenship matrix’, Godring and Landolt (2011) illustrate that migrants who have had precarious work and precarious legal

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2. Godring and Landolt (2011, p. 328) define ‘precarious legal status’ as a concept that “captures the multiple and variable forms of ‘less than full status’, and is defined by the absence of key rights or entitlements usually associated with the full or nearly full status of citizenship and permanent residence. Specifically, precarious status is marked by any of the following: the absence of permanent residence authorization; lack of permanent work authorization; depending on a third party for residence or employment rights; restricted or no access to public services and protections available to permanent residents (e.g. healthcare, education, unionization, workplace rights); and deportability. Precarious status includes ‘documented’ but temporary workers, students, and refugee applicants, as well as unauthorized forms of status, e.g. visa overstayers, failed refugee claimants, and undocumented entrants. The concept provides an alternative to binary conceptions of migrant legality vs. ‘illegality’, documented vs. undocumented, or regular versus ‘irregular’ and can be used with the concept of irregularization to draw attention to the gradations and multidimensionality of non-citizenship and ‘illegality’”.

status experiences have the high probability of remaining long-term reliant on precarious work, even after regularising their statuses through acquiring permanent residences. The authors further warn that there is the lasting impact of newcomer status on the quality of a person's future job, that is, the status of temporariness having a long-term negative effect; only those migrants who, at arrival, hold secure statuses having the chance to avoid precarious jobs. Fudge (2012, pp. 130-131), who has scrutinised the potentiality of international human rights instruments designed to protect migrant workers' rights and challenge state sovereignty over immigration policies which produce precarious employment, delivers a gloomy picture:

What these instruments do is limit the duration in which a state can impose restrictions on migrant workers' free choice of employment to two years. The problem is that allowing states to tie a migrant worker's work authorization to a specific employer for two years permits state-sanctioned subordination of migrant workers to employers and creates a situation ripe for abuse. This accommodation to state sovereignty in the migrant workers' rights instruments undermines too deeply the commitment to equality of treatment of migrant and national workers. [...] Migrant workers need some freedom to circulate in the host-state's labour market to ensure that the conditions of their migrant status do not condemn them to precarious employment.

Although, bodies such as the International Labour Organisation (ILO) have played important roles in setting the agenda and in mobilising support for accountability through the Decent Work Agenda, the effects have so far been rather scarce. The elaboration of an operational model for classification and institutionalisation of labour rights, human rights and migrants' rights has thereby been left to an 'asymmetric global governance regime' to manage. The asymmetry implies that the dominant actors such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and TCOs (transnational corporations) insist on free trade as the best development model. The establishment of decent labour market practices would therefore require trade unions, regional and global migrant organisations, advocacy groups, and norm-setting concerned nation state agents and actors within the UN, to share the agenda of 'clarifying' normative claims and construct a regime model that pledges to a decent social protection standard for all workers (Likić-Brborić and Schierup, 2015). In the meantime, further divisions between workers are being laid through increases in insecurity and inequality in society on the one hand, and the advancements of far-right forces playing on the fear of migration, on the other (see Standing, 2009). Furthermore, in the European context, labour precarity has been followed up by labour law accommodation of the flexibility and individualisation promoting competitiveness agenda of the European

Commission, resulting in a diminishing reach of employment protection and regulation enforcement (Woolfson, 2009).

However, it is not sufficient to simply regard precarious migrant workers as passive actors bounded to unalterable pathways. Important questions are raised in the four studies comprising this thesis regarding the prospects for delineating alternative pathways, particularly those attempting to mark out new routes to collectively organised resistance. As Schierup et al. (2014, p. 59) argue when discussing movements of global migrant actors claiming labour rights, a range of alliance-making practices between labour unions, migrant organisations, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), local and global solidarity movements are in the making, with “a multitude of dialogical spaces and their differential impact on institution-making sites and social transformation”. By its focus on the Swedish context, this thesis builds on and attempts to complement previous studies of precarious migrant workers and supportive social movements assuming radical identities positioned against capitalist exploitation (see Milkman et al., 2010; Adler et al., 2014; Schierup et al., 2014; Standing, 2014; Agustín and Bak Jørgensen, 2016).

## Migration patterns to Sweden

The historical patterns of Swedish migration have changed considerably during the last two centuries. Throughout a period of some eighty years up until the 1930s, about one million of its native inhabitants, one fourth of the country’s population, would flee poverty through emigration. They were mainly poor workers and small peasants in the pursuit of better lives and of which the majority would settle in the United States of America (USA) as the preferred country of destination. In the 1940s, with the onset of the Second World War and its aftermath, Sweden would itself become a refuge for those displaced from other European countries, and increasingly throughout the 1950s and 1960s, Swedish authorities specifically encouraged labour immigration. The import of labour would however in 1970s become sharply curtailed and since then, the pattern of immigration to Sweden would mainly be composed of refugees, asylum seekers and those seeking family reunification (Schierup et al., 2006; see also Migration Board, 2016a).

The national background of Swedish immigrants is rather diverse. However, a significant, and at times also prevalent, part have been from the other Nordic countries. This migration was initially propelled by the 1954 agreement to establish a common Nordic labour market and the coinciding abolition of the passport requirement. Later, it was also secured with succeeding agreements regarding the mutual access to social benefits for Nordic area citizens when residing in neighbouring agreement countries. Thus, ten years after the Second

World War, sixty per cent of all migrants arrived from the Nordic countries, with most from Finland (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992). In the 1960s, Sweden's favourable economic climate would increasingly induce labour migration and in the mid-1960s, even resulted in the establishment of Swedish government labour recruitment centres in Southern Europe (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992; Boguslaw, 2012). The labour migration, which during this period mainly was called for by the manufacturing industry, led ultimately in 1972, not least vis-à-vis trade union opposition, to a sharp curtailment on further labour migration (Schierup et al., 2006).

In the 1970s, Swedish immigration policies were, as in other West European countries, marked by the global economic slowdown in the post-war trajectory of economic expansion (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992). The 1970s became a time when firmer migration regulation was introduced which would require labour migrants to have both accommodation and approved job offers before receiving entry permits. The implementation of a 'labour market enquiry' (*arbetsmarknadsprövning*) meant that the Swedish migration authority, together with the labour market parties (employers and trade union organisations), would screen whether unemployed Swedes could provide the required labour before issuing permits (see Boguslaw, 2012). Nonetheless, due to existing labour market agreements, the intra-Nordic migration continued, but did so at a less substantial rate than during the preceding decades (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992). This regulation would also result in a temporary increase of Finnish labour migrants, but it would soon be followed with an equally dramatic drop when Finland's economy improved. The residence time requirement to be approved for Swedish citizenship would also be lowered from seven to five years, and two years for Nordic citizens (Migration Board, 2016a). Although Sweden, throughout a twenty year-long unparalleled period of labour migration, periodically<sup>3</sup> received smaller groups of refugee seekers, it was not until the mid-1970s with the arrival of Chileans following the 1973-coup that Sweden began receiving larger numbers of people seeking asylum (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992).

In 1980, 7.5 per cent of the population were foreign born in Sweden, with 40 per cent of those 626,953 born in Finland. Other significant groups were born in Denmark, Norway, Germany and Yugoslavia – each between 37,000 and 43,000 people. Then, in descending order, were nearly 20,000 Polish

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3. E.g. Hungarian refugees from Austrian camps in the 1950s; Czechoslovaks after the 1968 Soviet invasion; Jews escaping anti-Semitic currents in Poland 1968-1972; Kosovo-Albanians from Yugoslavia, Syrians from Beirut, and Greeks flying the junta, all in 1967; American deserters from the United States' wars in Indochina; Portuguese deserters from wars against Mozambique and Angolan liberation movements (Svanberg and Tydén, 1992).

migrants and groups of some 15,000 Estonians, Greeks and Turks. Three and a half decades later, in 2015, close to 1.7 million people, about 17 per cent of the population were born outside of Sweden, in altogether some 200 different countries (Statistics Sweden, 2016b). Of these, 57.8 per cent, or close to 970,000, are naturalised immigrants, i.e. holding Swedish citizenship. If also considering residents whose both parents were born outside of Sweden, then the national statistics show that 2.2 million people or 22.2 per cent of the population have 'foreign backgrounds' in 2015 (Statistics Sweden, 2016a). This re-composition of Swedish citizenry that has taken place since the 1980s is almost exclusively the result of a sustained reception of refugees. Until 2014, the largest groups receiving residence permits during this period have in the 1980s been people from Iran, Chile, Iraq and Ethiopia. Specifically, in the 1990s, from former Yugoslavia, Iraq, Somalia and Iran, while after the turn of millennium, from Iraq, Syria, the former Yugoslavia, Somalia and Afghanistan (Migration Board, 2016b). In 2015 alone, the number of asylum seekers reached 162,877 people<sup>4</sup>, nearly double the previous high of 84,018 registered asylum applications in 1992. This increase reflects primarily the exodus from Syria with 51,338 people applying for asylum in Sweden, as well as 41,564 from Afghanistan, of which more than half were unaccompanied children, and 20,858 applicants from Iraq (Migration Board, 2016c, 2016d, 2016e). With these figures, Sweden has taken the lead among the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in the number of asylum applications as a proportion of its population (OECD 2016). However, this previously unseen increase would, at the end of 2015, result in a government proposition for a package of measures aiming to "create a breathing space for Swedish refugee reception" by adjusting the asylum regulation to the EU minimum standard (Swedish Government Offices, 2015). In 2016, regulations followed for temporary identity controls at the Swedish border, enforced municipal engagement in the reception of refugees, withdrawal of support to those denied asylum and do not return voluntarily, an exchange of the norm of permanent asylum granting to one of temporary permits, and tightened rules regarding family reunification (Migration Board, 2016a). Consequently, the figures dating from the 1980s onwards should not merely be seen as the result of world conflicts being funnelled into a Swedish environment of political and citizenry 'open heartedness'.<sup>5</sup> Rather, Swedish

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4. 70,384 of them were children, of which 35,369 unaccompanied.

5. The term was coined by the former right government leader and Swedish premier minister Fredrik Reinfeldt on August the 16th 2014, one month before the elections, by stating: "We have now people who are fleeing in numbers that are similar to those we had during the Balkan crisis in the beginning of the 1990s. Now, I appeal to the Swedish people for patience, for opening

migration and settlement patterns have been intertwined with negotiations between labour market parties, a corresponding development of integration policies and macro-economic political considerations. Sweden's integration in the EU and its joining of the Schengen area cooperation, as well as the political currents among the general public have also been factors to consider (see Ålund, 1985; Svanberg and Tydén, 1992; Schierup and Paulson, 1994; Mulinari and Neergaard, 2004; Schierup et al., 2006).

### Labour market trajectories and the Swedish welfare state

During the 1960s' surge of labour immigration, Sweden assumed a liberal incorporation policy that offered easy access to citizenship and granted foreign citizens complete welfare rights and public services close to equal those retained by native Swedes. Moreover, in 1976 it granted foreign citizens who had resided in the country for three years, the right to vote and run for office in local and regional elections; the first European country so to do. These policies were rooted in a multiculturalist ideology that sought to underscore Sweden's ethnically diverse character. However, the policies of the 1980s and early 1990s would dilute previous agendas for empowering immigrant communities. Instead, following a rather paternalistic attitude to the new citizens' organisations, they would result in a stigmatising culturalism of migrant organisations, which came at odds with the ideology of multiculturalism (Ålund and Schierup, 1991). Albeit, the number of 'immigrant organisations' would increase largely through an ethno-national orientated state funding system (Borevi, 2004), while simultaneously becoming depoliticised through the state monitoring of their organisations (see Soininen, 1999). Moreover, immigration was deemed responsible for feeding the then awakening nationalistic populist movements in the late 1980s, as well as throughout the economic and social crisis at the beginning of the 1990s. In addition, the slide from the traditional full employment policy of the 'Swedish model' towards a new social-democratic tolerance of higher levels of unemployment, was concomitantly criticised for disproportionately increasing the unemployment levels among migrants who were already disprivileged by the workings of a highly segmented Swedish labour market (Schierup, 1991). In order to better understand these developments, it is necessary to briefly examine how the 'Swedish model' has evolved and its implications for migrant organisations and their labour market situation.

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your hearts so to see people under heavy duress with threats to their lives, who flee, flee for Europe, flee for freedom, flee for better conditions. Show that openness!" (my own translation).



The Swedish model of the welfare state has been described as an international exception in terms of the extent to which it provides ‘de-commodifying’ universal benefits to both its white-collar and traditional working class strata. By these provisions, citizens could enjoy services as a matter of right and maintain livelihood without totally depending on the market. The extensive nature of these welfare provisions also explains the welfare state’s extraordinarily high cost (Esping-Andersen, 1990). It has been depicted as a three-pillar-model that flourished from the 1950s up until the mid-1970s by successfully merging industrial development, full employment, economic growth and income redistribution (see Weiss, 1998). Its first pillar was the social democratic Rehn-Meidner programme of economic management which prioritised the realisation of a solidaristic wage-policy through the world’s most centralised collective bargaining system, between strong blue-collar unions and employers’ associations. Politically, this programme would seek to mitigate unemployment (due to workers’ lack of qualifications, plant relocations or closures) with investments in workforce re-qualification programmes. The system was thus calibrated for minimal unemployment so as to guarantee full labour market participation. The second pillar provided extensive universal welfare services that included child and elderly care, healthcare, education at all levels, state subsidised pensions and unemployment insurance. The third pillar was the preservation of a long-term, social-democratic political hegemony, which owed much to the coverage of provisions in the second pillar gathering support well beyond its core blue-collar constituency and centralised labour movement (Schierup et al., 2006; Schierup and Dahlstedt, 2007).

The corporately organised Swedish model has moreover been interwoven with the long Swedish history of influential ‘popular movements’ (*folkrörelser*). In both research and politics there is the strong consensus that the active engagement of associations in public matters is one of the hallmarks of Swedish democracy, and that it has played a significant role in schooling the citizens towards democratic participation. As an ideal, this narrative lingers on to the present time, but it has also undergone considerable changes since the glory days of the Swedish model. The model’s transformation during the 1980s and 1990s would come to generate significant implications for the role of civil society in the Swedish model (Dahlstedt, 2009).

Nevertheless, the Swedish model succeeded in preventing total unemployment from surging until the late 1980s – when many other advanced welfare states had long since seen rising figures. However, from 1979 Sweden and its social model would nonetheless become increasingly compromised by the internationally prevailing neoliberal ‘Third way’ model which would slowly become embraced by the Social Democratic party. The resultant welfare stagnation between 1979

and 1985 would generate concerns akin to regret for a ‘Paradise lost’ (Marklund, 1988); a transformation by which groups of migrants and their families would become among those hardest hit (Schierup et al., 2006). However, contrary to worldwide political trends, until 1989 Sweden both reduced its economic deficits and deterred conspicuous concessions in welfare entitlements and full employment. Despite these successes, from 1989 to 1991 the Swedish model began to unravel (Pontusson, 1992).

In the 1990s, Sweden experienced a deep economic recession that was accompanied by a growing budget deficit and rising unemployment that from 1990 to 1993 grew from 1.7 per cent to 8.3 per cent. Those most affected by the crisis were the economically and socially vulnerable groups, namely young adults, single mothers and immigrants. For these groups, the crisis was especially accentuated in terms of income and employment, but also in terms of welfare policies (Bergmark and Palme, 2003). Eventually, following the economic recession and the election of a centre-right government in 1991, the Social Democrats would, by the mid-1990s, embark on the development of the ‘New Swedish Model’. In essence, it contrasted with the previous model by facilitating a thinning-out of distributive justice and social citizenship. This development has thereafter, in the new millennium (Dahlstedt, 2009), created the fundament for the contemporary labour market, not least for precarious migrant workers, which will be discussed in the following section.



## Research on migration, precarious work and collective action

The following segment focuses on the labour market situation of three specific categories of workers that the articles in this dissertation address in the following order: discriminated workers, seasonal Roma berry pickers and undocumented workers. In relation to each group, firstly the specific labour market placement and predicaments will be considered and secondly, the dimension of collective action responses in the face of these detriments will be elaborated upon.

### Ethnic discrimination within the labour market

In 2013, the employment rate among foreign-born people in Sweden was 63.4 per cent. The corresponding figure for those born in Sweden was 78.4 per cent. The 15 percentage points ‘unexplained gap’ has been attributed to, *inter alia*, sex, region of birth, time spent in Sweden and educational levels (Statistics Sweden, 2014a). This type of disparity is also a general tendency among other European states (Statistics Sweden, 2014b). The rate of employment was lower among the ‘foreign born’ in 18 out of the 26 countries included in the comparison. Sweden was close to the average value when only focusing the level of employment among ‘foreign born’ people. Nonetheless, every third ‘foreign born’ person, contra 17 per cent of those born in Sweden, have upheld that they were overqualified for their jobs (Statistics Sweden, 2014b).

National investigations have raised concerns regarding different forms of institutional discrimination (Lappalainen, 2005; Kamali, 2006). Nevertheless, determining the effect of discrimination in the labour market is a delicate research task, one in which it may be difficult to control for all variables that could explain differences in employment outcomes, promotions and wage development. While field-experiments may lack external validity concerning influencing factors, register-data studies carry problems tied to internal-validity in regards to ethnic discrimination. Thus, no single study could unambiguously prove the existence of discrimination in the society in general, and therefore, the importance of combining quantitative and ‘experimental’ qualitative research to array an appreciation of the width of discrimination has been underlined (Nekby, 2006).

Studies made in the Swedish context have shown that labour market-related inequalities decrease with time spent in the country. However, these have not been able to conclusively explicate why substantial differences in wages and employment between immigrants from non-western countries and natives persist, even after residing for two decades in Sweden (Wadensjö, 1997; Belevander and Skryt Nielsen, 2001; Arai et al., 2000; le Grand and Szulkin, 2002; Bursell, 2012). While negative long-term effects for wages and employment have been correlated with refugees' arrival to Sweden in times of economic stagnation during the period from 1987 to 1991 (Åslund and Rooth, 2007), there is also evidence that the contrary may not be the case in times of economic expansion. Explanations for the latter have been sought in relation to changed integration policies in the 1980s (Ekberg, 1991). Another set of studies on labour market inequalities have sought answers within the realm of network-based recruitment practices focusing on the importance of informal types of recruitment and problems with formal validations of foreign qualifications (see Rydgren 2004; Nordström Skans and Åslund, 2009; Tovatt 2013). It has, for example, been found that in the recruitment process recruiters overlooked multiple language skills exclusively privileging Swedish language skills as a core requirement (Boréus and Mörkenstam, 2010). Further, in a study on the labour market performance of young people with migrant backgrounds compared to those with native-born parents, it was found that human capital cannot explain why those with migrant backgrounds are at higher risks of not becoming regularly employed or having lower annual income. Thus, the composition of social networks and effects of discrimination have been suggested as compensatory explanations (Behtoui, 2004).

Other scholars have examined resistance strategies among young marginalised people in their job related strategies (Lundqvist, 2010), as well as the ways in which new hybrid youth cultures relate to novel forms of political activism (Ålund 1997; Andersson 2003; Sernhede 2007; Söderman 2007), voicing frustration with exclusionary practices through urban justice movements (Schierup et al., 2014). Tendencies of cultural 'islanding', which carry the risk of proliferating the development of an ethnically divided labour market, have, among younger generations since the 1990s, steadily given way to the formation of new identities and forms of resistance (see Ålund, 1985, 1997).

While workers on the Swedish labour market are protected against ethnic discrimination through the law, institutionalised practices in the form of network recruitment and ethnocentrically biased evaluations still exist through organisational practices. These form unfair assessments by the way of exclusion from competition and may result in unequal opportunities for migrants. Despite the interest of Swedish scholars in probing such procedures for ethnic

discrimination, they have long been upheld “because field experiments have been considered unethical as employers cannot give their informed consent to participate” (Bursell, 2012a, p. 23). Thus, the first experimental research proposal was finally awarded the ethical vetting board approval in 2006, and a new line of Swedish studies provided persuasive direct evidence of discriminatory conduct in the recruitment process, through field experiments and the parallel backing of register data (Bursell, 2012). One of these studies, focusing on the first step in the recruitment process, illustrated that in order to be contacted by the employer when applying with the same qualifications, job-applicants with Arabic or African sounding names would be required to send almost twice as many job-applications compared to applicants with Swedish sounding names (Bursell, 2014). Research has thus, in several ways, acknowledged the occurrence of discrimination as important for explaining the labour market outcomes of immigrants.

In the Swedish context, a number of studies has also focused on collective actions conducted against racism and discrimination (see e.g. Andersson, 1994; Malmsten, 2008; Jämte, 2013). In relation to the specific matters of anti-discrimination and the labour market, the following two sections will focus on state partnership with civil society and forms of self-organisation initiated by immigrants. It is worth already mentioning that such collective actions have been conducted within organisational structures of varying degrees of autonomy. First, a closer look at civil society will be explored, followed in the subsequent section with a focus on trade unions.

### Partnership arrangements for labour market inclusion

The formation of a new Swedish model in the 1990s was accompanied with a new era for the societal role of civil society. In conjunction with Sweden joining the EU in 1995, and throughout the period of the new millennium, the idea of ‘partnership’ has steadily gained political popularity as the answer to many societal challenges (Schierup et al., 2006; Dahlstedt, 2009). Although the phenomenon of cooperation had occupied a prominent position in the Swedish political tradition up until the 1980s, the 1990s saw a resurgence vis-à-vis the partnership doctrine, appearing in a brand new light (Forsberg, 2000). While the political construct of partnership had been gaining grounds internationally ever since the 1980s, it was in the 1990s that it would be installed as the principal component of the renewed EU approach to welfare politics (Pierre, 1998; Geddes, 2000). Partnership was promoted politically as an obligation to transgress sectorial divisions between the state, civil society and the market for the purpose of fighting challenges that the state was deemed incapable of resolving on its own (Kaldor, 2003; Einhorn, 2006). In the Swedish

context, it would proliferate in the shape of projects that are delimited in time and organisational scope in areas such as urban policy, regional development, education and integration policy (Syssner, 2006; Dahlstedt, 2009; Andersson, 2011; Qvist, 2012). Concerns over unemployment and ‘passivity’ among the unemployed, as well as globalisation, competitiveness, polarisation and social exclusion would all be raised in the political debate as matters that required partnership (Dahlstedt, 2009). However, as a political tool for governing, it has also encountered national and international scholarly debate. Although participation is a central component of the idea of partnership, its forums have not always assured access to influence on the part of critical and marginalised voices in the society. Despite facilitating communication between societal groups, partnership arrangements have been criticised for their tendencies towards: regarding disagreements in opinion as problematic; including participants on unequal terms; sifting out ‘naysayers’; and, politically dictating the conditions for cooperation. Thus, rather than guaranteeing influence and a voice for the disprivileged, partnerships have more come to prioritise effectiveness through collaboration, but in a manner in which conventional definitions of problems and solutions remain safeguarded (Dahlstedt, 2009, see also Geoghegan and Powell, 2008; Sidhu and Taylor, 2009). Partnership has also been described as the by-product of a flexible state that by retreating from certain welfare obligations, in turn, has added to the transfiguration of an activist civil society organisational model into a ‘tamed’ neo-liberal version (Kaldor, 2003).

One policy area that is tangential to the focus of this dissertation, and where the implementation of partnerships has raised concerns, has been in the area of antidiscrimination. It evidenced noticeably on the EU level after the ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 when antidiscrimination policies were advanced through directives, strategies, programmes and action plans. These have aimed at creating a socially inclusive labour market and counteracting discrimination, for instance, in education, healthcare and housing. They have not only mandated the inclusion of civil society and labour market parties in realising these agendas, but also obliged member states to establish special state agencies to monitor progress in this field and to assist people who have experienced discrimination (Hansen, 2008). Antidiscrimination policies in the EU have, moreover, been questioned for their reductionist tendency to approach discrimination and social exclusion as matters which primarily can be resolved through individuals’ employability, lowered taxes and employment costs, and greater flexibility in labour markets through increases in casual and part-time employment (Soininen, 2003; Hansen, 2008; Schierup et al., 2006). The raised concerns have projected that partnerships established on this basis will contribute to an increase of ethnic labour market division.

Migrants and ethnic minorities who are already overrepresented in deregulated labour market sectors have, it has been claimed, in the midst of thoroughly conditional social rights, become even more pressured to accept substandard jobs and labour conditions (Schierup, 2003). Furthermore, rationalities of employability have been problematised with reference to Swedish European Social Fund projects in which unemployed migrants have been described as responsible for their own unemployment (Vesterberg, 2016). In research on integration policies and state subsidised forms of partnerships, funding arrangements have been both problematised for their repressing effects on the critical voices among organised migrants through top down regulation, and praised for creating new prospects for these voices to be heard (Hertting, 2003; Velásquez, 2005; Mukhtar-Landgren, 2008). Despite recurring accounts about the conditioning of engagements through partnership schemes, recent studies in this context have acknowledged that agencies founded on ethnic grounds (AFEGs) and other initiatives organised by ethnic minorities, migrants or their children in Sweden, have served as important vehicles for advancing inclusion, labour market integration and anti-discrimination (see Hellgren, 2007; Ålund and Reichel, 2007; Hobson and Hellgren, 2008; Dahlstedt et al., 2010; Kings, 2011). Before turning to discrimination matters in regards to trade unions and their capacities to offer protection to precarious migrant workers, it should be stated that trade unions are by law granted priority in offering representation to their members in case of discrimination on the labour market. Collaborations between AFEGs, trade unions and the state are specifically elaborated upon in closer detail in the first article of this dissertation.

### Anti-discrimination and trade unions in times of transition

The institutionalised frame of trade unions is another realm in which research has scrutinised the prospects for immigrants to organise as political actors, offering protection against discrimination. Mulinari and Neergaard (2004), who have studied a cross-union confederation network of migrants dedicated to anti-racism, anti-discrimination and anti-exclusion (FAI)<sup>6</sup>, provide a critical analysis of how disproportional representation of racialised minorities becomes established (even) within trade unions. These authors depict the racialisation processes within Swedish trade unions in the form of ‘subordinated inclusion’, which is illustrated in how the union conducts, on the one hand, organising immigrants, and on the other, adding to the reproduction of racism and

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6. Fackligt Aktiva Invandrare (Trade Union Active Immigrants)



discrimination by fashioning institutional strategies that marginalise immigrants as workers. In union discourses, immigrant workers become contrasted to Swedish workers as lacking proper language skills, knowledge of union matters, meeting skills, as well as being inept at conducting negotiations – deficiencies which commonly have been rationalised as ethnic or cultural traits. Other procedures of subordination have included forms of suppression techniques through which matters of discrimination and racism become consigned to the margins. Yet another example is the uniform depiction of immigrants in union newspapers as a societal problem commonly related to matters such as unemployment and social assistance.

In parallel with the 2004 EU enlargement, fresh channels for labour migration to Sweden would open from Central and Eastern European new member states. By adhering to free movement from the outset (along with the UK and Ireland), priority to the mobility of services across member states was established. This would have the effect of facilitating companies operating in accordance with the rules and regulations in their home country, generating profound implications to industrial relation standards and the European Social Model (Woolfson and Sommers, 2006; Woolfson et al., 2010). In addition to this development, further impacts on the bargaining positions of workers – especially migrants in precarious employment – have been highlighted against the background of global economic downturn which has exposed labour to an increased ‘unequal risk-burdening’ (Woolfson and Likić-Brborić, 2008; Woolfson, 2010). These recent changes to a formally well-regulated labour market model in Sweden have particularly impacted low-wage occupations and created new areas for migrant precariousness. Trade unions have thus come to encounter the double offensive of declining membership density and the ‘Laval’ judgement of the European Court of Justice, which has lessened their capacity to defend labour standards (Woolfson et al., 2014). This could be seen in the light of the attempt by the European Commission and the European Court of Justice to advance competition on the labour market through flexibility and deregulation (Foster, 2016). Even in the cases where the EU has sought to diminish gross forms of exploitation, for example in vulnerable seasonal migrants, it has failed to establish effective protection and enforcement mechanisms through law (Fudge and Herzfeld Olson, 2014).

A further development that relates to the precarious migrant workers’ labour market situation and the trade unions’ possibilities to offer support in Sweden has been the implementation of new labour migration regulations in 2008. This very open form of employer-led temporary migrant workers’ scheme, has, together with the trade unions’ reduced scope for the regulation of employment offers, weakened bargaining positions and impeded the migrants’ possibilities of raising their voices (Schierup and Ålund, 2011). In 2011, the OECD would distinguish

the Swedish labour migration policy the most open among the OECD countries (OECD, 2011). Special attention was called to the almost entirely demand-driven system which highlighted increases in recruitment numbers to low skilled non-shortage occupations. Further attention was drawn to the prospects for trade unions to scrutinise the initially offered wages for the recruited labour in comparison to the actual wages offered and the lack of ‘post-entry verification’. These developments have provided the basis for scrutinising the corresponding policy areas and posing critical questions regarding the protection of migrant workers’ rights (Noll, 2010; Likić-Brborić, 2011).

The parallel declining union membership figures and weakened union influence has been a decade’s long international trend (see MacDonald, 2014; Balasubramanian, 2015; Farber 2015). The Swedish case is, however, particular as it is closely related to the Swedish labour market self-regulation model and based on collectively bargained agreements between trade unions and employer representative associations, covering 90 per cent of all employees in Sweden. Although Swedish unions too have endured a decline in density, they have remained rather strong in comparison to other countries. Yet, when contrasting the density of 85 per cent at the beginning of the 1990s to 69 per cent in 2015, they have been far from spared the general tendency to decline in coverage and bargaining power (Kjellberg, 2013, 2016).

In the union revitalisation literature, a recurring strategy advanced to circumvent membership loss has included building coalitions with other social movements as these are expected to generate new prospects for increasing the union influence in both the labour market and surrounding society (Frege and Kelly, 2003; Turner, 2005). In such propositions, migrants have been identified as key allies, whilst also a group towards which unions have traditionally taken a protectionist stance (see Penninx and Roosblad, 2000; Mulinari and Neergaard, 2004). It is thus proposed that unions “should recognise that migrant workers are an integral part of the working class, and that they have often played a pivotal role in the making of labour movements” (Munck, 2015, p. 105). However, as will be discussed, Swedish unions have taken a reluctant position towards undocumented migrants.

### **Bulgarian Roma minority in the Swedish berry-picking industry**

The second and the third articles of this dissertation centre on seasonal agricultural work in the form of berry picking, which in 2012 was conducted by Bulgarian Roma in Sweden. Therefore, in the following segment a closer look is given to the predicaments of the Roma in the EU, with a specific focus on Bulgaria and Sweden. This is proceeded by outlining important developments in the Swedish berry picking industry.

Some ten to twelve million Roma comprise Europe's largest minority (see European Commission, 2011). In their daily lives, this internally diverse group of people has often endured racism, social exclusion and discrimination (see Ladányi and Szelényi, 2001; Revenga et al., 2002; Bešter et al., 2012). Poverty, discrimination and ineffective anti-discrimination campaigns have continued to exacerbate their labour market predicament. Surveys conducted in several European countries have revealed that they face social exclusion in terms of health, housing, education and employment (FRA and UNDP, 2012). As a response to the socioeconomic situation facing the Roma in the EU, the European Commission proposed the "EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020" calling on the Member States to endorse common goals covering the four pillars (see European Commission, 2016). The 2012 Commission's assessment of the national strategies for socioeconomic inclusion made it clear that member states should display "stronger efforts to live up to their responsibilities" (European Commission 2012, p. 16), in particular those "with a sizeable Roma population" (p. 17). The Commission stressed, among other targets, the need for the fuller involvement of regional and local authorities, the importance of inclusion and recognition of Roma organisations as means for trust building between minorities and majorities, and the need for convincing measures against discrimination.

As one of the Member States with a sizeable Roma population, Bulgaria has been closely scrutinised by civil society organisations, researchers and the EU. While Bulgaria's political elites have rhetorically advanced notions of the 'Bulgarian ethnic model' as rooted in the country's tradition of religious and ethnic tolerance, serious doubts have been cast on this. Rechel (2007, p. 1212) argues that the notion of the Bulgarian model has been employed by the political elites for signalling to the international community that Bulgaria "does not need any lessons in the protection of minorities". According to Rechel, such conduct risks concealing the status of minorities, especially when contemplating the situation for the Roma minority and "massive problems of racism, discrimination and socio-economic exclusion" (p. 1212). Studying views on ethnic minorities in the Bulgarian press from 2005 to 2009, Naxidou (2012) claims that the marginalisation of the Roma is intrinsically connected to notions of Roma as belonging to a completely different culture, whose lifestyles are perceived as the social problem. Although Bulgaria has committed itself to integration programmes such as the 'Decade of Roma Inclusion 2005-2015', and the 'National Roma Integration Strategy in Bulgaria', Dimitrov et al. (2013) conclude that no significant progress for the integration of Roma into mainstream society has been identified. What is required, the authors emphasise, is political will, adequate knowledge and appropriate financial resources. Moreover, specifically regarding the labour market situation, Dimitrov et al. note that "it is already a matter of urgency for

the government to undertake serious and well-resourced measures to address the problems caused by the increasing anti-Roma discrimination” (2013, p. 8).

Bulgaria is also one of the EU member states where the impact of the global economic and financial crisis has been particularly intense. The tight fiscal measures that followed have, however, struck most severely against the poorest strata of the Bulgarian population, for which even before the crisis the social welfare system offered only meagre support levels (Petkov, 2014). Thus, with the arrival of the crisis, the Roma population in Bulgaria became subject to a particularly sharp increase in social exclusion and the burden of poverty. Fast rising unemployment levels that were recorded in 2008 among the Roma community were reflected in the shrinking of the construction sector that employed the largest number of Roma (Dimitrova, 2009). The exacerbation of poverty due to the crisis persuaded many Roma to seek opportunities in seasonal labour migration (Pamporov, 2013; see OECD, 2013). Surveys showed that in 2011, every fifth Roma was considering migrating to another country, double the level of non-Roma (Cherkezova and Tomova, 2013). As such, the consequential predicaments of those arriving in Sweden as temporary migrants in the berry industry are elaborated upon within the second and third articles of this dissertation.

Before turning to agricultural seasonal work and the workings of the berry industry, the situation for the Roma in Sweden will briefly be reviewed. Firstly, it should be highlighted that the Swedish Roma minority not only experience social exclusion in current times, but have undergone centuries-long persecution and repression. These have encompassed, not least, discriminatory policies such as entry bans for Roma to Sweden between 1914 and 1954, and the sterilisation law from 1941 to 1975. Although, in 2000, Swedish Roma gained national minority status, it has remained one of the most discriminated groups in the country. Discrimination is prevalent not only in societal arenas such as public venues, housing and the labour market (Delegationen för romska frågor, 2010), but also in the justice system, in which they are particularly exposed to stereotypical perceptions (Aspling and Djärv, 2013). However, the recognition of the Roma minority and the Romani language compose two important institutional changes that have extended the protection of the Roma minority by the law. Nonetheless, despite the fact that the political goals of the closing the welfare gap by 2020 have been deemed as ‘progressive’, they have also been criticised for being quite unrealistic given the current social and political conditions (Slavnić, 2012). This background context adds valuable insight into the predicament of Bulgarian Roma who entered into the Swedish berry-picking industry.

In order to situate understanding, the operational structure of the berry-picking industry and the legal context in which it functions are briefly examined. The industry is a part of a global commodity chain that stretches from the

forests of Sweden to the world market. The end products are mostly not juices or jams, but rather primarily processed into nutrient-powder and exclusively sold for use in health products and cosmetics (Hedberg, 2013). It has been the high market value of the Swedish berries and the parallel practice of employing low-earning seasonal migrants that have sustained the industry's growth and the high profitability of leading companies (Eriksson and Tollefsen, 2013).

From 2009 to 2015, berry pickers arriving mainly from Thailand have made up the leading occupational group among those receiving permits to work in Sweden (Migration Board, 2016f). However, these workers are contracted *vis-à-vis* by large berry companies, and are the only group in this type of seasonal work whose numbers can be statistically appraised. Another significant group is composed of berry pickers arriving from within the EU, among which Roma pickers from Bulgaria are considered the largest. Within the industry they are designated as 'free-pickers' who engage in the commercial harvesting on their own accord. Because these workers sell the picked berries at forest collection stations to various types of industry middlemen, understanding their working conditions and contractual arrangements has been limited (Wingborg, 2014). It is partly *allmansrätten* (the Swedish constitutional 'right to roam' across private lands) that has made it possible for the workers from Bulgaria (as an EU-member state) to harvest berries. *Allmansrätten* therefore grants any person the freedom to access private land in order to collect wild produce (see Sténs and Sandström, 2014). When collected, the berries can be sold directly to berry-buyers who, in terms of labour-relations, have no work-legal obligations towards those whom they are buying from (Wingborg, 2014). The second and the third articles have centred on collective actions and state attempts to relieve such workers from the precarious situation in which they found themselves. These articles also attempt to contribute to filling research gaps concerned with labour-relations and working-conditions. The workings of the industry as such and its recurring scandals of labour abuse related to contracted seasonal migrant workers from South East Asia had been scrutinised rather extensively prior to these two articles. For the South East Asian workers who cannot arrive in Sweden without work permits, the situation in terms of labour relations and working conditions has evolved along a different but correspondingly troubling path.

Regardless of their migration status, the work conducted by the berry pickers in the commercial harvesting provides hard-earned pay for labour performed from early morning to late afternoon. It involves the search and competition for berry-rich areas and requires long treks through mosquito-ridden, and at times, marshy and hilly forest terrain. The picking is conducted with a back-bent posture and repetitive sweeps with hand-held collecting devices through low growing berry bushes, which when full are emptied into buckets carried along

during the forest-hikes by the workers (see Woolfson et al., 2012; Wingborg, 2014). In current times, few Swedes consider it reasonable to seek employment in this type of work. Yet, for many seasonal labour migrants it has provided opportunities to increase their standards of living (Hedberg, 2013). However, the potentiality of such earnings has also led many seasonal migrants to take out loans with high interest rates, and for some to even mortgage their homes and land in order to pay recruitment agencies for accommodation and travel to Sweden (Network Against Trafficking and Exploitation of Migrant Workers, 2009; Vanaspong, 2012). These arrangements have received embarrassing international attention resulting from labour abuse scandals. The reported cases have included several protests and other forms of collective actions conducted by the workers themselves in response to instances of being defrauded out of their remuneration. At the same time, deficient working and living conditions have been revealed. Such incidents have ultimately led the Swedish authorities to tighten the requirements for businesses employing “third country nationals” (persons from outside of the European Union) in this labour market sector by requiring work-permit applicants to present applications for comments from a Swedish labour union on their employment offers (OECD, 2010, 2016; Yimprasert, 2010; Wingborg, 2011, 2014; Vanaspong 2012; Woolfson et al., 2012). Because EU citizens can arrive in Sweden without working-permits, these procedures have not improved the working conditions of workers in the berry industry from, for example, Bulgaria. As articles two and three indicate, currently there is the paradox whereby EU-citizens are somewhat less legally protected compared to those who are from beyond the EU’s borders.

### Undocumented migrant workers and channels of support

For many employers, undocumented workers may be an attractive workforce because of their legal statuses and accompanying marginal positions. Commonly, these workers are forced to take on employment through intermediaries or subcontractors (Ahmad, 2008), and because of the fear of expulsion, they are only on rare occasions unionised. Therefore, these workers become a labour force that is flexible, docile and easy to discharge or hire to fill emergent workforce gaps (Samers, 2003). Their conditions on the labour market may encase: repudiation of holiday-pay, free time encroachments, negligence of fixed lunches and breaks, low pay, refusal of payments or unauthorised salary deductions and sexual harassment (Van der Leun and Kloosterman, 2005; Ahmad, 2008; Gavanas, 2010). Ill-treatment of this sort are often upheld through threats of expulsion or imprisonment. Undocumented workers may thereby be forced to go deeper underground in order to avoid authorities and remain

undetected (Stark, 2007; Sager 2011). Avoidance of, or complete withdrawal from, the public sphere additionally contribute to the unequal power relation between employer and employee; as these workers keep low profiles it is possible for the employer to neglect health and safety regulations and ultimately force the employees to endure unsafe practices and hazardous working environments (Ahmad, 2008; Woolfson and Likić-Brborić, 2008). All of these discrepancies from conventional labour market relations also become challenges to the work conducted by trade unions. Because they are forced to accept jobs that do not meet the standards that trade unions have fought to accomplish, undocumented immigrants have traditionally been beheld by trade unions as a threat (Frank, 2012). Shortly, a closer look into the transformations that have occurred in trade unions in Sweden and other countries will be given, but firstly, focus on one way of structuring the different forms of support, including those from trade unions, which undocumented migrants may receive will be explored.

The collective actors and networks that offer support to undocumented immigrants can act with a range of approaches. The support networks of undocumented immigrants that may consist of workmates, neighbours, friends, teachers, trade unions, social workers and medics are, according to Düvell (2007), commonly guided by moral motives centring on: the unsafe situation in the migrant's country of origin; migrants' integration into the host country; and, the negative effects of deportation or detention on migrants and their families. Düvell argues that such support may have an impact on the outcomes of migrations policies, making the tensions between national regulations and international laws more pronounced. Regarding the support attained by undocumented immigrants, Düvell presents a typology, based on four themes, each highlighting specific ways in which such engagements may be composed.

The first theme concerns 'campaigns on behalf of irregular immigrants or asylum seekers'. These campaigns are often directed towards politicians and the media, involving public support gathered through petitions or encouragement to correspond with state institutions. For example, protests can be directed at detention camps calling for "de-fencing" as in some Dutch cases. Further, Italian activists have even engaged in demolishing fences or occupying camps in order to liberate detainees, as well as confronted companies used by the state for deportation and on several occasions targeted airports and airlines, even managing to cancel flights (Düvell, 2007). Campaigning on behalf of undocumented migrants has also gained organisational support in the Swedish context from actors such as the No One Is Illegal Network (Nätverket Ingen Människa är Illegal) and The Swedish Network of Refugee Support Groups (FARR). The first of these two actors consists of a network of eight local groups that engage in spreading knowledge regarding the life-situations of undocumented

immigrants, but also in providing meals, funds, accommodation and contacts (see Ingen Illegal, 2016). The second actor is an umbrella organisation for the Swedish refugee movement which includes and offers guidance on a voluntary basis to refugee groups, asylum committees and individuals. Its work is mainly orientated towards the upholding of international conventions, and in those cases where children are concerned (see FARR, 2016).

The second theme in Düvell's typology is activism in the form of 'self-organisation'. In Sweden, the organisation Undocumented Immigrants Stockholm (Papperslösa Stockholm) has been a prominent actor. Its strategy of engagement has mainly been revolved around the mobilisation of public opinion. Among other things, through a support-network of organisations and political parties, it has succeeded in arranging protests outside the Swedish parliament building, initiating co-operations with Swedish trade unions and has been invited to parliament hearings (see Mattson, 2008; Sundbäck, 2013).

The third theme in Düvell's typology is 'incorporation into existing organisations'. A quite telling Swedish example is the way in which the aforementioned organisation, Undocumented Immigrants Stockholm, managed to demand regularisation and social rights in a democratic fashion vis-à-vis the right to protest. Under the parole "This Wednesday", organisers claim to have conducted more than 100 Wednesday demonstrations with undocumented migrants as leading figures. One reason to why it was possible for undocumented migrants to organise manifestations on the gates of the Swedish parliament was the establishment of relations with recognised political actors. In fact, the Swedish Green Party (*Miljöpartiet*) applied for, and was also issued, the certificate from the police approving this particular gathering (Polismyndigheten Stockholms Län, 2009). As Düvell (2007) illustrates, it is clear that the establishment of associations, along with network support from other formal actors, can generate new opportunities to resonate the voices and claims of undocumented immigrants.

In this third theme, scholars have also lately scrutinised several examples in different countries of trade union attempts to organise undocumented migrants. Milkman (2015) has, in the context of the USA, illuminated how establishing coalitions with progressive movements may ease discrepancies between old protective structures and new labour market challenges of precariousness. Community-based workers-centres' movements and some labour unions have succeeded in finding a common ground that has resulted in synergies for both actors. By sharing the challenges of consolidating the bargaining capacity of undocumented workers they have outshone established claims that undocumented migrants are unorganisable. The number of workers' centres offering support to precarious migrant workers has thus grown despite the risk of employers offering complaints, which may result in deportation, to authorities (Fine, 2011; see also



Milkman et al., 2010). Notwithstanding these achievements, by reminding that almost four-hundred thousand migrants were deported from the USA in 2011, Adler and Cornfield (2014) underline that the difficulties faced by these actors (hoping for labour and immigration legislation reforms), are ever present and may require other strategies in order to succeed. Albeit, the drift from restrictive to inclusive strategies in relation to precarious migrants has also been identified in trade unions in European countries such as France, Germany and the United Kingdom, and is slowly developing. Also in these cases, coalition building found in grassroots activism has been proposed as 'best practice' examples in protecting undocumented migrants (Alberti et al., 2014). Further, research on undocumented migrants and irregular migration has also been growing in Sweden during the last couple of years (Sager et al., 2016; see Ascher, 2009; Khosravi, 2010; Holgersson, 2011; Sager, 2011; Sigvardsdotter, 2012). More recently, several studies have provided insight into the situation of undocumented migrants on the labour market, with a particular focus on the informal economy (see Gavanas, 2011; Gavanas and Calleman, 2013; Sager, 2015; Öberg, 2016) and the relation to the trade unions (see Frank, 2012; Hellgren, 2014; Neergaard, 2015a; Selberg, 2014, 2016; Moksnes, 2016).

Despite being prohibited to stay and work in Sweden, undocumented immigrants possess, through the right of association stipulated in the labour law, the right to be represented by trade unions. A number of Swedish unions has lately begun to adhere to such a line of reasoning (Selberg, 2014). Accordingly, there has been a general shift, from previous strategies focused on criminalisation and exclusion, in the form of collaborations between the police and the builders' union to carry out passport inspection in workplaces in order to detain irregular immigrants (see Frank, 2012). Analysing this shift, Neergaard (2015b) points at differences between unions in their positioning towards undocumented migrants. He relates these to the specificities of the realms in which the unions are operating, arguing that unions which have general difficulties in mobilising workers and are operating in labour market sectors where the number of precarious workers is high, have other interests than those whose members have a higher degree of protection. Thus, the former have been more inclined to declare their support for undocumented migrants. Moreover, Moksnes (2016) has illustrated that the unionisation of undocumented migrants in Sweden today only exists in such a representative form and that the corresponding unions have experienced difficulties in incorporating these workers into their ranks. There is thus today no active self-organised collective body through which undocumented migrants can put forth their collective claims. Nonetheless, up until 2013, the Syndicalist unions' self-organised formation – 'The Register' – illustrates that unionisation methods specifically adopted to the labour market situation of the

undocumented migrants can indeed strengthen their position on the labour market. The fourth article in this dissertation, which specifically focuses on two Swedish trade union strategies of collaborating with undocumented immigrants, offers complementary insights to this line of research by elaborating on the struggles to extend solidarity and the prospects of these.

Finally, the fourth theme in Düvell's typology focuses on organisations that provide help with social needs. In the case of Sweden, the public debate on undocumented migrants has, to a large degree, centred on health care matters. Until 2013, undocumented migrants residing in Sweden have legally only had access to acute health care protection. In 2008, Swedish medical organisations proliferated into a major countrywide initiative supported by some sixty organisations, including the major trade union confederations, propagating for the right to health care for all (see Socialstyrelsen, 2014; Rätt till vård-initiativet, 2016). Further, in 2011, a government investigation proposed that the provision of health care for undocumented migrants should be equal to that of citizens (SOU 2011:48). The proposition was received as controversial by the government, leading to further political negotiations. Ultimately, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 2013, a new legal protection was implemented, providing partially subsidised health care to all adult undocumented immigrants. Nonetheless, in tandem with the granting of the school attendance rights for undocumented migrant children in 2013, the right to health care is indicative of partial recognition of undocumented migrants as carriers of rights in Swedish society. Albeit, considering the expansion in collaborations between the police and the migration authorities, pursued in parallel with the granting of these rights, it is clear that the political acknowledgment has not solely taken a progressive path (Nielsen, 2016).

Analysing similar situations in other European states, Düvell (2007) finds these four types of collective action as important means of putting pressure on authorities, especially when orchestrated in combination with publicity, awareness-raising and public protests. By focusing on the democracy-virtue to partake and be active, he argues that we are witnessing the creation of a new arena where "the civil society is encouraged to take on immigration enforcement agencies", a situation that through lobbying, protest, street demonstrations, direct action and civil disobedience gives rise to a 'civic paradox' which is built into the liberal society in the form of a "civilised version of a power struggle [...]" and its results have to be accepted by both parties" (2007, p. 428).

The developments in Sweden indicate the complexity of strategies and results in terms of building alliances, partnerships and support for undocumented workers, which calls for the situating of this "new arena" in the national context, interconnecting the politics of the present with its historical path-dependency, as has been discussed in the introductory part of this theses.



## Theoretical orientations

The theoretical framework of this dissertation includes conceptualisations from scholarship conducted in citizenship and social movements studies. Both of these theoretical schools have rather long histories and branch today into several distinct fields of inquiry. Nonetheless, several of these pathways are interconnected and have thus become complementary. The concepts and the interrelations in these two research traditions have generated a plethora of analytical approaches that could be employed to advance knowledge on the interrelations between collective action and processes through which rights are gained or lost. The quests embarked upon in the four articles have employed conceptualisations usefully corresponding with the specificities of each empirical field. The distinct theoretical engagements pursued have thereby resulted in characteristic but complementing insights into the matters at hand. While some of the works referred to in the following two theoretical sections are engaged with explicitly in the four articles, others have served as meta-theoretical points of orientation in the empirical realm. However, in all, the conceptualisations elaborated upon have come to stimulate the process of data collection, categorisation and analysis. The specificities of this process will be expounded on for each of the articles in the methodology chapter. Here, these two main lines of theoretical thought are centred on from which the analytical instruments have been extracted. Both of the broad-spectrum segments below seek to add depth to the concepts employed in the articles and to situate them in their broader theoretical traditions. Firstly, theoretical approaches to citizenship will be explored. Thereafter, some of the main strains and concepts of social movement theory will follow.

### Marginalisation and the progression of rights

The citizenship literature has ever since T. H. Marshall's now classic work *Citizenship and Social Class* (1992) undergone vast remodelling. This work has served as a foundation for a range of theoretical debates on citizenship in a number of disciplines (Lister, 1997). Marshall's theory depicted the progression of citizenship as a historical chain with establishment in civil rights, which thereafter contributed to the development of political rights, and finally supported the

shaping of social rights (Marshall, 1992). This process has been tied to the nation and state, and thus enclosed the conceptualisation of the citizenship within this particular setting (Delanty, 2002). An explanation to this is the anticipated progression of West European welfare states since the 1950s (Bottomore, 1992) – a development which for a period of some twenty years was rightfully predicted, but nonetheless after the economic recession of the 1970s instead led to welfare state reconstructions, shadowed by an evolving neoliberal project (Jessop, 2002). Thus, although Marshall's model has left a definite imprint on citizenship studies, it has also been questioned and reconceptualised during the last two decades. Many researchers have, with evolving globalisation, sought to generate interpretations of citizenship that are better suited for contemporary societal development.

Successive citizenship studies have introduced novel perspectives not least in the field of ethnic and migration studies (Isin and Wood, 1999). One of these trajectories underlines that citizenship often, incorrectly so, has only been described in purely legal-judicial terms. In response to such a conceptualisation, it has been suggested that citizenship can also be conceptualised as a social process, where individuals and groups – in a context of overlapping experiences, institutions and social praxis – claim, gain and lose rights. Conceptualisations of citizenship should thus not only be encapsulated within the narrowly defined nexus of the nation and welfare state. On the contrary, a range of scholars have maintained that the opportunities for some groups can also be identified beyond this particular order of things and that claims may well be defined, risen and allocated in other ways, and at other levels (see Soysal, 1994; Jacobson, 1996; Bosniak, 2000; Isin, 2000; Sassen 2007).

Nonetheless, the debate in this nexus has not been unidimensional. A number of theoretical perspectives have identified opportunities and drives for the formation of new solidarities and struggles on several societal levels which in turn have provided new insights into the impact of globalisation on the sovereignty of the nation state. One of these theoretical examinations has focused on the claims of migrants, interrogating to what degree they pose a challenge to the sovereign nation state as the basis for citizenship formation. Human rights scholars have been at the forefront of analysing the formation of post-national forms of citizenship (Soysal, 1994; Jacobson, 1996). These scholars have, in turn, been challenged with arguments underlining that the acquisition of rights, even in an era of globalisation and international migration, remains anchored within the frames of national legislation and politics (see Koopmans and Statham, 2003; Joppke, 2007; Bloch and Chimienti, 2011).

Thus, the question 'who is a citizen?' becomes more and more complicated to answer. While some inhabitants – to limited extents – obtain rights by residing in a territory for a longer period of time or by referring to international

law, other formally recognised citizens may, due to poverty, unemployment, racism or sexism, be excluded from basic rights that initially were supposed to accompany their prescribed status (Castles, 2000). The complexities arising may appear less unclear if citizenship was focussed upon in terms of *formal* as well as *substantial* rights (Marshall and Bottomore, 1992). By focusing on undocumented migrants, some important intersections can here be illuminated.

Grassroots citizenship is a concept developed by Basok (2008) in a study of trade union strategies for incorporation and amnesty directed towards undocumented migrant workers. Basok maintains that the development of such strategies, along with the support of teacher-federations advocating the right to education for all children, may transform non-citizens to *de facto* citizens on a grassroots level. It thereby becomes imperative to more closely analyse the capabilities of various organisations to redefine the rules for membership in society and to claim the rights for its excluded groups. In a similar line of argument, McNevin (2006) has approached the French movement for undocumented migrants (*sans-papiers*) in relation to the neoliberal state, which incorporates them as cheap labour at the same time as they are denied the formal status enjoyed by the ‘insiders’ (see also Bloch and Chimienti, 2011). The *sans-papiers* thus become ‘immanent others’. When collectively resisting these conditions, they may open up for revisions of borders and relations between territory and citizenship. Balibar (1998) also argues that *sans-papiers* demonstrate the emergence of a genuine and active citizenship. According to Balibar, their collective action against their status as non-citizens has allowed them to step into the political arena, even supporting the very foundation of democracy. He argues that the French society is indebted to the *sans-papiers* as they, through their struggle, have demonstrated that a true democracy should not be controlled from above, and that it is crucial to make one’s voice heard (from below), even when this struggle risks reprisals. Furthermore, Varsanyi (2006) notes that undocumented migrants tend to be neglected in most debates on citizenship due to the narrow focus in these debates, on different levels of citizenship, in a formal sense. In relation to such a focus, by studying the local level and local policies, Varsanyi illustrates how undocumented migrants in local settings have been able to obtain certain rights, even though they are formally not citizens. These kinds of conceptualisations of citizenship are crucial, as they, in line with the argument developed by Isin (2000), focus on the importance of practices, identities and norms.

Isin (2009) maintains that groups initially excluded from formal rights, by enacting ‘citizenship acts’, contribute to the disclosure of juridical-political strains and limitations of citizenship by pressing the boundaries of appropriate responses by the state. This conceptualisation of ‘citizenship enactment’ resides

in an understanding of behaviour and institutions as ‘performatively’ produced through claims and challenges (see Butler, 1988). Deficits in current notions of EU citizenship are thus found in the conceptual separation of insiders and outsiders, which imply that only EU citizens who participate in politics through established institutional channels can serve as examples of active citizenship (Andrijasevic, 2013). From the perspective of citizenship as enactment suggested by Isin, active citizenship is viewed as a script produced through citizen action following entirely new, as well as existing, paths. Rephrasing the question ‘who *is* a citizen’ to ‘what *makes* the citizen’, Isin (2012) makes a distinction between active and activist citizen. Such an approach draws attention to the acts through which marginalised groups, citizens or non-citizens alike, come forth as claimants of rights they do not possess and by so, constitute themselves as ‘citizens’. Probing for such ‘acts of citizenship’ implies the questioning of how established citizenship arrangements have been invoked and challenged through ‘ruptures’ through which new rights-claiming political actors emerge (Isin, 2012; Isin and Saward, 2013). The rupture is what produces political subjects and enables the reading of actions as acts of citizenship. Such an approach allows us to identify those instances when activist citizens emerge, not by orderly following established citizenship scripts, but rather by creating new scenarios that have tangible effects. As Isin (2009, p. 380) notes:

We make a difference when we break routines, understandings and practices. This is why the common term ‘making a difference’ puts emphasis on ‘difference’. That means the order of things will no longer be the way it was. Making a difference introduces a break, a rupture. Thus, to make a difference is to act; to act is to make a difference.

Thus, the analytical prescription provided in such an approach focuses on identifying the acts by which new actors have come into being as activist citizens (claimants of rights), through stretching *scales* (scope and reach of the effects of acts) and creating *sites* of struggle where citizenship interests diverge (Isin, 2009). Bloch and Chimienti (2011) underline that grounded citizenship perspectives of this kind, seek to identify citizenship elements which new groups struggle for, centring on uncovering the specificities of sites that contribute to the articulation and resonance of demands for the protection of marginalised subjects. Following such line of thought, they maintain that a researcher’s aim should not only be to deconstruct understandings of citizenship, but also to reveal how struggles in the margins of society come to challenge the very institution of citizenship. Bloch and Chimienti further posit that researchers should focus on the links between migrants’ agency and the role of civil society in relation to instances of recognition or oppression in localities that may be governed with local notions of justice.

Tensions between formal and substantial forms of citizenship can be further elaborated by focusing on the formal rights of citizens with migrant backgrounds. One example of this is those who are excluded from the labour market through devaluation or the disregard of earlier work experiences and/or educational merits (Schierup and Dahlstedt, 2007). This situation may result in the number of unemployed living on relief payments and other marginalised groups, that is, due to social exclusion they may find themselves in conditions of racialised citizenship by which they are substantially withheld formally instituted rights (Schierup and Urban, 2007; see Dahlstedt and Hertzberg, 2005; de los Reyes, 2006).

However, the difficulties of advancing citizenship rights are not only protracted vis-à-vis state actions, but also because of the difficulties that migrant organisations encounter in their engagements to find routes to state institutions. One example is that of temporary migrants, who due to the transnational nature of their predicament need to establish paths to institutions beyond the nation state. For this progression to occur, it is imperative to bring together activist networks in both the countries of arrival and origin, as well as to establish relations to a wider array of movements centring on social justice (Grugel and Piper, 2011).

## Claims in collective action

The four articles included in this dissertation have all drawn on a set of theoretical approaches developed within social movement theory which have been chosen in relation to the specific purposes of each. The concepts employed have thus been adapted to the empirical data and contexts. The theoretical approaches employed offer several important conceptual tools for studying the establishment, configuration and reconfiguration of collective action and the relations between organisations, but also the influence of contemporary societal structures and events on the formation of collective action. The ways in which and why these approaches have been used in each article will be further elaborated upon in the methodological chapter.

### ORGANISED COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE REALM OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Snow et al. (2004) map out various ways in which social movements have been conceptualised in social movement theory. The most common way of thinking about social movements is to consider them as forms of *collective action*. Collective action here refers to a group of people working together in the pursuit of a common objective in order to enhance the prospect of achieving it. Although



the definitions of movement may differ within the literature, most include the elements positioned along the following axes: “collective or joint action; change-oriented goals or claims; some extra- or non-institutional collective action; some degree of organization; and some degree of temporal continuity” (Snow et al., 2004, p. 6). Along these axes, Snow et al. (2004, p. 11) propose the following generalised definition of social movements:

[...] collectivities acting with some degree of organization and continuity outside of institutional or organizational channels for the purpose of challenging or defending extant authority, whether it is institutionally or culturally based, in the group, organization, society, culture, or world order of which they are a part.

Institutional activities such as political lobbying have also been emphasised in other definitions of social movements (Snow and Oliver, 1995). Yet, others have centred on the presence of relevant actors found at the opposite end of the scale, namely social movement communities (Buechler, 1990) and loosely-structured collective actions undertaken by a “loose coalition of activists, part timers and sympathisers whose boundaries are ill-defined and shifting, who lack common, central leadership, organisation and clear-cut procedures for deciding upon a common course of action” (Oberschall, 1993, p. 67). The mainstream way of conceptualising organised formations within social movements has been made with the concept of *social movement organisation* (SMO). This concept refers to a formal organisation that identifies its objectives with the wider aim of a social movement and serves as the key actor in their realisation (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Others have underlined that social movements are constituted of networks between interacting actors who, in relation to changing circumstances, may include formal organisations (della Porta and Diani, 1999). Social movements are thus, within themselves, organised or coordinated by their joint action in which there may be close connections, joint interests and alliances between social movement organisations and *interest groups*. Social movement organisations do, to some degree, overlap with interest groups as they do with the other aforementioned forms of fleeting collective behaviour. Apart from such convergences, social movement organisations can furthermore become institutionalised over time and sometimes evolve into interest groups. Because social movements may incorporate an array of human activities, it has been regarded as useful to differentiate normatively sanctioned or institutionalised collective actions from those that are freestanding from institutional channels. Even if there are different ways of understanding organised activities and degrees of organisation within social movements, “such difference is not grounds for dismissing the significance of organisation to social movements” (Snow et al., 2004, p.10).

For the purpose of the four articles in this dissertation, attention will be devoted to the convergences between loosely-structured collective actions, interest groups and social movements. While interest groups, on the one hand, push for their collective objectives primarily through institutionalised routes and are thus embedded within the political space as legitimatised actors, social movement organisations, on the other, are typically thought of as residing outside of the polity and are not recognised to the same degree among political actors, often pursuing their collective objectives with non-institutional means. For the sake of analytical utility, Burstein (1999) has suggested that interest groups and social movements may be combined with the concept of *interest organisation*. However, Gamson (2004, p. 261) underlines that we should not elude the theoretical value in distinguishing between interest groups and social movements, even though the boundaries between them may be blurred, although too recognising the convergences:

Some organizations are at a stable peak in mobilization and others are in a low and rising state or are declining; some organizations use only institutional means of action, while others use only extra-institutional means or a mix of both; some organizations have easy and regular access to policymakers while others are completely excluded or included only with great effort and risk.

Gamson acknowledges the analytical significance in Burstein's suggestion, but proposes that instead of *interest organisations* it could be useful to employ the more general category of *advocacy groups* when necessary to include the full range of members. Andrews and Edwards (2004) also focus specifically on *advocacy organisations*, arguing that public interest groups, social movement organisations and non-profit advocacy organisations all share core characteristics. They present a synthetic definition of advocacy organisations which are thought to “make public interest claims either promoting or resisting social change that, if implemented, would conflict with the social, cultural, political, or economic interests or values of other constituencies and groups” (2004, p. 481). From this perspective, tactics, strategies, scopes, organisational forms and targets are treated as variables rather than definitions of subsets of advocacy organisations. Such a definition of advocacy organisations consolidates some of the collective formations approached in the four articles in this dissertation such as the undocumented migrants' organisation and the syndicalist trade union which are fairly un-institutionalised, but also more institutionalised collective formations such as the Trade Union Centre for Undocumented Migrants (TUCUM), trade unions and agencies founded on ethnic grounds. In a similar line of argument, Fantasia and Stepan-Norris (2004, p. 557) position the labour movement in relation to social movements:

[...] we think that labor movements are very fruitful sites for social movement analysis, we must resist the impulse to treat the labor movement as a clear and simple case of a “social movement,” a bounded thing in itself, in favor of a broader, more relational analysis. This is also why we resist a formal definition of the labor movements and of social movements, for adopting a formal definition might foreclose our ability to view the labor movement as a fluid and multidimensional social formation that is produced and reproduced relationally, along the continuum between direct action and institutionalized power, between democracy and bureaucracy. What we mean is that the extra-institutional cannot be so easily disentangled from institutional practices. They must be analyzed in relation to one another, because they have been produced in relation to one another and because they can only be properly understood in such a reciprocally generating form.

Social movement theory is well recognised within the trade union renewal and revitalisation literature where institutional challenges in unions and their resultant restructuring and coalition building with social movements have been emphasised, as well as the social movement qualities of trade unions (see Frege and Kelly, 2003; Turner, 2005; Gahan and Pekarek, 2013).

The analytical concepts employed in the four articles have been informed by these theoretical inputs. The collective actors studied comprise a variety of formations that are positioned along the axes of institutionalisation, formalisation, size and duration. Some of the formations have thus, for purposes of clarity and the aforementioned considerations in social movement studies, been denominated with the generic denomination of ‘social movement actors’.

#### POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE CONCEPT OF FRAME

Many of the analytical instruments that have guided the quests embarked upon in this dissertation are in some way related to the concept of the *definition of the situation*. With its roots in symbolical interactionism, the concept has contributed to the elaboration of the concept *frame*, which in turn has branched into a wide range of disciplines, including cognitive psychology, linguistics and discourse analysis, communication and media studies, political science and policy studies, as well as within sociological studies, in particular the study of social movements and collective action (see Hallahan, 1999; Benford and Snow, 2000).

*Definition of the situation* refers to ways in which individuals, who are engaged in social events, define, act upon and instruct others in situations to make equal assessments of what is going on. Together with the conceptualisation of *front* and *back-stage* which inform the actor’s disclosure regulation in interactional settings, the term is central to Goffman’s theatrical conceptualisation of the formation and interactions among groups of actors. The individuals engaged

in interactions, strive to arrive at a definition of the situation they, in general terms, can agree upon, and when an agreement cannot be achieved, open conflict is often avoided vis-à-vis a temporary accepted consensus (Goffman, 1959). *Definition of the situation* is closely related to the concept of *frame*.

Goffman's theorisation of the term *frame* builds on Gregory Bateson's (1972) use of the concept in his essay "A Theory of Play and Fantasy" where it provides the architecture for explaining how the same activity can be understood as real or as play depending on the involved actors' dedication to and interpretation of the activity. The concept of frame refers to the cognitive structure, the *schemata of interpretation*, providing individuals with the ability to "locate, perceive, identify, and label" particular events in their lives (Goffman, 1974, p. 21). How an event is framed is thus dependent on the actors' experiences and engagement in the activity occurring which feed into the their definitions of the situation. Hence, frames are conceptualised as the basic elements of actors' definitions of the situation. Goffman (1974, p. 10f) defines this relation in the following terms:

I assume that definitions of the situation are built up in accordance with principles of organisation which govern events – at least social ones – and our subjective involvement in them; frame is the word I use to refer to such of these basic elements [...]. My phrase "frame analysis" is a slogan to refer to the examination in these terms of the organisation of experience.

The frame therefore has content and structure that indicate to the individual what is important and not. These, in turn, serve as the bases for the individual's attention throughout the occurrences taking place in both life space and the world at large. It is this framing process that serves as the investigatory basis for the frame analytical approaches employed in this study.

The framing process allows individuals to arrange their experiences and furthermore provides direction for their actions. This theoretical position thereby implies agency by conceptualising social movements and the individuals within them as strategically orientated "active processors of meaning" (Gamson, 1992, p. 65). Frames are thus not fixed, but constantly changing and challenged through events or actions, through which earlier legitimated frames can be opposed. Therefore, it is important to underline the negotiated nature of frames, both on individual and collective levels. When focusing such collective framing processes, we can observe that collective mobilisation requires an alternative frame that can provide a better explanation to 'what is happening' in order for participants to resist or question compliance to the authorities. Such mobilisation-targeted frames, may have a variety of foundations. The most central one, however, in the context of collective action is the construction of an *injustice frame*. Among social movement participants

it narrates the ways in which authorities violate collective beliefs and includes solutions to such violations. It is thus, primarily, on the basis of an agreement on a shared injustice frame that a group of challengers are able to mobilise. If individuals in solitude adopted alternative frames, collective mobilisation would not be able to occur. Therefore, it is crucial that the individuals in a group somehow become aware about their shared injustice frame. This process occurs rarely through a single encounter. It is rather a process that takes time and has to be shared in a public way (Gamson, 1985).

It is important to emphasise that meaning is also organised into interpretive frames through the political world that people encounter. This cultural side of political consciousness is not maintained solely by a certain regime through force, but rather through its relative capacity to structure our worldviews. Gamson (1992) maintains that it is important to link individual and sociocultural analytic levels in order to explain how consciousness, identity and solidarity contribute to collective action. Klandermans (1992) adheres to such an analysis by upholding that the study of the formation and transformation of collective beliefs is contingent on a theoretical framework recognising the need of analysing the individual as well as the collective level. "After all, without individuals there is nobody to share with, and without the collective beliefs there is nothing to share" (Klandermans, 1992, p. 81).

#### FRAME ALIGNMENT

For Snow et al. (1986), Goffman's framing theory provides a theoretical basis for exploring the formation, persistence and progression of social movement organisations. They expound on a set of processes inflicting on the success of mobilisation by focusing on *frame alignment* as a way to make links between the socio-psychological and the organisational levels of movement participation. Frame alignment refers to the process by which the movement of collective actors frame their agenda in ways that resonate with the desires, feelings and beliefs of potential recruits. Thus, frame alignment is a principal activity in social movement organisations where organisers must actively engage in order to find the right set of frames that correspond with those of potential recruits. Snow et al. (1986) describe four different ways to conceptualise frame alignment in collective action mobilisation. The first is *frame bridging* which refers to instances when old frames are linked with new ones of not yet mobilised issues. The second, *frame amplification*, refers to instances when frames are clarified for the purpose of strengthening the links to supporters. *Frame extension*, the third form, is engaged in order to expand established frames so as to incorporate new support groups. The last one, *frame transformation*, is engaged when values, causes and programmes no longer correspond to the conventional lifestyles.

However, the nature of frame alignment is always relational, processual and dynamic. The process of frame alignment between the movement and its targets should therefore be understood as a negotiated one which is not tied down by existing grievances. Even if frame alignment is achieved, it will always be realised temporarily and remain subject to renegotiation and reassessment (Benford and Snow, 2000).

### COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

Collective action frames can be seen as products stemming from the framing activity within social movements (Snow, 2004). These frames are more action-orientated than others. They perform this function on the basis of meanings and beliefs that legitimate and inspire social movement organisations in their campaigns and activities. According to Benford and Snow (2000), collective action frames can be divided into two characteristic features: firstly, their action-orientated function, that is, the SMO's *core framing tasks*; and secondly, the interactive and discursive processes that inflict on tasks and the collective action frames within them.

In regards to the first characteristic, Benford and Snow (2000) maintain that in order for SMOs to succeed in mobilising engagement, as well as in creating opposition against antagonists and generating support from the surrounding society, they need to attend to three overarching *core framing tasks*. The first is *diagnostic framing* which refers to the ways social movement organisations identify problems they find important to solve, and can be connected with the articulation and development of the aforementioned injustice frames (see Gamson, 1992). Such framing targets the nature of a particular problem and identifies actors who are to blame for the problem at hand. A related concept is that of *boundary framing*, referring to the drawing of boundaries between 'good' and 'evil', antagonists and protagonists. The second task is *prognostic framing* which identifies the solution to the diagnostic frame and provides strategies, tactics and goals. It essentially answers the question: What is to be done? Prognostic frames are often difficult to align among social movement participants and organisations. They are further intimately related to the specific ways in which the problems have been identified. Snow and Benford (1988) agree that both prognostic and diagnostic framing are important for *consensus mobilisation* among collective action participants (see Klandermans, 1984, 1988). Although these two tasks are crucial for the development of a collective belief system, they do not necessarily produce action mobilisation. In response to this theoretical concern, Snow and Benford (1988) propose *motivational framing* as a third principal task in movement framing activities. Such framing includes the formulation of an action vocabulary or rationale that provide substantial motifs for present and prospective participants to engage in collective action.

The frames that come about vis-à-vis these three core framing tasks may vary in terms of their *resonance*, that is, their potency to ‘resonate’ within and outside of the movement ranks during mobilisation campaigns. The concept of *experimental commensurability* centres on the frames’ degree of congruency with the everyday lives of the targets of mobilisation, as one of the explanatory factors for resonance (Benford and Snow, 2000). With regards to obtaining the desired outcomes, frames have also been illustrated in terms of their convictional properties during mobilisation. Frames that stress the broadness and seriousness of social problems, and those which are attuned with the topicality of ongoing societal events, and thus are instituted with robust empirical credibility, have been distinguished as specifically effective in terms of resonance (McCammon, 2009)

The second characteristic feature of collective action frames, according to Benford and Snow (2000), centres on the idea that frames are developed, generated and elaborated not only vis-à-vis the core framing tasks, but also in response to overlapping dynamic strategic and contested processes. *Strategic processes* refer to the aforementioned frame alignment processes which include deliberate, utilitarian and goal-orientated frames developed in order to achieve specific aims such as the recruitment of new members, and mobilisation of followers and resources. *Contested processes* deal with the challenges the framing actors within a movement are facing. These processes are decisive for the construction of diagnostic and prognostic framing. The actors involved in collective action cannot simply impose their preferred version of reality on others. Rather, they may be confronted in their framing activities, for instance, by counter framing actors such as bystanders, movement opponents and the media, dialectics between frames and events, and, *frame disputes* within their own ranks in regards to the current or predicted reality (Benford and Snow, 2000; see Benford, 1993).

Hence, it should be underlined that collective actions are embedded in broader contexts where decisions and discussions take place (Snow, 2004). These contexts can be illustrated as multi-organisational fields in which the social construction of protest is negotiated. An explanation as to why individuals belonging to structural categories (class, gender, ethnicity etc.) or associations and groups (unions, student organisations, friends, colleagues etc.) become involved in political struggles “seems to be that they are co-opted by one of the parties in a conflict or that they themselves come into a conflict with public policy” (Klandermans, 1992, p. 94). A multi-organisational field refers to the total possible number of organisations to which a SMO might create specific links. These links may not necessarily be supportive as opponents are also present within the multi-organisational field. Within these fields both alliance and conflict systems can be identified. However, the boundaries between allies

and opponents may change during the course of events as former allies may become included into the conflict system and coalitions may dissolve. SMOs, thus, need to mobilise consensus, not only internally but also to convince other actors within the field that they are too a part, and that collective responses are imperative (Klandermans, 1988).

#### POLITICAL OPPORTUNITIES STRUCTURES AND THE EXTENSION OF SOLIDARITY

Before political opportunity structures are specifically elaborated upon, the related concept of *cycles of contention*, which also has been termed *protest cycle*, will be briefly addressed. It refers to the wave-like process of social movement activity and the heightened phases of conflict within the social system. During these peaks in protest cycles we can identify not only increased interactions between rivals in social movement and the authorities, but also intensified reactions among ordinary people with the aim of challenging the social order. When new opportunities are revealed, actors that initially latently beheld these processes may be encouraged to support one of the involved parties or form new movement organisations. These interactions may ultimately lead to reforms, repressions or even fundamental societal restructuring. These processes are therefore intrinsically tied on the one hand to political constraints that may discourage contention, and on the other, to political opportunities that can encourage people to participate in confrontational politics. This, in turn, relates to the concept of *political opportunity structures* which refers to “consistent – but not necessarily formal or permanent – dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure” (Tarrow, 1994, p. 85). These structures can in tandem bring forth potential allies with which networks can be formed around a wider shared interest (Tarrow, 1994).

This perspective has contributed with important insights into the political participation of ethnic minorities. Ireland (1994, 2000) has pinpointed the pivotal importance and influence of nation-state specific political institutional frameworks (*institutional channelling*) on political participation by showing that similar categories of migrants act differently in different European countries. Koopmans and Statham (2000, p. 36) similarly maintain that:

[...] the success of discursive efforts depends not just on the argumentative ‘quality’ of framing strategies used by collective actors, but on their ‘fit’ with hegemonic discourses, and institutional opportunities for inserting challenger frames into the process of polity formation and implementation.



Thus, they assert that framing processes need to be analysed in relation to political opportunity structures and their two separate dimensions: the discursive and the institutional. Snow (2004, p. 404) recognises these suggestions but underlines that political contexts and opportunities do not determine the creation and contents of framing processes:

[...] framing processes and ideological work can and often do proceed in the face of repressive political structures, albeit cautiously and in private, hidden, or submerged rather than public contexts. Thus the analytical utility of the concept discursive opportunity structures resides in its focus of attention on the ways in which broader political contexts affect framing processes and the discursive fields in which they are embedded.

In line with such an argument, Gamson and Meyer (1996, pp. 286-287) emphasise that political opportunities are in themselves framed by social movements and that such framing activities may therefore generate new possibilities:

There are numerous examples of past movements that demonstrated the possibilities of change that few had thought possible in advance. If movement activists interpret political space in ways that emphasise opportunity rather than constraint, they may stimulate actions that change opportunity, making their opportunity frame a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Furthermore, Laubenthal (2007) highlights that social movements, by crediting accountability, can become important vehicles for amplifying the public visibility of marginalised groups through solidarity. However, she argues that the success of these groups is dependent on their socially embedded legitimacy and the access to both horizontal and vertical alliances (see also Atger, 2013). Featherstone (2012) adds to this argument that the formation of solidarity should not merely be understood as a process through which pre-formed, fixed or given political identities become interconnected vis-à-vis binary notions of similarity and dissimilarity. Rather, solidarity emerges over spatial and ideological boundaries as a transformative process, through which alliances are constructed, contested and reconfigured, and should therefore be comprehended as dynamic, provisional and unpredictable results of the reconfiguration of political identities. This perspective emphasises that the formations of political identity and agency are creative practices through which negotiations and struggles are presented with alternatives that can propel the transformative potential of political solidarity. Lindberg (2013) expands that the broadening of solidarity in the organisation of labour should be scrutinised by focusing on mutual self-interest, perceived fellowship and communal conduct.

As this brief summary has indicated, plenty of related concepts have been developed in social movement studies and frame analysis. The following segment provides a more detailed account of how some of these concepts have been used in the different articles of this dissertation.



## Methodological and analytical considerations

The objective of this research has been to generate qualitative knowledge about possibilities and constraints in collective actions that aim to secure or further the rights of precarious migrant workers in Sweden. The four qualitative studies presented in this dissertation – focusing on collective actions for Swedish citizens, EU citizens and undocumented non-citizens on the labour market – have been approached as three contexts offering complementary insights into these struggles. The shared predicament for the collective actors in the contexts is their confrontation with societal structures delimiting the access to rights for precarious migrant workers. Gaining a deeper understanding for each one of these contexts and their interconnections may thus provide knowledge on collective actions for the rights of precarious workers as a relational whole. At the end of this segment and in the concluding discussion I will further elaborate on how and why these three contexts may be seen as interconnected.

The initial proceeding, in this objective to study the conditions for collective responses, concerns decisions regarding the particular collective actors and specific aspects of their collective actions. In terms of the time frame, this decision was informed by the body of research presented earlier in this introduction, describing our ‘age of migration’ (Castles and Miller, 2009) as a specific historical époque in regards to migration, precariousness in the labour market and the acquisition of rights (see Rodgers, 1989; Balibar, 1998; Isin, 2009; Standing, 2009; Milkman et al., 2010; Vosko, 2010; Schierup et al., 2015). Hence, the collective actors would currently be engaged, or have rather recently been engaged, in direct actions, protest or mobilisation campaigns with the objective of improving the conditions<sup>7</sup> of precarious migrant workers in the labour market. The concern that followed dealt with the choice of relevant collective actions for the relevant categories of workers that could serve as informative cases of sites and scales where the struggles were pursued (see

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7. The conditions of interest have not solely been those that are tied to the immediate conduct of work, but also those surrounding it, such as, in the case of berry pickers, the access to basic necessities (food, water, shelter, clothing and health), voice and the means to reach Bulgaria.

Isin, 2009). These decisions were not determined from the onset. Rather, they evolved complementarily and were finally settled two years into the project.

The first context in which the collection of empirical data was initiated was that of the unionisation of undocumented migrants. However, this was also the study that would be completed lastly. The collection and analysis of these data have thereby proceeded longitudinally towards the completion of this dissertation. Soon after the initiation of this first study, I would in parallel embark upon a study of Anti-Discrimination Agencies housed by various AFEGs and funded through state partnership subsidies. When this study approached completion at the beginning of 2011, I returned to the collection of data for the first project. However, in 2012, when the first media reports had portrayed strained relations between EU citizen berry-pickers, landowners, public officials and local inhabitants, it was evident that the unfolding events were rapidly exacerbating. These reports raised concerns regarding the welfare of workers and corresponding collective actions. As these were aligned with the dissertation's objective, the choice was made to follow the case of EU citizen berry-pickers. The extensive ethnographical data collection which then commenced would again require a re-shifting of the agenda. Eventually, as the publication procedures of the second and third article approached completion in early 2015, concentrated data collection for the first study were once more redeployed.

The qualitative character of these enquiries has primarily involved semi-structured interviews with representatives of collective actors with a variety of organisational structures. Among those with higher degrees of formalisation and/or institutionalisation are trade unions, agencies founded on ethnic grounds and non-governmental organisations. On the opposite side, more loosely structured social movement actors or communities were encountered (see Buechler, 1990; Oberschall, 1993). The participants interviewed were those with leading organisational roles. As such, they were approached as spokespeople for the collective actors who were engaged and expected to have particular comprehension of possibilities and constraints in collective action engagements (see Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 105ff). In relation to the berry-picking studies in this dissertation, this focus on collective action has also been extended to include interviews with the workers themselves. This will be expounded on in the upcoming sections. A general remark is that this context has provided the opportunity to study the workers' situation in direct relation to the responses from collective actors and authorities in Swedish society.

All interviews have been purposely organised so as to offer participants the opportunity to leave imprints on the interviewing process by mediating information that they appreciate as the most relevant in regards to the interview themes (see Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). The gathering of data has thus necessitated rather

long interviews, commonly two to three hours. In some cases, participants have been interviewed on more than one occasion. In relation to the fourth study, an ‘oral history’ interview approach (see Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 102f) further facilitated this purpose. The interviewees for the fourth study were initially requested to chronologically account for the most important events since their first engagement in the specific collective action. This approach was found to best suit the characteristics of this specific context because the occurrence of frame disputes (Benford, 1993) was prevalent and required triangulation (Fetterman, 2010). The particularity of these interviews, in terms of the width of topics that could be raised, has in some cases required two compounded interview sessions.

One important objective in all in-depth interviews has been to understand how problems and solutions are defined among the collective actors and to understand how they collaborate with other actors in their respective contexts. Therefore, from the onset, the data collection approach was guided by half a dozen key concepts (see Creswell, 2013, p. 185) used in social movement studies as indispensable for understanding the prospect of mobilisation: ‘multi-organisational field’ (Klandermans, 1988), ‘consensus mobilisation’ (Klandermans, 1984), ‘diagnostic’ and ‘prognostic’ components of ‘core framing tasks’ (Snow and Benford, 1988) and ‘frame disputes’ (Benford, 1993). Although participants were guided to talk specifically on such themes, I have – as aforementioned – strived to enable them to expound on their specific experiences of events relating to the collective action which they found particularly important (see Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). Hence, all of the analytical tools employed in the four articles were not determined from the onset. Additional analytical tools were subsequently determined when identified as specifically useful in the process of familiarisation with the empirical data. Consequently, in all of the contexts studied, the approach to data was guided by an abductive informed collection, coding and categorisation procedure vis-à-vis analytical concepts predominately anchored in social movement studies (see Creswell, 2013, p. 184f). As the qualitative approaches in each of the studied contexts all have their particularities, the following segments will account for the specifics of each. The order in which this task will be attended to follows the chronology of publication.

However, before proceeding, I would like to return to the manner in which the four studies may be regarded as interconnected in terms of collective actions for the rights of precarious migrant workers. Although the articles are preoccupied with the way in which these processes take different forms in different contexts, they may jointly be seen as a form of multi-sited ethnography, focusing on different categories of people – in this case, different collective actors engaged in actions for precarious migrant workers – affected by shared societal structures. As Marcus (1995, p. 99) explains:

[...] any ethnography of a cultural formation in the world system is also an ethnography of the system, and therefore cannot be understood only in terms of the conventional single-site mise-enscene of ethnographic research, assuming indeed it is the cultural formation, produced in several different locales, rather than the conditions of a particular set of subjects that is the object of study.

At the core of the multi-sited approach, the objective of linking several sites vis-à-vis particular shared dimensions is found. It requires a rich nuancing in order to trace, translate and connect constructs from the chosen sites. Such comparison is thus not a conventional form of controlled comparison operating on a linear spatial plane. Rather, in multi-sited ethnography:

[...] comparison emerges from putting questions to an emergent object of study whose contours, sites, and relations are not known beforehand, but are themselves a contribution of making an account that has different, complexly connected real-world sites of investigation. The object of study is ultimately mobile and multiply situated, so any ethnography of such an object will have a comparative dimension that is integral to it, in the form of juxtapositions of phenomena that conventionally have appeared to be (or conceptually have been kept) “worlds apart” (ibid., p. 102).

The connections between the different aforementioned contexts studied, or in multi-site parlance ‘sites’, are not made in the individual articles of the dissertation. Rather, these connections will be further elaborated on in the concluding discussion at the end of this introduction. Such an approach resembles the one described by Sørensen (2008, p. 312) as “multi-sited comparison” whereby a multi-sited study that starts out as a non-comparative investigation evolves into a comparative analysis due to the “empirical discovery of potentially comparable sites [...] as an oscillating and juxtaposing analysis of the specificities of the various sites, in search of *tertii comparationis*<sup>8</sup> (in plural) which constitute a result of the study”. With inspiration from such an approach, the four articles are seen as illustrative of three sites that provide ‘*tertii comparationis*’ vis-à-vis insights into negotiations for the rights of precarious migrant workers that are subjected to structures overlapping the different sites, thereby informing both possibilities and constraints identified in collective actions occurring within them. Furthermore, as this dissertation is preoccupied with negotiations for rights, the citizenship perspective employed as a meta-theoretical point of orientation for the four articles will be further elaborated on in the concluding discussion.

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8. “[...] some common quality of the objects according to which they are compared” (Sørensen, 2008, p. 312)

Before arriving at the summaries of the articles and the concluding discussion, the specific methodological concerns for each site will be outlined, as well as the ethical considerations that have been made in this dissertation.

### First site – article I

The primary data of the first article have been gathered in semi-structured, in-depth qualitative interviews with ‘key informants’ representing the AFEGs engaged in anti-discriminatory state-financed projects (see Blee and Taylor, 2002). These interviews were conducted with two managers and two layers at two different AFEG anti-discrimination agencies. The primary data, which were gathered in 2010, amount to eight hours of transcribed recordings. Some complementary statements have also been gathered subsequently from the AFEG personnel through correspondence. Additional complementary empirical data include interviews with one section director at the Equality Ombudsman (DO) and one anti-discrimination officer at the DO, both specialised in collaborations with the anti-discrimination agencies. The secondary data are further composed of AFEGs’ official reporting documents such as annual reports, presentations of projects, leaflets and brochures, DO documents regarding the affiliation with anti-discrimination agencies and official statistics produced by The National Board for Youth Affairs<sup>9</sup> (the state body funding the agencies). These additional data have been utilised primarily to account for the orchestration of funding and collaborations between the DO and the agencies, but also to provide further insights into the challenges raised by the AFEGs’ affiliates in the interviews. Furthermore, I have produced extensive field-notes of my own reflections throughout the data collection period, which have helped me to structure my own reflective process and enabled me to formulate more precise interview questions. Nevertheless, the principal sources of empirical data were the interviews conducted with the AFEGs’ representatives. These interviews were organised around three main interview topics through which knowledge regarding partnership-formations was sought to be accumulated. The first topic, ‘engagements and agency’, centred on the fundament of the agencies’ engagement in terms of purpose and targets, as well as their conducts when seeking to reach out to the wider society and their work with the clientele. ‘Conditions for collaborations’, the second topic, centred on collaboration initiatives and trust building, with a

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9. Ungdomsstyrelsen (The name of this government agency was changed in 2014 to The Swedish Agency for Youth and Civil Society).



specific focus on relations with state bodies and trade unions. The third topic centred on internal and external resources, with its main focuses on limitations, opportunities and prospects for future engagement.

When the data gathering process was completed, all interview transcripts were tentatively coded (Creswell, 2013, p. 184). Here, accounts were abstracted as indicators of themes that represent specific events or actions. The codes were generated from accounts that specifically offered elucidation on the organisational predicaments of the agency representatives. After the initial readings and code identification, subsequent readings of the collected data and codes allowed me to further identify relationships between codes which resulted in a thematic arrangement of code families (ibid., p. 186). This process was completed with the sifting out of three main interconnected themes: 'strained relationships', 'marketisation' and 'funding-dependency'. These themes have, at the level of theory, been interpreted as indicators of the agencies' access to public voice and opportunity structures under which they operate (see Ireland, 1994; Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Solomos, 2003; Solomos and Però, 2010). The interconnections between the three themes were, in turn, employed as an orientation scheme when elaborating on the structure of the narrative in the analysis which was organised in the article under the following sets of issues: 'dependency on state financing', 'anti-discrimination agencies' contributions and resources', 'the relation to the Swedish Equality Ombudsman (DO)', 'the relation to trade unions' and 'marketisation and shift of focus'.

## Second site – article II and III

The collection of empirical data at the second site, encompassing the events of the 2012 berry-picking season, has in the third article been rendered as a multi-sited ethnography in itself – sites becoming evident in the spatial-political context of berry entrepreneurship. Although articles two and three are based on the same empirical data, the approach in article two is rendered as encompassing qualitative interviews. The reason for this differentiation is that these two articles were concentrated on particular aspects of the events. While the focus of article two is extensively on the plight of the berry pickers, article three provides in-depth scrutiny of the collective actions undertaken.

A first empirical array of data gathered in this ethnographical endeavour is comprised of 32 semi-structured qualitative interviews, undertaken with Bulgarian (Roma minority) citizens. These involved individuals and family members, or groups of up to six individuals at one time. These data were collected in the July and August of 2012 at three specific locations: at a berry-picker forest camp of some 400 people; at the distant outskirts of this camp with berry-pickers

who specifically avoided the camp due to fear of becoming ensnared by labour contractors or mafia-like “minders”; and, at a shelter in Stockholm which was temporarily and acutely mobilised by the municipality for berry-pickers who had abandoned the forest camps and were now pleading to the Bulgarian embassy to be transported back to Bulgaria. The seven people interviewed at the shelter had arrived from two other camps, located in the same area of the southern part of Northern Sweden, both within a radius of 150 km from the camp in focus. The communication with the Bulgarian Roma was sustained primarily by the use of a professional Romani Chib translator. In addition to this, on two occasions, communication was made by the use of English and Spanish and to a limited degree by the use of Bosnian spoken by the author.<sup>10</sup> More than 90 per cent of all interactions with the berry-pickers<sup>11</sup> in this study were facilitated by the translator, who, in addition to assisting the conversation, also filled a more general “credibility” function in the encounters. This “embedding assistance” was acknowledged both by the author and the translator in terms of establishing confidence vis-à-vis his ethno-cultural affinity and the command of Romani Chib (see Lewis and Russell, 2011). However, despite these advantages, due to the commonly concealed, but ever-present authority of informal labour organisers or labour contractors, conducting fieldwork has through stealthy ‘off-stage’ disclosures and triangulation (Fetterman, 2010) proved to be a delicate enterprise when raising questions regarding labour relations at the ‘front stage’ of the camp (see Goffman, 1959). Although some labour contractors provided accounts regarding the organisation of labour, it was primarily those workers who had avoided the camp and those who had made it to Stockholm that disclosed information regarding treatment and policing by the informal contractors. Several participants referred to the presence of such gatekeepers by emphasising that they commonly – with family members – controlled groups of ten to twenty workers; contractors monitored workers’ activities closely and instructed them, in the case authorities would pose inquisitive questions, to state that everybody was related and that nobody was employed. On occasions when issues of labour relations were addressed during the interviews, the berry-pickers in the camp commonly presented themselves as arriving with friends and family, and that they had financed the stay and journey freely, without being tied to contracts. While many of the participants in the camp acknowledged the existence of

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10. Bosnian facilitated initial contact due to the resemblances with the Bulgarian language, but also because some participants spoke the language.

11. The group of workers could be typified as “hard-to-reach” due to language barriers, the remoteness of settings in which the interviews were conducted and the presence of contractors.

informal contracts, most of them referred to other individuals, other parts of the camp or other camps. Interview themes revolving around other matters, such as the situation in Bulgaria, access to water and sanitary facilities, treatment by the local inhabitants, the police or municipality representatives, or difficulties finding berries and the consequences of this, appear not to have been equally sensitive. Nevertheless, I sought to approach all of these matters cautiously by adopting an interactive method during interviews, with a somewhat lagging initiative on my part. The initiation of such a conversation always began with the introduction of the research agenda. From there on, I sought to establish an interactive platform by engaging in small talk, trying to attune to the participants' situation and immediate concerns (see Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009). One such initial conversation topic could revolve around the weather, i.e. if it is cold at night, or just by asking how the berry picking goes. The type of ethnography that this interactional conduct bares resemblance with is that of critical ethnography – an approach in which the emancipation of a marginalised group in society is advocated (Thomas, 1993) by challenging the status quo, giving voice to these groups and focusing on issues of inequality and repression (Creswell, 2013).

A second array of interviews was conducted from July in 2012 to July in 2013 with inhabitants of the local community and a range of 'key informants' (see Blee and Taylor, 2002, p. 105ff) representing local authorities and the police, the Bulgarian embassy, the tax-agency, interest organisations and social movement actors. Among the social movement actors (SMA), ten representatives from a selection of five different SMAs have been interviewed. These SMAs had all initiated direct actions in response to their concern of workers' welfare in the camp or those fleeing from the forests and included: a local property owners' association (LPOA); a Romani AFEG; and, three direct action groups engaged in providing humanitarian aid, shelter and assistance for the berry-pickers to return to Bulgaria. These interviewees also bare consonance with the objective of critical ethnography (Thomas, 1993; Creswell, 2013) in the way which I strove to display attentiveness and thoughtfulness to the specific experiences of the SMA representatives. I aimed for this, for example, when initiating talks with the representatives of the local communities by emphasising the importance of understanding the cause and course of events also from the viewpoint of the local inhabitants, even though the principal focus of the study is on the labour conditions of the workers. Regarding the tense relations both within and in-between fractions of local inhabitants and berry-pickers, I carefully attempted not to provide a simplistic account of the events. Nevertheless, this was further complicated given the 8,000 word-limit for the published articles which can be considered a concrete limitation, requiring thorough consideration and a

deductive coding method that checks back against the data (Creswell, 2013, p. 45) in regards to what excerpts would be made as indicative of the broader narratives in the interviews.

All of the transcribed recordings with the berry-pickers were coded by the use of computer analysis software, facilitating the coding process by providing options to easily assign overlapping denominations to various segments of the data and advanced search utilities. The repeated reading of the interviews with berry-pickers and field notes ultimately produced 32 “tentative codes” (Creswell, 2013, p. 184) which were subsequently interrelated and clustered into the following themes: ‘Bulgarian crisis and expectations’, ‘settling in camps and living conditions’, ‘debt, profit and exploitation’, and ‘threats, support and agency’. The analysis of the data has further, in collaboration with Charles Woolfson, been extended to encompass the concept of ‘austeriat’ in the second, jointly published, article. The second set of empirical data, which in parallel was approached in a similar fashion, was the interviews conducted with the SMAs mentioned above. However, in this instance, frame-analytical tools were used in order to structure the analytical process by producing “a priori codes” (Creswell, 2013, p. 185). These tools were employed to specifically focus on the occurrence of ‘consensus mobilisation’ (Klandermans, 1984) vis-à-vis the ‘diagnostic’ and ‘prognostic’ components of ‘core framing tasks’ (Snow and Benford, 1988), as well as the occurrence of ‘frame disputes’ (Benford, 1993). The analysis was subsequently further elaborated upon with reflections on the persuasive qualities and resonance of the forthcoming frames (McCammon, 2009; see Benford and Snow, 2000).

### Third site – article IV

The empirical data on the unionisation of undocumented migrants were primarily gathered in the Stockholm area during three concentrated time frames in 2010, 2011/2012 and 2015 respectively. The data collection was guided by the ‘key-informant’ and ‘oral history’ approach (see Blee and Taylor, 2002) in an endeavour to investigate the establishment of collective action frames. These primary data were gathered by the conduct of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with nine core activists and union representatives engaged in the union-driven organisation of undocumented migrants. These interviewees were approached as representatives for the following collective actors: the Undocumented Migrants Stockholm (UMS) group founded by undocumented migrants; the Undocumented Migrants’ Group (UMG) which was a syndicalist union section; and, TUCUM, established by the trade union confederations LO and TCO, together with a number of affiliates including the aforementioned organisation of UMS. The collection of these data was triangulated (Fetterman,

2010) with the three collective actors' empirical manifestations in the form of media appearances, leaflets, protests, meeting protocols, worker case documentation and organisational webpages.

The primary data were subsequently coded in resemblance with the aforementioned software facilitated procedure, producing in total 78 codes. Out of these, 16 were related to UMS, 19 to UMG, and 20 to TUCUM. The rest were related to overarching characteristics of the collective actors' 'multi-organisational fields' (Klandermans, 1988), such as 'labour immigration', 'the police pursuit for undocumented migrants', 'collective agreements', 'the criminal cleaning labour market sector', 'law inscribed negotiation-right as a weapon against employers' and 'problematic negotiation cases'. The codes related to the collective actors were coded tentatively and with an 'a priori' approach (Creswell, 2013, p. 184f) by the use of the frame analytical concepts of consensus framing vis-à-vis diagnostic and prognostic frames (see Klandermans, 1984; Snow and Benford, 1988), frame alignment (see Snow et al., 1986), framing of political opportunities (see Gamson and Meyer, 1996), frame disputes (see Benford, 1993), boundary framing and frame resonance (see Benford and Snow, 2000). At a subsequent, theoretical, level of analysis, I have – by adhering to the theoretical stance that solidarity is a transformative process (see Featherstone, 2012) – elaborated the emergent frames as indicators of the breadth of solidarity in the organisation of undocumented migrant labour. At this stage in the analysis, Lindberg's (2013) conceptual toolbox was employed, assessing the extension of solidarity in the form of 'mutual self-interest', 'perceived fellowship' and 'communal conduct'.

## Ethical considerations

All interviews were conducted after informing the participants about the purpose of the study and receiving their consents which commonly were provided initially through electronic correspondence and always orally in connection to the interview. I chose not to collect the consents in writing due to the risk of giving the impression that a written contract, which should not be broken, has been signed. Certainly, all participants were informed that they were participating freely in the study and at any stage of the research process could withdraw. Further, they were informed that they were free to decline answering any questions without being pressured in any way and without having to provide reasons for declining or complete withdrawal. Participants' consent was also requested when recording the interview whereupon it was explained that this would serve to facilitate the subsequent analytical process, and that they would be given fictitious names in the event of publication, and only I would have

access to the original recordings. Upon transcription, all personal data were anonymised so not to make participant identification possible. The names of all people mentioned, as well as names of workplaces were thus altered or excluded in the transcriptions. Instead, pseudonyms were used throughout the analytical process, as well as in the publications. The original electronic data files have remained stored in an encrypted medium (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011).<sup>12</sup> Although two of the articles in this dissertation have been produced together with co-authors, I, single-handedly, gathered all the empirical data.

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12. The employed data collection procedure of this study has undergone ethical vetting board scrutiny and approval.



## Summaries of the articles

### Article I – “Asymmetric partnership: Migrant organisations, trade unions and the Equality Ombudsman”

This article, co-authored together with Aleksandra Ålund, focuses on two Stockholm-based and state project-funded anti-discrimination agencies, established by two AFEGs. In the article, we investigate how partnership-funding arrangements create institutional conditionality in the agencies' engagements to protect and incorporate discriminated people in the Swedish labour market. The empirical data comprise primarily interviews with two anti-discrimination lawyers and two managers, but also interviews with representatives of the DO. The interviews with the agencies' representatives focus on the work conducted by the agencies and the conditions for their engagements. The study illustrates how they face considerable challenges due to cuts in the state subsidy. The lowered state subsidies, discontinued funding to other agencies and pressures from the state funding body to accumulate the number of cases would force the agencies to prioritise their clientele servicing function. This would lead them to set aside projects and preventive initiatives such as awareness-rising campaigns directed at state bodies, trade unions and employers, thus affecting the collaborations with other agencies by contributing to harsher competition for resources among the ones that remained funded. However, the agencies have not solely compacted their original action plans. To keep the organisation going, they have been forced to evolve into entrepreneurs specialised in the field of anti-discrimination law. By turning to the market they have tried to compensate for the lost funding needed to undertake proactive measures. However, they would also then find it harder to reach out and would successively step away from the activist agenda, i.e. become institutionalised. As civil society actors, anti-discrimination agencies are thus becoming less appreciated as partners for their genuine engagements on the part of the state, and more valued as providers of specialised local knowledge and service. However, we have also called attention to openings in opportunity structures for wider collaboration between AFEGs, trade unions and the DO which has related the appreciation from trade unions and the DO for the agencies' closeness to the community and



their abilities to establish confidence in meetings with clients, adding quality to investigations in discrimination cases. The approach of the agencies has allowed them to offer support to clients who are in search of justice, but prefer not to take the matter to court. Nevertheless, arriving at conciliations with employers is the only direct action that the agencies can take. This is because their lack of resources would force them to close their operations in case of an unfavourable court ruling. Thus, when they construct a solid court case through investigation, they are forced to pass it to the DO. In conclusion, we propose that one way of circumventing some of the problems of limited agency, and risks of agencies becoming simply suppliers of standardised market-dependent services in strained relations with other actors, could be to change the system of funding from project to organisation funding. We also illustrate openings in opportunity structures for wider collaboration with the trade unions in negotiations with employers. Thus, in the article, both limited possibilities and possible openings for broader collaboration are distinguished.

## Article II – “Roma berry pickers in Sweden: Economic crisis and new contingents of the austeriat”

This article, co-authored together with Charles Woolfson, illuminates the crisis-driven temporary migration of Bulgarian Roma to Sweden to partake in seasonal berry picking and their resulting predicament which has led to a new set of concerns regarding the labour conditions of migrants in this industry. In the article, we identify the processes driving this migration and scrutinise how workers themselves have dealt with poor labour conditions, as well as how the authorities, trade unions, the industry and engaged civil society actors have responded. The article introduces the notion of a migrant austeriat as a mobile population of workers who, in the current era of austerity, are moving from poorer crisis-hit regions of Europe, seeking survival employment in countries such as Sweden where the impact of the global crisis has been less severe. We furthermore illustrate how these workers were motivated through widespread earlier success stories in Bulgaria about prospects of berry picking revenues in Sweden, as well as the promises from recruiters, to commit themselves to an uncertain endeavour in the shadows of the European economic crisis and the constraints of poverty experienced by the Roma minority in Bulgaria. From there on, the article illustrates the events that unfolded during the 2012 berry picking season by centring on ethnographically gathered testimonies on berry pickers’ working and living conditions, as well as labour relations. The accounts reveal, from the berry pickers’ perspective, how the initial disappointments of missing out on expected lucrative earnings transformed into the dilemma

of the meagre revenues from berry picking being sufficient enough to recover investment costs in travel, eventually finding it difficult even to return home. Informally contracted workers would soon face immense hurdles when recruiters found it difficult to keep promises and suddenly minimised all expenditure. Yet, securing basic necessities, not least access to water and adequate sanitary facilities, would also contribute to strained relations with the local inhabitants. Thus, we shed light on the manner in which central actors are interrelated by providing accounts illuminating the situation for workers and recruiters in and outside some of the berry picker camps, and the encounters that took place between the migrant workers and the local community. The study further illustrates how the situation for the national regulatory authorities, municipalities and trade unions evolved into a seemingly insurmountable challenge to identify appropriate responses to indeterminate activities and unclear employment relationships. The article concludes by proposing earlier 'best practice' trade union responses offer some leverage, and elaborates further on the relationship between the grasp of austerity on the impoverished people at the European periphery, the free movement of labour and the outcomes of 'unfreedom'. We underline that the workers, despite their adverse predicament, have also exercised agency when their working and living conditions proved intolerable, firstly by leaving their homeland and subsequently by exiting the forest encampments and presenting claims for repatriation to the Swedish and Bulgarian authorities. The article recapitulates a reflection on the redeployment of Europe's new peripheral austeriat from poorer to richer Member States and the EU's new Directive on third-country seasonal migrants, which has not yet been paralleled on the intra-EU-level.

### Article III – "Paradoxes of European free movement in times of austerity: The role of social movement actors in framing the plight of Roma berry pickers in Sweden"

This article analyses the responses of state, interest organisations and SMAs that have endeavoured to improve the situation for Bulgarian Roma berry pickers during the berry-harvesting season of 2014 in Sweden. It explores these actors' diverse responses to the unfolding events and illustrates that they have displayed differing capacities to offer workers support during a developing humanitarian crisis. The article concentrates on providing insight into the capacities of SMAs to negotiate responsibility, heighten issues of accountability and earn legitimacy from authorities and the wider public for the plight of disprivileged Bulgarian Roma berry pickers who, due to the impact of austerity in Bulgaria, have

been propelled to seek relief within a poorly regulated industry in Sweden. The collection of empirical data is guided by a multi-sited ethnographical approach which analytically anchors in social movement frame analysis. The article illustrates how SMAs, in the face of incapacities of state and industry parties, generate leverage to the urgent humanitarian distress experienced by the workers and heightens workers' political and public visibilities. By focusing on collective action frames and actions of SMAs, how the workers have become elevated onto the public arena and into the institutional corridors of power as legitimate rights claimants caught in a crisis situation are illustrated, and that they thus have bridged a considerable gap in public policy response. The article provides, on the one hand, insight into the conversion from an anticipated money-making expedition into a struggle for daily survival, i.e. the lack of basic sanitary arrangements, food and water supplies, tense relations between workers and local inhabitants, and the workers' predicament of returning to Bulgaria. On the other hand, it highlights how the unfolding events have sparked SMAs' interventions and in turn generated ad hoc fashioned "partnerships" with municipal and state actors. Nonetheless, in terms of longevity, the SMAs' contribution to the political visibility of seasonal migrant workers has been due to an in-built temporal delimitation in SMA framing activities concentrating on the immediate humanitarian situation of crisis. Thus, in terms of lasting assistance, the workers' predicament remains to be resolved and many of the SMA representatives have underscored that their capacity to intervene was not infinite; their actions ad hoc and reluctantly orchestrated as the response to the observation of not facilitating responses on part of industry, and those hesitant, delayed and insufficient on the part of the authorities. The article expands further the reflection on the contemporary European citizenship paradox in which protective regulations for berry industry workers from outside the EU are implemented domestically in Sweden to hinder risks from trickling down to those at the bottom of the hierarchy, while equivalent rights for EU citizens remain to be secured. It is further argued that SMAs have not only played an important role in bringing responsibility and accountability into focus, but that they also – at least temporarily – have propelled the disruption of the "abject" status of denied rights to decent work and living conditions to which the Bulgarian Roma berry pickers have been consigned.

#### Article IV – “Framing solidarity in the unionisation of undocumented migrant workers in Sweden”

This article provides insight into the capacities of two Swedish trade union initiatives, namely a local SAC Syndicalist group and the TCO-LO TUCUM (Trade Union Centre for Undocumented Workers), to extend solidarity to undocumented migrant workers. The article explores what solidarity linkages have been established and what obstacles have been encountered in forging solidarity between workers with strong versus weak legal status. By disclosing collective action frames through empirical data found in union documents, as well as interviews conducted with union representatives and core undocumented migrant worker activists, the article illuminates the construction of ‘mutual self-interest’, ‘perceived fellowship’ and ‘communal conduct’ in the two trade union initiatives. Merged with a transformative approach to solidarity, the occurrence of this tri-linked chain construct serves as the basis for a discussion on the possibilities and constraints in these collective engagements. The article illustrates, through core activists’ and union representatives’ experiences of union engagements, a set of challenges pinning down trade union renewal approaches. The findings referring to SAC illustrate instances of differences in political opportunity frames and internal framing disputes towards union initiatives to organise informally working non-members, as well as the difficulties for undocumented migrants to hold employment in conjunction with union representation in worker-employer conflicts. Further, the emergent problems within a union structure anchored in self-involvement regarding undocumented migrant workers’ dependency on union representatives are explored. The article thus illuminates how union representatives’ engagements become reduced to advocacy due to the lack of support, or simply ‘tolerance’, by the larger base of union members, while the engagement of undocumented workers in parallel becomes restricted due to the risk of expulsion. In the TUCUM, from the perspective of the representatives, the article illustrates the occurrence of similar inferences. The centre representatives refer to inconsistencies among member unions in organising or offering representation of workers in conflicts. The article also expounds on the framing disputes behind the resignation of the organisation of UMS from the TUCUM board. However, it furthermore illustrates how, over the course of almost a decade, evidence of the transformative character of solidarity has become palpable in TUCUM. In relation to this, the article underscores that political identities are not fixed in time and space, and that they may open for negotiation through political union struggles, as well as those of undocumented migrant workers’ representatives and other social movement actors. Despite a general gloomy outlook for the comprehensive extension of

solidarity identified in the article, the representatives' experiences indicate that the establishment of close links with different social movement formations can result in the crafting of extended solidarity, and that this may even open the protective union gates to new groups of workers, namely Roma EU citizens from Bulgaria and Romania. The article recapitulates by reasoning that the role of trade unions in assisting undocumented migrant workers in the backwaters of new Swedish 'EU minimum standard' asylum policies will assume urgent policy relevance, but may also, in an increasingly unsympathetic socio-political environment to migrants, be decisively confronted if any vibrant engagements for solidarity extension commenced.

## Concluding discussion

The aim of this study has been to analyse the possibilities and constraints in collective action concerning the securing of citizenship and labour rights of precarious migrant workers on the Swedish labour market and the ways in which this support contributes to the mobilisation of them as claims-makers. This objective has been approached by scrutinising the prospects for negotiations in collective actions to respond to the plight of discriminated, seasonal and undocumented migrant workers. This dissertation has further investigated the occurrence of cooperation between collective actors and the grounds for their varying responses. By drawing on the four articles, this concluding discussion will summarise the process of collective action negotiation, bringing together the three interconnected sites (Sørensen, 2008) for negotiations related to the rights of precarious migrant workers.

The collective actors encountered at the three sites have come forth not only as advocates (see Andrews and Edwards, 2004; Gamson, 2004) for the rights of precarious migrant workers, but too almost exclusively assuming the role as proxies in relation to the workers' plight. This was evident at the *first site* among Agencies Founded on Ethnic Grounds (AFEGs) who, vis-à-vis their Anti-Discrimination Agencies (ADAs), could strengthen the clients' cases before being forwarded to the Equality Ombudsman (DO). The AFEGs also intervened in discrimination cases that trade unions had declined engagement in which has resulted in legal conciliations with employers. Furthermore, at least in some cases, they offered legal services to – and even acted on behalf of – trade unions when representing their clients in open conflicts with employers. At the *second site*, focusing on Roma berry-pickers from Bulgaria, the collective actors have publicly raised the workers' interests, such as those regarding access to sanitary facilities, health care and meals, as well as have facilitated a large group of workers' return to Bulgaria. At the *third site*, which reflected the unionisation of undocumented migrant workers, trade unions have come forth as proxies for the workers' voices when in conflict with employers. This was commonly attributed to the workers' fear of expulsion.

Given the limited extent to which state officials have been in focus, the studies illustrate that they have clearly appreciated these forms of direct assistance. This

was denoted at the first site by the DO representatives who commended ADAs' ability to strengthen clients' cases, and at the second site by officials admiring the collective actors' direct humanitarian support and offering ad hoc partnerships to them. These examples raise further questions regarding the relationship between state and civil society and the particular responsibilities of the state, inciting grounds for future studies. What has been illustrated in this dissertation, is how such issues are negotiated in processes where collective actors, through persuasive framing (McCammon, 2009; see Snow and Benford, 1988), may accentuate precarious migrant workers' political and public visibilities; raising public concerns regarding the state's accountability. In all sites, social and regular media have figured as important campaign-vehicles for raising such concerns and gathering strength by numbers during cycles of contention (see Tarrow, 1994).

In such roles, the collective actors have exhibited – in consonance with the berry pickers – enactments of citizenship through disruption (Andrijasevic, 2013; Isin and Saward, 2013) which has contributed to the accentuation of municipalities' policies to substantially improve previous prospects for stranded workers to return home. In regards to AFEGs and trade unions, substantial leverage was identified in the form of extrajudicial conciliations for precarious migrant workers when inhibited to seek redemption in courts.

Another correspondence across the sites, which ties in with the proxy role of collective actors, is the notion of a compulsion to act in the form of immanent duty or immediate necessity. This comes forth at the second and third sites as a form of obligatory engagement which drains activists' reservoirs of enthusiasm and, by extension, risks resulting in forsaking one's convictions after momentarily having given 'all'. In these instances, prospects for internal group consolidation were considered decisive for further engagement. In relation to undocumented migrants' unionisation, this was connected to these workers' fear of becoming fully engaged due to the risks of exposure, as well as the consequences of dwindling engagement from 'regular' union members. As a result of conviction, this compulsion to act has at the first site come forth first and foremost through the ADA lawyers' heavy overtime work. However, it has, in an inverted manner, also been problematised in relation to vigorously controlled state subsidies which suppress convictions vis-à-vis institutionalisation.

The engagement for precarious migrant workers has also been presented as a contentious and controversial endeavour, which in the two latter sites is illustrated with the extensive occurrences of framing disputes (see Benford, 1993). In the second site, such disputes regarded divisions encountered in the local community to the presence of a neighbouring berry pickers' camp. Divisions also emerged in another community, among inhabitants who initially hesitated to

provide support to workers' fleeing their bosses, but who would rapidly succumb to the workers' predicament and the request for amity from inhabitants who were first to offer support. In the third site, divisions can be illuminated via the positioning of other unions or the members' stance as finding no reasons to distinguish undocumented migrant workers' labour from regular instances of informal work. Further, divisions were also found in the internal ambivalences within the undocumented migrants' organisation to engage in collaboration with unions against informal work, considering it as a means of livelihood. Diversions of these kinds could be interpreted both as contributing to further solidifications of core activists' notions of their own excellence, but also as examples of counter-framing activities that inhibit consensus and action mobilisation by dampening or even distorting potential frame resonance (see Klandermans, 1984; Snow and Benford, 1988; Benford, 1993; Benford and Snow, 2000). The reason that such matters of contention are not pronounced in the first site could be attributed to the institutionalised character of the ADAs' conduct and legitimisation by the state. However, the agencies' lawyers have nevertheless referred to the lack of interest or competence in trade unions to conduct discrimination investigations. Yet, these instances were regarded as minor obstacles as long as the trade unions approved of the agencies' engagements, or swiftly declined involvement, as the lawyers would then simply resort to their inherent and projected client representative obligation.

Another interconnection that can be identified concerns the manifestation of cooperation between the collective actors encountered at the three studied sites. One aspect of such cooperation relates to the occasioning of collaborations based on – or conditioned by – ethnicity or language, as well as the reversed instances when language inhibits communications in collective action. In regards to the supportive quality, this can be illustrated vis-à-vis all sites in relation to the role of AFEGs in establishing collaborations with other societal actors, and in their involvement on the basis of trust by affinity. Examples of this are AFEGs that have: supported Roma berry pickers through direct action and representation in official venues; conducted discrimination investigations and built collaborations with trade unions; or, promoted the unionisation of undocumented migrants on local radio broadcastings. The immersion of AFEGs into matters of precariousness has thereby – via identity formation – transcended the site-specific forms of citizenship possessed by the workers whose capacity in accessing horizontal and vertical alliances can correspondingly be related to their socially embedded legitimacy (see Laubenthal, 2007; Atger, 2013). In regards to inhibiting factors, these have come forth at the third site which can be illuminated by instances when language barriers inform the prospects for conducting union meetings with other union fractions.



Furthermore, the articles have highlighted concerns regarding the prospects for establishing collaborations striving to improve the labour conditions of precarious migrant workers and leverage their negotiation positions. In line with propositions anchored in research on trade union renewal (see Frege and Kelly, 2003; Turner, 2005; Gahan and Pekarek, 2013), the first and third sites reflected instances of favourable outcomes by focusing on the benefits for unions in reaching out to other civil society actors. Such favourable outcomes are illuminated in the first article through ADAs' and trade unions' joint efforts in cases of discrimination on the labour market, and in relation to the unionisation of undocumented migrant workers where cooperation with other collective actors improved the prospects of mobilising workers.

The sites studied in this dissertation have furthermore illustrated that the questions 'who is a citizen' and 'what makes the citizen' raised by Isin (2012) are indeed two separate concerns. It may be a delicate task trying to tell which of the studied categories of workers fare the worst in the labour market, and this has not been the purpose herein. However, a parallel view of the articles does indicate that undocumented migrants, despite all, may encounter shorter routes to trade unions' support than (EU citizens) Bulgarian Roma berry pickers who arrive in Sweden with their contractors, and thus appear to be quite distant from immediate union assistance. The varying predicament of workers proposes different opportunity structures (see Tarrow, 1994 Ireland, 1994, 2000; Gamson and Meyer 1996; Koopmans and Statham, 2000; Snow, 2004; Laubenthal, 2007) for unions to offer their respective services. Nevertheless, vulnerability does *not* come forth as a guarantee of being offered support by unions, as simply being an undocumented or EU migrant who works informally does *not* in itself postulate the entry ticket to, or legitimacy in, union ranks. Thus, determining why a worker actually works in the informal economy becomes an increasingly imperative question for trade unions with endeavours in extending solidarity (see Lindberg, 2013) to include precarious migrant workers. Such form of boundary framing (Benford and Snow, 2000) comes forth as a trade union concern. This is illustrated in the fourth article where there is the potential scrutiny of workers' origin and the degree of their precariousness. Moreover, relating to the issues of 'who is' and 'what makes' Swedish citizens who experience discrimination on the labour market and greater direct access to legal support, the first article illustrates the legal entitlement to settle discrimination cases through court rulings which in practice results in legal conciliations through extrajudicial means (see also Selberg, 2014, 2016). Thus, the first and third sites provide the bases for further enquiries into the societal consequences of legal conciliations in the realm of precarious work, which in a concealed manner are proceeded in the society.

In this concluding section, I have strived to illustrate that the multi-sited comparison studied in this dissertation offers possibilities to identify interconnections between different sites which concerns possibilities, as well as constraints in negotiations for the rights of precarious migrant workers. This approach has offered the possibility of gaining comparative insight into the multiple sites of collective actions for the rights of precarious migrant workers, as well as addressing new questions and offering scope for further enquiry. The interconnections that have been made between the sites in this concluding discussion could be further elaborated upon by centring the different collective actors' multi-organisational fields – composed of the total number of organised bodies to which the collective actors create specific links to – which have comprised interrelated conflict and alliance systems (see Klandermans, 1992). Nevertheless, changes in the boundaries between allies and opponents during the course of events have also indicated that the formation of solidarity is indeed a transformative process (see Featherstone, 2012). While the presence of antagonists primarily, in line with the dissertation's preoccupation with supportive actions, has been explored in direct connection to ongoing negotiations, it can consequentially be underlined that the breadth of the collective actors' conflict systems is far greater than the articles have been indicative of. However, the focus on alliance systems raises the corresponding question of whether the indicated interconnections between the three sites could be considered a social movement (see Snow et al., 2004, p. 11) occasioned by the injustices suffered by precarious migrant workers. From the vantage point of this dissertation's purpose, this specific concern can be offered as a topic for further scholarly debate. Notwithstanding, the dissertation does incline that negotiations of solidarity are multi-sited occurrences of transformative virtue for political identities (see Isin, 2009; Featherstone, 2012) which – whether reluctantly or strongly engaged in – yield prospects for new actors to become activist citizens.

The findings presented in this dissertation link, at a general level, with two neighbouring research fields; namely, studies focusing on trade union revitalisation, working conditions and prospects for unionisation of precarious migrant workers (see e.g. Milkman et al., 2010; Frank, 2012; Woolfson et al., 2012; Lindberg, 2013; Adler et al., 2014; Hellgren, 2014; Selberg, 2014, 2016; Neergaard, 2015; Moksnes, 2016); and, those on political activism rights by organised migrants through local and global solidarity movements (see e.g. Laubenthal, 2007; Ålund and Reichel, 2007; Düvell, 2007; Kings, 2011; Andrijasevic, 2013; Atger, 2013; Schierup et al., 2014; Agustín and Bak Jørgensen, 2016). More specifically, the dissertation has complemented previous research by offering a detailed account of matters such as the institutionalising process of AFEs, and the pros and cons of this for agency. Another complement

regards the unionisation of undocumented migrants in Sweden by providing detailed intra-organisational accounts regarding the possibilities and obstacles in regards to mobilisation and representation. It has furthermore added new perspectives on seasonal labour migration by conceptualising that of the 'austeriat' from poorer crisis-hit regions of Europe. Thus, it has filled a significant gap in the research on seasonal labour migration to Sweden regarding informal work and forms of labour exploitation for EU citizens. In addition to this, the dissertation underlines the methodological benefits for future research devoting closer attention to localising possible back-stage data-gathering settings with the additional support of embedding assistance (see Lewis and Russell, 2011).

Lastly, it should be underlined that the latest political developments, following the EU refugee protection crisis and the expected increase in the number of undocumented migrants, most likely will result in even greater implications for the unionisation initiatives. Hence, it remains to be seen what configurations the alliance and conflict systems of those striving to support precarious migrant workers will take.

## Sammanfattning

I avhandlingen studeras kollektiva handlingar som syftar till att förbättra situationen för prekära migrantarbetare på den svenska arbetsmarknaden. Avhandlingen består av fyra artiklar, som undersöker kollektiva handlingar som initieras med utgångspunkt i de osäkra villkor som tre olika kategorier av migrantarbetare – diskriminerade, säsongarbetare och papperslösa – möter på arbetsmarknaden. Bland de kollektiva aktörer som undersöks ingår formella organisationer såsom frivilligorganisationer, etniska organisationer och fackliga organisationer, men även mer löst sammanhållna grupper och nätverk. I förgrunden står de samtida samhälleliga, ekonomiska och rättsliga omdaningar som skapar villkoren för samarbetet aktörerna emellan samt de förhandlingar som aktörerna bedriver.

Avhandlingen guidas av följande övergripande forskningsfråga:

- Hur förhandlas stärkandet av prekära migrantarbeters medborgerliga rättigheter och rättigheter på arbetsmarknaden genom kollektiv handling?

Vidare söker avhandlingen svar på följande, mer specifika frågeställningar:

- Varför och hur svarar kollektiva aktörer på prekära migranternas utsatthet?
- Vilket samarbete existerar mellan kollektiva aktörer och hur utvecklas det?
- Under vilka villkor väljer aktörerna olika handlingslinjer?

Ambitionen är att med denna utredning skapa en fördjupad kvalitativ förståelse av villkoren för de kollektiva aktörernas engagemang. Genom att sätta fokus på en bred skara av kollektiva handlingar och grupper av arbetare, söker studien avancera förståelsen för de variationer som finns i dessa engagemang, i förhållande till villkoren som dessa handlingar är avhängiga av. I förgrunden för undersökningen står därmed beskrivningar av problem och strategiska överväganden, samt deras underbyggnad i form av storlek, orientering och

graden av formalisering eller institutionalisering. Avhandlingens teoretiska ramverk tar avstamp i conceptualiseringar som härstammar från forskning om medborgarskap och sociala rörelser. Detta ramverk tillhandahåller ett analytiskt tillvägagångssätt som förmår skapa kunskap om det inbördes förhållandet mellan kollektiv handling och de processer som leder till att rättigheter förvärvas eller förloras. Denna ansats erbjuder flera verktyg som kan användas för att studera etablerande, konfigurering och omkonfigurering av kollektiv handling och de inbördes relationer som skapas i denna handling, men även den inverkan som samtida samhälleliga strukturer och skeenden har på uppkomsten och förändringen av kollektiv handling.

Avhandlingens fyra artiklar – som fokuserar kollektiva aktioner för Svenska medborgare, EU medborgare och papperslösa icke-medborgare på arbetsmarknaden – närmas som tre olika sammanhang som vart och ett erbjuder en kompletterande insyn i kollektiva handlingar för prekära migranter på den svenska arbetsmarknaden.

Avhandlingen är en kvalitativ studie som främst baseras på semi-strukturerade intervjuer med representanter för kollektiva aktörer med en varierad skala av organisationer. De intervjuade har främst haft en ledande befattning i dessa organisationer. I förhållande till säsongarbetare har intervjuer dessutom genomförts med arbetarna själva.

I förhållande till diskriminerade migrantarbetare analyseras i den första artikeln villkoren för engagemang hos två antidiskrimineringsbyråer som drivs av etniska organisationer. Studiens resultat visar på hur aktörerna till följd av det statliga finansieringsstödet förändrar den ursprungliga inriktningen av sitt arbete, på så sätt att de blir mer marknadsorienterade, vilket i sin tur medför ansträngningar i relationer till andra samarbetspartners.

Avhandlingens andra respektive tredje artikel sätter fokus på situationen för bulgariska romer under 2012 års bärplockningssäsong. I dessa artiklar åskådliggörs å ena sidan drivkrafterna bakom deras arbetsmigration och utmaningarna de möter i Sverige, å andra sidan framväxten av skilda kollektiva aktioner och deras betydelse för arbetarna.

Den fjärde artikeln fokuserar på två fackliga initiativ till inkludering av arbetande papperslösa, som båda åskådliggör en rad utmaningar i utökandet av solidaritet till arbetare som är förpassade till informella anställningar. Artikeln visar på att denna strävan ändå kan ha potential att åstadkomma förändring av facklig politisk identitet och, i förlängningen, genom etablerande av samarbeten med andra kollektiva aktörer, öppnande av solidaritetens portar även till prekära EU-migranter.

Även om artiklarna upptas med förfaringssättet som dessa processer antar olika former i olika kontexter, kan de sammantaget ses som en multibelägen jämförelse, där olika kollektiva aktörers engagemang i handlingar för prekära migrantarbetare ses i ljuset av de samhälleliga strukturer som de gemensamt formas av. En sådan jämförelse erbjuder möjligheter att identifiera sammankopplingar mellan olika möjligheter, men också hinder i förhandlingar för prekära migrantarbetares rättigheter. Tillvägagångssättet ger möjlighet att skapa komparativ kunskap om de multipla belägenheterna för kollektiva aktioner för prekära migrantarbetares rättigheter. Därtill ger tillvägagångssättet upphov till flera nya frågor, som skapar grund för vidare forskning.

Avhandlingens fyra artiklar visar, sammantaget, att det finns en bred skara av kollektiva aktörer som är i stånd att förhandla om utsatta migrantarbetares arbetsmarknadsvillkor. Dessa aktörers engagemang står visserligen inför både många och svåra utmaningar. Samtidigt kan de kontaktytor som skapas till andra kollektiva aktörer, även om de många gånger är högst tillfälliga, bereda vägar för att minska migrantarbetares utsatthet.

Studierna illustrerar att frågorna 'vem är medborgare' och 'vad frambringar en medborgare' sannerligen är två olika frågor. Det må vara en delikatt uppgift att försöka tyda vilken av de studerade kategorierna av arbetare som befinner sig i den mest prekära situationen på arbetsmarknaden. Det har heller inte varit syftet i denna avhandling. Betraktade i ljuset av varandra påvisar artiklarna ändå att papperslösa migranter, till trots, tycks ha kortare väg till fackföreningarnas stöd än bulgariska romer (EU-medborgare), som för att plocka bär anländer till Sverige med rekryterare och därmed förefaller förhållandevis långt från ofördröjt fackligt stöd. Arbetarnas utsatthet innebär på så vis olika möjlighetsstrukturer för fackföreningar när det gäller att erbjuda sin service. Trots det är utsatthet *inte* en garanti för att prekära migrantarbetare ska erbjudas stöd genom fackliga organisationer. Det faktum att någon är papperslös eller EU-migrant som arbetar informellt utgör *inte* en inträdesbiljett till, eller legitimitet i, fackföreningar. Att utröna varför en arbetare arbetar i den informella ekonomin blir därmed en allt mer avgörande fråga för fackföreningar som eftersträvar att utvidga solidariteten till att rymma även prekära migrantarbetare. Sådana former av gränsdragande inramning ter sig idag som en central facklig utmaning.

Avhandlingens resultat reser frågan om huruvida de sammanlänkningsformer som kan göras mellan de tre belägenheter som undersökts kan ses som bildande konturerna av en social rörelse, som uppstått utifrån de orättvisor som prekära migrantarbetare lidit. Denna fråga är ett tema för vidare forskning.

Avhandlingens resultat utgör ett bidrag till två angränsande forskningsfält, med fokus på fackföreningars förnyelse, arbetsvillkor och möjligheter för facklig organisering av prekära migrantarbetare samt organiserade migranternas politiska aktivism, i form av lokala och globala solidaritetsrörelser. Men specifikt är avhandlingen ett bidrag till tidigare forskning genom att ge en detaljrik beskrivning av institutionaliseringen av organisationer etablerade på etnisk grund och de konsekvenser som den har för deras agens. Ytterligare ett bidrag avser facklig organisering av papperslösa migranter i Sverige, genom en noggrann belysning av interna organisatoriska villkor avseende möjligheter och hinder i förhållande till mobilisering och representation. Avhandlingen sätter vidare nytt ljus på migranternas säsongsarbete genom begreppet *austeriat*, som beskriver arbetare som flyr krisdrabbade fattiga regioner i Europa. På så sätt fyller avhandlingen en märkbar lucka i forskning om säsongsbunden arbetsmigration till Sverige i förhållande till informellt arbete och arbetsrelaterat utnyttjande av EU-medborgare.





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