

	Volume 24	Number 4	December 2008	ISSN 0956-5221
SCANDINAVIAN JOURNAL OF Management AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL				
Editor: Janne Tienari <i>Helsinki School of Economics and Lappeenranta University of Technology</i>				
S. LOWE, N. ELLIS, S. PURCHASE	Rethinking language in IMP research: Networking processes in other words	295		
D. LI, M.P. FERREIRA	Partner selection for international strategic alliances in emerging economies	308		
E. KOHONEN	The impact of international assignments on expatriates' identity and career aspirations: Reflections upon re-entry	320		
A. DIEDRICH, A. STYHRE	Making the refugee multiple: The effects of classification work	330		
M.T. MADSEN, C. ALBRECHTSEN	Competing discourses of leadership: Transformational Leadership as blurring mechanism for masculinities in Denmark	343		
P. ERIKSSON, E. HENTTONEN, S. MERILÄINEN	Managerial work and gender—Ethnography of cooperative relationships in small software companies	354		
J. STEYER, M. SCHIFFINGER, R. LANG	Organizational commitment—A missing link between leadership behavior and organizational performance?	364		
F. THINGGAARD, J. DAMKIER	Has financial statement information become less relevant? Longitudinal evidence from Denmark	375		
Book Reviews				
C. FRANKEL	The Innovative Bureaucracy, Bureaucracy in an Age of Fluidity	388		
M. WALLMÖN	Working for the New Order — European Business under German Domination 1939–1945	390		
R.A. LUNDEN	All första strategi—Process och kontext (Understanding Strategy—Process and Context)	391		

This article appeared in a journal published by Elsevier. The attached copy is furnished to the author for internal non-commercial research and education use, including for instruction at the authors institution and sharing with colleagues.

Other uses, including reproduction and distribution, or selling or licensing copies, or posting to personal, institutional or third party websites are prohibited.

In most cases authors are permitted to post their version of the article (e.g. in Word or Tex form) to their personal website or institutional repository. Authors requiring further information regarding Elsevier's archiving and manuscript policies are encouraged to visit:

<http://www.elsevier.com/copyright>

Available at www.sciencedirect.com<http://www.elsevier.com/locate/scaman>

Making the refugee multiple: The effects of classification work

Andreas Diedrich^{a,*}, Alexander Styhre^{b,1}

^aGothenburg Research Institute, School of Business, Economics, and Law, University of Gothenburg, Box 600, SE-405 30 Göteborg, Sweden

^bDepartment of Technology Management and Economics, Division of Project Management, Chalmers University of Technology, Vera Sandbergs Allé 8, Vasaområdet Hus 2, SE-412 96 Göteborg, Sweden

KEYWORDS

Classification;
Immigration;
Refugees;
Organizing

Summary

This paper reports on a study of how the Swedish Migration Board, the Public Employment Service, the Refugee Units, and the Adult Education Administration jointly support refugees from their arrival in Sweden into employment. Among the various practices involved in this process, refugees are cast in at least four different roles, mainly by organizations, thus imposing a series of social positions to be managed. While such heterogeneous positions are not necessarily problematic, the Swedish system for integration is often portrayed as not very successful in pursuing its political and humanist goals. Some of its shortcomings may be explained by the diversity of the political, social, practical, and financial objectives of the organizations involved in the process. The paper concludes that a sociology of classification is useful for revealing how members of organizations enact social realities.

© 2008 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

Introduction

Organizing is the structuring, ordering, and separation of a variety of processes, routines, standard operating procedures, and assigned roles and positions. In this view, originally advocated by Weick (1976), organizing is a social accomplishment that does not exist unless there is ongoing interaction between organizational resources, which includes humans, technology, and symbolic and semiotic resources (e.g. company logotypes). Organizations may

operate as stand-alone entities, but in most cases they are intertwined and connected with other organizations in their day-to-day work. In organization theory, a number of conceptual frameworks have been developed to examine such collaboration and the co-evolution of bundles of organizations. These include network organizations (Brusoni & Prencipe, 2001; Dyer, 1996; Gulati, 1999; Harrison & Laberge, 2002; Inkpen & Tsang, 2005; Oliver, 2004; Powell, Koput, & Smith-Doerr, 1996), boundaryless organizations (Ashkenas, Ulrich, Jick, & Kerr, 1995), bridging organizations (Brown, 1991), organization landscapes (Ahrne, 1990), interorganizational domains (Gray, 1989; Perrow & Guillén, 1990), or action nets (Czarniawska, 1997, 2004; Czarniawska et al., 2007; Lindberg & Czarniawska, 2006). When organizations engage in activities pre-requiring a joint vocabulary, common routines or practices, and shared

*Corresponding author. Tel.: +46 31 786 54 04; fax: +46 31 786 56 19.

E-mail addresses: andreas.diedrich@handels.gu.se (A. Diedrich), alexander.styhre@chalmers.se (A. Styhre).

¹Tel.: +46 31 772 44 28; fax: +46 31 20 91 40.

domains of expertise, the cost of coordination increases. For instance, in a construction project involving heterogeneous actors such as architects, construction workers, site managers, designers, and so forth, a substantial challenge lies in making the various actors capable of communicating with one another throughout the entire design and production process (Dubois & Gadde, 2002). In many cases, individual professional groups such as architects and construction workers do not share a joint vocabulary and are therefore incapable of learning from one another to the extent desired. Therefore, the object being produced—often in the construction industry a building—is the outcome of a number of local translations and modifications of the original specifications formulated by the client. In other industries, collaboration between different groups of experts or specialists is more tightly coupled.

This paper aims to show how classification work forms part of everyday organizing and, contrary to its original intent, produces a certain degree of heterogeneity when the object of classification is given different positions in complementary classification systems (Bowker & Star, 1999). Classification systems thus produce objects that are *multiple* rather than unified. Drawing on the work of Mol (2002), such heterogeneity is not regarded as problematic per se, instead being the effect of complementing domains of expertise engaging in a social activity. The paper contributes to the study of organizations in general by showing how organizing across organizational boundaries may demand more flexible and adaptable classification systems. It also suggests that organizational members need to be aware that such systems are contingent and local rather than conclusive and universal and may therefore solve a certain number of administrative problems, though certainly not all. More specifically, the paper suggests that, while organizations operate on the basis of epistemologically frail and porous categories, they may be capable of accomplishing significant practical effects. Careful attention should thus be paid to the social consequences of classification procedures used in organizing. The study thus contributes to a body of research portraying organizational routines and standard operating procedures as dynamic and flexible (Feldman, 2000; Feldman & Pentland, 2003; Feldman & Rafaeli, 2002; Tsoukas & Chia, 2002). In this view, both classification systems and routines provide scripts for practice capable of accommodating variety while enabling meaningful action.

This paper is based on an empirical study forming part of an evaluation of the Swedish project “The Cohesive Introduction² of Newly arrived Refugees and other Immigrants”. The Cohesive Introduction was aimed at improving collaboration between state agencies and municipal organizations working with immigration matters and a more tightly coupled organization to support arriving immigrants, in particular refugees, when establishing themselves in their new society. The “management” of groups of immigrants and refugees is a substantial social activity in a great number of countries. In Sweden, rather than being administered by one single organization, migration matters are

spread among a number of public organizations: the Swedish Migration Board (*Migrationsverket*), the National Labor Market Board (*Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen*) and the local Public Employment Service (PES), the Municipal Refugee Units (*Flyktingenheterna*), Social Services (*Socialtjänsten*), and the Adult Education Administration (*Vuxenutbildningsförvaltningen*). These organizations each have specific assignments and domains of expertise, and, as a result, immigrants and refugees are not necessarily classified in the same way by the various organizations. Although the study does not include interviews with refugees and immigrants, for practical and ethical reasons, it points to some significant challenges facing Sweden’s immigration authorities and municipal organizations.

When organizations collaborate across organizational boundaries, there is a need to understand and recognize the objectives and competencies of the other organizations. Conceiving this capacity as somewhat limited, the state agencies and municipal organizations started initiatives aimed at developing arenas wherein officials could meet and discuss their individual differences and similarities. The objective of these initiatives was to develop more effective collaboration across organizational boundaries in order to facilitate a more efficient induction of newly arrived refugees and other immigrants onto the Swedish labor market.

From this perspective, the refugee is an administrative object circulated between organizations and translated, transformed, and inscribed differently in different settings. Rather than being an *immutable mobile* (Latour, 1987), holding a subject position that is stable and transparent, the refugee qua member of a social category is reshaped and retranslated along the route of circulation. In Mol’s (2002) words, the refugee is *multiple*; he or she is conceived of in different terms and from a variety of angles. This fluid and permeable epistemological position held by the refugee is not only an ethical, political, or juridical problem, it is also an *organizational* problem derived from the separation of individual domains of expertise and knowledge formation.

Organizing as classification

Recently, based on Karl Weick’s foundational work, organization researchers have shifted their focus away from understanding organizations as ready-made entities (see Czarniawska, 2004, 2005; Law, 1994). These researchers argue for the importance of examining organizing, of what happens before organizations become understood as though they were solid entities. Czarniawska (1997) refers to action nets, actions that are tied together, because they seem to require one another in a certain context, as the basis of organizing. This, she suggests, shifts the focus from *who* does what in organizations as ready-made entities to *what* is done in nets of action (Czarniawska, 2005).

From the process view of organizing, day-to-day work consists of structuring and ordering various resources. For example, Bowker and Star (1999) speak of classification as an elementary process whereby “things are sorted out”, that is, *organized* and *defined*. Classifications, Bowker and Star say, although playing a key role in our lives, remain “ordinarily invisible”, with human actors in many cases

²In Sweden, activities related to the induction of newly arrived refugees and other immigrants are referred to as “introduktion” (introduction).

being simply ignorant as regards how social reality is ordered.

Bowker and Star (1999) also emphasize the fact that classifications are not permanently instituted and do not rest on spatio-temporally independent categories, instead being based on what is socially legitimate and has proven itself to function practically. Consequently, regimes of classification are “sites of political and social struggles” that are difficult to approach, because they are part of the social “infrastructure”, the very texture of society (Bowker & Star, 1999, p. 196). Classifications may also serve as what Star and Griesemer (1989) call “boundary objects”, integrating heterogeneous communities and actors. In order to function as a boundary object, a classification must, by definition, be in opposition to the “unitary, well-defined object” (Bowker & Star, 1999).

Bowker and Star (1999, p. 10) introduce “classification systems” as “spatial, temporal, or spatio-temporal segmentation of the world”, as a set of boxes (metaphorical or real) into which things can be put in order to do some kind of work. The function of the classification system is to “make things work” without being perceived as a system of separation and ordering. They also examine the epistemological and social costs of such classification systems. One could say that classification systems are indispensable tools when ordering social reality characterized by ambiguity. However, such classification comes at a price—a certain degree of inconsistency is part of any classification system.

The role of classification in organizing becomes apparent when we look at loosely coupled systems (March & Olson, 1976; Orton & Weick, 1990; Weick, 1976). In such systems, two separate systems have few variables in common, or the common variables are weak compared to the other variables influencing the system (Weick, 1976) and classification becomes the principal means of integration. While in bureaucratic, tightly coupled organizations, one single classification system, vocabulary, or nomenclature may be enacted, in loosely coupled organizations or systems where a number of organizations collaborate within a particular field, classification systems may prove to contain ambiguities. Even though there may be formal, lexical definitions of classification systems, which state what category a specific entity or event belongs to, in everyday working life, and under the influence of time constraints and conflicting goals and priorities, classifications may be more complicated (Dupré, 2006; Roth, 2005; Silvers & Stein, 2003; Sommerlund, 2006). Such challenges are especially prevalent in loosely coupled organizations, where the vocabulary in use may differ between groups and communities or where meaning is constituted locally and not shared between organizational units (DiMaggio, 1987; Heikkinen, 2005). When collaborating across organizational boundaries, a similar problem arises when various organizations operate in accordance with local objectives, classifications systems, and resources (Lindberg & Czarniawska, 2006).

For instance, Patricia Martin's (2005) study, *Rape work*, shows that women who have been subjected to sexual assaults are passed between different institutions and classified during the process in accordance with, if not conflicting, at least incompatible classification systems. For the police department handling the crime, a female rape victim is one specific victim of crime among other types of

victims. For the legal system, she becomes a particularly complicated case; she is often the only witness to testify and her status as a “victim” needs to be carefully “performed”. For healthcare institutions, a raped woman is subject to investigation but she is generally regarded as an emotionally problematic client because of the psychological trauma she is enduring. In addition, reimbursing the hospital is also a matter of concern associated with rape victims. Finally, in the Rape Crisis Centers set up to help raped women, her victim status is never questioned, instead serving as the basis for ongoing trauma treatment. In Martin's (2005) account, these different roles are not only based on different classification systems, derived from the idiosyncratic objectives and expertise of the individual institutions; they are also, from the point of view of the woman enduring the worst and most humiliating experience of her life, incapable of providing her with a unified and comprehensive role as the victim of a rape. Instead she becomes a multiplicity, a patchwork of roles and positions, when she is passed between different organizations. She becomes a citizen reporting a crime to the police, a legal subject in the judicial system, one patient among others for the hospitals, and the victim of a patriarchal, violent, and above all dysfunctional society in a Rape Crisis Center. Martin (2005) argues that the organizations involved in helping rape victims fail to provide a seamless web of collaboration and exchanges whereby the victim is treated as a unified and coherent subject, and that these inconsistencies cause a great deal of suffering and concern to the person en route (see also Perrow & Guillén, 1990 for a similar analysis of the responses to the AIDS crisis in the US during the 1980s). Martin (2005) even speaks of the “second rape” during the victim's encounter with, for instance, skeptical representatives of the legal system or reluctant medical doctors. Since the different organizations fail to integrate their procedures and classification systems, at best being loosely coupled, the victim of a rape is forced to take on a series of roles in a situation where she is in great need of not being asked to perform such roles.

In the present study, we argue that newly arrived refugees in Sweden, similar to Martin's (2005) rape victims, are not singular but multiple. That is, they are not perceived in terms of one unified explanatory framework, instead being cast in different roles depending on which organization they encounter. The Swedish authorities dealing with immigration do not establish a classification system or vocabulary that is common to all organizations. Subsequently, the newly arrived refugees are simultaneously located in at least four different positions as they move between organizations: in the role of the migrant, the needy, the student, and the job seeker. These different roles are in turn derived from differing institutional objectives and functions.

Organizing and classifying in the work with refugees

Migration, and especially the “processing” of refugees, is a major political concern as part of both international and national policy, with many Western states attempting to balance humanitarian objectives, political agreements, and

public willingness to accept them. Since the early 1990s, and in tandem with the economic downturn, Western European welfare states such as the Netherlands and Germany have been showing a diminishing level of willingness to accept immigrants and refugees.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to cover the vast domain of migration and refugee studies; but it is noteworthy that an extensive body of research exists, not the least in the 20 volumes of the *Journal of Refugee Studies*. Studies reported by Ghorashi (2005) and Colic-Peisek and Tilbury (2006), studying refugees in the Netherlands and Australia, respectively, point to a number of challenges and concerns facing migration authorities. For example, refugees are systematically portrayed as helpless and poorly educated even though they are often well educated. Forced to live on social welfare instead of being integrated into the labor market, refugees are typically conceived of as a “problem” rather than a “resource” for the host country. Also, the very term refugee is ambiguous and the category, for example, of people granted asylum has changed over time (see Abiri, 2000).

In organization theory, Cynthia Hardy and Nelson Phillips have studied the refugee systems of Denmark, Canada, and the UK (Hardy, 2003; Hardy & Philips, 1998, 1999; Philips & Hardy, 1997). Using discourse analysis, they illustrate how language is used to accomplish organizational goals in the context of the work done within the refugee systems. Instead of understanding the “refugee” identity as a given, these studies conceive of it as constantly being constructed and reconstructed by the refugee organizations through their use of language. They demonstrate how categories are discursively enacted and, far from being simple language games, can have significant power effects. Furthermore, they highlight the fact that no single organization is responsible for producing the refugee identity. Instead, refugee systems are constituted by many actors who, based on their particular interests and institutional frameworks, play a part in casting the refugee.

The study

The setting

Some of the context and background of the study is outlined below. Refugee policy in Sweden is deeply rooted in the idea of the welfare state taking its point of departure in supporting the weak, the helpless, and the poor. As a consequence, Sweden has taken in a larger number of refugees per capita in the past than the majority of other European countries. In 2005, 8600 refugees and their relatives were granted residency there.

Over the past decade, most of the asylum seekers granted residency came from Iraq, Serbia and Montenegro, Somalia, and Eritrea. During the 1990s and early 2000s, in tandem with the economic recession and in line with actions taken by other European countries (see Ghorashi, 2005), moves were made by the Swedish government to render the system for refugees more flexible and efficient. These included measures to change the categories of persons eligible for asylum, to reduce the number of asylum seekers granted residency, and to better integrate refugees into society.

More recently, in line with a growing European political discourse that views work as the key to social inclusion, an increasing emphasis has been placed on inducting newly arrived refugees as quickly as possible onto the labor market.

The importance of cooperation between the various municipal organizations and state agencies working with refugees has been described as paramount to achieving a more flexible and efficient system, as well as eliminating perceived problems with the integration of refugees and immigrants in general that are often highlighted by policy-makers, researchers, and other commentators (see, for instance, Integrationsverket, 2004, 2006; Rauhut & Blomberg, 2003; RiR 2005:5).

The research presented here is based on an ethnographically inspired study undertaken by one of the authors as part of a follow-up of the project “Cohesive Introduction for Newly arrived Refugees and other Immigrants” in Swedtown,³ one of Sweden’s larger cities in 2004 and 2005. The project was aimed at facilitating cooperation across organizational boundaries in order to ensure that “newly arrived refugees and other immigrants” could enter the labor market more quickly and with greater ease, thereby integrating them into Swedish society in a “better” way than before.

It should be stressed that the goal of this paper is not to evaluate whether or not the Swedish refugee system has been successful. We are instead interested in examining the role that classification plays in organizing the system. Given the substantial difficulties faced by officials working with the induction of refugees and immigrants, one should not be too quick to pass judgment on how the Swedish refugee system is performing under existing conditions without having detailed inside knowledge.

The field study

The empirical study included interviews, observations, and a document analysis. A total of 33 interviews were conducted with directors, heads of units, and caseworkers from the organizations and agencies involved in the collaboration: i.e. the Swedish Migration Board, the PES, the Refugee Units, the Social Services, the Municipal Adult Education Administration, and the municipal administration of Swedtown. The interviews were open ended (Kvale, 1996; Silverman, 1993). They were recorded on minidisc and then transcribed in full.

It should be stressed that it was difficult to conduct interviews with refugees, primarily because of ethical and policy considerations. Due to what was described as the “vulnerable situation” of asylum seekers, the Migration Board’s policy was not to allow interviews with them. At the other organizations, too, the caseworkers were skeptical regarding interviews or observations involving refugees, mainly on the grounds that it might be confusing or even intimidating for them to have an outsider interviewing them or taking part in a meeting. Some were more receptive and on a few occasions they agreed to their meetings

³The name of the city and the names of all the persons mentioned in the study have been changed to ensure their anonymity.

with refugees being observed. In total, four meetings between newly arrived persons and their caseworkers were observed.

In addition, the refugees were not interviewed, because of the focus of the initial follow-up study. Fieldwork focused on the work of management representatives and caseworkers facilitating the collaboration between the various organizations. On five occasions, observations were made at the "cooperation team" meetings involving caseworkers from the different organizations and described by the proponents of the Cohesive Introduction as the most important part of the collaboration activities. On another five occasions, meetings between management representatives were observed. Nevertheless, the observations made during these meetings painted a vivid picture of *how* the management representatives and caseworkers talked about and made sense of the newly arrived refugees.

During the observations, notes were taken, including comments made by the participants during the meetings and the researcher's comments regarding the setting and organizing of the meetings. These field notes, considered to be one of the classic ethnographic methods (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), later formed the basis of the field stories written about the meetings.

During conversations and interviews, the interviewees described events that had taken place before the researcher's (one of the two authors) arrival on the scene, as well as the experiences of co-workers not observed by the researcher. Different types of documents such as government reports and statistics, agreements, memoranda, as well as documents from web pages, e-mails, and letters enabled the identification and analysis of a number of these events.

The analysis of the field material was inspired by grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Using an iterative process, the first interview was compared with the second, the first and second interviews with the third, and so forth. In parallel with this, the notes from the observed meetings were compared to the interviews. It then became possible to categorize the material pertaining to similarities (Did people talk about the same *things*? If so, what could these *things* be called?) or differences between the two sets of materials (Did people talk about the same *things*, but in a different manner? Or, did they talk about different *things*?). As more interviews and observations were conducted and more documents collected, this process of comparing continued. Finally, the emerging categories were interpreted using a social constructionist framework (Czarniawska, 1997; Latour, 1986, 1987; Law, 1994) and related to theories on classification and its consequences (Bowker & Star, 1999).

Tracing the immigrant from arrival to employment

The shortcomings associated with integrating immigrants into Swedish society have been the focus of ongoing political and public debate in Sweden. Since the 1980s, labor market issues have played an increasingly prominent role in Swedish immigration policy (Dahlström, 2004, p. 143; Lundh & Ohlsson, 1994). Policymakers and researchers have

frequently highlighted the fact that immigrants' competencies and skills are not adequately being acknowledged or utilized, leaving them marginalized both in the labor market and in society (see Rauhut & Blomberg, 2003; RiR, 2006:19; Salas, 2007; SOU, 2003:75; Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting, 2007; Intergrationsverket, 2006). In response, Sweden's policymakers focused greater attention on supporting newly arrived persons⁴ shortly after their arrival there through Swedish language courses, career counseling, practical help with finding apartments, or job-seeking activities. In 2001, a national "Agreement on the Development of the Introduction of Refugees and Other Immigrants" was signed by the state agencies and municipal organizations involved in immigration issues. The agreement sought to develop, maintain, and strengthen the cooperation between the signatory organizations in order to ensure "that asylum seekers, refugees, and immigrants can preserve and develop their resources" (Agreement on the Development of the Introduction for Refugees and Other Immigrants, revised March 1, 2004).

The national agreement was translated into a number of local agreements in municipalities throughout the country. While the local induction programs differed, they still had some aspects in common. In line with the normative discourse in many European countries, highlighting the linkage between work and social inclusion, they portrayed employment as the key to successful integration. The idea was that newly arrived persons should be supported as soon as possible after their arrival in the country. Newly arrived persons were provided with tools to help them "become involved in Swedish society in a meaningful way", and find employment more quickly. This support included language courses (Swedish for Immigrants, SFI), knowledge of Swedish culture and society, the possibility of assessing and validating prior learning, skills, and knowledge, on-the-job training, combined internships/SFI studies, and various other support measures aimed at finding employment. The newly arrived person was eligible to financial as well as practical and logistical support, but was also obliged to "actively participate in the process", e.g. by attending SFI courses on a regular basis.

The induction typically lasted between 18 months and 2 years. The state bore the overall financial responsibility for facilitating the entry of the newly arrived persons into the country, while the municipalities were responsible for ensuring that the refugees, their family members, and other immigrants were granted residency and work permits and given a proper induction into their new country. This included organizing collaboration between local organizations and state agencies concerning induction. The state reimbursed the municipalities for their induction activities regarding the refugees and their family members (SFS, 1990:927); the induction of "other immigrants" was financed by the municipalities (Figure 1).

In Swedtown, 3000 newly arrived persons were discharged by the Migration Board in 2005. One thousand were deemed capable of taking care of themselves, while the remaining 2000 were considered in need of support measures. Of these

⁴The term "newly arrived persons" denotes here newly arrived refugees, their families and other immigrants. Asylum seekers have not yet, by definition, "arrived" in their new country.

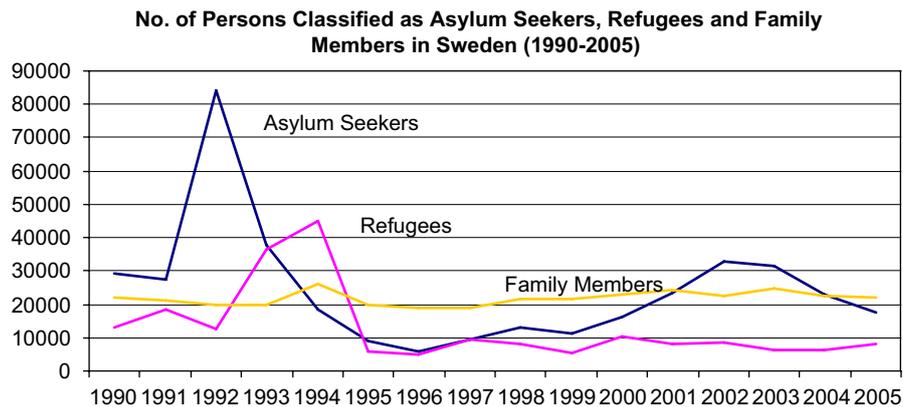


Figure 1 Number of persons classified as asylum seekers, refugees, and their family members in Sweden (1990–2005; Source: the Swedish Migration Board).

2000 persons, 486 were classified as refugees by the Migration Board. Refugees were considered to be the most vulnerable group of newly arrived persons, facing the greatest difficulties in terms of finding employment. According to a municipal management representative, only around 40% of refugees are employed after their first 5 years in Sweden.

Although each individual case was unique, there was a similar pattern to the work of inducting refugees: asylum seekers arrived at the Migration Board and, if found eligible to settle in Sweden, they were transferred to one of that city's Refugee Units, where counselors supported them throughout the induction period. They helped resolve difficulties associated with beginning a new life in a foreign country, decided when he or she was ready to begin SFI classes, and monitored the person's progress. The counselors also ensured that refugees were registered with the Adult Education Administration and attended SFI classes. Refugees judged to have an adequate educational background, and those who achieved a certain level in SFI were contacted by the PES and assisted in finding employment. Ideally, a refugee should move quickly through the system and find adequate employment before the end of the 2-year induction program. Those who did not do so, as well as those who refused to "participate actively" in the induction program, became the responsibility of the Social Services until they were able to support themselves.

Policy-makers and management representatives of state agencies and municipal organizations often stated that, notwithstanding many positive developments, the main objectives of the induction of newly arrived persons were not achieved and refugees in particular were not finding jobs more quickly than before (see also RiR, 2006:19). The majority still ended up living on welfare after their 2-year induction period. The lack of cooperation between the involved organizations and agencies was identified as the main culprit. The municipal representatives complained that staff working with induction did not seem to know the entire path taken by the person, resulting in many clients not receiving the promised support. In this section we take a closer look at how refugees were processed during the induction program organized and financed by the Municipality of Swedtown.

The Migration Board: the refugee as a migrant

The induction of refugees began at the Migration Board. As the central administration for migration in Sweden, it was responsible for issuing work and residency permits, as well as making decisions on asylum and citizenship. Persons arriving at the Board were cast as migrants, that is, people moving between countries. They were a highly heterogeneous group ranging from well-educated professionals arriving from other European countries on a work contract to illiterate asylum seekers from war-torn countries like Somalia with little more in the way of possessions than the clothes they were wearing.

Based on international conventions, the Swedish and European legal frameworks, and government directives, the caseworkers at the Board determined whether or not a migrant was entitled to settle in Sweden, i.e. to be given immigrant status. Their work was dependent on decisions made on the political level concerning foreign policy, security policy, trade policy, or economic aid policy, as well as migration policy governing immigration, repatriation, and integration, to name but a few. When the political framework changed, so did the grounds for residency. For example, when Sweden became a member of the European Union, the rules and regulations concerning migrants from other EU member states seeking work there changed. Recently, as a result of a government directive, the definition of "refugee" was expanded to include persons persecuted on the basis of gender or sexual persuasion.

Persons seeking asylum in Sweden were grouped into "fast-track cases" and "normal cases". Fast-track cases were those whom the caseworkers quickly determined were ineligible for a residency permit in Sweden. For example, the EU countries had agreed that asylum seekers would not be entitled to choose the country they wanted to seek asylum in. Instead, the first EU country they came to would have to process their request. If they arrived in Germany and then traveled onward to Sweden and asked for asylum there, Sweden would be able to return them to Germany for processing their asylum request. These were the so-called Dublin Cases, named after the city where the agreement was signed.

However, the majority of persons were normal cases. They were seen as requiring more thorough investigation and the caseworkers had 18 months to make a decision about whether or not they would be eligible for residency. The Board's caseworkers needed to know as much as possible about the person, i.e. nationality, social background, health, political affiliations, and so on. A difficult task, as many of the applicants did not have proper identification documents with them and the work of piecing together their identity was typically long and complicated.

The majority of applicants were granted asylum on "humanitarian grounds". Typically, they were either traumatized or suffering from other serious psychological or physiological problems. Individuals classified as "persons in need of protection" had either fled war, civil strife, environmental catastrophes, or were deemed at risk of torture or other "inhumane" treatment in their home countries. They were given temporary residency permits until the situation in their countries of origin had improved. After a maximum of 2 years, the situation in their home countries was reassessed and their status reviewed. Refugees were persons matching the definition of the concept of refugee as outlined in international documents such as the 1951 United Nations Geneva Convention.

For the caseworkers at the Migration Board, who were working under the burden of heavy workloads and limited resources, the person seeking asylum was transformed into a migrant. The caseworkers had to determine whether or not a migrant was eligible for residency on the basis of both Swedish and international laws and conventions pertaining to migrants, especially asylum seekers and refugees. Once their status had been determined, the refugees were moved from the Migration Board to the Refugee Units in the city.

The Refugee Units: the refugee as needy

The three Refugee Units in Swedtown were responsible for financing and coordinating the induction activities for refugees, both adults and children. The justification for giving refugees special treatment, compared to other immigrants, was that state and municipal actors in Sweden had agreed that refugees, given their experiences as refugees, had a particularly strong need for society's support (see *SOU*, 2003:75). This support was financed on the one hand by state reimbursement for refugees and their family members in accordance with a government directive (*SFS*, 1990:927) and on the other by allocating resources in the annual budget of Swedtown on the basis of general population criteria. Every refugee was assigned a refugee counselor, whose task it was to assist, inform, and supervise him or her throughout the 2-year induction as well as to administer the induction reimbursement.

The counselors described the refugees as a heterogeneous group with highly diverse backgrounds. In order to be able to guide the refugees through the process, they needed to know as much as possible about them. To begin with, they collected information about the refugee in the form of a "social map" covering areas such as health, family, professional and educational background, and broader social situation. Based on this map, refugees were grouped into three categories to determine their needs in terms of social

support: (1) persons with professional experience from their home countries, who were deemed to possess the qualifications necessary to find employment on the labor market, showed a willingness to study, and an ability to quickly learn the Swedish language; (2) persons with professional experience from their home countries who were judged to have good opportunities to gain employment in the longer term but who needed longer to learn Swedish; and (3) persons who were judged to be unable to support themselves after the 2-year induction period due to psychological ailments or a precarious social situation.

Based on the map, the counselor and the refugee jointly developed an induction plan outlining the short- and long-term goals of the person with regard to his or her financial situation, private situation, interests, health, education, or housing situation, as well as how the person would move through the induction process in order to achieve the goals. Roughly every 6 months, the induction plan was reviewed. If refugees did not fulfill the goals outlined in the plan, these would be revised. In addition, if refugees did not "participate actively" in the induction activities, they would run the risk of losing their right to induction reimbursement.

The counselors spent most of their time finding solutions to the plethora of physiological, psychological, and practical problems facing their clients as the majority of refugees typically found themselves in precarious personal situations. Where necessary, they organized adequate housing and furniture, paid the refugees' bills, registered their children at a school, organized relevant medical treatment, or contacted the Social Insurance Agency.

In line with the conventional beliefs about social work advanced by *Hasenfeld and Chesler (1989)*, refugees were cast in a subordinate role to the counselors responsible for providing the services they "needed". One refugee counselor described the provision of this service thus:

I know there's such a big difference between a person who knows nothing about this system, where you have to communicate through an interpreter at each meeting and it's not enough to explain something once, but you have to explain it three or four times before they understand what you mean. Every little thing takes so much more of your time and energy. [...] We can never be sure that they [the refugees] have understood. Every time I meet them, I have to make sure that they understood me the previous time we met. I can never count on anything being done. How would she be capable of filling in a form for child care support, or a form for change of address? She's not able to do that on her own. She hasn't come that far. She can't do it. I have to do everything for her. I have to follow her all the way to make sure that things get done. [Refugee Counselor].

Refugees were mostly viewed as helpless, needy, and longing for any type of assistance they could get. For the counselors, this meant that all areas of the refugees' lives, public and private, were open to direct intervention:

It's a full-time job, just discussing people's domestic situation in many cases. How are you organized at home? Who takes care of this and that? Often, the mothers have to do everything. Family and friends come and simply view the home as a comfort zone; they sit down and get

everything served to them. At the same time, I have to make the same demands of the mother: she has to learn the language, she has to get a job, she has to get an education...and at the same time she has all this work at home. How is she to succeed if we do not involve the husband and children in this work? [Refugee Counselor].

It was up to the counselors to decide when the refugees' needs had been met and when their clients were ready to start their SFI courses. When that was the case, they contacted the teachers at the Adult Education Administration.

The Adult Education Administration: the refugee as a student

The Adult Education Administration was responsible for all adult education, including the education of persons with learning disabilities and SFI courses. The criteria for all the courses offered, including SFI courses, were established by the National Agency for Education, the central administrative authority for the Swedish public school system.

Immigrants 20 years of age or older and residents of Swedtown, who were lacking basic knowledge of the Swedish language could attend SFI courses. The course fees for refugees were covered by their induction reimbursement. The SFI system consisted of three different programs and four courses, which, according to the national curriculum, were aimed at providing students with basic language skills and basic knowledge of Swedish society and culture. The four SFI courses required different educational experience and skills and persons of a similar educational background were placed on the same course. Once a student had passed the exam on the final SFI course in program 3, he or she would be entitled to apply for courses in Swedish as a second language (SAS), which were focused on high school courses and aimed at providing the necessary requirements for attending university in Sweden.

Contrary to other courses offered by the Adult Education Administration, SFI applicants had to register following a personal meeting with a teacher, for a number of reasons. Firstly, while Swedes or persons with educational backgrounds from other EU countries could apply and be assessed on the basis of their school or university grades, refugees and other newly arrived immigrants often lacked any written documentation of their educational backgrounds. Also, grades issued by non-EU countries were not perceived to be equivalent to Swedish grades. Instead of equalizing grades, the assessment of SFI applicants involved the teacher "experiencing"⁵ the applicant's Swedish language skills, reading and writing skills in his or her own language, knowledge of the Latin alphabet, and fluency in languages other than Swedish. Secondly, the teacher assessed the professional/vocational experience of the newly arrived person that was gained outside the formal education system. Thirdly, the teachers examined the social background of the applicant. Not only did they want to know whether the person was an immigrant, a refugee, or a family member of a refugee or immigrant, but also all about the person's health and family situation, whether he or she had

been a victim of persecution, whether he or she was "needy" or poor. A teacher explained this interest:

In many ways, immigrants are different from other groups in adult education. Swedes who apply for adult education have been preparing for their studies for a relatively long time. Maybe they have a job and have taken a leave of absence to study. They have organized child care and they are able to reflect on how it will be to study. But SFI groups haven't prepared for their studies...most of them. It's something you are thrown into when you come to Sweden, something that's a part of the start-up package. And it's something you have to do on top of everything else that you have to fix to begin your life in Sweden. And refugees have their own, particular problems. In many cases, they know very little about Sweden and they haven't come here to study. They've come here to get married and to have a family. And that's what's most important to them. Attending Swedish courses and having a job...that comes way down their list of priorities. And under conditions like that, it doesn't work so well either because studies work best if you want to study, if you're motivated. Many of the people who take SFI courses aren't really into studying. They want to learn the language as a means to an end. Some see it as a means of getting a job, some say 'well, I'm in Sweden now, I might as well learn the language'. But actually, they're busy doing other things. [Teacher, Adult Education Administration].

The information about previous educational and professional experience and about the social situation of the newly arrived person was important to the teachers mainly because such factors could influence the accomplishment of future studies. Based on the assessment, the teacher put the refugee on the SFI course and program most suitable for him or her:

We ask the applicants what experience they bring with them. Based on that, we put them into three main groups: no previous education, short-term education, or long-term education. [Dean, Adult Education Administration].

At the Adult Education Administration, the refugee was cast as a student. It was important for the teachers to assess his or her language skills, competencies, and educational and vocational background in order to determine which SFI course, or any other course, would be most suitable for him or her. However, while the system of putting persons on distinct courses demanded an Aristotelian classification (Bowker & Star, 1999), whereby the object classified either presents a category or does not present a category—in this case, either fulfilled the requirements for attending a specific SFI class or did not fulfill them—in practice, assessment of the SFI applicants at the Adult Education Administration was based on how the teacher "experienced" the person. This is more in line with prototypical classification (Bowker & Star, 1999), whereby abstract examples exist symbolizing different categories, against which, by means of analogy or metaphor, the object to be classified is assessed.

⁵Interview with a teacher at the Adult Education Administration.

The assignment of a newly arrived refugee to an SFI course worked via the notions of the teachers regarding appropriate study behavior, based on their experiences grounded in beliefs about the role of educational, professional, and social backgrounds in influencing the accomplishment of future studies. These notions also formed the basis for the decision made by the teacher to assist the refugee in coming into contact with the PES.

The Public Employment Service: the refugee as a job seeker

The PES offices in Swedtown operated in accordance with the directives of the National Labor Board, the central authority within the Swedish Labor Market Administration. The Board's main task was to translate the policies issued by the Swedish government and parliament concerning employment and the labor market as a whole into practice in order to facilitate a smoothly functioning labor market and keep unemployment levels low. Although the National Labor Board had been tasked by the Swedish government, as part of labor market policy, with channeling more attention and resources into supporting immigrants, especially in order for newly arrived persons to gain access to the labor market, the agency's support of immigrants was a source of continuous criticism (see also RiR, 2006:19).

In Swedtown, the PES was organized into geographically located "Full Service Offices", plus one separate unit for newly arrived immigrants. The Full Service Offices supported all active job seekers in their efforts to find employment and had the package of measures at their disposal that politicians had allocated to them at any one given time, i.e. the measures available through the various labor market programs. The task of the unit for newly arrived immigrants was to come into contact, early on during the induction process, with the newly arrived person. The caseworkers at the unit collected information about the person and determined his or her chances of getting a job. They gave advice on future career plans, informed about the situation on the labor market, and offered other preparatory measures.

The PES viewed every job seeker, including refugees, in relationship to the labor market based on criteria concerning their employability. The focus was on previous educational and occupational experience and, in the case of newly arrived persons, Swedish language skills. The social background and characteristics of a person were less important:

It's our job to provide a service to the individual, regardless of how he or she has ended up here. [...]. We don't want to sort people on the basis of their countries of origin, on whether they are immigrants or refugees, or on the basis of their skin color. We look instead at what competencies a person has as well as his occupational background. [PES Unit Head].

The caseworkers determined the occupational background of the newly arrived person on the basis of the National Labor Board's Occupational Classification System, called AMSYK. This system is based on the Standard for Swedish Occupational Classification, which in turn is based on the International Standard Classification of Occupations

developed and published by the International Labor Organization in Geneva. The National Labor Board's classification system was adapted to the conditions of the Swedish labor market and used by the caseworkers to register a person as belonging to a specific occupation. Each occupation has a six-digit code in the system, with each digit representing a level. The occupations are differentiated on the basis of how work is done and what type of qualification is required in Sweden. While the level "Occupational field" summarizes the occupations gathered in a particular field, the next level, called "Main Group", briefly describes the nature of the work. The remaining three levels, listed below, include the most frequently used terms for specific occupations (Figure 2).

The problem was that newly arrived persons did not often fit into the neat categories of the system; because they typically lacked Swedish language skills, their foreign education could not be equitized with Swedish education, or because their occupation, though formally the same as in Sweden, had required them to perform different work tasks. For example, a person who had worked for 20 years as an auto mechanic in Cuba, mostly repairing American cars from the 1950s and 1960s, was judged to have different skills from an auto mechanic who had worked in Sweden with a totally different range of cars.

Persons were grouped into three categories based on the support measures they were deemed to need in order to be "at the disposal of the labor market": active job seekers, job seeker students, and passive job seekers. An active job seeker was judged by the caseworkers as ready to seek employment because he or she had an explicit occupational identity, a viable career plan, or a well-developed qualifications portfolio and CV. Newly arrived persons meeting these requirements were transferred to the normal PES offices to receive support there. The second category consisted of students about to finish their studies and ready to seek employment. In such cases, the caseworkers reduced the preparatory support in order to be able to quickly move these persons on to the normal PES offices to receive support there. The third category, the passive job seekers,

Occupational field	9
Office and Customer Service Work	
Main Group	91
Customer Service Work	
Occupational Group	421
Cashier, etc.	
Subgroup	4212
Bank and Post Office Cashier	
Occupation	421210
Bank Cashier	

Figure 2 Example of the classification structure of the National Labor Market Board's Occupational Classification System—translated from the Swedish original. (Source: *AMS Yrkesklassificering och Standard för Svensk Yrkesklassificering*, 1997.)

consisted of persons deemed not ready to search for employment yet. They either lacked adequate Swedish language skills, a developed occupational identity, an adequate education, or they were judged as not having had the opportunity to reflect on their situation and future career plan. According to the caseworkers, the majority of newly arrived persons, especially refugees, fitted into this category.

The type of support given to refugees did not solely depend on their “resources” and plans for the future, but primarily on national and local labor market policy in accordance with which the PES had to allocate its resources. Their actions were dependent on the decisions made by politicians as regards which sector of the labor market was in need of labor, or as regards whether or not to give added support to certain population or age groups, for example. At the PES, the refugee was cast in the role of the job seeker and classified on the basis of criteria relating to employability. In other words, refugees were judged, in the same way as all other job seekers, on the basis of the requirements of the Swedish labor market.

Discussion: a variety of classifications

In Sweden, there is significant public and political concern that municipal organizations and state agencies are failing to successfully integrate refugees and immigrants in general into society. While better collaboration between the organizations and the more efficient use of available resources were seen as the solution to this problem, the organizations and state agencies faced a dilemma: they did not have a strong tie guiding their activities toward a common, well-defined goal. Their task was to collaborate on “newly arrived persons”. Their general duties, however, were governed by the policies, rules, and regulations intended for a variety of social groups, as one PES Unit Head explained:

All of us [the collaborating organizations] have a common target group. At the same time, it's apparent to me that the Refugee Units only work with refugees and they adapt their working methods, etc. in such a way that everything is directed towards one and the same target group. That's the organization that exists and it's responsible for that particular target group. The PES is also there for that group of people, but it's also there for other groups. The tools we have [at the PES] are not just intended for immigrants, but for everybody. There are many different groups we have to work with and our tools are adapted to that situation. [PES Unit Head].

The organizations' tools included various classification systems intended to make things work in their own contexts. As the organizations' clients moved through the process, they were sorted on the basis of different categories pertaining to ethnic or national background, to skills and competencies, to occupation, or to type of financial support, depending on which organization or agency they were in contact with.

At times, the different classification systems were compatible. The Adult Education Administration and the PES, for example, were both interested, to varying degrees,

in sorting newly arrived persons on the basis of their occupational and educational backgrounds; i.e. for some SFI courses, professional experience was required while Swedish language skills, as well as other skills and competencies, were required when seeking employment (Table 1).

However, rather than casting newly arrived refugees in a clear role and showing them a straightforward pathway into Swedish society, they were moved back and forth between the collaborating organizations and expected to change positions as they were transformed into tokens during a bureaucratic procedure.

The action net of inducting newly arrived refugees and other immigrants did not provide a seamless web of collaboration and exchanges. The newly arrived persons were not treated, in most cases, as unified and coherent subjects but located in multiple positions where there was a great need for a person to remain as one integrated and coherent subject. Rather than assuming that action nets are poorly designed or malfunctioning, one could argue that they are capable of handling a substantial degree of heterogeneity. For instance, in her study of the treatment of atherosclerosis in a Dutch hospital, Mol (2002) suggests that this particular illness is not one single thing but “many things”, depending on the medical expertise examining and treating the illness at any given moment:

Ontology in medical practice is bound to a specific site and situation. In a single medical building there are many different atheroscleroses. And yet the building isn't divided into wings with doors that never get opened. The different forms of knowledge aren't divided into paradigms that are closed off from one another. It is one of the great miracles in hospital life: there are different atheroscleroses in the hospital but despite the differences between them they are connected. Atherosclerosis enacted is more than one—but less than many. The body multiple is not fragmented. Even if it is multiple, it also hangs together. (Mol, 2002:55).

Atherosclerosis is *multiple*. At the same time, it is capable of being integrated into what hospital staff deal functionally with as part of their day-to-day work. Using this more affirmative view of heterogeneity, and given the substantial challenge that working with refugees constitutes in most countries, the effectiveness of the Swedish authorities must not be underrated; the combination of bureaucratic procedures and flexible classification systems serves its purpose in a substantial degree of the processed cases. However, while Mol's (2002) study shows that, under certain conditions, an illness conceived of as multiple may actually accommodate a sense of singularity, helping a patient's treatment, in our case newly arrived persons, often traumatized by past experiences and grappling with an unfamiliar environment as well as facing an uncertain future, are expected to act from different positions in relation to the various organizations adhering to idiosyncratic political, administrative, and financial objectives. To date, the effects on immigrants—and refugees in particular—are widely considered discouraging. At the same time, idiosyncratic classification systems are an integral mechanism in any bureaucratic system. The objective of collaborating organizations is therefore to co-align their

Table 1 Organizations and positions enrolled in the work of inducing refugees.

Organizations involved in the induction	Institutional framework	Activities involving refugees	Refugee role/ social position
Migration Board	State agency	Administering migration; processing the applications of asylum seekers and classifying asylum seekers as migrants; determining the status of migrants as immigrants, refugees or family members of refugees	The migrant
Refugee Unit	Municipal organization	Administering and financing the induction of newly arrived refugees and their family members; specialized in assisting refugees; focus is on the precarious social situation of refugees	The needy
Adult Education Administration	Municipal organization	Administering adult education, including SFI courses; assessing Swedish language skills as well as the educational, professional, and social background of refugees; matching refugees with suitable courses; the focus is on the accomplishment of future studies	The student
Public Employment Service (PES)	State agency	Determining the occupational background of refugees; categorizing the refugees into different types of job seekers; matching job seekers with employment opportunities on the labor market	The job seeker

classification systems as far as possible. If we agree with Perrow and Guillén (1990, p. 129) that organizations are “imperfect and recalcitrant tools”, then there is a great need to collaborate across organizational boundaries.

Conclusion

Organizing frequently occurs across organizational boundaries with the aim of accomplishing a shared objective. As part of such organizing, a variety of heterogeneous resources such as classification systems, vocabularies, routines, and so forth, are mobilized. In the present study, we have seen that, as part of the organizing of the induction activities, newly arrived refugees are cast in at least four different roles, which are themselves embodiments of political, financial, or organizational objectives and thus never unambiguous or fully unified. For a refugee arriving from a foreign culture and with scant knowledge of Swedish society, the ability to play these different roles successfully—that is, achieving a positive and meaningful outcome for both him- or herself and for the respective organization—is a significant challenge. The Swedish refugee system produces a series of positions that are neither wholly overlapping, nor completely detached; different state agencies and municipal organizations jointly constitute a multiple refugee constituted by a patchwork of positions.

The patchwork of positions is not always cohesive in a meaningful way; thus locating the refugee in a position where bits and pieces are never fully brought together but always remain scattered to some extent. Seen in this way,

classification as an organizational practice is neither a harmless nor a trivial activity, instead serving specific purposes under determinant conditions and never being able to lay claim to covering all events and occurrences. Classification work is thus contingent, local, and context bound; hence the use of classification systems needs to be accompanied by an understanding of how such systems operate in practice.

This paper contributes to organization theory by demonstrating that organizing, and especially organizing across organizational boundaries, does not take place on the basis of self-enclosed or inherently stable categories, but on the basis of a set of local and contingent categories that are not always easily translated across organizational boundaries. More specifically, the study emphasizes the notion of classification as an integral constitutive practice in organizing. Since all classifications accommodate a certain degree of ambiguity and are never but temporal and transient agreements, there is a need to build a certain sense of flexibility into the system. The intelligent user of a classification system must be aware of the potential shortcomings and limitations of that system during use. When such qualities are recognized, objects of classification may become multiple, extended, and spill over into complementing categories. At times, organizations are fully capable of handling such transgressions whereas in other cases, the lack of singularity and unification becomes problematic.

Furthermore, more specifically, the study contributes to the field of refugee studies by highlighting the role that classification work plays during the organizing of induction

programs for refugees. It shows that no single organization is responsible for casting the refugee. Instead, many actors play a part based on their own particular interests and frameworks. While classification systems are a means of organizing the refugee system across organizational boundaries, they simultaneously produce a multiple refugee who is expected to act in accordance with the various organizations' adhering to idiosyncratic political, administrative, and financial objectives.

Therefore, classification systems may be understood as helpful tools and heuristics, while simultaneously needing to be treated with care. Notwithstanding such administrative difficulties, organizations are capable of accomplishing substantial social effects. Further research may explore how classification systems operate in other contexts where organizing across organizational boundaries occurs without being based on a common vocabulary or classification system.

References

- Abiri, E. (2000). The changing praxis of generosity: Swedish refugee policy during the 1990s. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 13(1), 11–28.
- Ahrne, G. (1990). *The organizational landscape*. London: Sage.
- Ashkenas, R., Ulrich, D., Jick, T., & Kerr, S. (1995). *The boundaryless organization: Breaking the chains of the organizational structure*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bowker, G. C., & Star, S. L. (1999). *Sorting things out: Classification and its consequences*. Cambridge, London: The MIT Press.
- Brown, L. D. (1991). Bridging organizations and sustainable development. *Human Relations*, 44, 807–831.
- Brunson, S., & Prencipe, A. (2001). Managing knowledge in loosely coupled networks: Exploring the links between product and knowledge dynamics. *Journal of Management Studies*, 38(7), 1019–1035.
- Colic-Peisek, V., & Tilbury, F. (2006). Employment niches for recent refugees: Segmented labour markets in twenty-first century Australia. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 19(2), 203–229.
- Czarniawska, B. (1997). *Narrating the organization: Dramas of institutional identity*. Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Czarniawska, B. (2004). On space, time, and action nets. *Organization*, 11(6), 773–791.
- Czarniawska, B. (2005). *En teori om organisering*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Czarniawska, B., et al. (2007). *Organisering inför hot och risk*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.
- Dahlström, C. (2004). Nästan välkomna—invandrarpolitikens retorik och praktik. Göteborg: Statsvetenskapliga Institutionen.
- DiMaggio, P. (1987). Classification in art. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 440–455.
- Dubois, A., & Gadde, L.-E. (2002). The construction industry as a loosely coupled system: Implications for productivity and innovation. *Construction Management and Economics*, 20, 621–631.
- Dupré, J. (2006). Scientific classification. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 23(2-3), 30–32.
- Dyer, J. H. (1996). Specialized supplier networks as a source of competitive advantage: Evidence from the auto industry. *Strategic Management Journal*, 17(4), 271–291.
- Feldman, M. S. (2000). Organization routines as a source of continuous change. *Organization Science*, 11(6), 611–629.
- Feldman, M. S., & Pentland, B. T. (2003). Reconceptualizing organization routines as a source of flexibility and change. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 48, 94–118.
- Feldman, M. S., & Rafaeli, A. (2002). Organizational routines as sources of connections and understandings. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(3), 309–331.
- Ghorashi, H. (2005). Agents of change or passive victims: The impact of welfare states (the case of the Netherlands) on refugees. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 18(2), 181–198.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gulati, R. (1999). Network location and learning: The influence of network resources and firm capabilities on alliance formation. *Strategic Management Journal*, 20, 397–420.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography*. London: Routledge.
- Hardy, C. (2003). Refugee determination. Power and resistance in systems of Foucauldian power. *Administration and Society*, 35(4), 462–488.
- Hardy, C., & Philips, N. (1998). Strategies of engagement: Lessons from the critical examination of collaboration and conflict in an interorganizational domain. *Organization Science*, 9(2), 217–230.
- Hardy, C., & Philips, N. (1999). No joking matter. Discursive struggle in the Canadian refugee system. *Organization Studies*, 20(1), 1–24.
- Harrison, D., & Laberge, M. (2002). Innovation, identities and resistance: The social construction of an innovation network. *Journal of Management Studies*, 39(4), 497–521.
- Hasenfeld, Y., & Chesler, M. A. (1989). Client empowerment in human services: Personal and professional agenda. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, 25, 499–521.
- Heikkinen, M. (2005). Administrative definitions of artists in the Nordic model of state support for artists. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 11(3), 325–340.
- Inkpen, A. C., & Tsang, E. W. K. (2005). Social capital, networks, and knowledge transfer. *Academy of Management Review*, 30(1), 146–165.
- Integrationsverket (2004). *Rapport integration 2003*. Norrköping: Integrationsverket.
- Integrationsverket (2006). *Rapport integration 2005*. Norrköping: Integrationsverket.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Latour, B. (1986). The powers of association. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action and belief—A new sociology of knowledge* (pp. 264–280). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in action*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Law, J. (1994). *Organizing modernity*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lindberg, K., & Czarniawska, B. (2006). Knotting the action net, organizing between organizations. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 22, 292–306.
- Lundh, C., & Ohlsson, R. (1994). *Från arbetskraftsimport till flyktinginvandring*. Stockholm: SNS.
- March, J. G., & Olson, J. P. (Eds.). (1976). *Ambiguity and choice in organizations*. Bergen: Scandinavian University Press.
- Martin, P. Y. (2005). *Rape work. Victims, gender, and emotions in organization and community context*. London: Routledge.
- Mol, A. (2002). *The body multiple: Ontology in medical practice*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Oliver, A. L. (2004). On the duality of competition and collaboration: Network-based knowledge relations in the biotechnology industry. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 20, 151–171.
- Orton, J. D., & Weick, K. E. (1990). Loosely coupled systems: A reconceptualization. *Academy of Management Review*, 15(2), 203–223.
- Perrow, C., & Guillén, M. F. (1990). *The AIDS disaster: The failure of organizations in New York and the nation*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

- Philips, N., & Hardy, C. (1997). Managing multiple identities: Discourse, legitimacy and resources in the UK refugee system. *Organization*, 4(2), 159–185.
- Powell, W. W., Koput, K. W., & Smith-Doerr, L. (1996). Interorganizational collaboration and the locus of innovation: Networks of learning in biotechnology. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 41, 116–145.
- Rauhut, D., & Blomberg, G. (2003). *Ekonomiska effekter av integration och invandring*. Östersund: Institut för Tillväxtpolitiska Studier.
- RiR 2005:5. (2005). Från invandrapolitik till invandrapolitik. Stockholm: Riksdagstryckeriet.
- RiR 2006:19. (2006). Statliga insatser för nyanlända invandrare. Stockholm: Riksdagstryckeriet.
- Roth, W.-M. (2005). Making classifications (at) work: Ordering practices in science. *Social Studies of Science*, 35(4), 581–621.
- Salas, O. (2007). Rörligheten på arbetsmarknaden bland invandrare. Göteborg: Förvaltningshögskolans rapporter.
- SFS 1990:927. (1990). Förordning (1990:927) om statlig ersättning för flyktingmottagande m.m. Stockholm: Sveriges Riksdag.
- Silverman, D. (1993). *Interpreting qualitative data—Methods for analyzing talk, text and interaction*. London: Sage.
- Silvers, A., & Stein, M. A. (2003). Essentially empirical: The role of biological and legal classifications in effectively prohibiting genetic discrimination. In R. Figueroa, & S. Harding (Eds.), *Science and other cultures. Issues in philosophies of sciences and technology* (pp. 129–153). London: Routledge.
- Sommerlund, J. (2006). Classifying microorganisms: The multiplicity of classifications and research practices in molecular microbial ecology. *Social Studies of Science*, 36(6), 909–928.
- SOU 2003:75. (2003). Etablering i Sverige—möjligheter för individ och samhälle. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- Star, S. L., & Griesemer, J. R. (1989). Institutional ecology, 'translation' and boundary objects: Amateurs and professionals in Berkley's museum of vertebrate zoology. *Social Studies of Science*, 19(3), 387–420.
- Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting. (2007). Yrkesidentitet före etnicitet. Att synliggöra nyanländ kompetens. Stockholm: Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting.
- Tsoukas, H., & Chia, R. (2002). On organizational becoming: rethinking organizational change. *Organization Science*, 13(5), 567–582.
- Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21, 1–19.