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Reforming the world of excess

A field study of the state compensation unit in the Swedish Migration
Agency

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1. Introduction:

The migration crisis has been the topic number one in so many newspapers and national debates in Europe. The crisis, which started in the beginning of 2012 and reached its peak in 2015 (figure 1), has brought so many economic, societal, and cultural changes on the national and international levels. Sweden, as one of the forefront immigrant-receiving countries, has employed a huge amount of resources trying to deal with this crisis in a way that serves and protects the welfare system. The burden has mostly fallen on the Swedish Migration Agency. According to its statistics, the Migration Agency has received around 400 000 asylum applications in the period 2011 to 2016, which is considered the biggest in Sweden's migration history (migrationsverket.se, 2017).

The organization has gone through multiple changes in the last couple of years as a response to these unusual circumstances. Statistics show also a huge increment in applications for family reunification. This has unfolded changes in the structure of the organization which are emphasized in many aspects for example, a great increase in the number of employees from around 3500 in 2011 to around 8000 in 2016, as well as the creation of new units and the multiplication of existing ones (migrationsverket.se, 2017).

This is not new in the Migration Agency. Previous projects have been performed in order to deal with the work overload. In a study by the Umeå Center for Evaluation Research, Hanberger et al (2009) have looked at a project that the Migration Agency initiated with the purpose of shortening the time of application processing, and thus, increasing the number of processed applications of Iraqis asylum seekers. The study concludes that the project has helped speeding up the process for some applications and slowing down the process for some others.

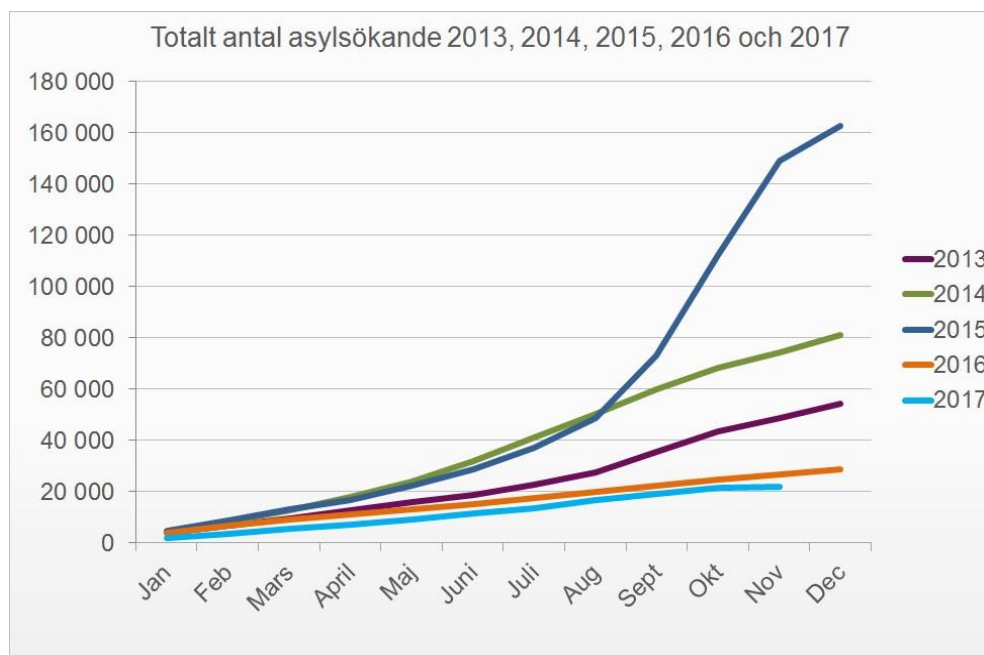


Figure 1 (total amount of asylum seekers in Sweden in the presented years)

This recent crisis has caused an enormous workload that affected each and every part of the Migration Agency. This workload, or as it is named in many scholar researches, excess (Czarniwska & Löfgren, 2013) or overflow (Callon, 1998) has become increasingly important in the last decades and has been discussed from different angles. Authors have related this to many reasons such as globalization and market expansions or even changes in political power and governments orientations.

Callon (1998) discusses the concept of overflows from sociological and economical perspectives using two more important concepts in managing overflows which are framing and externalities. Externalities, originating as an economical concept (Richardson, 1972), are conflicting interests of agents who deal with each other in a defined frame. These interests might affect other agents outside this frame positively or negatively. The frame is defined as the boundaries in which the agents interact and agree upon the courses of actions that will lead to managing the overflows. Framing does not mean that there are no connections with the “outside world” or outside the frame. On the contrary, there is no frame if the network of connections did not exist. Framing also requires measurements and identifications of overflows. This is done by identifying the nature, the sources and the effects of these overflows and who is responsible for them. When this is done, it becomes possible to negotiate the frames and decide whether to internalize the externalities or reframe uncontained overflows. Callon (1998) means that when the frame fails in managing the overflows, the externalities become new overflows that requires further management.

Beside the sociological and economical perspectives, authors have looked at overflows/excess from other perspectives. Cultural perspective, as in Ekström’s (2013) discussion on how middle-age Swedish families deal with the excess of obtained materials when moving to other places or when changing their domestic location. Technological perspective as in Cochoy’s (2013) discussion on technologies and its role in managing overflows, which can play two different roles; a tool that manages the overflow or a tool that generates it. Organizational perspective as in Noren’s (2013) case study on the Swedish health care system. The example shows that managers have turned the excess of patients from a negative state that should be changed into a tool of management, or in other words, from managing the excess to managing by it. This was done by politicians who tried to direct patients to the “best provider” of health care according to their own estimations and evaluations. This example demonstrates how some organizations reframe the excess, represented in patients’ queues, instead of fighting these queues. However, the new frame generated new excesses represented for example in inequalities of the services provided to patients.

What Noren (2013) showed here is how the managers in health care system have changed the way in which excess is perceived. The light was then implicitly shed on reforms, the tool that the public sector organizations often use to manage excess. Reforms are however not limited to this purpose. They can aim at increasing the market share and improving the reputation of the organization (Spindler and Brul, 2006-2007), or at imitating similar reforms in other organizations to reach similar results (Bergström, 2007), or at responding to governmental interventions (Bejerot & Hasselblad, 2013).

Considering reforms as a project in which many interests are intertwined, I found it relevant here to discuss the notion of translation which is a very important aspect in the discussion of change. A relevant metaphor drawn by Latour (1986) is to look at change in organization as a token. What is it that actually decides the direction of the token? Is it the power that launched it or the environment that the token goes through? Latour (1986) distinguishes between the diffusion and the translation models in the context of how innovation (considered as change or something new) is perceived and comes into being. The former model implies that innovation is a result of a brilliant idea of the inventor, and failure is referred to the lack of understanding of this idea. The latter, the translation model, implies that the idea transforms as actors becomes involved. This transformation comes from the translation that occurs on this idea as the involved actors try to use it for their own interests. Latour argues that the result of the two models might be the same but what is different is the narratives or the story that are told about how things came into being. Callon (1986) suggests that displacements and transformations occur in all the moments. It is by displacement that the actors involved in the change come together in intelligible relationships, and their worlds cross. It is also by displacement that the interests change and the controversies will, thus, change these established relationships. This is what basically decides the direction of the token.

The common thread of the above discussed points is the following question: “How is the crisis of migration translated at the Swedish Migration Agency?”

The rest of the paper will contain a presentation of the theoretical framework in which the analysis will be based using Callon’s frameworks on the sociology of translation and framing and overflowing, followed by a presentation of the gathered data used in the analysis and what method is used to analyze this data as well as a presentation of the case study. Following will be a summary of the findings divided in three phases and intertwined with theoretical discussion of each phase, and concluding with some final remarks.

2. Theoretical framework:

In his article “Domestication of the Scallops and the Fishermen of St Brieuc Bay” Callon (1986) explains the use of the sociology of translation in the structuring of power relationships. The four moments of translation presented by Callon in this article are considered as a process rather than fixed steps and help out in understanding how the identities of the involved actors and the possibilities of interaction are negotiated and constantly changing. This is also discussed by Bergström and Diedrich (2011) in a field study of downsizing at a Swedish hightech company, pointing out that the relationships defined by the management to go through this reform have changed and the management had to set up new negotiations. The idea is also brought up by Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) who discuss the concept of “travel of ideas” in the context of organizational change. The authors, in the same line with Latour, criticize the heroic view of the change managers and argue that ideas of change travel to new time/space and become translated into new ideas and actions in a continuous way, meaning that translation is seen as a process.

First moment is the problematization, in which the problem is identified and the project is set. In this moment, all the involved actors are mapped and the links between them are drawn. This goes further in identifying the “Obligatory Passage Point”. In other words, how the interests of these actors are defined and how they align with the suggested project. “The problematization describes a system of alliances, or associations, between entities, thereby defining the identity and what they ‘want’. In this case, a Holy Alliance must be formed” (Callon, 1986:8).

When the problem and the involved actors are identified, their identities should be stabilized. And this is what the next moment “intressement” implies. It is about setting “devices” between these involved actors and other entities that wants to define their identities differently. It starts from the assumption that the entities involved in the problematization do not identify their identities, interests, or orientations independently. Rather, these are formed and adjusted during actions. This, however, is only defined in the reports of the project initiators, but reality according to Callon is a process. When we move from report papers to real application, things might be different. Similar idea is brought by Sahlin-Andersson (1996) discussing the imitation of other organizations. The authors argue that organizations seldom have experience or knowledge about the imitated organization. What is basically imitated is the story told by the actors in the imitated organization and their own translation of this story. The authors also confirm the idea of Latour (1986) and Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) that the result of the translation is not necessarily the same as in the exemplary organization.

The third moment “enrollment”, thus, is about determining and testing these identities in reality. Enrollment can take different shapes, which can be law enforcement, seduction, transaction, or consent without discussion. This means that the definition and distribution of these roles are a result of multilateral negotiations. However, if the actors are numerous, they cannot participate in these negotiations. There must be then spokesmen who represents their interests. In the case of Bergström and Diedrich (2011) for example, the HR specialists try to reshape and transform these roles. When the involved actors “betrayed” the rules of the game, the HR specialists redefined the frame and initiated new roles in order to reenroll the deviated actors.

In the fourth moment “mobilization”, the spokesmen are ensured to be properly representatives of these actors. This does not mean applying a fixed categorization of the actors. In alliance with the third principle, free association, the identities are allowed to fluctuate and the unpredictable relationship between the involved entities are allowed to take place. It is important to highlight that Callon’s analysis is based on three principles that of generalized agnosticism, which represents the uncertainty about the alliances that could be created, generalized symmetry, which means the commitment of explaining the conflicting view points in the same terms, and the free association principle which implies the avoidance of predistinctions and categorizing of the actors.

Translation is, thus, a process not a result, as displacements happens permanently and cannot be considered as a temporary state. The result is that some entities control others, which is called in sociology, power relationships. Considering overflows as a displacements that drive

the need for reforms or framing, there are two ways to approach this. The first one is considering that framing is the essence and overflows are a temporary state that should be solved. Externalities here are considered as a failure or inefficiency of the frame. Economics focus here on identifying which kinds of overflows might occur and how to best contain them within the frame. This will result in focusing only on how to perfectly design frames that can solve the problem as well as focusing on the tried-and-tested frames Callon (1998). The second way is the opposite. It considers that overflows always exist and framing is expensive and always imperfect. The idea is that frames are a long process of actions and not just a result. They can never be effective in containing overflows, as the latter is a state and not a temporary problem. Frames are not simply a result of contractual incentives as other actors are part of the interactions and these actors generate externalities. Managing overflows is, thus, based on how overflows are translated to different actors. The first way reflects the state of “the cold world” in which agents and relationships are easily identified, interests are stabilized, and the picture of the possible world is identified. While the other way reflects the state of “the hot world” in which controversies are most likely to occur. In this case, the absence of a stabilized knowledge base, actors are hard to define.

Bergström and Diedrich (2011) implicitly conclude that the understanding of the frame, and how the counterparts (the actors that are to be involved in the initiated projects) perceive the frame, are crucial for the consistency of the established network. Another study under the Callon-framework is a study of public sector reforms (Bobe et.al, 2017). In a case study of the Ethiopian health care system reforms, the authors suggest that reforms in the public sector usually clash with the complexities of political powers and a wide diversity of stakeholders. Walking the same path, the author argues that Callon (1986 and 1998) and what actor network theory suggests provide better understanding of the dynamics of the occurred change keeping in mind the complexity of social, political and technical factors that are part of this change. The authors, however, turn the discussion to include the role of overflows in the studied reform. In their case, reforms come first and cause overflows as the existing frame fails to contain interactions in the network.

The previously mentioned studies use Callon’s framework in studying reforms or change using translation model and ANT. They implicitly and explicitly base their arguments on the assumption that overflows are a consequence of reforms. In this study, I will try to flip the coin and use the framework in a way that will clear the understanding of overflows in the context of reforms.

3. Methodology and Materials

3.1 Research Design

This study aims at describing the interplay between overflows and reform in public sector organizations in order to reach a better understanding of how overflows can be managed. For this aim, it is relevant to implement a qualitative case study on a specific section in one of these organizations. Scholars have had many different viewpoints on the use of case studies, i.e. Bryman and Bell (2015), also Somekh and Lewin (2005), argued that their case studies

can narrow the area of research to the specific cases and it can be difficult to generalize the results on other or maybe similar study areas. Flyvbjerg (2006) and Yin (1994) on the other hand, question the aim of case studies that Bryman and Bell discussed. They argue that it is not necessarily always useful to conduct researches that can be generalized. According to them, researches should be specific and narrowed down to increase the knowledge about the studied topics. In other words, scientific researches should not only scratch the surface of the studied area; they should also reach a deep understanding about the studied phenomena. In this study, the use of case study will both give a specific and detailed understanding about the studied unit and provide us with the possibility to generalize results about the work of Migration Agency and even further about the Swedish public sector in general. This is due to the similar way of work in other units of migration board and the correlation among the units.

3.2 Data collection

Data was collected from various resources in order to cover the topic from different angles and provide a wide view of the studied case. These resources are semi-structured interviews with different actors, analysis of documents and written reports from different resources, meeting protocols, and personal observations.

The data consist mainly of documents such as meeting protocols and management reports. Brewerton & Millward (2001) highlight the importance of both the qualitative and quantitative aspect of structural content analysis, and argues that these two aspect complement each other. (Mayring, 2003) provide some steps of content analysis. Starting with collecting the materials needed for the study, followed by describing these materials which are in this case meeting protocols and management as well as other entities reports (see table below). After deciding which data will be used, data should be categorized and evaluated according their relevance. In this case data is categorized based on time frame. Both qualitative and quantitative perspectives were used. Materials from meeting protocols were used to distinguish between three statements (focus on quality, quantity and cost) and then these statements were counted quantitatively in order to extract the level of the focus (see appendix 2 and figure 3).

The interviews have covered the period in which almost no documentation was done. They include actors from the different levels of the structure of the organization. The aim is to get different points of view of the change. The reason behind this is that this organization is governmental, which means a high bureaucracy level as well as top-down leadership style. Kvale's article about the dominance through interviews and dialogues (Kvale, 2006) discusses power relations and power distances when conducting interviews, suggesting that interviews can be used for different purposes and can be used to serve either the researchers agenda or the interviewee's agenda. In the case of this study, the high-level directors can use the interviews to promote their performance and convey their point of view on the one hand and justifying their decisions on the other. An important thing to highlight here is that the interviews were done during the office hours. This restricted the possibility to reach the different actors as not so many had the time to spend on performing interviews.

The interviewed actors were the unit manager who initiated the change from the beginning. A team leader worked with state compensations many years before the change and still working as a team leader. Case officer 1 is a case officer who started before the change in 2015 and still working there, and , Case officer 2 is a case officer who started after the change in 2016, and Case officer 3 is a case officer who started in the beginning of the first reform phase. The questions of the interview were semi-structured. The aim of that is letting the actors tell their story about the change, and how they perceived what was happening. Many questions were developed from the answers of the interviewees. Following is an overview of the collected materials.

Documents		
Document	Quantity	Date/Duration
Weekly letters*	100 pages	May 2016-june2017
Meeting protocols (management)	50 pages	
Meeting protocols (team)	150 pages	
Summary of the important events in 2016		
A follow-up of the plan in 2016		
Risk report**		2014
The Swedish Agency for Public Management (Statskontoret)	104 pages	2017
national auditing reports		2013 and 2017
Own observations	50 pages	December 2016 - July 2017
General information form migration agency external website.		
Interviews		
Interviewee	Quantity	Duration
Unit Manager	1	1h
Team Leader	1	1h
Case officer 1	1	1h
Case officer 2	1	1h
Case officer 3	1	1h

* The weekly letters, during the period May 2016 until June 2017, sent from the unit managers to the workers. The letters include a summary of the week and results of how much work has been done so far.

** The risks around the work of state compensation is made by the intern revision unit in 2014.

3.3 Data Analysis

The analysis of data started with transcribing the interviews as well as translating the transcriptions from Swedish to English, as all the interviews were performed in Swedish. The next step is a detailed analysis of the meeting protocols. The theme of analysis that best suits this study is abduction. Which means deriving a set of explanations of the observations, using a theory as an explanation of these observations, and picking up one of these explanations. Finally the external reports were used to get the external viewpoint on the performance of the organization from verified resources i.e. the internal auditing department.

The tool of analysis used here is the grounded Theory (Martin & Turner, 1986), which aims at coding the transcripts of the interviews and the documents in order to create general concepts and themes of analysis. The use of grounded theory gives several possibilities, e.g. open coding means coding without using a specific theme and selective coding is the opposite. In this case selective coding was used when coding the document to extract information about the focus (focus on quality, quantity or cost) and general coding was used on the interviews in order to extract the needed data for the analysis.

3.4 Ethical Implications

All the participants in this study have participated voluntarily. They were all very wellinformed about the purpose of the research. The interviews were conducted in Swedish, transcriptions and translations of these interviews are implemented with high integrity and as precisely as possible. As I, the interviewer, is part of the studied unit, I would like to highlight what Kvale (2006) discussed in relation with the dominance through interviews and dialogues as well as power relations and power distances when conducting interviews. He suggests that interviews can be used for different purposes and can be used to serve either the researcher's agenda or the interviewee's agenda. In this study, conducting the interviews as a case officer might influence the direction of the questions or even the answers. To overcome this problem, I have paid a lot of attention to objectivity. The questions of the interviews as well as the observations were performed after considering myself as an outsider and avoiding any taken-for-granted assumptions.

The identities of the participants are not mentioned in the study; however, some participants have a specific position that might lead directly to them. This was explained to these participants and their agreement to proceed was obtained. In addition, all non-published materials were used after the confirmation of those in charge of these documents. The principle of data privacy was taken highly into consideration.

4-Presenting the Case Study

The State Compensation Department

Among the structural and organizational changes that have been occurring in the Migration Agency, I find it interesting to look at the creation of a new unit (and later on section) to process the state compensation applications. I would also like to discuss some of the terms

before going through the analysis in order to clear out what is meant by each and every part that will be described in this organization.

First of all, the word “new” that was mentioned above specifically describes the structure of the organization, as the practices and procedures of processing these applications are not new. What the change is actually about is the reform and organization of the practices of state compensations. Second, the terms used to describe the organization’s parts are the nearest English translation of the corresponding terms in Swedish. For instance, the word unit is used to describe the Swedish word “Enhet” and the word section describes the word “Sektion” which is relatively used in the new organization of the Migration Agency (Riksrevisionsen, 2017). The word team leader as a direct translation of Swedish term “Team ledare”, and the word case officer for the Swedish term “Handläggare”.

To better understand the idea of the state compensation work, I will start by providing some brief background information about the relationship between the municipalities and the state represented by the Migration Agency. I will follow that with a description of the structure and the actors that are part of this work. It is important to mention that the description is based on my own observations and understanding of the environment as I am as a researcher and a part of the system.

The state in Sweden stands for almost all the expenses of the asylum seekers and part of the expenses for the new residents (individuals who newly received their residence permit). The municipalities in Sweden, on the other hand, often have the right to freely decide the amount of asylum seekers and/or new residents for temporary or permanent settlements. They have therefore the right to apply for compensations. These compensations are to cover the different costs that emerge from hosting these individuals. For example, school costs, accommodation costs, transportation costs etc. This is because the Migration Agency carries the responsibility to plan and finance the migration in Sweden (Migrationsverket.se, 2017). It is important to mention that the state also compensates the regions for some medical expenses. This study, however, will exclude this kind of compensations for the aim of simplifying the analysis.

The municipalities generally receive two kinds of compensations. The first kind is compensations that they do not need to apply for and the payments can be made before the municipalities actually carry the expenses, e.g. payments that cover pre-decided agreements between the municipality and the Migration Agency on the amount of places available for asylum seekers and new residents. These places might be filled or might stay empty but the municipalities get paid in both cases. The other kind is compensations that municipalities need to apply for and occur only retroactively, meaning after the expenses are paid. E.g. actual costs that the municipalities have paid such as education and health care costs. (Migrationsverket.se, 2017). This means that part of the municipalities’ income is dependent on the work of state compensation department. This dependency increased in the beginning of 2015 and onward because of the great amount of asylum seekers that the municipalities have received.

The state compensation work has gone into many changes during the past three years. It started as five teams in five different places of the country as a part of the reception unit. In 2016, these teams were organized under two units with two unit managers (which I will refer to as the management of the state compensation unit) and under the supervision of the director of

operations (which I will refer to as the higher management besides other affecting parts). In 2016, all the teams became one unit and separated from the reception units. In the beginning of 2017, and with the expansion of the work of the state compensations, the unit was split into two units with two unit managers functioning simultaneously and sharing the supervision of the director of operations. During 2017, the teams in these two unit expanded dramatically and new teams were created, which led to the second reform in which the single teams became a separate unit with a separate unit manager all gathered under the section of state compensations. This was followed by adding more units to the department to be involved in this work which concerns the processing of payment applications from the municipalities and regions. Each municipality should send its applications to the respective unit based on the geographical division. The focus of this case study will be on one unit located in Gothenburg.

Generally, the daily activity in the unit is processing different kinds of payment applications from the municipalities that the unit covers. SEA has a united form that all the municipalities should use. The aim is that all the applications should look alike. In an application, there is some information about the asylum seeker and the amount of money and other receipts of payments. The task of the case officers is to check whether the applications fulfil the terms and conditions of Migration Agency. They also check whether each individual asylum-seeker has the legal right to these payments. These rights come from predetermined regulations of how much the state can compensate the municipalities for the costs of receiving asylum seekers.

5 Results and analysis

Based on the empirical data, it is possible to divide the analysis into three phases. First phase concerns the period prior to the first reform, generally meaning before 2016. Second phase concerns the first reform and the separation of state compensation work into a unit, generally during 2016. Third and final phase concerns the second reform and the multiplication of the units, generally during 2017. The data in the first part of the second phase is based mainly on interviews as meeting protocols and other materials were not available. Unlike the second the third phases in which data is based on other documents.

5.1 First Phase:

The interviewed team leader has highlighted that because of the migration crisis, Migration Agency has increased its resources dramatically especially in the period 2014-2015. Most of these resources were in the reception and accommodation units. The work of these units was strictly prioritized which affected the work of the other unit e.g. work and study permit units. Both the team leader and the unit leader highlighted also that the work of state compensation, in the period before 2016, was a part of the reception unit in each region in a form of different teams who report to the respective unit leader in the region.

When the crisis reached its peak in 2015, the resources were focused on the receiving of asylum seekers, registering their asylum applications and finding an accommodation for them.

There were many applications from the municipalities for money compensations but the logic says as the team leader states:

A paper in the closet can wait, but a family standing outside in the cold can absolutely not. (Team leader, interview, 4th April 2017)

This logic rendered the focus of the resources in the organization to be specifically on these areas of the reception units, which resulted in little focus on the case officers who worked with compensations and on their work development and problem solving. The unit leaders in the regional reception units had a relatively free space to decide themselves how much focus to put into responding to the needs of state compensation case officers. The reason behind this is that many reports and discourses were talked about an upcoming reform in the state compensation work and suggestions for new organization structure were left to the higher management.

What happened is that many unit leaders chose not to focus so much on that because there was a discourse about an upcoming change in that part of the organization, so everyone waited for this change and ignored to make big decisions. (Team leader, interview, 4th April 2017)

The crisis thus imposed a situation that affected so many other units including the case officers who work with state compensation. In the interview, case officer 1 expressed that it was problematic to work under a unit manager who doesn't pay attention at all to what they work with. They stated that the unit manager made no decisions and did not trust the other case officers enough to delegate decision-making authorities, according to their expressions.

This abandonment of state compensation work accumulated many issues that needed to be dealt with. There was an agreement at all the levels in the organization that the praxis of processing state compensation applications was not unified around the country and that there is a need to bring together all these teams into one unit. Another trigger is the increasing amount of compensation applications that started to become a high pile and so many municipalities did not receive their money, even though the law required that the applications should be processed in time. Adding to that some other requirements from the government to work with digitalized system and with advanced IT-systems, the management in the macrolevel found itself in an urgent need for reforms. The risk analysis and other reports made by the internal auditing unit came to the same conclusion. The work of state compensation cannot be underrated forever, it should be separated from the reception unit in order to unify the praxis and decrease the overflow.

In 2015, there were meetings with the team leaders who worked with state compensations and one unit manager from the reception unit to try to look over the structure and come up with possible changes. The team leader listed the risks around the work of state compensations and tried to point out the red risks and to emphasize that procedures should be taken before the crisis becomes more complicated. The focus of the higher management, however, was on another crisis. The team leader expressed:

There was a feeling that the workers of state compensation were running own company inside the Migration Agency. The higher management had an eye on

what is happening and perhaps an agenda for change but this was not communicated to the workers. (Team leader, interview, 4th April 2017)

Theoretical Discussion

Looking at this part of the story, it is quite obvious that the mentioned issues were framed under one logic which is “let’s deal with that later”. In order to understand how this was translated in this part of the organization, the involved actors and their identities should be identified. Taking into consideration the hierarchical nature of the organization, it is easy to track and identify the internal actors and their responsibilities even in this early phase and prior to any reforms. However, the complexity of this hierarchy impose the need of summarizing it into three levels for the aim of simplifying the analysis. These levels are the higher management (represented in the general director and the director of operation), the middle management (represented in the unit manager(s) and partly the team leaders), and the case officers as the nucleus of state compensation work. On the other hand, external actors are the municipalities as the counterpart and the first actor to be affected by the work of state compensations, and the government as a requirement generator and internal auditor of the higher management work in Migration Agency.

The analysis in this phase can thus be divided into four perspectives, representing four different points of view.

The first view is the middle- and higher-management’s view, which says that the resources in this stage are to be invested and directed toward managing the overflow in other sections that are generated from the crisis in 2015. This frame is to prioritize and employ most of the resources in the Migration Agency to solve issues other than the state compensation work

The second view is the case officers’ view, which was trying to make a change and to get the attention of the middle- and higher-management. Their main problem was not mainly the excess of applications; it was rather the absence of clear references and unified practice in their work. The case officers translated the frame imposed by the higher management differently, as their perception of this prioritization is that the management is inefficient and ignorant.

The third view is the municipalities’ view, which considers the delaying of their compensations from the state a clear and severe interruption for their budget-planning. The municipalities lack even the information of a precis schedules or dates in which they receive the compensations they applied for, which makes it difficult for them to plan their economy. In this phase, however, the overflow of applications was not getting so much of media attention and the pressure on the higher management was not as big as it became in the following phases.

The fourth view is the government’s view, which considered that the Migration Agency should compensate the municipalities in the short run, as well as the three-months limit time for application processing. The government pushed even the requirement of digitalizing the application-processing systems. The government’s veiw, mainly represented in the parliament, was based on reports from different auditing entities, such as the internal auditing department that indicated that the risks are becoming red and that highlighted the needs for reforming the system are increasing.

This overview allows us to see overflow in the eyes of each actor and realize how different these views are. For instance. The higher management sees an overflow of increasing governmental requirements, increasing case officers' requirements, and workload in other sections. The case officers, on the other hand, see an overflow of a high pile of unprocessed applications (quantity overflow), the unclear practices that should be unified and clarified (quality overflow), and the increasing demands from the municipalities to get more information about e.g. payment dates. The case officers as the representatives of Migration Agency and the first contact point, are obliged to give the municipalities the services they are asking for. The municipalities have a total different picture. The overflow is represented in the difficulties of budget and economy planning and the lack of future cash flow dates.

The problematization moment in the project of reforms did not take place here. The actors are each in their own world and acting according to pre-defined identities (Callon, 1986). What can be noticed here is that there are still some room for differentiations and controversies that affect the roles that these actors take despite of the hierarchal nature of the organization in which the identities of the actors ought to be fixed and pre-determined (usually by the laws and regulations that govern their work).

Based on the above overview, I can argue that the different actors perceive overflows differently and thus use different frames to contain these overflows. The next question to ask is whether these differences in perceiving the overflows will move each actor to manage them differently and what the consequences of this might be.

5.2 Second Phase

First Reform part

In the beginnings of 2016, the crisis started to take curve down and the attention to the accumulated problems was drawn back to many sectors. Now when the organization succeeded to arrange accommodation for most of the asylum seekers, the crisis moved to other sections and in our case, the municipalities had so many costs that needed to be compensated by the Migration Agency. In a first step toward the change in the state compensation part, the operative manager hired a unit manager, and the analysis of how this part of the organization should look like began. There were two choices. The first one is to centralize the work of state compensation in one unit; this can definitely unify the praxis but the problem was how to get all the required resources. The priority was for those who already work with state compensations as they have the required experience but the majority were not interested in relocating. There was also a need for operating close to each reception unit in each region, as there is common praxis. The other choice was to keep the teams in their regions but steer them centrally, which means that the teams will belong to one unit under one unit leader, which was the chosen alternative.

The main goals of this reform were to work in a unified praxis, to decrease the amount of unprocessed applications, to shorten the time of processing, and to work with advanced IT system. This came in the activity plan made in the beginning of 2016. There were also submissions that indicated assuring a legally correct processing of applications, updating the

laws and regulations to be more consistent for the work of state compensation, and improving communication with the municipalities so they provide complete and correct applications.

The hired unit manager in November 2015 started to plan the new unit. He found that there are high balances, too little resources such as legal experts, economic experts and staff assistance. He stated in the interview that being alone and managing everything was not easy. The workload in the organization caused by the crisis made it difficult to reach to the higher managers and get their "attention" to the need of recruiting more people. He stated that the higher management thought that recruiting people would not take so much time and it goes from day 1 to day 3. This is not the way it is and recruiting convenient resources that can start to produce will take around 6 months. This confirms what came in the report made by the SAPM that the Migration Agency had no readiness to face such overflow.

The unit manager stated that there was a need for further resources that have different expertise, and have contact with other sections of the organization. These resources can include a legal expert who works in cooperation with the legal department, an economic expert who cooperates with the economic department, and a staff assistant who cooperates with the HR department. These actors constitute a team that is called "Staben" which means in the Swedish language temporary or permanent supporting experts for an organization in the circumstances of a crisis.

Another challenge that faced the unit manager is that existing teams worked in a different way. He states:

The teams were used to work in their own way and support themselves. There were no statistics to follow, there were no common culture and tradition within the teams. (Unit manager leader, interview, 5th April 2017)

The team leader attributed this to the absence of the quality department in this change. The reason is that the focus was on organizational issues and management structure. Practice of the work was not a priority from the beginning. The workers in the micro level demanded continuously a clearer plan to define the practices.

Another difficulty was that not so many had knowledge about what state compensation unit is. For example, the municipalities think that they send invoices to the migration agency which owes them the money. Many municipalities talk to the press and many journalists request information from Migration Agency. This goes to the general director down to the unit managers. The municipalities, according to the unit manager, miss the idea that there are too many mistakes in the applications and this is the reason for the long period of processing.

In a follow up document made in December 2016, there was a summary of what procedures were taken to face these issues by the management.

For the issue of unified praxis of processing state compensation applications, a team of operation experts (legal and economic) was created. The mission of the team is to work with the quality, legal and economic department. They provide handbooks, documents and texts for the case officers as support materials. Another procedure is the coordination among the teams presented in meetings with all the team-leaders in order to exchange expertise and discuss the

practice of the work. To overcome the problem of the lack of common culture, a coordination team was created. It consisted of case officers from the different team together with the legal expert. The mission of this team is to look at how the different teams work in the practice and try to unify this practice. For the goal of assuring the quality of application processing, the quality department manager decided to implement a deepened process description in order to improve the quality of the work.

For the issue of decreasing the overflow and shortening the application processing periods, the following procedures were taken.

First procedure taken by the unit manager is starting to recruit case officers in the different teams. Because of the difficulties of recruiting new external staff, and as the crisis has curved down in other sections, it was possible to borrow employees from these sections, e.g. accommodation unit. During 2016, the number of borrowed workers went up to around 100 workers. There were also three more teams created to process more applications. The existing teams are responsible for processing applications from specific areas and according to their locations. The new teams borrowed applications from the existing teams and there was some coordination among them to manage the administrative work. This however was not enough to contain the issue and more procedures were put on the table. The operation manager decided on considering working with simplified routines for some application types. The idea behind it is to perform less controls and pay out more to the municipalities. The management imposed also prioritization of some application types that generate higher amounts of payments over others.

In December 2016, the time in which yearly revision of the paid amount are brought up, the operative manager and general director decided discovered that the sums are really low and more money should be paid to the municipalities before the end of 2016. After suggestions from the unit managers and other experts, Migration Agency paid 60% of the applications for the municipalities without actually processing these application. They would rather get 60% of what they applied for regardless of their right to these payment.

The previous procedures represents how the management responded to the crisis that now moved to the state compensation unit. The other actors responded to this differently. For example, the case officers consider the simplified routines more problematic as these routines were not clearly explained and so many cases were open to own judgements. The case officers considered also that employing new staff added to their workload as these new case officers needed so much training and mentoring. In an interview with case officer 1, they expressed that passing applications from existing teams to new ones is a problematic procedure as it gives the existing teams more work to correct the mistakes that the new teams make as they lack experience. Another issue that the case officers expressed is the restricting the processing to more difficult applications, which made the work more difficult and more monotone. Finally, the part-payment that was performed in December 2016 resulted in so much administrative work.

The municipalities, on the other hand, increased the pressure on the management by using the media as a tool and by requiring more services from the case officers, e.g. reports and summary of payments that takes time to provide.

Based on these results, the crisis imposed three kinds of issues that should be solved. The quality of processing, the quantity of processing and the costs. These goal settings cannot be prioritized all at once. The management represent this in a triangle with each priority on different angles. Following is a detailed explanation of what these three goal-settings entail:

The quality of processing means processing according to the rules and regulations, as well as performing detailed checks when processing. The quality factor might also include the training of the workers and other projects that facilitate the work.

The quantity of processing means processing as many applications as possible, and here there is a dilemma represented by dividing between focus on the amount of processed application and focus on the amount of payments. And finally the general cost of the operations which can be called the administration costs. Figure 2 shows the amount of applications during the studied period.

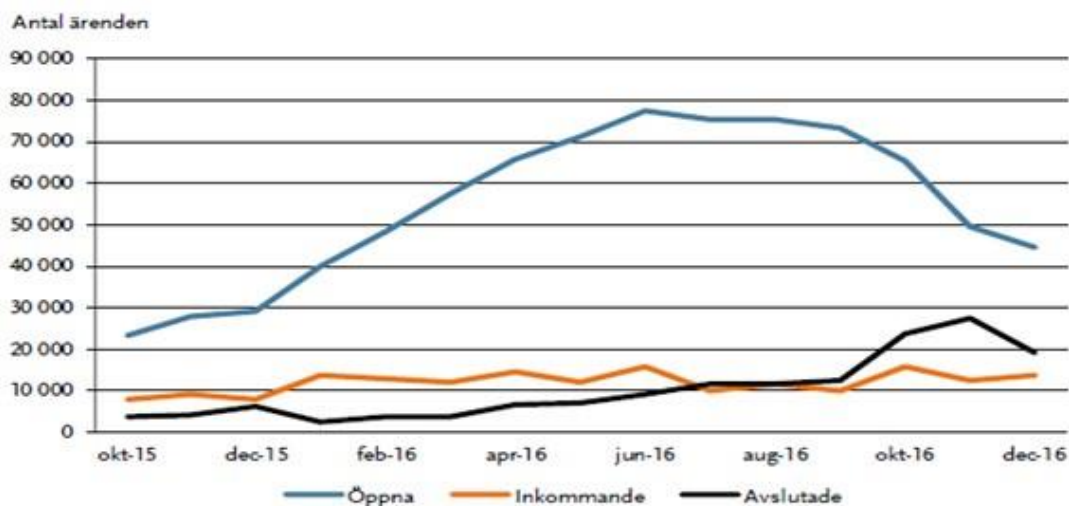


Figure 2

Figure 3 shows a summary of the practices that are related to these three dimensions in the relative studied period. The data is extracted from the coding of the different meeting protocols during the studied period (see appendix 2). The subjects discussed in these meeting indicate the focus on solving quality overflows, quantity overflows or cost (see explanations above). The Y axis in the diagram represent each point at the meetings that is related to either quality issue or quantity issue and the X axis represent the time frame. This will give a clearer picture of how the focus shifted during the studied period, as well as a comparison feature between quality and quantity overflows.

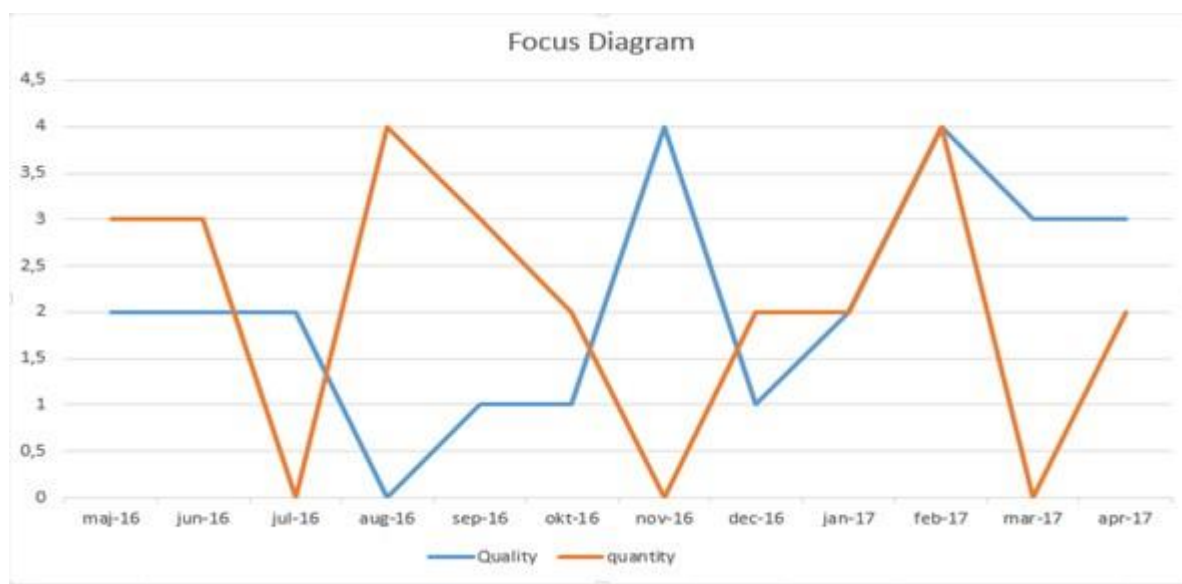


Figure 3

Second Reform Part

This phase starts when the crisis has expanded in the state compensation unit to include other issues. The management found itself in front of great amount of employees who cannot be managed in one unit under one unit managers. The higher management decided though to split the unit into two units in January 2017. During 2016 and the beginning of 2017, the contact between the management and the employees was limited to a physical meeting once every two weeks, weekly letters that summarize what happened in the organization during the week. The contact went also through the team leaders who had meetings with the management every week and report to their teams in their weekly team-meetings. Both of the interviewed case officers and the unit manager confirmed that this is not enough and a unit manager should be physically present in each location. The case officers experienced a lack of communication and that they are not fully updated with what is happening in the organization. They state further that the planning days, which happens twice a year, are not enough participation as the organization is going through changes and decisions are made every week. The new issue here is that the case officers' needs in actual and continual contact with the management were not met. This was in line with continually increasing amount of incoming applications, and increasing balances to be worked out.

In the middle of 2017, the higher management decided to turn SEA into a whole section. Meaning several units with existing unit manager in each geographical place. This was accompanied by almost doubling the amount of units involved in state compensation work. The existing units, those with older experience were assigned the task to support the new units, as some of these units were entirely based on external employees who have never worked with state compensation before. Some case officers in the studied unit expressed some dissatisfaction with this task as it took so much administrative work and added to the existing work load that overwhelmed this unit. This happened simultaneously with a new compensation regulation decided by the government. This new regulation contained the cancellation of some

compensation applications which generate small amount of money and takes long processing time and replaced it with a fixed amount of payments that will be paid regularly to the municipalities. The new regulation included also simplification of some processing routines. As these changes are still recent to the date of this paper, the results are still difficult to trace, therefore, I will treat this phase as a final result of the reform.

Theoretical Discussion

Several elaborations based on the story of the second phase (the first reform phase) should be made. Giving the mission to the unit manager, which I will refer to as the middle management, to start a major reform of this part of the organization makes it possible to consider that the middle management plays the role of the main driver of the change (Callon, 1986). The project here is to get all the involved actors to manage the existing quantitative and qualitative overflows in a defined frame that everyone agrees on. In this phase, the middle management tried to build a network in which all the involved actors will act toward decreasing the workload and meeting the different requirements. Following Callon's model, I will try to identify the moments of translation (Callon, 1986) trying to give a clear picture about what happened in this phase. Using this model will help identifying how the actors reacted to the frame adopted by the management to manage the overflow. In other words, it will identify whether the actors "anchored" to the suggested frame going through a single translation process or whether they create their own frames and manage the overflows accordingly.

The problematization phase in this case can be seen from two perspectives. The first one is that identifying common problems is quite simple, everyone agrees that there are overflow of two issues (quality and quantity of processing) that needs to be solved. The second one is that, although these issues are common, the actors translated them differently. Every time overflows take a new definition, the problematization phase is revisited, the middle management faces a new overflow that needs to be managed and a new reform is conducted.

The intressement phase is more difficult to describe. As in any other network, actors might have common as well as different interests. The government shares the interest of getting rid of the application pile with the other actors but has its own requirements which are for example to shorten the processing time to three months, to perform the IT system development and to reduce the cost. The middle and higher management, on the other hand, are interested in getting a fair budget to accomplish the goals that are set by the government, as well as having high production results. The municipalities as an external actor, are interested in getting their compensations as soon as possible and the ability to predict when these compensations will be paid out in order to better plan their economy. The case officers are interested in having clear work directives and clear regulations as help materials in their work, as well as non-stressful work environment.

The identities in this case can also be seen from two angles. It might seem that the identities are fixed and clearly defined according to the rules and regulations. The actors cannot betray the network in the legal sense. However, betrayal in Callon's opinion should not necessarily be changing the identity. Case officers for example cannot simply refuse to work as it is illegal,

they can however have requirements that increase the management's workload. In other words, part of the actors' enrollment is done by law enforcement and the other part is convicted by other factors that will be explained later on.

At this moment, devices for measuring the existing overflows were lacking. There were barely any statistics to follow up the balances that should be paid to the municipalities and the amount of applications were accumulating. The middle-management considered hiring more resources as a priority. Figure 3 shows how the focus on processes for reducing the quantity of applications/balances were prevalent in this phase (generally in 2016). The higher management was required to respond and supply more human resources, and the case officers were required to intensify their processing of applications and provide as quick training for the new employees as possible. These negotiated identities implied that the frame is about considering overflows as quantitative. When the roles are determined, the mobilization moment takes place. The team leader as the spokesman of the case officers, the STAB team as spokesman for the different involved departments (the legal, the economic and the human resource) and the unit manager split the responsibilities with another unit manager when the unit was split to two units instead of one. The increased number of case officers during this phase indicate the management's approach to manage quantitative overflows almost exclusively, delaying all the other procedures that might help in reducing qualitative and cost overflows.

The story in this phase tells us how the frame that the management has set to deal with the crisis has been translated in the unit. As the management focused mostly on decreasing the amount of applications, externalities resulted and generated new overflows. First is the case officers who lacked the support and clear practices of their work. The lack of training for the new case officers added to the work of the existing ones, and the simplified routines suggested by the higher management created more confusion. Second, the municipalities, which are a passive actor in this network and whose identities are taken for granted, were not able to receive the needed service from the case officers in order to plan their economy. Callon (1998) tells us that these externalities existed simply because they were not included in the frame. The management, thus, worked by the diffusion model when framing the overflows and did not take into consideration the different ways in which this frame could be translated by the other actors.

What confirms this result is how the case officers required more support and clearer practices of their work, the higher management was not totally responsive to supply the needed resources, and the municipalities turned to the media to increase the pressure on the Migration Agency to process their applications. At the end of 2016 (see figure 3), the management started to pay more attention to the qualitative aspect, as a reaction to the new type of overflows. This implies a new attempt to create a new frame that would solve this issue, and thus, the moment of translations were revisited.

The previous findings in this analysis were that the different actors translate the frame that the management used to manage the overflows, which resulted in that these actors were individual mobilized to solve/frame these overflows. When the frame failed to contain the externalities, which are according to Callon (1998) the other unfilled requirements of the actors, the

management had to reframe. This time to include what was problematic in the first frame and provide a “really good model” of the organization’s shape that will solve the problem. (E.g. simplifying the processing routines to be clearer and easier, or increasing the workforce in order to increase the production). Both Callon’s frameworks interpret that as treating overflows as controversial events and the frame as the goal. What support this idea is the fixed identities of the involved actors that leaves little room for discussing and adapting these identities to the current situation. This model that was supposed to solve the problem turn out to be inefficient at the first displacement that took place and the model soon needed to be changed. Example is when the management decided on recruiting more employees as a step to manage the quantitative overflow. It led to a state that the organizational structure did not fit to this increased workforce and had to be changed.

This analysis is in line with what Callon (1986), Latour (1986), Czarniawska and Joerges (1996), Bergström and Diedrich (2011) and Sahlin-Andersson (1996) have argued about. What happens in a reform does not totally depend on the management view of the situation and that ideas are translated differently among the involved actors. This will impose change on the identities and relationships that are agreed on in the beginning and force the management to change its approach. The analysis is also in line with Bobe et.al (2017) who argued that reforms in the public sector clash with the complexities of political power and the side diversity of the actors involved. What could be added here is that thinking in a diffusionmodel way will result in seeing framing as a single step to solve the overflows, while taking into consideration the fact that things might change in the reality will help in understanding framing as a process that occurs continuously and should be adapted to the new circumstances.

6. Conclusion

This study sets out to demonstrate how the migration crisis has been translated within the Swedish Migration Agency and how this translation creates frames that generate overflows. The case study was conducted in the state compensation department which has witnessed several reforms like other sectors in the Migration Agency. The study aimed at answering the following question: “How is the crisis of migration translated at the Swedish Migration Agency?” mainly based on Callon’s framework on translation (Callon, 1986) and on framing and overflows (Callon, 1998). As an answer to the research question the following findings can be demonstrated.

First, I find that all actors translated the crisis differently. They used their own frame trying to contain what is considered as overflows for them. This finding was confirmed as the actors perceived what overflows are in a different way. Overflows were perceived as qualitative in the sense of unclear work routines and work practices, and as quantitative in the sense of huge balances that should be processed. For the municipalities, overflows were perceived as delayed compensations and difficulties in economy planning.

Second, I find that the actors, as they perceive the overflows differently, they try to manage the crisis according to their understanding. Starting from the top of the hierarchy, the government starts to impose its own requirements. These are for example three-months

processing time for complete application as well as the requirement of paying as much money as possible to the municipalities. This generates two different types of overflow that should all be managed under the main frame of “quantity”.

Moving to the next level, the middle management the priority of which applications should be processed first (applications with small amount of money, old applications, new applications, or applications that generate bigger amount of payments). The management then tries to transfer these requirements in its own language to the case officers, and other involved actors. The latter as they are the first point of contact with the municipalities, fail to provide the required information or services as the priority is for application processing.

When the municipalities send incomplete applications, or applications for costs that they lack the right to, overflow will increase as these applications should be processed anyway. The statement of the unit manager that said “the municipalities think that they send an invoice to the Migration Agency and expect that it will be paid with no time” shows how the municipalities perceive the frames differently. Because of the lack of communication, the work of the state compensation unit is translated to the municipalities in a complete false way. The municipalities thus, use another frame in order to include or manage their overflow which are non-received payments and bad economic planning. They react to this overflow in requiring more services and information from the state compensation case officers to better plan their economy. They even went to the media and claimed having debts that the Migration Agency did not yet pay. The media transfers this to the higher management who in their turn transfer it into requirements to provide more services to the municipalities. As the case officers are required to offer these services to the municipalities, it will add more to the existing overflow.

Third, I find that the management diffuse their vision of the crisis and adopt one frame to contain the overflows. It doesn't need so much observation to notice how both the middle and higher management during the studied phases used the approach of “only solve what is emergent”. The act of the management can be described as responsive to the potential controversies that bring more overflows. This can be generalized on the public sector organizations as they function in relatively same hierarchy. There are pre-determined rules and regulations that restrict the main entities who drive the change from providing quick and effective management solutions. The identities of the actors are not freely negotiated and their roles are pre-determined by the job descriptions and decision authority. The principle of free association, thus, is difficult to meet in this context. However, and due to the clear job descriptions and divided authorities, the principle of generalized symmetry can be considered more realistic to achieve in this context, as it is possible to explain the conflicting viewpoints of different actors in the same language. These conflicting viewpoints can be inferred from the previous phases of analysis as different ways to perceive the crisis throughout the reform phases.

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8. Appendixes

8.1 Appendix 1

The Swedish Migration Agency (SMA) is the governmental authority in which applications for e.g. residence permits, work permits, or Swedish citizenship are being processed. The Agency is responsible for people who applied for residence permit and during the period of application processing. The responsibility is represented in finding accommodation, food and clothes, as well as limited medical support. Once the residence permit is granted, the Agency pays compensation to the municipalities and country councils who take over the responsibility of the integration process together with the Swedish Public Employment Service (Migrationsverket.se, 2017).

The organization is led by a general director, as the head of the structure (Migrationsverket.se, 2017), and is divided into six regions of operational activities (Region North, Mid Sweden, Stockholm, West, East and South Sweden). The structure also contains a quality assurance department, and couple of independent units. These independent units include the national information database, internal auditing unit, as well as authority for EU funds (Statskontoret, 2017).

The operational activities in each region include several units. For example the reception unit, the asylum processing unit, the permission unit etc. Operational activities also include three national units that do not follow the regional division. These units are; the detention unit, the litigation unit, and the state compensation unit, which will be the focus of this study.

On the strategic level, regulations and laws coming from the government and particularly from the parliament govern the Agency. Each year, the parliament decides the commissions, the objectives and the budget of the Agency. This determines the broader lines together with existing rules and regulations that determine and guide the work.

In 2003, the government gave the task to the Swedish Agency for Public Management (SAPM) (in Swedish: Statskontoret) to conduct an evaluation study of how the governments' given goals are being interpreted and reached out in the Migration Agency's organization and activity. The SAPM got also the mission of giving suggestions of how to reach a better leadership and a better resource allocation inside the organization (Statskontoret, 2004). The study has identified the main features of the Migration Agency as an organization. First, although the mission of the organization is concerned with migration issues on a national level, the mission is extensive and complex and includes a widespread range of different activities. This is on both national and international level. The role of Migration Agency includes coordination with the EU and its migration framework.

Another feature is the varied volume of operations in the organization. This means that the organization is affected by external factors that determines the amount of operational activities. For example, the increasing amount of asylum seekers or resident permit seekers has imposed a very high operation volume in the last five years, which led to considerable changes within the organization.

Finally yet importantly is the political sensitivity of the Migration Agency work. It concerns the intern as well as the extern policy of the country. This is why the Migration Agency is supposed to be responsive to the political changes, and to reflect in its operational leadership what these changes impose. For example, in another study implemented by SAPM in 2016, the organization is to relate the level of implementation to the situation in Syria (Statskontoret, 2017).

These studies suggests that the organization has suffered from the same set of problems during a long period. These problems are for example long application processing time, unclear and contrasted visions inside the organization and difficulties with obtaining legitimacy. However, the most important problem is the overload and the high volume of operations. This problem is constantly under discussion in the management board and region representatives. The issue is not new in the Migration Agency. Previous projects have been performed in order to deal with the excess. In a study by Umeå Center for Evaluation Research, Hanberger et al (2009) have looked at a project that the Migration Agency initiated with the purpose of shortening the time of application processing, and thus, increasing the number of processed applications of Iraqis asylum seekers. The study concludes that the project has helped speeding up the process for some applications and slowing down the process for some others.

Appendix 2

Period	Activity	Focus on quality	Focus on quantity	Focus on cost
May 2016	More recruiting of staff		X	
	Mentorship	X		
	Requirements from the government for shorter processing period. Reports of payments will be made monthly.		X	
	Exchanging experiences among the teams to ensure unified working procedures.	X		
	More applications in April and more staff recruiting		X	
June 2016	Staff recruiting.		X	
	Simplified routines.		X	
	Coordination between quality department and operational department.	X		
	Suggestions from the government about new compensation system, two team leaders will leave opinions about the suggestion to the general director.	X	X	x
July 2016	Recruiting of experts and new unit manager to improve quality.	X		
	Creation of service phone for municipalities to improve the service	X		
August 2016	Low production because of vacations. More overflow.		X	
	A mission from the government to look at what should be done to solve the overflow problem.		X	
	Extremely high amount of applications, applications that are older than 3 months. Procedures taken to solve this:		X	
	more staff, more overtime, more management support, more simplified routines, applications prioritizing.		X	
September 2016	There is a lot to focus on in the IT development	X		
	More recruiting		X	
	Postponing the training of the worker.		X	
October 2016	More staff recruiting		X	
	IT improvement to simplify application processing	X		

	Press attention on the work of state compensation			
	Simplified routines		X	
November 2016	Coordination among the teams	X		
	Improvements in management structure and communication channels due to huge staff increase.	X		
	Frustrations among the workers in application processing procedures. The unit manager decide on more support from the experts through the team leaders.	X		
	More cooperation with quality department for more support and more quality assurance.	X		
December 2016	More work on management structure and communication channel	X		
	The general director made a decision on paying 4 billion krona in a partly-payment for the municipalities. Planning of how to do this in quality routines and legally correct routines and many actors in Migration Agency are involved. This is because the municipalities have waited for long for their applications.		X	
	More focus on staff training.			
	More focus on quality of routines and how to process.	X		
January 2017	Two units instead of one.		X	
	Media focus and misinterpretations.			
	New requirement form the government letter, the time of processing should be shortened dramatically.		X	
	More cooperation among the different players	X		
	The creation of coordination team, IT development team and other quality related projects. February	X		
February 2017	Continued increase in applications and unpaid payments		X	
	Priority for quality of work through more support to the projects.	X		
	Further recruiting.		X	

	Explanation from the unit manager to the workers that the responsibility of handling the overflow is not only in the hand of the workers rather the responsibility of the hole migration board and everyone			
	The Payments (amount of money) made in February are not up to the expectations/plan. The reasons: - Administrative work of the part-payments made in December - Applications with high problematic issues were not prioritized in 2016 and are processed in 2017.	X		
	Applications with higher amounts were prioritized in 2016 which means that applications with lower amount are been processed in 2017.		X	
	Resources working with quality projects.	X		
	What are the solutions suggested by the workers to solve this and reach the goal: - Better and more effective management by having unit managers physically present with each team. - More focus on the worker, team conversations, conversations with managers, salary discussions.. - More case officers and more borrowed resources	X	X	
Mars 2017	focus on supporting materials and manuals for the case officers.	X		
	ongoing work for the IT development project	X		
	the government decided on new compensation regulations in which the Migration Agency compensate for some costs with standardized payments without the need for application processing.	X		
April 2017	SEA becomes a department that contains several unit.	x	X	
	The given reasons are more unit managers' presence and the need to deal with the overflow of 2017 with the goal of 3 months processing time.	x	X	
	More focus on quality and communication	x		
	More recruiting.		X	

Appendix 3

