MEMMAS Master Thesis in Social Work with Families and Children

UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Department of Social Work

Word Count: 28475

1st June, 2018

Social work with undocumented migrants: Services, Construction of needs and Problem-solving approaches of Civil Society Organizations in Gothenburg-Sweden.

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

As pride to the social work profession, social workers in the civil society honor the imperative to extend social work services to undocumented migrants by constructing this group as eligible and deserving within the civil society space. The aim of the study was to deepen understanding of social work practice with undocumented migrants by inquiring into the services, construction of needs and problem-solving approaches of civil society organizations in Gothenburg, Sweden. Research questions on; the nature and organization of services, construction of needs and problem-solving approaches, motives and perspectives underpinning service provision and the impact of structural and organizational factors on needs construction and practice were formulated to help this understanding.

Through a qualitative research strategy, data was collected from four selected civil society organizations. A total of eight face to face semi-structured interviews with service providers (five social workers, two medical personnel and one volunteer) were conducted and the resulting findings analyzed using thematic data analysis. Four theoretical perspectives; The right to have rights, anti-oppressive theory, social constructionist theory and the theory of street level bureaucracy were utilized to analyze findings.

Through an integrated service, under one roof approach, an approach that brings together a team of service providers to a central church, once every week, a range of services are provided to undocumented migrants. These include; basic support with food and clothing, health care, juridical and legal support. To arrive at service provision, the needs of undocumented migrants are constructed jointly between service providers and undocumented migrants themselves. However, there is an interaction between organization level constructions of needs and the macro (state) level constructions in ways that impact on the latter both positively and negatively. Resource inadequacies result into construction of more and less deserving categories.

Beyond professional mandates and ethics, the motive for engaging with undocumented migrants are acts of solidarity, compassion, Christianity and overcoming feeling of guilt, shame and privilege. A human right, a child and victim perspective legitimize undocumented migrants for support. Conclusively, the civil society remains a fundamental space for renegotiation of the rights of undocumented migrants. However, it could also constitute a space where survival on the margins and inequalities are reinforced especially when constructions into more deserving categories are made and service provision is limited to basic needs. Therefore, this study implicates social workers to actively engage in reshaping and reforming national policies to guarantee equality of rights for undocumented migrants.

Keywords; Social Work, Undocumented Migrants, Civil Society Organizations.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CSOs   Civil Society Organizations

IASSW   International Association of Schools of Social Work

IFSWS   International Federation of Social Workers

NGOs   Non-Government Organizations

UNCHR   United Nations Centre for Human Rights

UNCRC   United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

Defining key words

Social Work

> Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing. (IFSW, 2014).

Civil Society Organizations (CSOs)

All non-market and non-state organizations including, community-based organizations and village associations, faith based organizations, environmental groups, farmers associations, labor unions, cooperatives, independent research institutes, and etcetera. (Gray, Bebbington, & Collison, 2006). "Includes all kinds of public non-state activity…" (Kasfir, 1998, p.4).

Undocumented Migrants

People living where they lack the necessary documents to officially reside (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). In the Swedish context, undocumented migrants are those categorized as ´deportables´ or those without papers, locally referred to as *´papperslösa´* (Lundberg & Strange, 2016).

Disposition

This thesis report is organised in chapters. There are a total of six chapters. The report starts with chapter one, comprising of: the introduction to the problem area, background to the problem, problem statement and research aim and questions; chapter two presents previous research in relation to the subject matter; chapter three discusses the relevant theoretical perspectives; chapter four constitutes the methodological framework, including design, study context, sample and sample size, methods and data collection tools as well as ethical considerations; chapter five proceeds with a presentation of the findings and analysis. In the last chapter, a discussion of the findings and conclusion is made. A bibliography and appendices are included in the last section of the thesis.

Chapter One

In this chapter, introduction to the problem area, motivation for the choice of the study and study background contextualizing the study is provided. The chapter also constitutes; research aim, research objectives and questions as well as statement of the problem.

1.1 Introduction, problem area and motivation for the choice of study

"As profession that promotes social change…and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing…" (Hare, 2004, 409), a historic and defining feature of social work is a focus on human rights and social justice. It is the mandate of social workers to honor the imperative to work on behalf of vulnerable, oppressed and discriminated members of society (Cleaveland, 2010). Talking about discrimination and oppression draws attention to the precarious situation of undocumented migrants, a group of immigrants defined by law as lacking the `official´ identity to reside in a country (Sigvardsdotter, 2012) and consequently excluded from state welfare and its protection, as ´outsiders´. The need to guard the rights of this population, who are not recognized to have the same social and human rights as those legally recognized citizens (Furman, Ackerman, Loya, Jones, & Egi, 2012) and enhance their wellbeing, places Social Workers at the frontline of intervention, advocacy and policy change.

Sweden, as the country of focus in this study, has for long been described as an immigrant friendly country, one of the last safe havens for refugees within the European Union (Lundberg & Strange, 2017). I argue that this image is far from friendly, generous or even inclusive given the current turn towards a restrictive immigration policy to drastically cut down immigration (ibid.). Asylum processes are becoming stricter (Crouch, 2015) and the police surveillance of undocumented migrants as well as non-government actors providing for their social rights is escalating (Jönsson, 2014). Such a move raises questions of whether the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has also become the rights of those categorized as `our citizens´ and not the rights of all human beings (Jönsson, 2014). Further still, how is it a ´universal´ social democratic welfare state (Esping-Andersen, 1990) if some groups are excluded?

Undocumented migrants are a population discriminated by both laws and by citizens (Cleaveland, 2010). To classify them as "undocumented" in itself, reflects citizenship practices and institutional orders of recognition and non-recognition that are enacted and sustained by laws (Nordling, 2017). Indeed, if the conditions in their countries of origin were better, why would they move in the first place or continue to live in such a precarious condition? As Jönsson, (2014) notes, several factors such as destruction of local communities, war and conflicts, poverty and environmental disasters push people to emigrate in search for better life chances. This means that these are families and children genuinely in need of protection and welfare and yet they end up being classified as ´illegal´ and endure worse as far as survival is concerned.

Extending social work services to service users who are undocumented raises powerful ethical dilemmas for social workers especially where laws and immigration policies criminalize and restrict this provision (Furman et al., 2012). In such circumstances, we are left to wonder whether social workers relate to the values of the social work profession or if they relate to the values of controlled migration by contributing to drawing a boundary between those who do and those who do not belong (Cuadra & Staff, 2014). These are legal constraints social workers must grapple

with, sometimes exacerbated by resource inadequacies. It is therefore important to understand: the nature of services and their organization, how the needs and problem-solving approaches of this group are constructed, what the motives and perspectives of social workers working with undocumented are and how structural and organizational factors impact on construction of needs and practices in general.

Having been placed in a church for internship, I practically engaged in distributing food and cloth items to undocumented migrant families in dire need. The overwhelming numbers in need prompted the following questions. Are there any other civil society organizations providing support? What is the nature of services they provide? How do service providers organize these services? What motives and perspective do they work with? How do contextual factors, both laws and organizational, affect their work? All these questions translated into the need to conduct a study to deepen understanding on social work practice with undocumented migrant in this context. Civil society has been chosen because available research reveals that support to undocumented migrants in Sweden is being provided outside the welfare state (Jönsson, 2014; Lundberg & Strange, 2017). Religious institutions, networks of medical professionals, non-government actors and sanctuaries among others are engaged with undocumented migrants (Sigvardsdotter, 2012), what however is not well documented is the actual practices, perspectives and approaches adopted within these organizations, thus it's this gap in literature that this study will contribute to.

At this point, one may ask how relevant this research area is to the European Masters in Social work with Families and Children and in general. This study falls within an important theme of this program: social work and migration. Undocumented migrants constitute families and children whose vulnerability and marginalization needs to be addressed. If we can understand the social work practices, construction of needs and problem-solving approaches by social workers in Sweden, we can draw implications for social workers elsewhere. The study will make recommendations and draw lessons which could benefit those working with undocumented migrants worldwide.   However, it is not the intention of this study to generalize the findings to other contexts neither can I suggest that construction of needs in Swedish civil society organizations will be the same as that in other countries. The Swedish context is unique in a sense that the collaboration between the state and NGOs has during many years been part of the system. The state is supporting the activities of NGOs at a large scale in Sweden (Jönsson, 2014).

1.2 Background to the problem

> During recent decades, `illegal immigrants` has emerged as a global phenomenon and political `problem` for almost all the wealthy nation states in the world. They are usually seen as foreigners and outcasts, crossing the borders to stay in the new society and abuse the welfare systems (Jönsson, 2014, p.36).

"Undocumented", "paperless", "irregular", "illegal", "noncitizen", "unauthorized", "clandestine" are all terms denoting people living where they lack the necessary documents to officially reside (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). Throughout this study, I choose to use the term "undocumented migrants" rather than "illegal migrants" not only because "undocumented" is the term used much in the literature (Alexander, 2010; Andersson & Nilsson, 2011; Bhimji, 2014; Gullberg & Wihlborg, 2014; Kullgren, 2003), but also this term challenges the criminal connotation embedded in the term "illegal migrants" (Cleaveland, 2010). In this study, undocumented migrants will refer to migrants who lack an official identity (valid residence permit) to reside in a country and thus, not recognized by the state (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). This does not necessarily mean they don't possess any documents, rather the documents they possess are not the ones required to allow them reside.

There are various pathways to becoming undocumented; rejected asylum seekers who refuse to leave the country, people who come for other reasons such as work and study after which their visa expires (over stayers) or those individuals who enter the country illegally and never seek asylum (Torres, 2014; Cuadra & Staaf, 2014; Cuadra, 2015). Regardless of the pathway, the status of being undocumented is produced by law through legalized models of citizenship (Sigvardsdotter, 2012).

According to 2010 estimates produced by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), 10 to 15% of the world´s 214 million international migrants are undocumented globally (Bloch & Chimienti, 2011). In Europe, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in 2007, estimated that between 10% and 15% of Europe´s 56 million migrants were undocumented (Morehouse & Blomfield, 2011). Other European Union estimates point to around 8 million undocumented migrants (Hansen, 2012 cited in Nordling, 2017).

In the Swedish context, undocumented migrants are those categorized as `deportables` or those without papers, locally referred to as *´papperslösa´* (Lundberg & Strange, 2017). The biggest majority are rejected asylum seekers, whereas illegal entrants and over-stayers are considered less common (Nordling, 2017). In Sweden, undocumented migrants live in the three largest cities of Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm (Jönsson, 2014) and accounts for about 0.5% of the general population (Cuadra & Staaf, 2014). In comparison with the US or South and Central Europe, this population is rather small, estimated between 10, 000-50,000 individuals (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). It is important to remember that these are only estimates, subject to in accuracy but still, they are important for contextualizing this study.

The status of being undocumented has far reaching consequences for this population group. For instance, their physical presence is meaningless without official recognition by law as residents (Bauman, 2011). They basically do not exist, are unaccounted for in the legislation and live outside the pale of law with no protection against the transgressions of other people (Sigvardsdotter, 2012). This also means that they have no access to resources or social services available to those official and documented. In Sweden, for instance, welfare services are very much designed for Swedish citizens and to a great extent those with residence or working permits (Jönsson, 2014). As a country, Sweden has made slight progress in incorporating undocumented migrants into some parts of the welfare state especially through laws introduced in 2013, granting undocumented children health care and schooling and undocumented adults access to urgent healthcare (Alexander, 2010;

Gullberg & Wihlborg, 2014). However, this is only a partial inclusion that leaves undocumented migrants critically in need of support and welfare beyond emergency health care. Furthermore, reliance on the personal number (*personnummer),* as ID requirement to interface with social service institutions "…paradoxically creates a particularly barren and difficult environment for undocumented persons, effectively shutting them out…" (Sigvardsdotter, 2012, p.80).

The limited access to the Swedish welfare state for undocumented migrants has opened room for provision of social support mostly by voluntary civil society organizations, Non-government actors, religious institutions, migrant´s own networks, trade unions and a network of professional teams of doctors, lawyers and social workers among others (Lundberg & Strange, 2017; Nordling, 2017). Jönsson (2014) explains that the services provided by these civil society organizations range from food, clothes, medicine and shelter to counselling and advocacy. There are also informal alliances between social workers and NGOs to improve the living conditions of undocumented migrants (ibid.**).** Some salient examples of these non-state actors are: Rosengrenska Stiftelsen in Gothenburg, Läkare i världen and Medicins Sans Frontieres in Stockholm, and Deltastiftelsen in Malmo (Nordling, 2017). The driving force behind this support is a struggle for anti-oppressive laws and a fulfillment of human rights (Bosniak, 1991)

From the literature, the fundamental role of civil society organizations in making undocumented migrants visible in Sweden has been illuminated. Indeed, in talking about social work or at least something closer to social work with undocumented migrants in Sweden, reference is made to non-state actors and religious institutions. As Cuadra, (2015) notes, assistance in form of food is an example of social work being presented in a distorting mirror. It can also be argued that the informal alliances between municipal social workers and civil society actors is an attempt to practice social work beyond the nationalized organization of social work in Sweden (Jönsson, 2014). If there are no clear guidelines or laws regulating the various activities of civil society organizations working with undocumented migrants, there is a likelihood that each organization will adopt their own methods and practices (ibid.)

Clear as the picture is regarding involvement of civil society with undocumented migrants in Sweden, knowledge on the nature and organization of support services, how the needs and problem-solving approaches are constructed, motives and perspectives underpinning service provision and the impact of structural and organizational factors on practice is still wanting. This study will contribute to this gap in knowledge by deepening our understanding.

1.3 Problem Statement

Sweden has witnessed an increase in the number of undocumented migrants living in the country (Jönsson, 2014). According to some authors, this is because of a turn towards a restrictive immigration policy coupled with increased border controls, restrictions on granting residence permits and limitation to family reunifications (Düvell & Jordan, 2003; Nordling, Sager & Söderman, 2017; Nielsen, 2016). While many undocumented migrants are detained and deported, most are not. Those who stay behind are socially vulnerable in a wide range of contexts; for example, a study conducted by Jönsson in 2014, among social workers and NGO actors, revealed many examples of undocumented migrants forced into low-paid work, subject to violence and exploitation. Indeed, work in the 'irregular market' is exploitative, with less pay under poor working conditions (Gunneflo & Selberg, 2010). Moreover, being perceived as criminals breaking the law obscures a greater understanding of their precarious situation and obligations for their protection. Further still, not having citizenship or a valid permit to reside in Sweden means, undocumented migrants have limited, if not, no access to welfare services and basic socio-economic support (Sigvardsdotter, 2012) with inability to make legal claims (Inghammar, 2010)**,** which also exacerbates their situation.

Consequently, undocumented migrants find survival possibilities with voluntary civil society and Non-Government organizations including: churches, professional organizations, trade unions, sanctuaries, cultural organizations, and their own networks (Lundberg & Strange, 2017). As Jönsson (2014) explains, the increasing role of civil society in providing social support to undocumented migrants in Sweden is a result of the retreat of the Swedish welfare state in its responsibility to provide for this population group. This means that the support structures created within the civil society is to give undocumented migrants access to social rights in ways that are not directly tied to a legal status or citizenship (Nordling, 2017).

While the existing literature helps in highlighting experiences of undocumented migrants in Sweden and the fundamental role played by civil society in extending social work services to undocumented migrants, certain questions remain unanswered or partially explored in the literature. For example, what is the nature and organization of support services, how are the needs and problem-solving approaches constructed in relation to these service users, what motives and perspectives drive intervention and how do structural and organizational factors impact on construction of these needs, problem solving approaches and practice in this civil society space?

1.4 Purpose and Objectives

1.4.1 Main Purpose and Aim

The main aim of this study was to deepen an understanding of social work practice with undocumented migrants by inquiring into the services, construction of needs and problem-solving approaches of civil society organizations in Gothenburg, Sweden.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

1. To determine the nature and organization of support services to undocumented migrants.
2. To explore how social workers, construct the needs and problem-solving approaches in relation to undocumented migrants in the civil society.
3. To examine the motives and perspectives underpinning service provision to undocumented migrants in the civil society.
4. To determine the impact of structural factors (laws) and organizational factors (professional ethics, boundaries and resources) on construction of needs, problem solving approaches and practice.

1.4.3 Research Questions

1. What services are provided to undocumented migrants and how are these services organized?
2. How are the needs of undocumented migrants and problem-solving approaches constructed within the civil society organizations?
3. What motives and perspectives underpin service provision to undocumented migrants in the civil society?
4. How do structural factors (laws) and organization factors (professional ethics, boundaries and resources) impact on construction of needs and social work practice with undocumented migrants in civil society organizations in Gothenburg?

Chapter Two
Literature Review

In this chapter, previous research will be presented in line with the research questions of this study; *What is the nature and organization of support services to undocumented migrants in the civil society, what motives and perspectives drive and legitimize undocumented migrants for support respectively, how are the needs and problem-solving approaches constructed in the social work context with these service users and how do structural and organizational factors impact on construction of needs and practices.* To contextualize the study further and to lift different perspectives and their consequences for how the rights, needs and practices are constructed, previous research is presented on; *the place of undocumented migrants in the Swedish welfare state*, *how migration policies create the concept of "undocumented" and the role of civil society in social work/development.*

2.1 Defining Social Work

The new global definition of social work, adopted by International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) at the Joint World Conference on Social work, Education and Social Development held in Melbourne, in July 2014 (Ng, 2014) reads;

> Social work is **a practice-based profession and an academic discipline** that promotes social change and development**, social cohesion**, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, **collective responsibility and respect for diversities** are central to social work. Underpinned by **theories of social work, social sciences, humanities** and **indigenous knowledge**, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance wellbeing. (IFSW, 2014).

Choosing this definition to guide our understanding of what professional social work is in this study, is not just to highlight certain aspects relating to the subject of undocumented migrants but also to uplift what implication this definition has for social work practice with these service users. To highlight major changes introduced to the old definition, revisiting the old global definition of social work, will be helpful*; "the social work professional promotes social change, problem solving in human relationships and the empowerment and liberation of people to enhance wellbeing. Utilising theories of human behaviour and social systems, social work intervenes at the points where people interact with their environments. Principles of human rights and social justice are fundamental to social work"* (Hare, 2004, p.409).

Noteworthy changes to the old definition include; an expansion from "social work profession" to "an academic discipline" which is also "practice-based", "problem solving" is dropped and "social cohesion" is introduced to reflect what social work does, expansion of social work principles to include "collective responsibility" and "respect for diversities". Further still, as Ng (2014) notes, the new definition also expands on the theoretical base of social work to include "theories of social work", "social sciences", "humanities" and "indigenous knowledge". Moreover, beyond intervening at points where people interact with their environment, the new definition recognizes structural forces constituting barriers for service users, which clearly, as anti-oppressive theory stresses, need to be addressed (Healy, 2014), to enhance wellbeing.

From the bolded text in the new global definition of social work above, one can see not just change but also an expansion to the old definition (Ng, 2014). In another study, Ornellas,

Spolander & Engelbrecht (2018) have noted shifts and emphasis of this new definition on "the need for collective solutions and the recognition of macro and structural influences on societal functioning" (p.223). Capitalizing on these aspects pointed by Ornellas et al., (2018), of relevance to social work practice with undocumented migrants is a shift from individual to the collective as well as a focus on structural causes of oppression and inequalities (ibid.). I wish to expand on these two aspects further;

2.1.1 Collective responsibility and approaches

As Ornellas et al., (2018, p.225) assert, "there is a notable transition towards a more collective stance over that of the previous purely individualistic focus". The movement to collective responsibility means harnessing group potentials and cooperation to achieve social change. Indeed, human rights of individuals are best realized through collective action and partnerships rather than individual struggle or one-sided struggles by practitioners on behalf of marginalized groups (Ornellas et al., 2018). It also means that solutions to problems that individuals face lie in collective action and cooperation (Ornellas et al., 2018,) and most importantly, in recognition of the capacity and potential of people to cause change (Saleebey, 2006). An implication of such a shift for social work practice with undocumented migrants is that social workers need to critically engage in processes of policy reform (Ornellas et al., 2018), development and should be prepared to shape these policies in ways that guarantee equal rights. Further still, a recognition of the role to be played by undocumented migrants themselves in this process of change is important, if collective action and responsibility is to be reflected. Only then can social workers make a claim to be pursuing the profession´s core mandates of social change, justice and empowerment (IFSW, 2018).

2.1.2 A structural focus

There is a recognition in the new 2014 definition of social work that, individuals are part of structures which impact on them and that social workers must engage with these structures to effect change (IFSW, 2014). In fact, the focus for the critical social work approaches including, anti-oppressive/emancipatory social work and structural social work is on structural barriers contributing to perpetuation of inequalities and oppression (Healy, 2014). For instance, the goal of the emancipatory approach to social work, is for social workers to empower and liberate people by developing strategies of action that address not just individual but also structural sources of oppression. In other words, a move from a micro to a macro focus on oppression and inequalities (Ornellas et al., 2018).

According to Hare (2004), social work practices range from clinical social work to private practice, community organization, social policy and planning and social and political action. She adds that in certain settings, the focus for social workers is more on intervening with the person and less with the environment while in certain cases, more emphasis is on the environment and a focus on how it impacts on the way (ibid.) Although not the main focus in this definition, it is important to highlight that, the origins of social work date back to the 19th century in England and later in the USA from two separate but related developments; "the charity organization society, whose 'friendly visiting' was the forerunner to social casework; and the Settlement House movement begun in London at Toynbee Hall by Samuel and Henrietta Barnett in 1885 and transplanted to the USA by Jane Addams, who established Hull House in Chicago" (Hare, 2004, p. 411).

2.2 Social Work with Undocumented Migrants

The social work profession is positioned to play a critical role in redefining policies that promote social change and justice for the undocumented migrants. Including a structural focus in the new global definition of social work (IFSW, 2014) lays a foundation for social workers in Sweden, and globally, to serve as policy advocates and reformers on behalf of marginalized groups (Stewart, 2017).

Social work practice with migrants who are undocumented is an area fraught by law enforcement and powerful ethical dilemmas (Jönsson, 2014). Issues of power and authority create a barren land for social workers to engage with service users thus preventing the full utilization of social work services (Martinez-Brawley & Zorita, 2011). Cleveland (2011) notes that often social workers "...are hindered in service delivery efforts by local anti-immigrant ordinances" (p. 139), implying that, even with adequate resources to serve undocumented migrants, policy measures may still prevent social workers from effectively serving this population.

According to Jönsson (2014), the phenomenon of undocumented migrants illustrates the increasing tension and conflict between national laws and rules framing social work and the Global Statements of Ethical Principles of Social Work especially where human rights and social justice are highlighted. This is especially true in the current move towards criminalizing immigration for the undocumented population and the "passage of antiquated and punitive immigration legislation…" (Furman et al; 2012, p.178). In such circumstances, prioritizing the needs of undocumented users becomes challenging for social workers who are also concerned for their wellbeing and in fear of legal sanctions. This means that social workers must try to find ways of providing services to undocumented clients differently than others. Much as this a promising strategy, it may also be discriminatory in a sense that undocumented clients come to be viewed as "a second class other" prohibited from services by certain laws and statutes (ibid).

Practicing social work with undocumented migrants as Torres (2014) notes requires sensitivity. There is need to adopt "undocumented practices and new methods" (Jönsson, 2014, p.45), while building trust and competence. Drachman & Ryan (2001) also point to the need for social workers to recognize the concrete fear and the risk undocumented migrants take when they decide to seek social work services, explaining that it is this fear why undocumented migrants shun public institutions that could be beneficial to them. Those serving clients who are undocumented must have adequate knowledge of immigration policies, laws and alternative resources to avoid making flawed assessments and interventions that endanger service users (Martinez-Brawley & Zorita, 2011).

In the Swedish context, Nordling (2017) notes that, social work is a practice in the borderlands of citizenship, where a distinction is made between groups perceived deserving and undeserving" (p.52). This raises a question of whether undocumented migrants deserve social work support or not? To answer this question, Björngren Cuadra (2015) in a survey study with social workers, reveals that some social workers would be willing to give social assistance beyond emergency support to undocumented migrants. In another study, Jessica Jönsson (2014) identifies three different stands taken by municipal workers concerning undocumented

migrants in Sweden; the *conformist position*[1], *the critical position*[2] and the *legalistic improvisers´ position*[3]. Clearly, this reflects different social workers´ attitudes towards undocumented migrants. It also points to a lack of clear guidelines and consensus in extending social work interventions to undocumented migrants.

Two major discourses surround social work with undocumented migrants in Sweden (Jönsson, 2014); the ´victim discourse´ where undocumented migrants are poor victims of exploitation. This discourse is strongly formed by a notion of ´the other´ in need of development and education (Said, 1978 cited in Jönsson, 2014). Parallel to this discourse is the ´illegality discourse´, undocumented migrants are perceived as ´enemies among us´ (Kamali, 2008 cited in Jönsson, 2014; Tsoukala, 2017) and are criminals breaking the laws by living 'illegally' in Sweden (Jönsson, 2014; De Genova, 2002).

2.3 The Role of Civil Society in Social Work/Development

Civil society organizations (CSOs) can be defined as non-state and nonprofit voluntary entities representing a wide range of interests. Their interests include, among others: community based organizations, non-governmental organizations, faith based organizations, village associations, environmental groups, farmers associations, labor unions, cooperatives, independent research institutes (Gray et al., 2006). The role of CSOs in political struggles to realize rights for vulnerable groups and in shaping development policies remains fundamental.

Historically, the civil society has been and continues to provide social work interventions to vulnerable and marginalized groups even though they may not always employ professional social workers. Some churches have gone ahead to develop big organizations to promote development and support marginalized groups, for instance, Catholic Relief Services for the Catholic Church, ADRA for the Adventists, World Vision for the C.O.E, among others. Non-Government Organizations and religious organizations have particularly been celebrated for their compensatory role in addressing socio-economic inequalities and social problems (Bahmani, 2016; Hyden, 1997). However, Jönsson (2014) argues that even with the good intensions to provide support to undocumented migrants, the different agendas and self-interests of civil society organizations may sometimes have negative consequences for vulnerable populations including undocumented migrants. This is especially true where organizations prescribe solutions.

In the Swedish context, the fundamental role of civil society in responding to the needs of undocumented migrants has been highlighted in the literature (see Sager, 2011 cited in Nordling, 2017; Jönsson, 2014; Stewart, 2017). The decreasing role of the Swedish welfare state, following recent neoliberal changes in the Swedish society has created room for the civil society to act (ibid). Whether civil society organizations work in isolation or in partnership with the Swedish state is something not clear in the literature. Similarly, Josefin Smedberg (2016) asks whether voluntary sector organisation- public partnerships (IOPs) are enabling or undermining the democratic voice of voluntary organizations? (Smedberg, 2016). However, there is a highlight of existence of informal alliances between municipal social workers and the civil society.

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[1] Distance themselves from helping undocumented migrants, blaming them for their predicament.

[2] Critical of national laws, regulations and policies and struggle for social justice, social change and anti-oppressive politics and social work practice by developing new ways of working with undocumented migrants.

[3] Cooperate with civil society organizations to find other ways of supporting undocumented migrants.

For example, Jönsson (2014) explains that "many times, when municipal social workers feel powerless in helping undocumented immigrants, they turn to the actors of civil society, who are not restricted by the laws and regulations as much as the municipal social workers are" (p.48). This means that there is blurred relationship between practices challenging the state and serving as a form of bridge between undocumented migrants and the welfare state (Sager, 2011 cited in Nordling, 2017). The civil society also appears as a space to act and where social workers' responsibilities for undocumented migrants could potentially be re-enacted and renegotiate.

2.4 How migration policies create the concept of "Undocumented"

Law is a mechanism that normalizes and naturalizes social relations (Stewart, 2017; Ngai, 2004). Migration policies are a framework for understanding how the concept of "undocumented" is produced (Nielsen, 2016). Düvell (2011) notes that an, "undocumented migrant" exists because there is a framework that turns people into undocumented. This means that undocumented is nothing but a constructed identity (Nielsen, 2016) that ties their social belonging on legal status as well as on the social constructions around that status (Stewart, 2017). For undocumented migrants, social sentiment becomes ingrained in laws and policies that categorize them as illegal, ineligible and dehumanize them. Thus, being labeled as an "undocumented migrant" reflects an embedded discriminatory aspect of immigration policy (Ngai, 2014).

Securitization and surveillance describe the development of the European Union (EU) migration politics over the last decades (Sager, Holgersson & Öberg, 2016 cited in Nordling, 2017). Cooperation in external border controls through the operationalization of Dublin I and II[4] regulations enables the EU member states to deport asylum seekers to the first country of asylum (Bloch & Chimienti, 2011). Other policies like 'delocalization of the border' and 'remote control' allow for controls beyond borders (Guiraudon, 2003; Walters, 2008). On 18 June 2009, the Council of the European Union and the European Parliament jointly adopted Directive 2009/52/EC providing for minimum standards on sanctions and measures against employers of illegally staying third-country nationals (Nordling, 2017). This is a policy move to reduce pull factors and the possibility of finding work within the EU for illegally staying third-country nationals (Gunneflo & Selberg, 2010). Indeed, as noted by many authors, border crossings amidst stricter asylum policies, will create more undocumented migrants (see Düvell, Jordan & Jupp, 2003; Nordling, Sager & Söderman, 2017; Nielsen, 2016).

There is a wide understanding that Sweden has had the most generous and inclusive immigration laws and policies than in many other EU countries. In fact, compared to her Scandinavian sisters; Norway and Denmark, Sweden has been described as "immigrant friendly" and among the best countries for immigrants (Cerroti, 2017). This popular view is gradually changing with the harshening of the Swedish migration policies and the strict border controls to keep out those seeking asylum (Bloch & Chimienti, 2011; Nordling, 2017). The 2016 interim-three-year legislation[5] grants asylum seekers temporary residence permits with a severe restriction to family reunification (ibid). Tomas Hammar (1999) argued that the rise of

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[4] Adopted in 2003, this is an EU law /regulation establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national (UNHCR, n.d)

[5] Swedish Code of Statuses 2016:752

people who went underground in the 1990´s coincided with the rise in the refusal rates of asylum applications. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that more people will become undocumented in Sweden over time due to many asylum applications being rejected.

On a brighter side, undocumented migrants have gained a gradual access to the Swedish welfare state. To be specific, the new laws introduced in 2013, grant undocumented children health care and education and undocumented adults access to emergency health care (Nordling, 2017). However, some authors have described this change as an inclusion that works in the direction of exclusion (Sager, 2011) because undocumented migrants are still marginalized and vulnerable to deportation.

2.5 Undocumented migrants and the Swedish welfare state

Authors have defined undocumented migrants differently. In the Swedish context, Nordling (2017) describes undocumented migrants as "a group without formal permission to stay within a specific territory of jurisdiction" (p.38). Simply put, to be undocumented means one is without a valid residence permit and is not seeking asylum. It also means living always with the risk of being deported, what De Genova (2005) refers to as "deportable".

The phenomenon of undocumented migrants started to be debated and researched only recently in Sweden (Nielsen, 2016). Concordant to this, Nordling (2017) argues that, compared to the past years, the visibility of undocumented persons is more pronounced today. This is partly attributed to campaigns by civil society and undocumented migrant networks themselves to increase their visibility and access to social rights in the country but also due to political debates. The majority of undocumented migrants in Sweden are former asylum seekers followed by labor immigrants without a work permit and those overstaying expired visas (Cuadra & Staaf, 2014). Existing literature also reveals that undocumented migrants settle in large cities of Gothenburg, Malmö and Stockholm (see Lundberg & Strange, 2017). However, as Sigvardsdotter (2012) notes, ´officially´, in the Swedish context, there is no such thing as undocumented persons because "their physical presence produces no corresponding legal or socio-political identity or presence..." (ibid. p.13).

There is wide consensus that Sweden has a relatively low number of undocumented migrants in international comparison. However, counting and presenting exact numbers of undocumented migrants in Sweden is something that is difficult and close to impossible. This is not only because this group is not registered in population statistics (Alexander, 2010), but also estimates will depend on who is counting and in whose interest they are counting. Nielsen (2016) notes that estimates of undocumented migrants in Sweden originate from NGOs and trade unions as well as statistics from the Swedish police[6]. In 2010, there were 10,000-50,000 undocumented migrants in Sweden (Socialstyrelsen, 2010 cited in Nordling, 2017).

There have been numerous public debates about undocumented migrants in Sweden. For instance, the subject on access to healthcare for undocumented migrants, underpinned by a human rights perspective drew heated debates and discussions from both local and international levels (see Nielsen, 2016; Sigvardsdotter 2012, Björngren Cuadra, 2010). Nordling (2017) notes that undocumented children "had in the public debate been identified as rights-bearers…" (p.183). Various organizations and initiatives have campaigned for increased visibility and access to rights (Gunneflo & Selberg, 2010). It is important to note that there are actors arguing for less access, strong deportation and strict asylum politics (Nordling, 2017). For this group of actors, the very existence of undocumented migrants is problematic because it is a violation

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[6] Former Asylum seekers who refuse to obey orders to leave the country.

of national sovereignty, rule of law and citizenship values (Nicholls, 2013). This mean that the survival of the community of citizens requires the exclusion of those who threaten to "pollute it" (ibid, p.88). From another angle, it can also be argued that the growing importance of nation-state boundaries has resulted into more effective exclusion of those defined by the immigration law as not belonging in the country.

Undocumented migrants´ claims for rights and inclusion in a context where they do not legally "belong" questions the very citizenship modes of belonging. In agreement, Nielsen (2016) argues that despite its universalistic commitments, the Swedish welfare state "is reserved for citizens and categories of immigrants whose residence is sanctioned by the state" (p.8). Some authors have indeed argued for inclusion that goes beyond citizenship borders (see Schierup & Ålund, 2011; Benhabib, 2005). Sassen (2002) talks about "the informal citizenship".

2.6 Nature and organization of support services for undocumented migrants

As a point of departure, it is important to note that undocumented migrants have gained a partial inclusion into the Swedish welfare state. As previously noted in the early chapters of this research paper, massive critique of the Swedish welfare state for not providing basic health care for undocumented migrants resulted into 2013 laws, entitling undocumented children access to education and health care and undocumented adults access to emergency health care (see Alexander, 2010; Björngren Cuadra, 2012). In some municipalities such as, Malmo, undocumented migrants are eligible for social assistance in emergency-based situations, based on interpretation of the Swedish Social Services Act[7] (see Nordling, Sager, & Söderman, 2017). In another study, Jönsson (2014) reveals that some civil society organizations receive funding from the state to help provide support to refugees, undocumented migrants alike, although she does not specify the organizations receiving this funding.

Given the limited inclusion of undocumented migrants into the Swedish welfare state and their exclusion from municipal services and access to social rights and socio-economic support, civil society organizations emerge as the "ultimate alternative to the state for the improvement of the welfare of undocumented migrants" (Jönsson, 2014, p.45). This means that undocumented migrants mainly rely on civil society organizations for support. Some organizations have been highlighted in the literature as; churches and other religious institutions, sanctuaries, some political parties, professional organizations, and other welfare organizations. There are also informal alliances between social workers and NGO actors as well as locally established networks that bring together professional teams of doctors, nurses, lawyers, social workers (ibid). Support provided by these organizations range from food, soup kitchens, clothes, medicine, shelter, counselling, juridical and legal questions, help with contacting welfare agencies and authorities to advocating for the rights of undocumented migrants (Jönsson, 2014). These support services are organized and often directed by social workers, other professionals, volunteers and charity (ibid).

In recent years as, Lunberg & Strange (2017) have noted, it has become common for undocumented migrants to collect themselves for action to claim for rights. Such a case

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[7] Enacted on 1 January 1982, and places ultimate responsibility on municipal authorities to ensure all residents of a municipality receive the needed support and assistance (Björngren Cuadra & Staff, 2014). Under the Social Service Act (SSA), each municipality has a right to organize the work of the Public Social Services suitable for local conditions. SSA, Ch 4 Sec.1 guarantees a reasonable standard of living to everyone (ibid).

includes a tent camp in Malmö, where families demonstrated to make the public aware of their situation. Nordling (2017) adds that undocumented migrants have challenged the exclusion from citizenship and made claims on rights. Some authors also mention about acts of solidarity between citizens and undocumented migrants such as contributing food and clothes for undocumented migrants or joining undocumented migrants in their claim for rights (Nordling, Sager, & Söderman, 2017). "Together with the struggles of undocumented migrants, such claims have a potential to open up spaces "in between" citizenship and non-citizenship: a space that in turn may open up for enactments of new forms of citizenship and social rights" (Nordling, 2017, p. 90). Lundberg & Strange (2017) also explain that non- state actors, (libraries, churches, universities, sports clubs) provide sanctuary to undocumented migrants.

The relationship between the state and the civil society organizations is something not clear in the literature. Should these acts of helping undocumented migrants be regarded as a political struggle against the state or are they acts of benevolence? Also, should we see the civil society as a form of bridge between the state and undocumented migrants or rather operating a separate entity from the state? Included in the definition of members of the Swedish state are its citizens, taxpayers and voters. How can the undocumented people be included in this social contract? In this sense, should we see the civil society as a bridge for including the undocumented. As the agents in the civil society are state members, civil society might be seen as part of the state as the members are part of the state citizens.

2.7 Perspectives and motives legitimizing undocumented migrants for support

Different people and organizations have different reasons, motives and perspectives for helping undocumented migrants. In the Netherlands, for instance, those helping undocumented migrants refer to the idea that ´there are no unlawful human beings, but rather inhuman laws (Van der Leun, 2006). In Sweden, what unites all those helping undocumented migrants is a human rights perspective and the idea that everyone deserves help irrespective of their legal status (see Sigvardsdotter, 2012; Jönsson, 2014). There is a general consensus that immigration policies ignore human rights. In a study by Jönsson (2014), many social workers and NGO actors legitimized helping undocumented children and women by referring to the declaration of Human rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Lunberg & Strange (2017) also concluded that rights constitute important instruments for including undocumented persons into the right-bearers sphere.

The engagement of faith-based organizations and religious institutions in helping refugees and in some cases, undocumented migrants across the world is underpinned by human rights and Christian values of helping those suffering (Nawyn, 2017). For example, in Uganda, churches often refer to the teachings in the bible and the works of Jesus. In the United states, Faith-based NGOs "employ scriptures supporting a divine mandate to assist refugees" (ibid, p.28) and emphasize equality to justify helping those in need.

Social work practitioners are obliged and have a responsibility to help everybody realize their full potential and achieve equality, human rights and social justice (Hare, 2004) irrespective of whether they are undocumented or not. This means that irrespective of personal reasons for helping undocumented migrants, social workers have a mandate to extend their services to this vulnerable group. It can therefore be argued that professional ethics, coupled with individual social workers 'motives underlie service provision. However, as Jönsson (2014), found out in her study, some social workers go against this professional mandate by conforming to national legislation that prohibits service provision to undocumented migrants

Viewed from another angle, the intentions and motives for helping undocumented migrants may be good and genuine, but, the difference in agendas and activities of different civil society organizations could present a possibility for conflicting interests and roles which may have detrimental consequences for undocumented migrants (Ferguson & Lavalette, 2007). This is especially true where these organizations engage in competitive actions with a claim to know what is best for undocumented migrants only to perpetuate an oppressive system. For instance, ´rescuing those suffering´, as most religious churches do (Nawyn, 2017), will emphasize their image as victims suffering rather than right bearers (Ticktin, 2011; Arendt, 1968). Humanitarian aid could also become a "politics of life" (Fassin, 2007, p.500) especially where humanitarian NGOs decide whose lives should be saved and which ones could be risked.

2.8 Impact of structural and organizational factors on social work practice

Extending services to undocumented migrants occurs in politically charged contexts (Torres, 2014). According to Furman et al., (2012) "social contexts in which the needs of society at large, as represented by the government through the codification of laws and statutes, conflict with the needs of vulnerable populations, nearly always lead to ethical dilemmas" (p. 177). Indeed, encounters with undocumented migrants in social work practice raises dilemmas and conflicts and contradictory demands between human rights and national laws (Karl-Trummer, Novak-Zezula, & Metzler, 2009).

Undocumented migrants are the target for immigration policies aimed at reducing access to welfare benefits and social rights to the best way possible. In other words, state laws and regulations stand against undocumented migrants (Torres, 2014). When working with undocumented migrants, it is inevitable to arrive to a point where a social worker must make a choice whether to follow the law and violate social work values or violate the law to uphold the values of the profession. This is a tough decision that may also be subject to the individual personality of the social worker and the values they hold towards undocumented migrants. For example, if a social worker is fearful of the law, then they are likely to distance themselves from the needs of these clients. By siding with immigration law enforcement, social workers perpetuate marginalization of undocumented migrants (Torres, 2014). Yet, being the ambassadors of this profession, social workers must be prepared to shape these laws in ways that guarantee social rights to undocumented migrants.

The legal framework can also be so constraining to the extent that it puts a grip in social work practice, creating even bigger ethical dilemmas for practitioners. For instance, Torres (2014) notes that obligations to law enforcement is a barrier to adequately serving clients who are undocumented. Work in this area is indeed politically charged, requiring critical practice (ibid.) and for social workers to question the taken for granted labels and stereotypes that undocumented migrants are subjected to, such as ´illegal´, ´criminals. Moreover, some authors have suggested that sometimes when different legal perspectives are in conflict, immigration law often receives the highest priority in practice (Cuadra & Staff, 2014).

Nevertheless, in Swedish public inquiries, there are examples that give primacy to the social legislation with reference to international human rights, for example, children's right to health care and education came first than upholding controlled migration (Cuadra & Staff, 2014). Jones´s (2012) study with practitioners reveals cases where the legal status of clients greatly affected their eligibility for services. Further still, social workers have no control over limited resources within agencies or where their agencies refuse resources to be channeled to helping undocumented migrants.

In the area of health care, a conflict between national laws and human rights presents a paradox for health care providers (Cuadra, 2010). For example, national legislation puts restriction for health care access for undocumented migrants and yet at the same time, health care is a universal human right as enshrined in various international instruments; in choosing to provide health care to undocumented migrants, medical professionals may go against the legislation, whereas if they don't provide this health care, they violate human rights. The question thus, is to resolve such a paradox in ways where neither human rights nor national regulations are violated (ibid.).

2.9 Literature gaps

In summary, the reviewed literature contextualises social work with undocumented migrants and helps our understanding on the experiences of this population within a welfare system where `us-them´ boundaries are drawn. The literature has also lifted, how structural issues, including immigration laws and policies create and reinforce the category "undocumented" and consequently their exclusion. Further still, the reviewed literature points involvement of the civil society with undocumented migrants in Sweden, to be a result of the retreat of the Swedish welfare state.

However, gaps evident in the literature are on the actual practice with undocumented migrants in the civil society space. Questions still not answered in the existing literature are; how the needs of undocumented migrants are determined and consequently, approaches of meeting these needs, perspectives and motives underpinning service provision to this population. Further still, even though previous research highlights on the role of structural factors (laws) in disadvantaging undocumented migrants nationally, it is not clear how these structural factors impact on social work practice with undocumented migrants in the civil society. Thus, this study addresses these gaps through the questions; what is the nature and organisation of services to undocumented migrants in the civil society, how are the needs and problem-solving approaches constructed, what motives and perspectives underpin service provision and how do structural and organisational factors impact on construction of needs and practice in this space.

Chapter three
Theoretical framework and motivation for choice

One of the most important aspects of qualitative research process is theory. Bryman (2012) explains that theory "provides a backcloth and the rationale for the research that is being conducted" (p.20). In other words, theory provides a frame work within which we can understand social phenomena and interpret research findings. The analysis in study will therefore be informed by; Anti-Oppressive practice/theory, ´the right to have rights´ perspective, Social Constructionist perspective and the theory of Street-level Bureaucracy.

The choice of theoretical perspectives utilized in this study aligns with the critical and structural focus in social work practice. In choosing, anti-oppressive practice, the right to have rights, street level bureaucracy and theory of social constructionism, the aim was to move away from the pathological individual focus to a more critical stance that lifts structural causes of service user problems as well as barriers to practice. Social work practice with undocumented migrants brings to the fore issues of power, rights, discretion, structures and categorization. These issues provide a connecting link between the four theories. For example, constructing categories of service users points to the discretionary power social workers possess. Further still, rendering services to undocumented migrants, excluded from the welfare state benefits, is a recognition of the structural dimensions of oppression and inequalities, which is a major focus of anti-oppressive practice and Hannah Arendt´s right to have rights. Moreover, a focus on structural causes of inequality and oppression and how these can be transformed (through the right to have rights and anti-oppressive practice) aligns very much with collective action and structural reform aspects of the new definition of social work (IFSW, 2014).

3.1 Anti-Oppressive Practice (theory)

Anti-oppressive practice, also known as structural theory (Mulally, 2010) and emancipatory theory (Sewpaul & Larsen, 2014) is a critical social work theory (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Dominelli, 2002). Critical social work is a term that encompasses a broad range of practice perspectives drawing on critical theories (Healy, 2014) and concerned with social justice in both policy and practice (ibid.). These perspectives include but are not limited to anti-oppressive practice, radical social work, feminist social work, black perspectives and anti-racist social work. All these perspectives focus on "…understanding and addressing the impact of broad social structures on the problems facing service users and the social work profession itself" (Healy, 2014. p.183). Furthermore, critical social work sees oppression structures as being reproduced in people´s everyday lives, thus, urging for a recognition of the complex web of power relations in which service users and practitioners are embedded within (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006).

Anti-oppressive practice has become a common and dominant theory of critical social work (Healy, 2014). The theory values humanity, social justice and recognizes the experiences and views of the oppressed (Dominelli, 1996; Sakamoto, 2007). It sees service users´ problems as embedded in power structures and disempowering power relations that need to be transformed. Anti-oppressive social workers should be able to fundamentally reform social, economic and political structures in ways that lead to more just distribution of material resources (Wilson & Beresford, 2000).

As Dalrymple & Burke (2006) summarize it, anti-oppressive practice requires;

> "An empowerment approach which aims to overcome barriers for service users in taking control of their lives…minimal intervention to reduce the oppressive and disempowering potential of social work interventions…" (p.20)

Essential to the argument of this study is that anti-oppressive practice should not be seen as a one-sided struggle by social work practitioners on behalf of the oppressed undocumented migrants, but rather a partnership, valuing their decisions on matters that affect their lives. If we go by rescuing rather than empowering, we run the risk of exacerbating feelings of powerlessness and stifling their abilities to mobilize for self-change. Indeed, Tew (2006) cautions practitioners who position themselves as rescuers of the helpless and passive subjects of social oppression, only to end up paradoxically recreating the very paternalistic relations over service users.

According to Burke & Harrison (1998), working from an anti-oppressive perspective provides an approach that links complex issues of power, oppression and powerlessness together. Thus, we cannot understand anti-oppressive practice without understanding power, powerlessness and oppression. I wish to illuminate on these concepts in order to further understanding of anti-oppressive practice;

What power is or why it operates in ways it does is hard to agree on (Tew, 2006). In agreement, Solomon (1987), asserts that the meaning of power depends on whether it is viewed from economic, psychological, political sociological or philosophical viewpoints. In fact, the lack of clarity around power, has led to a contradictory usage of the term ´empowerment´ in social work and social welfare (Pease, 2002, cited in Tew, 2006). A number of power definitions have been proposed; for example, for Max Weber, power is an individual´s capacity to realize personal goals amidst oppression, Talcott parsons on the other hand, defines power as the ability of social systems to achieve things through a collective consensus (see Dalrymple & Burke, 2006). For Tew (2006), power is a social relation between people at various scales, opening up or closing opportunities for resource access, participation and developing personal identities. In this sense, power is oppressive and limiting in some aspects but also protective in other ways.

A simple understanding of powerlessness is not being able to do anything or influence any decision, however, powerlessness goes beyond this. Dalrymple & Burke (2006), see aspects such as exclusion, rejection and being treated as inferior as generating feelings of inadequacy, helplessness and eventually powerlessness. Undocumented migrants are powerless and are on the receiving end of oppression; restrictive laws prohibit access to welfare and moreover, their social relations within the local communities is impeded when ´othering´ processes are deployed to create ´them-us´ divisions (Dominelli, 2002). The danger in this constant negative valuation and social discrimination is that it can be normalized by undocumented migrants to the extent that it becomes inscribed in their blood (Sewpaul, 2013). They are likely to blame themselves for their plight rather than stand up and embrace emancipation and empowerment to achieve their rights. Their powerlessness is exacerbated when service providers retain the ´expert´ position and prescribe solutions. On the other part, social workers are powerless because laws prohibit service provision to undocumented migrants creating powerful ethical dilemmas and barriers to practice (Furman et al., 2012).

Oppression can be understood from the experiences of marginalized people or those whose rights have been violated. According to Dominelli (2002), oppression involves power relations that create boundaries and divisions of superior and inferior groups. This is well substantiated by Solomon (1987) who asserts that oppression exists because of power misuse. Social workers

who are already aware of the reality of oppressive and discriminating laws for undocumented migrants should perceive this oppression as a transformable situation, possible through political action and policy advocacy. Burke & Harrison (1998) explain that "opportunities for change are created by the process of the challenge…" (p.133).

In a nut shell, Anti-oppressive social work with undocumented migrants means, social workers refrain from blaming service users for their predicament, recognize the structural dimensions of oppression and see undocumented migrants as competent (Sakamoto, 2007) to influence service provision. As Healy (2014) explains in the key principles of anti-oppressive practice, there is need for critical reflection on ways in which own biographies and membership of social divisions shapes practice and the relationship with service users. For example, being a Swedish should not affect how a Social Worker perceives service users who are undocumented and non-Swedish. However, on what level are social workers constructing the needs and problems of undocumented migrants. I will analyze how social workers construct the needs and problem-solving approaches from an anti-oppressive theoretical perspective on social work.

3.2 The ´Right to have Rights´-Hannah Arendt

> "...we are not born equal; we become equal as members of a group on the strength of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights" (Arendt, 1968, p.301).

Best known for her work as a political theorist on questions of power and authority and critique of human rights, Hannah Arendt´s famous work on *´the Origins of Totalitarianism´* (Arendt, 1994) provides a theoretical framework from which we can begin to understand the rights of undocumented migrants beyond citizenship boundaries. More concerned with the declaration of the Rights of Man and human rights concepts (Ramji-Nogales, 2014), Hannah Arendt talks about universal rights- the right of man, to be enjoyed by all and neither dependent on the nation nor race.

According to Arendt (1994), it is imperative that there is a belonging to a community and ideally to a state. In this sense, she argues that the ´right to have rights´ is the right to belong to a community within which individuals can realize their full life potential, pursue their happiness and enjoy their liberty. In agreement, Benhabib (2005) argues for the need to treat all human beings as belonging to some human group with entitlement to protection of the same. This according to him invokes a moral imperative and "a moral claim to membership and a certain form of treatment compatible with the claim to membership" (p.56), better still, see beyond victims suffering to right bearers.

Arendt´s writings on statelessness and the right to have rights is an attempt to reformulate human rights by invoking the concept of ´the right to have rights´ (Bellamy, 2010). Argued from Arendt´s perspective therefore, the ´rights of man´ should apply to refugees and the stateless who are denied the right to citizens. This would also mean that, where undocumented migrants are denied the right of citizens, then the ´rights of man´ should apply to them (Arendt, 1968). Like the minorities and the stateless focused on Arendt´s work, undocumented migrants are vulnerable as their right to legal recognition by the state is stripped away. Their precarious situation (no political voice and are largely excluded from legal protections in their host states)[8] raises a critical question of whether they have `a right to have rights´. Indeed, as Bloch (2010) notes, as compared to naturalized citizens and refugees with extensive rights, undocumented migrants exist on the margins of society with limited if not, no rights. Losing the legal and

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[8] Ramji-Nogales (2014)

political status entitling undocumented migrants to government protection makes them unable to make use of their human rights thus they become expelled from humanity (Oman, 2010)

Bloch (2010) explains that extensive human rights frameworks should in principle offer protection to people regardless of their immigration status. This means that international human rights law provides for universality and the fundamental equality of all human beings (Błuś, 2013) regardless of legal status. However, in his argument, Ramji-Nogales (2014) asserts that even though human rights law presents itself as representing universal values, "it does little to protect undocumented migrants against exploitation…" (p.1051). In other words, international human rights law fails to provide both the right to remain and fair procedures in determining deportability of undocumented migrants and offers limited protection against discrimination based on immigration status (ibid.).

Civil society organizations, including charity initiatives raise the issue of human rights for undocumented migrants when they extent support to this population group, however, as Sigvardsdotter (2012) has noted, the motive driving their action is compassion/charity rather than a logic of rights or justice. Argued from Hannah Arendt´s ´Right to have Rights´, perspective, the image of undocumented migrants as victims, suffering may replace their image as human beings with a right to have rights or even right bearers. This obscures their legitimate claim for recognition as human beings with a ´right to have rights´.

Nicholls (2013) asserts that "citizenship recognizes that all members (citizens) have equal rights but the survival of the community of citizens requires the exclusion of those others who threaten to pollute it" (Nicholls, 2013, p.88). Thus, as outsiders, when undocumented migrants make claims for social rights, it destabilizes, if not disturbs the normalized order and undermines national sovereignty and rule of law (ibid). From another angle, it can also be argued that the growing importance of nation-state boundaries has resulted into more effective exclusion of those defined by the immigration law as not belonging in the country and a violation of the ´right to have rights´ (Arendt, 1968). In a nutshell, making undocumented migrants into a legitimate subject requires that we invoke Hannah Arendt´s notion of ´the right to have rights´.

3.3 Social constructionism (Constructing Deservingness)

"Since time immemorial, human societies have constructed differences between people like themselves and the unfamiliar "others", who often are viewed with distrust, dislike, and even hatred" (Schneider & Ingram, 2005, p 1).

Social constructionism remains an important perspective within many disciplines including. Social work and social sciences. In fact, as Järvinen & Miller (2015) have noted, social constructionist ideas have also spread to other contemporary applied professions such as urban planning, policy analysis, occupational therapy to mention but a few. A social constructionist approach is prominent for its role in providing understanding of the labelling and social categorization of service users/ clients into problematic identities such as ´criminals´, substance, abusers, refugees, immigrants among others (Michailakis & Schirmer, 2014). In other words, Social constructionist theory is very important in explaining why some groups are advantaged more than others and how policy designs can reinforce or alter such advantages or disadvantages (Hall, 2003). For example, the categorization tendencies of people into far more deserving and less deserving is a recurring theme in aspects involving poverty, gender, ethnicity and other forms of disadvantage (Schneider & Ingram, 2005).

Social Construction Theory is concerned with the ways we think about and use categories to structure our experience and analysis of the world (Schneider & Ingram, 2005). Social

constructionism of target beneficiaries will not just influence public policy but also shapes the policy agenda and the way policies are designed (Schneider & Ingram, 1993) and moreover, "Public policy bestows a certain label on groups, and policy tools perpetuate the status of a group" (Altreiter & Leibetseder, 2015, p.129). This implies that "the way client categories are constructed has consequences for people´s lives" (Hall, 2003, p.19) and will determine how they are treated in the governance processes. Thus, different constructions will mean different courses of actions ibid.).

At the core of immigration policy is the need to ascribe relationships between non-citizens and those belonging to the state. Distributing benefits to groups becomes justified by the value ascribed to the group. In this sense, policy targets groups for different kinds of treatment, thus constructing and positioning clients as a group in polity (Schneider & Ingram, 2005). Similarly, public policy and the laws produced by policy have been primary means of legitimating, extending and even creating distinct populations-some of whom are extolled as deserving and entitled and others who are demonized as undeserving and ineligible (ibid). To be deserving and undeserving is something created by legal regulations and provisions at formal levels (Schneider and Ingram, 1993; Ingram et al., 2007). It is suffice to say that, social problems and social policies can be understood as products of continually shifting arguments and interpretations, emerging through interactions between those making claims and their audiences (Best, 2016).

In the context of undocumented migrants, constructing them as undocumented and consequently in eligible for social welfare is embedded in policy, which feeds messages about which categories are deserving and which are not. This means that there is pressure for the government to provide beneficial policy to positively constructed groups (citizens and those with valid permits to reside in Sweden) and to devise punitive, punishment-oriented policy for negatively constructed groups (undocumented migrants) categorized as illegal, undeserving and responsible for their situation (see Jönsson, 2014). Indeed, the migration policies and legal frameworks send messages about what government is supposed to do, who is deserving and who is not. This is what Schneider & Ingram (2005) have noted as a positive and negative construction respectively. ´Undocumented´ becomes inscribed in everyday life of citizens and undocumented migrants themselves, but should we question these assumed and taken for granted constructions?

Taking the assumptions on deservingness at the local level as a crucial explanatory factor, it is possible to identify how street-level organizations, including civil society organizations), construct deservingness through their structures and their formal and informal practices with undocumented migrants (Altreiter & Leibetseder, 2015). Organization administrators and social workers alike can construct who is deserving and who is not by making own eligibility judgements (Schneider and Ingram, 1993). The danger in this is that social workers run the risk of ´reproducing´ the state constructions of deserving and undeserving. This is what Schneider & Ingram (2005) have referred to as "co-production" of public policy (p.169). This is especially true when eligibility checks are applied for undocumented migrants, thus locally constructing (un) deservingness and hampering access for certain undocumented families.

3.4 The theory of Street-Level Bureaucracy and Discretion

Micheal Lipsky first coined the concept of street-level bureaucracy in 1969, arguing that policy implementation in the end comes down to the people, (the street-level bureaucrats) who actually implement it (Lipsky, 1969). In his book "Street-level bureaucracy, dilemmas of the individual in public service", Lipsky (1980), explains that street level bureaucrats[9] have considerable discretion in determining the nature, amount and quality of benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies.

An important concept in Lipsky´s theory, which is also a concept of relevance to this research paper is discretion. Evans (2011) defines discretion as the extent of freedom that employees can exercise in a given context. In agreement, Davis (1969, p.4) states "a public officer has discretion whenever the effective limits on his power leave him free to make a choice among possible courses of action or inaction". For Lipsky (1980), the focus is on discretion of street level bureaucrats, thus viewing discretion as the freedom that street level bureaucrats have in determining the nature, quantity and/or quality of benefits, rewards and sanctions during policy implementation (see also Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Street level bureaucrats are sometimes required to improvise in order to respond to the particular needs of individual clients (ibid.)-

Whereas discretion could help to strengthen the value and meaningfulness of a policy for clients, it could also present street level-bureaucrats with a possibility to pursue their own interests and private goals, thus undermining the effectiveness and legitimacy of the program (Tummers & Bekkers, 2014). Related to this, Carrington (2005) explains that, the fear of power abuse is a major reason for the opposition of discretion in street level bureaucracy. This is especially true where resource inadequacies and other conflicts impact on street level bureaucrats.

In the context of this research study, understanding discretionary power is very important. For instance, what is the room for action and to make decisions that social workers within civil society organizations or civil society organizations themselves have when it comes to undocumented migrants amidst organizational resource inadequacies, ideologies, policies and national legal frameworks prohibiting support to this population group? Further still, who has the power to decide if undocumented migrants are eligible, more eligible or not eligible for support within the spaces of the civil society? Working with undocumented migrants within the civil society, social workers and volunteers can be regarded as street level bureaucrats who deliver welfare services to undocumented migrants at the grassroots. It can be speculated that much as social workers have a high level of discretion, in terms of what services to extend to undocumented migrants and the quantity or quality. They are also restrained by regulations and directives from above (immigration policy) and policies within the organization as well as norms and ethics governing the social work profession. In other words, national laws, ideologies of the organizations as well as the ideologies of those serving undocumented migrants have impact on how needs and practices are constructed. As Lipsky (1980), notes, sometimes, the lack of resources forces street level-bureaucrats to develop simplified routines when dealing with their clients.

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[9] Public employees who interact directly with citizens and have substantial discretion in the execution of their work Examples are teachers, police officers, general practitioners and social workers (Lipsky, 1980:3).

Chapter Four
Methodology and Approach

In this chapter, the methodological approach adopted for executing the study is discussed including; strategy, context, research participants and their selection. Data collection methods and instruments, analysis strategy, ethical considerations and challenges during the process are also elaborated.

4.1 Research Strategy

A qualitative research strategy was used in order to present a detailed understanding of the phenomena being researched (Bryman, 2016). Using a qualitative strategy emphasizes on the participants´ words, subjective perspectives, practices and experiences in their work with undocumented migrants, thus giving a deeper and rich understanding of the subject matter.

A constructionist ontological (Bryman, 2016) consideration has been taken for the research approach and methods in this study. According to Bryman (2012), "…social entities should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors" (p.32). Constructionism/constructivism, sees social phenomena and their meanings as continually being accomplished by social actors (Bryman, 2012; Burr, 2006). This brings to the forefront the importance of social interaction in producing social phenomena and categories, which are constantly being revised (ibid.). Research questions in this study were formulated with a constructionist position in mind to draw an understanding of practice from service providers who are actors within the civil society. In this way, emphasis is put on their active construction of reality for undocumented migrants in this context. Specifying research questions on the construction of needs, motives and perspectives invites us to "consider the ways in which social reality is an ongoing accomplishment of social actors rather than something external to them and that totally constrains them" (Bryman, 2012, p.34). The theoretical approach used in analyzing my empirical findings are also part of this constructionist view on knowledge and social action.

4.2 Study context- Sampling the Organizations

The study area for this research was Gothenburg city, in Sweden. Within this area, four civil society organizations were selected. The selection of the study area (Gothenburg), was based on accessibility because the researcher lives in this area, thus face to face contact and access was made easier. Silverman (2010) notes that it is common and where appropriate recommended to follow convenience and accessibility when sampling in qualitative research.

The selection of the study setting (organizations) was done deliberately or purposively (Bryman, 2016; Punch, 2013), based on involvement and work with undocumented migrants. Through informal conversation with a few Swedish friends and later with one university professor, it was revealed that these four organizations were involved in supporting undocumented migrants in Gothenburg; Swedish church, Gothenburg city mission (Stadsmissionen), Gothenburg Rescue Mission (Räddningsmissionen) and Rosengrenska. Different organizations are chosen to give a fair representation of the civil society; however, they are all NGOs.

4.3 Participants and Selection Strategy

Irrespective of their gender, respondents were selected purposively from the four organizations sampled based on their involvement with undocumented migrants. Contact was made with organizations through email for some and physically for others, explaining the purpose and aim of the research. The organizations then got back with names and suggestions of people directly involved with working with undocumented migrants, many of who were social workers. Personal emails were sent to these individuals, with an information paper, explaining the study more in detail. All the respondents then willingly agreed to participate and scheduled interview dates and time. It is important to note that, for some of the organizations, specific individuals were assigned the responsibility to work with undocumented migrants, implying that not all employees in that organization could be sampled as they had different roles and projects. Therefore, taking the suggested individuals was very important.

A total of eight respondents were interviewed; five social workers, two medical personnel and one volunteer. More specifically, two respondents were interviewed from each of the four organizations. The initial plan was to interview social workers from each of the organizations, however, this was not possible for the medical organization because there was no social worker. In this case, medical personnel (doctor and nurse) were interviewed[10]. In another organization, there was only one social worker, in this case, a volunteer[11] was added to the sample. Incorporating views from the medical personnel and the volunteer complemented views from social workers[12], thus giving more perspective to this study. Below is a summary of the respondents and their occupations (all these names are not real names of respondents for anonymity purposes);

Name	Gender	Occupation
Ingrid	Female	Social Worker
Anita	Female	Social worker
Hanna	Female	Social worker
Lina	Female	Social worker
Amanda	Female	Social Worker
Anna-Karin	Female	Volunteer
Jonas	Male	Doctor
Anika	Female	Nurse

4.4 Research Methods and Tools of data collection

A research method can be defined as a technique for collecting data (Bryman, 2012).

4.4.1 Semi-Structured interviews

Interviews is a widely used method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2016). Particularly, semi-structured interviews, also referred to as in-depth interviews (Bryman, 2012) is one of the most commonly employed by many researchers (ibid.). This method offers flexibility when asking

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[10] Worked with undocumented migrants as volunteers and were not getting paid.

[11] No professional qualification.

[12] All employed by their respective organisations and getting a salary.

and answering questions and best obtains a vivid and detailed account of a phenomenon being researched (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest & Namey, 2005).). Thus, semi-structures interviews were used as the method of data collection in this study. With the help of an interview guide, with fairly specific topics and open-ended questions, interviews which took on average 45 minutes were conducted.

4.5 Developing the interview guide

The interview guide was developed basing on the main research questions and was informed by literature review. After reviewing literature, gaps were found in; service organization, even though some studies, such as Jönsson (2014) mentioned services rendered to undocumented migrants in the civil, how these were organized was not clear in the literature review. That is why it was important to ask the questions; what services are provided to undocumented migrants, why are these considered important and how are these services organized.

A second gap in literature was the actual practice, with regards to how social workers arrived at the needs and approached to solving these needs. It was then important to include questions such as, how and who assess the needs of undocumented migrants, how are undocumented migrants involved in this process? and to solve these needs, what approaches are used? among other questions. In other words, developing the interview guide was a back and forth movement of reading through the literature and trying to identify what gaps there were and what questions can be framed, while remaining relevant to the main aim of the study*; to deepen understanding of social work with undocumented migrants by inquiring into the services, construction of needs and problem-solving approaches of civil society organizations in Gothenburg, Sweden.*

4.6 Conducting the interviews

An interview guide was prepared, approved and pretested to ensure that the questions were clear and easily understood by respondents, but also illuminated on the objectives of the study. Interviews were held on days and times convenient for the participants (including weekends). In this way, there was no rush to answering questions and the information elicited was comprehensive enough because respondents took time to answer all the questions. All the eight interviews were phone recorded with the consent of the respondents, thus making it possible to have a full account of the interaction (interview). Short notes were written as a backup plan in case of audio record failure.

4.7 Number of interviews and Saturation

The total number of interviews collected and utilized for analysis were eight. The reason for this number was that after conducting six interviews, the responses started to look similar. There was no much difference on views on perspectives, motives, construction of needs, problem solving approaches. However, two more interviews were added to make a total of eight with the hope that different views would be elicited but there wasn't much difference.

As Saunders, Sim, Kingstone, Baker, Waterfield, Bartlam & Jinks (2017) have asserted, saturation in qualitative research is an important criterion for researchers to discontinue data collection and sometimes analysis. However, as Fusch & Ness (2015) have asserted," One cannot assume data saturation has been reached just because one has exhausted the resources" (p.1409). While referring to Burmeister & Aitken (2012), Fusch & Ness (2015) clarify that saturation is not just about numbers but also about the depth of the data collected. In other words, after reaching the sample of eight interviews, and on the basis of the richness of the data collected, further data collection was not necessary (Saunders et al., 2017) in this study. Beyond the eight interviews, the data collected would be redundant as Saunders et al (2017) referring to Grady (1998) have noted.

4.8 Data Management and Analysis

Data collected through qualitative research methods can be analyzed through a wide range of approaches including; "grounded theory approach, critical discourse analysis, qualitative content analysis, and narrative analysis" (Bryman, 2012, p.578). This means that the choice of analysis method for a researcher depends much on the type of data collected and the suitability of the method. The method used for analyzing data collected from this study is thematic analysis.

4.8.1 Thematic Analysis

According to Bryman (2016), thematic analysis is one of the most common and flexible approaches to qualitative data analysis involving use of themes. Through this method of analysis, researchers are able to identify, analyze and report patterns (themes) within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Inspired by Braun & Clarke´s (2006) step by step guide for doing thematic analysis, the researcher took the following steps in the management and analysis of data in this study;

4.8.1.1 Familiarization with data

After transcription and with all the raw data typed, I read and reread thoroughly through the transcripts line by line to get familiar with the data. Since I collected the data myself, most of it was familiar and I already had begun developing some theoretical thoughts. Nonetheless, I needed to familiarize myself with the deeper meaning of the content and try to identify patterns.

4.8.1.2 Searching for themes and coding

Coding was done manually, using color highlighters to indicate potential patterns. I began to highlight and note down themes (reoccurrences and repetitions). However, as Bryman (2012, p.580) notes, "repetition per se is an insufficient criterion for something to warrant being labelled a theme…most importantly, it must be relevant to the investigation's research questions or research focus" thus as I searched and identified themes, I also made connections to the research questions.

4.8.1.3 Reviewing and naming themes

In this step, I went through the identified themes in order to refine them. It was possible to see that some themes were not actually themes but could be collapsed into other themes or placed under main themes to form subthemes. For example, initially, I had identified constructing needs and levels of constructing needs as two different themes, however I realized the latter could be collapsed under the former as a subtheme. Other themes were also too broad so I separated them to form more themes. Themes that emerged were; *services and organization*, *construction of needs and problem-solving approaches* with subthemes; (construction through eligibility criterion, level of needs constructions, the interaction between civil society and macro level construction of needs), *Motives for engaging with undocumented* with subthemes (professional ethics, personal motives, Christianity values, when you get involved, you get involved), *perspectives legitimizing undocumented migrants for support* with subthemes (human rights, child and victim perspective). The last theme is *impact of structural and organizational factors on construction of needs and practices.*

4.8.1.4 Writing up the findings

With all the eight transcripts open, I ran through each transcript extracting quotes that matched (explained) different themes and subthemes and pasted these quotes under the relevant theme and subtheme while making a link to previous literature and possible theoretical perspectives. The theoretical tools in this study were developed both before and through the empirical data and as themes were generated.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

Adherence to research ethics is a cornerstone for conducting effective and meaningful research involving human subjects. Bryman (2016), notes "ethical issues cannot be ignored, as they relate directly to the integrity of a piece of research…" (p.120). First ethical consideration in this study was to have the proposal and research tools approved by supervisor before data collection. Ethical research board´s approval in Sweden was not obtained as this was not necessary however, the study adhered to following key ethical principles; informed consent, confidentiality and anonymity, voluntary participation and protection from harm (Bryman, 2016);

Informed consent was obtained by clearly explaining and providing all the relevant information regarding the study; aim, objectives and the use of the data to the respondents. Explanation was done verbally before interviews began but also through an information sheet[13] explaining in detail the study, its benefits and risks (each respondent was left with a copy of the information sheet). Respondents then made an informed decision to participate voluntarily. No incentives were given for participation. Consent forms were designed, read by the respondents who agreed to participate by writing their names and the dates and then signed by the researcher. Written consent is advantageous in that respondents are fully informed of the nature of the study and what it means to participate (Bryman, 2012). A researcher is also protected in case any concerns arise because they have a signed copy of the consent.

Assurance of utmost confidentiality and anonymity was very important for participants in this study. The organization names may be specified (with permission from the organizations) but no personal identities such as names and emails of respondents are included in the findings so that no linkages can be made between their views and personal identities. The names of social workers are anonymized using fictitious names. In presenting findings, certain information that could endanger the service users was not revealed, for example the name of the central location where services are organized for undocumented migrants is only mentioned as a church for security reasons. However, the information of the exact dates is withheld for the safety of both the service users and providers. Further still, since four originations participated in this study, views from respondents in one organization were not revealed to respondents from other organizations to uphold confidentiality of their views. When quoting the respondents word´s, affiliation of the social workers to the organizations is not mentioned as this was important keep the respondents more anonymous.

Transcription of interviews was done by the researcher alone in a private room, using headphones and information discussed only with supervisor to ensure no harm whatsoever accrues to the participants. No research questions investigated whereabouts of undocumented migrants and interviews were held in private spaces convenient for participants. Phone recording was done only with permission from respondents. After data was transcribed from the audio recording, these recording were deleted to avoid someone accidentally accessing them.

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[13] To be attached in the Appendices

4.10 Limitations and Delimitations

The data collection methods adopted in this study were limited to in-depth (semi-structured) interviews due to the sensitive nature of this study. "Studies in which there are potential consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research directly by the research must be considered sensitive" (Sieber & Stanley, 1988, pg. 49 cited in Duvell, Triandafyllidou & Vollmer, 2010). Indeed, research into undocumented migrants and practices meets this criterion and must be considered sensitive. Meaning that researchers must take into account certain precautions in both methodological considerations and how the findings can be disseminated to minimize harm to individual's already experiencing oppression (ibid.). Moreover, research involving investigation into practices with undocumented migrants can be hugely invasive. Further still, considering the political controversies surrounding the subject of undocumented migrants, many researchers in the field of irregular migration argue for strong ethical concerns (Düvell et al., 2008; Nordling, 2017).

In other words, observation, which could have been a very good complementary data collection method to the in depths interviews, was not chosen. The very presence of the researcher, observing undocumented migrants interacting with service providers could increase anxiety and psychological problems for these service users. The fear of unknown people, including researchers observing practices could accelerate pressure for service providers and users. However, to compensate for this limitation in methods used, the researcher made sure that the in-depth-interview guide was very comprehensive and deeply touched into all the research questions.

Beyond the eight interviews, the strength of this study lay in the richness of the data collected. Further still, Silverman (2010) notes that, resolving questions about inadequate number of interviews in qualitative research is possible through purposive selection of respondents. Responses were also diversified by including medical personnel and volunteers into the sample as well as sampling different types of civil society organizations as already hinted above.

Time was a limitation. All students are expected to begin research in January/2018 and submit end of May/2018 (approximately 5 month) which is a short period of time. However, to overcome this time limitation, the researcher began literature review and proposal writing as early as November and December/2017. It was then possible to accomplish the study within this time frame specified in the program. None the less, a longer time frame could have done this study more justice especially in terms of the interview sample.

4.11 Quality Assurance

Evaluating the quality of social research is essential especially if the findings are to be utilized in practice (Noble & Smith, 2015). Two criteria are important; reliability and validity (Bryman, 2012). Reliability is concerned with the question of whether the results of a study are repeatable while validity pertains the integrity of the conclusions generated (Leung, 2015) and whether results from the study can be generalized beyond the specific research context.

As a measure of reliability in this study; using in-depths interviews with respondents possessing firsthand information in working with undocumented migrants makes the research methods and sample sound and appropriate. The research process has been described transparently, right from the inception of the idea, through to the development of methods to the reporting of

findings (detailed in a chat). Data triangulation[14] through perspectives from social workers, volunteers and medical personnel, helped produce comprehensive findings and reduce bias to a sample of only social workers.

According to Golafshani (2003), ensuring reliability in qualitative research requires "examination of trustworthiness…" (p.601). Findings from this study can be trusted because rich and thick verbatim[15] descriptions of participant accounts are included to support findings (Noble & Smith, 2015). Results are also discussed in relation to already existing literature and theoretical concepts. The researcher is also confident that respondents gave honest views because of the way they openly and frankly shared information regarding practice challenges and lack of capacity in handling emotional aspects and ethical and practice dilemmas they struggle with. However, given the flexibility in the use of interview guides and in asking questions during interviewing, a slight change in the way questions are asked could elicit slightly different responses thus making it hard to achieve validity

Sensitivity is a criterion proposed by Yardley (2000) cited in Bryman (2012, p.393) followed to further ensure quality in this study. Sensitivity is not just to the context of the social setting in which the research is conducted but also to potentially relevant theoretical positions and ethical issues, commitment and rigor in engagement with the subject matter and thorough data collection and analysis, transparency and coherence in clearly specifying research methods and a clear articulation of the argument.

With regards to transferability and generalization of findings, Bryman (2012), notes that, because qualitative studies involve intensively studying a limited group, qualitative findings tend to be oriented to the context unique and significant of the social world being studied. In other words, qualitative researchers are more preoccupied with the depth rather than the breadth, as the case is for quantitative researchers (ibid.). Bryman (2012) refers to Geertz (1973) noting that qualitative researchers are encouraged to produce rich accounts of the details of phenomena (thick descriptions). In this way, others are provided with a database for making judgements about how to possibly transfer findings to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 cited in Bryman, 2012).

The objective of this study was to understand the organization of support and construction of needs and problem-solving approaches in relation to undocumented migrants in the civil society in Gothenburg, Sweden. Through the findings in this context, implications can be drawn for those providing support to undocumented migrants in other contexts and countries because the phenomenon of undocumented migrants is present globally. For instance, lessons are drawn on practice dilemmas which could cut across globally for those working with undocumented migrants (especially the legal and organizational constraints). Equally, the context may be specific and the legal context and interaction between state and civil society differ. Through application of the right to have rights theory, the construction of deserving and not deserving, and anti-oppressive social work, generalization on how needs and practices are constructed in relation to those who are not at all or who have limited access to legal rights, social rights is possible. Nonetheless, generalizing these specific findings outside this context is difficult given the differences in welfare state regimes and the positioning, role of civil society and the relationship between the state and civil society in different countries.

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[14] Triangulation entails "using more than one method or source of data in the study of social phenomena" (Bryman, 2012, p.392)

[15] Exactly the same way as was mentioned by respondents

Conclusions arrived at in this study are reflective of this study context as evident through the findings.

4.12 Process of conducting the study (stages)

This study went through different stages right from its inception to its completion;

4.12.1 Research proposal, literature review and preparation of tools

In this stage, the research problem area was identified and shared with the supervisor. With the help of the proposal, the research idea, including research objectives, questions, methodological considerations were made explicit in writing. The stage also involved literature search and review to contextualize the study and gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of what had already been done. Theoretical concepts for analyzing the data were also proposed. It is also in this stage that negotiating access to the proposed study area was initiated.

4.12.2 Data collection phase

Primary data was collected at this stage. Respondents were contacted to schedule interview dates and time more convenient for them. Overall, this stage was successful because all the interviews were obtained.

4.12.3 Management of data and analysis

This stage involved transcribing data from the field and later identifying themes, subthemes and interpreting them.

4.12.4 Draft and final report writing

This was the final phase of the study and comprised a presentation and discussion of findings in relation to the research questions and theoretical perspectives. Sharing and discussing drafts of the report with the supervisor was very helpful in making improvements for the final report to be submitted for assessment. It is important to note that throughout all these phases, literature search and review was a continuous and an ongoing process.

4. 13. Research Time schedule and Resources Chat

Right from the conception of the research idea to the final report writing, this study took a period of six (5) month, even though literature review and proposal writing began in November. The chat below gives a summary of these phases and also highlights the resources that were helpful in executing each stage.

Period	Month	Nov 2017				Dec 2017				Jan 2018				Feb 2018				Mar 2018				April 2018				May 2018			
	Weeks	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Phase	Literature Review Articles Documents	x	x	X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Proposal Writing Contacts to respondents Time as a resource			X	x	x	x	X	x	x	x																		
	Research tools Logistics for printing Interview guides & consent forms											x																	
	Data Collection Note books Transport Venues													x	x	x													
	Data transcription and Analysis																x	x	x	x									
	Draft Report Writing																				x	x	x	x	x	x			
	Final report witting and submission																									x	x	x	x

Chapter Five
Findings and Analyses

The aim of this chapter is to present the results from a study that aimed to deepen the understanding on social work practice with undocumented migrants by enquiring into the services and construction of the needs and problem-solving approaches in relation to undocumented migrants in four selected civil society organizations in Gothenburg, Sweden. The report begins with a description of the nature and organization of support services to undocumented migrants and then proceeds to discuss the construction of needs and problem-solving approaches, motives underlying service provision, perspectives legitimizing undocumented migrants as deserving and the impact of structural factors (national laws) and organizational factors (norms, ethical boundaries and resources) on construction of needs and practice meeting these needs. The last part presents general recommendations to improve social work with undocumented migrants. Names used in this analysis are not the respondent's real names. The three dots (…) either at the beginning, middle or end of the quotation indicates that some words in the sentence have been taken away. Themes that emerged were; *services and organization*, *construction of needs and problem-solving approaches* with subthemes; (construction through eligibility criterion, level of needs constructions, the interaction between civil society and macro level construction of needs), *Motives for engaging with undocumented* with subthemes (professional ethics, personal motives, Christianity values, when you get involved, you get involved), *perspectives legitimizing undocumented migrants for support* with subthemes (human rights, child and victim perspective). The last theme is *impact of structural and organizational factors on construction of needs and practices.*

5.1 The nature and organization of support Services to undocumented migrants

All organizations participating in this study are Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), with a mix of staff; some people are getting a salary while others work as volunteers (not paid). Different services and support are provided to undocumented migrants according to organizational specialty, meaning, each organization provides specific services/support not provided by another. In this way, there is cooperation to fill needs. All services are provided free of charge to undocumented migrants. The revelation from this finding agrees with Jönsson (2014) who explains that support services within the civil society are often directed and organized by social workers, other professionals and volunteers.

Services and support include; basic needs (short term support) such as food, diapers for babies and clothing for both adults and children. Other forms of support are; help with Judicial, social and legal issues (contact with tax authorities, knowledge and advice on how to apply for work permits, or to register a child in Sweden, asylum applications appeals, guidance with job applications and general information about how the Swedish system works.). Medical services (counselling, guidance and referrals to medical facilities) are offered. Further, social workers engage in advocacy (opinion work) and meetings with politicians to increase the recognition of undocumented migrants and lobby for their rights. There are also activities to increase the socialization of undocumented migrants, for instance the church creates meeting spaces by

organizing ´fika´[16] and Swedish language classes once a week and Social activities for children (singing, dancing). In summary, some organizations provide practical support with basic needs while others offer practical information and guidance. Jönsson (2014) also previously reported services provided to undocumented migrants as ranging from food, clothes, medicine and shelter to counselling and advocacy.

Contrary to the initial assumption of this research study, that service provision would be organized individually and distinctively by the selected civil society organizations, Service provision is organized in one place, under one roof, once every week in a church. A team of legal aid professionals and social lawyers, medical doctors, nurses and opticians, psychologist, counsellors and social workers gather in one place, creating a one stop place (center) for undocumented families to access a range of services.

There was consensus among the respondents in this study, that staging service provision to one place, under one roof, would ease access and reduce stress for service users (undocumented migrants). The following quotation from social worker, Anita will help shed light on this;

> You know it is hard and stressful for undocumented families to go around and ask for help in every civil society organization. That is why we make it easy for them by bringing these services in one place…otherwise people have to run around and this is very stressful…they can see the lawyers, those who handle juridical issues, the doctors and nurses (social worker, Anita)

This could also reduce the risk of discovery for undocumented migrants and consequently deportation;

> Our service users are already fearful of being seen by police, many fear running into authorities. If we have everybody in one place, then more undocumented migrants in need will seek services (social worker, Ingrid).

An important issue raised above is that undocumented migrants are likely to shun services where access puts them at a risk of discovery. There is also a recognition on the part of the Organizations and service providers of the concrete fear but also the risk that undocumented migrants take when they decide to seek support (Drachman & Ryan, 2001; Torres, 2014). Moreover, organizing service provision in one place could be the "undocumented practices and new methods" that Jönsson (2014) recommends in the area of Social work practice with undocumented migrants in Sweden.

The collection of service to one place, under one roof (one stop center) was also said to be beneficial for the service providers themselves. As social worker, Hanna notes;

> The partnership makes it easier for me because we are all working in one place and we can make referral for questions and issues we cannot answer. Also coming in one place makes us more trustworthy.

This last response opens room for us to think of proximity as an avenue for simplifying referrals and for civil society organizations to learn from each other´s expertise, complement each other as well as strengthen team work. In a study by French, Graham, Gerressu, Salisbury, & Stephenson

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[16] A Swedish word for a small snack, coffee.

(2006), similar benefits from such an approach when delivering sexual health services were found in reducing working in isolation for staff and a more team spirit.

5.2 Constructing the needs of undocumented migrants and problem-solving approaches

Needs are jointly constructed between undocumented migrants and social workers, volunteers and other professionals within the organizations present at the service center. Undocumented migrants come with their needs/questions and ask for help. These needs inform the problem-solving approach/model adopted because the service providers then decide whether it is a legal, health, juridical, basic support with food and clothing or any other issue and refer undocumented migrants to the right people who can explore different options with them and try to help them within the service point;

> They come with their questions and we begin from there. First, we ask them what they need, specifically what support are they looking for and then we respond accordingly (volunteer, Annakarin).

Other respondents added that;

> They come with their questions and we never know what questions they have before we meet them. We only guide them to make their decisions and we cannot force them to take a decision (social worker, Ingrid).

> I talk to them, they ask for Diapers, food, clothes…So we try to fix what they ask for. We cannot turn them away because it is the fault of our government for not providing this support and for shutting them out that they are suffering in the first place (social worker, Lina).

All remarks above point to a mutual social construction of needs. By giving voice to undocumented migrants and allowing them to determine their needs and kind of support needed, social workers abandon the ´expert position´ and engage in a partnership that recognizes undocumented migrants as competent decision makers on matters affecting their lives. Thus, it can be argued that social workers are engaged in an anti-oppressive practice (Dalrymple & Burke, 2006; Dominelli, 2002). The last remark acknowledges the structural causes of oppression and suffering that undocumented migrants are subject to rather than blaming them for their predicament.

5.2.1 Constructing deservingness through eligibility criterion

Social workers make eligibility judgements of who is deserving and who is not. First, Undocumented migrants have to prove that they are ´undocumented´ by presenting immigration papers (asylum papers) showing a total rejection (application was unsuccessful and the appeal was unsuccessful too).

As one respondent notes;

> We want to make sure that they don´t have ´papers´ so that we are sure we are not helping asylum seekers and Swedish Citizens with a better life (social worker, Amanda).

> Asylum seekers have more rights to healthcare and the migration board can pay some of the costs so they don't have to pay and they are allowed to be in the country so it is not the same as the undocumented migrants…we want to focus the money we collect and our energy and our work to try to help those who are most in need… (volunteer, Anakarin).

This is a positive discrimination intended to capture the ´right´ beneficiaries for support and avoid service overlaps within organizational contexts and resource spaces, however, it could also reinforce feelings of stigma, vulnerability and marginalization for those receiving the services. For instance, to prove that one is ´undocumented´ to qualify for support reconstructs the very categorization created at the macro level by legal frameworks and immigration policies.

Most deserving and less deserving categories are also constructed through color cards; Orange[17], blue[18], pink[19] and green[20] . For example, in giving food and clothes, undocumented families with small children and without any form of financial support such as a job are grouped as more deserving than undocumented adults without small children but in a similar condition;

> We do not have so much to give and yet families in need are many, the aim is also to prioritize families with small children because they are the most needy and so that they do not stay longer in the que…the wellbeing of the children should be put first and they should be given support (social worker, Amanda).

> We start with families that have small children (babies below 1 year), they can also get some money (500[21] kronor in a month and also a Wily´s card[22] and transport card) (social worker, Anita).

Both views offer a theoretical window for understanding social constructions of deservingness within civil society organizational contexts. Social workers, informally incorporate undocumented migrants by positively constructing them as eligible and deserving for support, however, among these deserving, a further categorization into more deserving and less deserving could re-construct the very formal (macro level) constructions of non-deservingness. Thus, social workers may unknowingly contribute to the production of inequalities.

This space to act and decide who should be prioritized, who should be less prioritized or who should not be eligible at all can be theorized through Lipsky´s theory of street level bureaucracy. In this sense, social workers are street level bureaucrats with considerable discretion to determine the amount and quality of benefits provided through their agencies (Lipsky, 1969) to undocumented migrants. Social workers become gatekeepers through the power of defining who

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[17] Families with small children, without any form of support, job and must prove they are undocumented (first priority).

[18] Old and sick people so that they do not wait for so long (second priority).

[19] People who cannot really prove they are undocumented are assumed to be. They must have children and are experiencing hardships.

[20] Every other undocumented person (sometimes they don´t get assistance).

[21] Funding from social research.

[22] A membership card with shopping credit in it to be used in Wilys supermarket.

will be granted or denied assistance in the first place, that is, who is to be defined as a client (Lipsky, 1980). This reflects a social constructionist theoretical approach. As Jilke & Tummers (2018) note, one way for street level bureaucrats to cope with workloads and limited resources is by prioritizing some clients. Moreover, the decision on what client to prioritize are based on client attributes reflecting prevailing professional category of deservingness (Lipsky, 1980; Tummers, 2017). Prioritization as revealed in this study is due to limited resources compared to the number of families in need, especially for food and clothes support. However, viewed from another angel, constructions into more and less deserving categories shifts humanitarian aid to a ´politics of life´ where humanitarian organizations decide whose lives to save and which ones to risk (Fassin, 2007).

5.2.2 Levels at which needs are constructed

5.2.2.1 Basic/survival level

There was consensus among all the respondents that the most pressing (emergency) needs for undocumented migrants are basic needs such as food, clothing and health care and therefore this must be prioritized;

> …health care and food are the emergency needs that people have today (social worker, Anita).

This concern with basic needs within the civil society affirms social work`s concern and commitment to uphold people´s rights to the satisfaction of their basic needs for food, water and health care (IFSW, 1996; United Nations Centre for Human Rights, 1994). Reflecting on this, a preoccupation with basic needs can reinforce survival on the margins for undocumented migrants.

5.2.2.2 Micro/grassroots level-within the organizations

The processes involving needs assessment and coming up with solutions for undocumented migrants occur within the organization space- however, the practice within this pace, to some extent interacts with the macro level constructions (outside system). In other words, construction of needs within these organizations interacts and is somehow shaped by formal state constructions. For example, a change in health care laws in favor of undocumented migrants in 2013 led to a change in practice for medical professionals in the civil society. Respondents talked about less work for ´underground clinics´ because after 2013, undocumented patients can go to the ordinary health care system, as one respondent was quoted;

> We were very active in providing medical aid to undocumented migrants before the law supporting health care to undocumented children and families came into force in 2013. This meant that undocumented people have the right to go to the clinics for medical care, and need to pay just about 50 Swedish kronor. So now we don't have doctors coming here so much (Doctor, Jonas).

Another respondent points to negative constructions at the macro level and the effect this has on the constructions and organization of support on the local level;

> There are also politicians these days that say the law on health for undocumented people should be taken away …if that happens then we will need more doctors here (social worker, Anita).

From the above comments, I can argue that much as these civil society organizations go against laws to enact new forms of citizenship (Nordling, 2017) by incorporating undocumented migrants at the grassroots, their acts are still dependent on the prevailing state laws and politics of the time. In other words, the ever-changing legal context on a structural level is part of constructing the needs and problem-solving approaches in civil society.

5.2.3 Against the state or a form of bridge between the state and undocumented migrants?

In the existing literature, civil society is portrayed as the "ultimate alternative" (Jönsson, 2015; p.45) to the state in providing for undocumented migrants, results from this study reveal rather a partnership relationship. Some of the organizations (church), receives funding of about 800,000[23] Swedish kronor yearly from the state local government, Gothenburg city mission, through a renewable yearly agreement to provide for undocumented children and their families with basic support such as food and clothing.

According to social worker, Anita;

> We have an agreement with Gothenburg city to give help (emergency needs) to families and children. Gothenburg city gives us money to provide for undocumented migrants because they cannot do it directly in a good way, they are not sure how to do it and because undocumented migrants are scared that their addresses may be exposed to police and they may stand a risk of being deported. The city acknowledges that undocumented children and families should not be left to suffer.

According to another respondent, "…the Swedish state should offer funding for civil society to provide social services when the formal state cannot provide these services (social worker, Ingrid).

These findings agree with Jönsson (2014) who reports that one of the strategies used by municipal social workers concerning undocumented migrants in Sweden is to cooperate with civil society organizations not restricted by the laws and regulations as much in order to find other ways of supporting undocumented migrants. Similarly, Nordling (2017) asserts that "the civil society appears as a space where social workers' responsibilities for undocumented migrants could potentially be renegotiated…spaces to act…" (302). Thus, this organizations are acting as form a bridge between the state and undocumented migrants, perhaps, an implementer on its behalf.

The remarks in the quote above raise three important issues; one, by funding the organization to provide for undocumented families, the local state authorities acknowledge civil society (religious institutions) as best suited and positioned to deliver services to undocumented families. Two, funding is for only ´emergency needs´ and nothing more and three, as Gothenburg city council was the only cited municipality funding civil society, this reveals a private arrangement reflecting interpretation of the social services act to include undocumented migrants. However, a basic level of constructing human rights could reinforce survival within the margins for undocumented

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[23] 350, 000 Swedish kronor is for support to the undocumented families (focus is children) And 450,000 is for salaries for the staff employed in the organization.

migrants and smoothen inequality rather than a realization of the right to the same standard of life as those considered citizens and eligible in the Swedish society.

A different and opposing view emerged from some respondents regarding funding from the state municipality. Respondents disagreed with receiving money from Gothenburg city council and emphasized the need for the state to take up the responsibility to directly provide for undocumented migrants rather than fund organizations that have decided to help;

As one respondent notes;

> It is still the responsibility of the city and state to give help to this population group because these people are among us now… (social worker, Hanna).

Hanna, further adds that, "…the government is too proud to get involved with undocumented migrants because it totally goes against their laws, and the state is also afraid of losing the face of the law". The idea is for the state to own up responsibility to directly provide support for undocumented people, quoting one respondent;

> We exist because the state has failed to provide for this people in the first place…our goal is not to exist at all…the state should take full responsibility for everyone here. We have refused to accept that money because it is wrong, we rather look for other sources…we want the state to know that it is wrong, promoting such a system is also wrong and we want to create a different new system…one where undocumented migrants have same access to rights (doctor, Jonas).

Both remarks lift up the obligation and responsibility of the state to provide for undocumented migrants. The last comment, introduces an anti-oppressive element, the need to facilitate social change and change oppressive systems. These findings disagree with assertions made by Abramovitz (1998), that "Social work has often been accused…of serving as a handmaiden of the status quo" (p. 512). In fact, contrary to Stewart (2017) revelation about social workers being perpetuators of oppressive systems by teaching oppressed how to live within the system rather than making new systems altogether, these organizations have expressed commitment to reforming policies through opinion work and negotiations with politicians in ways that push the state to step up and take responsibility for this population.

5.3 Motives for engaging in work with undocumented migrants
Social workers and volunteers in this study provided different motives for engaging with undocumented migrants. These motives have been categorized into; Professional ethics, personal motives, and Christianity values. Some respondents cited all these motives, while others distinguished between personal and professional motivation.

5.3.1 Professional Ethics
There was consensus that extending services to undocumented migrants is part of a professional duty and mandate. Social workers spoke about their duty to help everyone in need as the profession calls them to do so and moreover, their organizations hire them to do this job, as one respondent explains;

> Well professionally, it is professional ethics because it is part of the job description (social worker, Lina).

Another respondent adds;

> As a professional social worker, it is my duty, we started working with undocumented migrants because there was a need for our service… (social worker, Ingrid).

Ethics constitute particular guidelines on the conduct for profession. Professional ethics are at the heart of social work and a unifying feature of this profession (Healy, 2007; Congress & McAuliffe, 2006). The findings above agree with literature from Hare (2004) and Brill (2001) who both note that there is obligation and responsibility on social work practitioners to help everybody realize full potential irrespective of their legal status. Compared to what Jönsson (2014) found regarding some social workers who violate professional mandate by conforming to national laws and prohibiting services to undocumented migrants, all the social workers in this study expressed willingness and commitment to serve these service users above the laws, thus relating to the values of the social work profession.

5.3.2 Personal motives-who am I if I don't help?

Respondents discussed about the moral imperative to help. They talked about personal feelings of guilt and shame, watching undocumented migrants suffering without help, as one respondent said;

> …sometimes I feel guilty… I go home…I take a warm shower, go to sleep in my warm bed…but for them, it is very difficult, they don't have a place to live…I stand with them… (social worker, Anita).

Being in a position of privilege and having everything meant nothing for some respondents if other people were suffering;

> …we have everything, we have a warm apartment to sleep and good food to eat and great education and then you meet undocumented people with nothing, my heart starts to burn...how can you enjoy and be happy when someone is sleeping hungry… How can I stay in that position of privilege and yet listen to how it is hard for them, their children not doing well in schools because of the stress? (volunteer, Anakarin).

Interestingly, one respondent felt a personal obligation and responsibility to extend her share of privilege to undocumented migrants, since she herself did not earn it;

> Look at me, I have been born in this country and I have not done anything to earn this a luxury… since I have not earned it, it would be great to share this luxury in solidarity with undocumented people (nurse, Anika).

All these remarks illustrate acts of solidarity between those in position of privilege and undocumented migrants. Solidarity implies "not only understanding and empathy towards humankind's pain and suffering, but also identifying and taking a stand with the sufferers and their cause, . . . expressing their solidarity in words and deeds in the face of any form of denial of people's … rights" (United Nations Centre for Human Rights, 1994, p.60). According to Nordling (2017), such acts of solidarity have the potential to open up spaces ´in between´ citizenship and non-citizenship, which in turn may open up new forms of citizenship and social rights.

5.3.3 Christianity motives (not just human rights)

Upholding Christian values was a great motivation for respondents working with the church. Reference was made to the teachings of the bible and the works of Jesus in helping the poor, as one respondent explained;

> We are a Christian church carrying the Christian faith… We work with Christian values to see that no one in society experiencing the hardest situation (social worker, Ingrid).

Carrying Christian faith also means standing for those suffering as Jesus did. One respondent explains that God spoke to her many years ago to become a social worker and help those in need;

> I would say God gave the calling to work with undocumented migrants … We stand up for the poor people who need help because Jesus stood up for them and he always talked about mercy… (social worker, Hanna).

The remarks above introduce an element of pastoral power (Holmes, 2002). This power comes from a relationship between pastor as the guide and the pastorate (individuals and community), where the pastor is preoccupied with the welfare of the latter (ibid.). Through this benevolence power, there is care of souls (Foucault, 1991 cited in Holmes, 2002). The trust that undocumented migrants have in the church to protect and provide them with support, coupled with the commitment of the church to help translates into power based on Christian values (Holmes, 2002) and focused on people with welfare needs to improve their wellbeing.

5.3.4 When you get involved, you get involved

Social workers revealed that involvement with undocumented migrants leads to more involvement.

> Being around undocumented migrants and listening to their stories makes me want to help more and more (social worker, Ingrid).

Some respondents see beyond the here and now when working with this group. As one social worker explains;

> I dream of a better world for undocumented migrants that is why, even when I become a pensioner, I will still continue working with this group (social worker, Lina).

These remarks paint a vivid picture of the good intentions and motives behind helping undocumented migrants and thus in disagreement with Tummers & Bekkers (2014) who argue that street level bureaucrats sometimes pursue their own interests.

5.4 Perspectives underlying service provision

In legitimating undocumented migrants for support, different perspective were raised, including; human rights, child perspective and a victim perspective;

5.4.1 Human rights perspective

In almost all the responses, human rights did not miss mention in arguing a case for helping undocumented migrants. Human rights were tied to being a human being, regardless of legal status. Respondents also emphasized that by virtue of being in Sweden now, undocumented migrants gain the same rights as Swedish citizens. Remarks from respondents will help paint a clear picture;

> Everyone who is in Sweden is part of the Swedish society… it is important that undocumented migrants especially those with little children have a right to this support (social worker, Anita).

> It is absolutely right to help them and I think they have a right to get the help now that they are part of this society (nurse Anika).

> I believe everyone has a right as a human being which should not be defined by laws- Personally, and from A social work point of view, undocumented migrants are eligible for support just like any other citizen in Sweden and generally I think that undocumented persons deserve much more (social worker, Ingrid).

Human rights are rights inherent in our nature, without which we as human beings cannot live (United Nations Centre for Human Rights, 1994). As Hare (2004) notes, Human Rights and social justice serve as the motivation and justification for social work action. Declaration of inalienable Universal Human Rights offers protection to all people irrespective of their immigration status.

According to these remarks, undocumented migrants have a human right by virtue of being human beings. This is a right of man, to be enjoyed by all and not dependent on the nation or race. In fact, the rights of man should apply to undocumented migrants where their right to citizenship and recognition is stripped away. This view aligns very much with Hannah Arendt´s concept of the ´Right to have Rights´ (Arendt, 1968), a theoretical window through which we can see the rights of undocumented migrants beyond citizenship conception of rights. In other words, undocumented migrants have a right to have rights (Arendt, 1968; 1994) because they are human beings. "…we are not born equal; we become equal as members of a group on the strengths of our decision to guarantee ourselves mutually equal rights" (Arendt, 1968, p.301).

5.4.2 A Child perspective

The respondents agreed that it is very important to help undocumented migrants especially for the sake of the children. This, according to some respondents is a child perspective (a focus on the child) to ensure their proper childhood and growth;

Quoting one respondent;

> …the third perspective is the child perspective. Every child has a right to a good childhood, no matter what the law is saying…we understand that growing up as child who is undocumented is challenging, so we try to see how to help children access school, improve on their social life by engaging them in social activities like singing, dancing… (social worker, Ingrid).

For some social workers and volunteers, it´s best to prioritize small children. Indeed, undocumented migrants with small children were more eligible for support, hence explaining the criterion adopted to prioritize families with small children. As one social worker explains;

> In cases of emergency involving children, the wellbeing of the children should be put first and they should be given support (social worker, Lina).

In agreement, volunteer, Anakarin, adds;

> We don't give a lot of social work support but I think it is important that undocumented migrants especially those with little children have a right to this support.

Respondents were also concerned with the consequences of not helping children of undocumented migrants. As one social worker points out;

> Imagine having a child who is not registered in Sweden, it could have very strong consequences in the long term (social worker, Anita).

> And I also think that if a child has stayed in Sweden for more than 8 years, may be the solution is not to take to the child to immigration board but to give the child help (social worker, Ingrid).

These remarks agree with Article 6 of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) which explicitly provides for every child´s inherent right to life, maximum survival and development. Corresponding to earlier literature, priority on children exists in the health care system where children of undocumented migrants have the same rights to health care as Swedish children, whereas adults have access to emergency care (Nielsen, 2016; Sigvardsdotter 2012, Björngren Cuadra, 2010). In fact, Nordling (2017) notes that Undocumented children "had in the public debate been identified as rights-bearers…" (p.183). yet again, they are only right bearers according to the Swedish law or according to how it is practiced. Rights to a home, to food, to clothing, leisure activities are missing in practice.

5.4.3 Victim perspective

There was consensus that undocumented migrants are victims of marginalization and discrimination. Respondents also highlighted that undocumented migrants are vulnerable and are suffering, and therefore their situation needs to be reversed;

> Anyone can exploit or harm undocumented migrants and there is nothing they can do…they cannot report to police…they are victims because they have already been rejected by the system…they need support and protection from us…We find it necessary to see and talk to them because they are so sad and their lives are miserable so we try to talk to them nicely and with some love… it is hard for them and also hard for us seeing all this suffering and not being able to help……we know being undocumented migrant is a very terrible situation (social worker, Lina).

Moreover, taking a decision to stay in Sweden, as some respondents note, is something undocumented migrants wouldn't do if they had other options. A quotation from volunteer Annakarin and nurse, Anika is an illustration, respectively;

> There is need for support because they have taken this decision to live here without papers which is very difficult…otherwise if they had other options they would not be here in the first place. (volunteer, Annakarin).

> I also think that … if you flee your country and choose to live in Sweden as undocumented, it is really a hard life. There could be different reasons why they left their home country and I think it is fine… (nurse, Anika).

In Jönsson´s (2014) study, she talks about the ´victim discourse´, explaining that problems such as wars were the main reasons why many undocumented migrants leave their country and move to Sweden and that undocumented migrants are victims of exploitation.

The image we see from the above remarks is one of undocumented migrants suffering and in need of rescue and help. This image however, as Arendt (1968) argues may replace their image as human beings with ´a right to have rights´ or even right bearers. Tew (2006) warns practitioners of acting as rescuers of victims of oppressions because this recreates paternalistic relations and worse, will exacerbate their oppression and powerlessness.

5.5. The impact of structural and organizational factors on construction of needs and problem-solving approaches

Respondents agreed that their work with undocumented migrants is affected by both macro level factors (national laws and prevailing politics of the time) and the Micro organizational contexts (norms, ethics and resources).

5.5.1 Impact of national laws and politics

There were mixed views regarding how laws and policies outside civil society organizations affect the work and construction of needs within these organizations. First, some respondents applauded the funding from Gothenburg city as very beneficial in facilitating their work (purchasing food items and paying salary for some employed staff), as one Social worker explains;

> …the money from the state local government is helping children and families access basic needs… we get 800,000sek and this is quite a lot and affects our work positively but you never know when it will change. So the laws affect a lot especially through support from the Gothenburg city (social worker, Anita)-

This funding was also seen as a way the government, through Gothenburg city is somewhat incorporating undocumented migrants. As one social worker remarks; "the government indirectly works with undocumented migrants...in this sense may be the government does not totally exclude the group in Gothenburg city" (social worker, Ingrid). However, caution needs to be taken when making this claim because not all city councils support NGOs working with undocumented migrants. As a few studies have noted, providing social assistance to undocumented migrants across different municipalities depends much on the way municipal authorities interpret and understand the social services act of Sweden (Björngren Cuadra & Staff, 2014).

Increasing the rights of undocumented migrants in accessing health care nationally through the opportunity to visit the formal health care system was said to reduce the burden for the health care professionals working in the civil society. Now instead of providing health care itself, they are providing information and guidance;

> …the medical clinic helping undocumented families was very active in providing medical aid to undocumented migrants before the law supporting health care to undocumented children and families came into force in 2013… So now we don't have doctors coming here more often (social worker, Ingrid).

The enactment of the health care law (Lag, 2013:407), was cited as a positive impact, considering that medical professionals in clinics helping undocumented migrants strive for a full incorporation of undocumented migrants in the health care system, … "our goal is not to exist at all" (doctor, Jonas). It can also be argued that practices within the civil society are somehow shaped by existing

laws or policies on undocumented migrants. In other words, the construction of practices are done in relation to what is done on a structural level.

Generally, the perception of undocumented migrants and the organizations supporting them is positive from the surrounding communities;

> …we get money and other forms of donations from people around including food and clothes to give to undocumented migrants (social worker, Anita).

However, the negative impact of laws on organization practices was highlighted, for instance, according to one social worker;

> ...the group in Sweden that says ´do not help them´ is much bigger than those who say ´help them (social worker, Ingrid).

Some respondents noted that their engagement with undocumented migrants is because the national laws cut out undocumented migrants in the first place;

> Yes, of course our responsibility to provide for undocumented migrants in the first place was because the national laws and the Swedish system pushed out undocumented migrants...It pushes the civil society and the non-governmental sector to engage more with undocumented migrants (social worker, Hanna).

This remark raises a very critical issue; the decreasing role of the state and the increasing role and involvement of non-state actors. Concordant to this, Jönsson (2014) explains that the increasing support structures created for undocumented migrants within the civil society is a consequence of the retreat of the Swedish welfare state in its responsibility for this group following neoliberal changes in the Swedish welfare system.

Other respondents pointed out the difficulty and constraint laws and policies pose in their everyday interface with undocumented migrants. Social worker, Lina complained openly about this;

> you have to be clear about the rules and laws that apply to this group, you need to understand the asylum processes otherwise you get confused and end up confusing the client as well and making things even more difficult (social worker, Lina).

This differential treatment proved even more difficult for medical professionals as Doctor Jonas, elaborates;

> It would be easier for the patients and health care personnel to just decide to treat everyone equal than saying who is undocumented or not, we should have this special law blaaa blaa. This makes a lot of challenges as a medical person because you have to keep referring to who is this patient, what healthcare law applies to this person, is this right or wrong and this brings a lot of ethical dilemmas...Sometimes it is hard because for example my ethical rules as a doctor do not work together with Swedish laws now. The Swedish laws for example say, we have to treat undocumented migrants differently and yet am taught in my ethical laws and practice to treat everyone equally. There is confusion here (doctor, Jonas).

Some respondents expressed practice dilemmas when encountering undocumented migrants, especially where human rights clash with national legislation;

...we have the right to health care and the UN declaration of rights for example, may be for children and then Sweden says, we agree to this and then we don't live up to the law. The question is do we follow the law or do we follow the UN rights. This becomes a bit problematic and insecure for patients because then it depends on what doctor you meet. Do they get the right help or not. It is either you align with the law or go against it... It is not a problem for me because I have made a decision not to separate (nurse, Anika).

According to Furman et al., (2012) "social contexts in which the needs of society at large, as represented by the government through the codification of laws and statutes, conflict with the needs of vulnerable populations, nearly always lead to ethical dilemmas" (p. 177). The findings above point to ethical dilemmas as arising from a conflict between human rights conventions and immigration policies when encountering undocumented migrants. Deciding not to separate undocumented migrants as Nurse, Jönsson notes, depicts a case where practitioners go above the law to help undocumented migrants. This practice disputes studies suggesting that immigration policies often receive the highest priority when different legal perspectives clash (Derluyn & Broeckaert, 2008 cited in Cuadra & Staff, 2014)

5.5.2 Organizational factors (ethics, boundaries, and resources)

There was consensus that working with undocumented migrants raises powerful ethical challenges even within organizational contexts because of professional and organization ethics and boundaries;

It is an issue of professional boundary, should I do this should I do that? How much can I help? …also, because we go there to help as professionals and employees…I am limited in what I can do for them because…this is a bit different for volunteers who have freedom to go an extra mile. For example, I have heard stories where volunteers have taken home paperless people and provided for them a place to sleep and live (in their own homes), some volunteers even cry when they hear painful stories. I cannot do that because it is completely forbidden because of my profession…I am limited ethically and professionally to how much I can get involved… (social worker, Hanna).

According to social worker, Amanda;

Organization Policies draw boundaries...we do this and we don't do that...in terms of keeping contact with these families and also other ethical things which are also not easy to follow because sometimes we meet people and they become members of the church and then it is a different thing.

The first remark raises a very important issue; awareness of professional boundaries. In agreement, Cooper, (2012) asserts that professional boundary awareness has been evident in social work practice for a long time. Indeed, professional boundaries in the social work profession are meant to set limits, expectations, rules and standards of behavior for social workers. From the above findings, professional boundaries point to how service providers work with undocumented migrants, however, these boundaries should also extend to how social workers manage themselves and their emotions. Having more room for action (taking undocumented migrants

home and crying with them) as volunteers[24] do, especially those without any professional training background raises reflective questions; what codes should govern behavior of those without a professional background? The second remark pin points on boundaries set within organizations. Thus, as service providers adhere to professional boundaries, they must also pay attention to limits set within the spaces where they act.

Resource inadequacies were cited as impacting on the construction of needs, thus forcing service providers to make priorities;

> Yes, of course the need is big and we somehow try to meet this need but now we have to put priorities to small children (social worker, Amanda).

> it is tiring and I have to lobby for resources from other people and also talk about the situation of undocumented migrants (Social worker, Ingrid).

In agreement with Lipsky (1980) who argues that sometimes, the lack of resources forces street level-bureaucrats to develop creative ways of distributing what they have to their clients, the priorities in needs constructions have a link to resource inadequacies within the civil society.

5.6 Recommendation to Improve practice with undocumented migrants

Drawing on the recommendations elicited from this study, improving social work practice with undocumented migrants in general requires that; Organizations are clear, right from the start about the kind of service they will offer to undocumented migrants, Volunteers, especially those without social work background need training to better handle emotional and psychological aspects, group reflections among service providers is essential for sharing experience in this line of work. Some respondents also recommend that funding for civil society continues, right from the local government to the state. Some respondents also emphasize the continued involvement of religious institutions (churches) in helping undocumented migrants. The quotes below reflect these recommendations;

> There is need for more funding from the national state and should be consistent throughout the country, but also, we still need schemes to make undocumented migrants legal in Sweden beyond the legal frame work (social worker, Amanda).

> Volunteers need training on how to handle emotions especially when talking with undocumented people (volunteer, Anakarin).

> I would be happy if more churches in Sweden take more responsibility for undocumented people and we do something together (social worker, Hanna).

> Organizations need to be clear with what type of service they are going to offer right from the beginning (social worker, Lina).

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[24] These are people working without pay. They are not trained in the social work profession but may or may not have other qualifications. Some of them do not have any professional training. Many of them are old and retired people who devote their time in helping within these NGOs.

5.7 How the theories have informed Analyses

Utilizing the anti-oppressive perspective, the construction of needs and problem-solving approaches in the civil society is joint between undocumented migrants and the social workers. In giving voice to these service users and listening to their problems and what they need, social workers abandon their position as experts and engage in a form of partnership with undocumented migrants. This can be interpreted as an anti-oppressive practice. Further still, the engagement in meeting and talking with politicians, as some social workers do shifts intervention to a focus on structures barriers to full realization of rights for undocumented migrants.

Through the social constructionist perspective, analysis of the construction of undocumented migrants as eligible and most importantly, some groups as more eligible than others was possible. Focusing more on families with small children was analyzed through construction of deservingness. One of the perspective underpinning social work with undocumented migrants is human rights tied to being a human being and being in Sweden. Theorizing and interpreting this was possible through Arendt´s right to have rights, the focus on human rights to legitimize undocumented migrants. As social workers make eligibility judgements of who is eligible, and who deserves more, this behavior needed to be interpreted through street level bureaucracy. Further still, making decisions about how to distribute the funds from Gothenburg municipality places social workers in the position of street level bureaucrats. Overall, all these theoretical perspectives were very important and relevant for interpreting and analyzing the findings in this study.

Chapter six
Discussion, Implications and Conclusion

The aim of this last section is to reflectively comment on the findings on a study that aimed to understand social work practice with undocumented migrants by inquiring into the nature of services and construction of needs and problem-solving approaches in four selected civil society organizations in Gothenburg, Sweden. Key implications will be highlighted and a conclusion drawn. The reflective discussion is structured according to the themes below;

6.1 Discussion and Reflections

6.1.1 Nature and organization of support services

In organizing support services to undocumented migrants, this study has ascertained that there is prioritization on basic needs, which organizations have categorized as ´emergency needs´ and "needs that people have today". Premised on these findings, an argument can be made that the aim of intervention for social workers is for small achievements (survival) and not much on large changes addressing the impact of broader social structures on the problems facing undocumented migrants in Sweden. Reflecting on this basic level construction of needs and rights, questions can arise; are social workers reinforcing survival on the margins? Are they actively marginalizing undocumented migrants and smoothening inequalities? Are the rights of undocumented migrants limited to basic rights? Whereas answers to these questions lay outside the scope of this study, yet again, they point to the possible negative consequences of constructing the needs of undocumented people at the basic level. Referring to Arendt´s (1968) ´right to have rights´, the alternative would be to complement basic survival with a realization of rights for undocumented migrants. This requires achieving the same access and standard of living for undocumented migrants as any other citizen of Sweden, through structural transformation of policies and increasing the visibility of undocumented migrants in the political agenda.

Cited as a successful and convenient approach, Social workers and other professionals adopt a holistic model of integrated support services by bringing together under one roof essential services for undocumented migrants. Whereas this is a new approach to organizing support services to undocumented migrants in Sweden and perhaps the "undocumented practice and new methods" Jönsson (2014) recommends in the area of social work practice with these service users, a similar model exists in the Immigrants Services Society in British Columbia, Canada, for refugee new comers seeking a wide range of support services in a purpose-built facility (hub)[25]. Successful as this model is currently in easing access for undocumented migrants, reducing the stress that comes with service search from place to place, protecting undocumented migrants from the risk of contact with the police and consequently being deported, proximity to fill needs, and in making referral and networking easy, social workers must take precautions to guarantee the safety of undocumented migrants. Reflectively, this approach raises two possible arguments; if the police know exactly the central location and the day for service organization, how protected

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[25]Knowledge obtained from a colleague in my Master study program who worked with this organization in Canada but confirmed through the webpage of the organization (https://issbc.org/welcome-centre).

and safe would undocumented migrants still be? And secondly, not all needs are met at this central service point. For example, housing help, help with asylum applications, and representation in court or other forms of social welfare. This implies that undocumented migrants must still go searching for these services elsewhere, exposing them to the same stress and authorities.

6.1.2 Constructing needs and problem-solving approaches

To be eligible equals being Undocumented. Undocumented migrants strive to prove that they are without papers that allow them to live in Sweden. This eligibility criterion helps capture the ´ ´right´ and intended beneficiaries and ensure that the limited organizational resources go to serving the right population group and purpose. Viewed differently, this can have un-intended negative consequences for undocumented migrants including; reinforcing feelings of stigma, vulnerability and marginalization. This issue is lifted because being an "undocumented person" is not exactly a pleasant thing and neither is the emphasis on this categorization. In other words, having to prove every time that one is undocumented has a possibility of recreating stigmatization. Constructions into more deserving and less deserving categories through criteria such as "Having small children" are justified in order to prioritize small children whose growth and development is critical, however, reflecting on this, is it possible that social workers are actively discriminating against some groups of undocumented migrants, are service providers ´reproducing the state constructions of deservingness? Does seeking support for undocumented migrants become a ´politics of life´ (Fassin, 2007) where social workers decide which lives to save first or risk. Future research on the topic of undocumented migrants can dive into these questions.

A joint construction of needs between undocumented migrants and service providers gives them opportunity to present their needs and ask their questions. This also means that their voices and views are valued. Whereas this anti-oppressive practice (Dominelli, 1996) should not be discounted, fundamental questions on the extent to which undocumented migrants´ actually influence service provision can be raised. Reflectively, and citing the example of food support, coming with food needs does not necessarily mean they participate in the decision-making involving purchasing of food items. Viewed from a strength based perspective (Saleebey, 2006), a preoccupation with basic needs and how these needs can be met obscures the discovery of strengths and potentials within individuals that could bolster their lives.

This study provides empirical evidence of the interaction between the micro (civil society) ´ and the macro level (state) constructions of undocumented migrants´ needs. Premised on the resulting evidence, it is suffice to say that social workers within the civil society space operate within a bigger space, an ever changing legal context that impacts on practices within the civil society. The highlighted case changes in health care laws in 2013 as impacting on practice in health clinics providing health care for undocumented migrant sheds more light into this argument. In agreement with Groenningsaeter & Kiik (2015), conclusion can be made that Social work practice in general cannot be separated from political and welfare contexts. In fact, Social work is a product of the welfare state, delivered within its legal frame works (ibid.)

6.1.3 Motives for engaging with undocumented migrants

The acts of helping undocumented migrants within the civil society organizations can be interpreted as both acts of benevolence and a struggle to realize equal rights as underpinned by a human rights perspective and the idea that undocumented migrants deserve help irrespective of their legal status. A thin line exists between professional and personal motivation for helping undocumented migrants. In any case, from the findings, we can infer that the two complement each other. The imperative to act out of professional mandate and obligation to the profession is further intensified by a personal and moral imperative to help. Stepping out of the professional duty box, service providers emphasized compassion and personal feelings of guilt and shame as driving their motive. Premised on the findings of this study, feelings and emotions are aspects that cannot be divorce from social work practice with undocumented migrants. More precisely, these feelings can somehow be translated into empathy[26] and sympathy[27], which are two important elements in a social worker-client relationship in Social work practice.

Christian motives as elicited in the findings introduces a dimension of religion to practice. As the motive is to "care for souls" (Foucault, 1991, p.8) and alleviate suffering. This magnifies the image of undocumented migrants as those suffering and not much as Right bearers as Ticktin (2011) also reports. In agreement with Nordling (2017), acts of solidarity with undocumented migrants, as the surrounding Swedish community and social workers have demonstrated in extending their share of privilege, may open up new spaces ´in between´ citizenship and non-citizenship, which in turn may create new forms of citizenship not tied to legal status. As remarked by several respondents, the mere fact that undocumented migrants are in Sweden, they are part of the Swedish society and belong ´in the system´. Simply put, according to this study, documents should not count for anyone in the Swedish soil. In this way boundaries and borders become unnecessary. Indeed, the goal of organizations like "No one is illegal" (*Ingen människa är illegal* in Swedish), a network in large cities of Sweden, providing practical support to undocumented people, is to achieve *a world with no boarders*. Whether this is possible or not, is something that future research can reveal but could also be a political change and global structure of solidarity.

6.1.4 Perspectives legitimating undocumented migrants as deserving

Several perspectives are drawn to legitimize undocumented migrants for support and welfare as elicited in the findings. Through a human rights perspective (being human beings), undocumented migrants are constructed as part of the Swedish society and thus eligible for its welfare. This is a new conception of eligibility, one which opens room for us to see social workers as engaged in a negotiation process that could eventually destabilize the current legalistic citizenship eligibility. In agreement with Wall´s (2014), concept of ´Right-ing´ which puts emphasis on the active part of doing rights, this study has found out a small degree of active practice of doing rights in the civil society. Some social workers are doing opinion work and talking to politicians to highlight the situation of undocumented migrants and increase their recognition. Evident from the findings, realizing rights is a one-sided struggle by social workers on behalf of undocumented migrants. This way, it can be argued that undocumented migrants are passive recipients rather than active claimants of rights. Collective responsibility, as a principle introduced in the new 2014 social work definition highlights a realization of human rights based on collective action (IFSW, 2018).

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[26] Active form when individual feel with another person (stepping into their shoes and try to feel what they feel)

[27] Passive form when individual feel for another person (showing pity for their suffering) (see Lazo & Vik, 2014)

Suffering should not be mistaken for inability. Indeed Saleebey (2006, p.1) talks about "blooms of hope (…) in the thickets of trauma…" it is thus possible for undocumented migrants, even in their most precarious situation, to be mobilized and become powerful allies in realizing their rights. This has happened before in Malmö city (Lunberg and Strange, 2017) as highlighted in the earlier sections of this research paper.

The child perspective emerging from this study is one where a focus and priority is on a child´s growth and survival and where families with children are constructed as more deserving for support. Whereas this gives us a new way of looking at a child´s perspective, it differs from a child´s perspective of giving voice to children evident in the literature (Young, McKenzie, Schjelderup, Omre & Walker, 2014; Malone and Hartung, 2010; James, 2007). The goal of a child centered approach (Young et al., 2014) is to give voices to children in ways that validates their competence and capabilities to influence decisions affecting their lives. Moreover, Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child guarantees children the right to free expression of views in matters affecting them (UNCRC, Article 12, 1989). Undocumented children are engaged in a number of social activities including, dancing and singing aimed at bringing a sparkle to their eyes and lives, however, evidence resulting from this study shows that these activities are organized by adults who inform children to participate and later get feedback on what needs to improve. Adapting Roger Hart´s ladder of young people´s participation to this context, it is possible to think of this level of child participation as *Assigned but informed*, since these activities are adult led but the young people understand the purpose and have a role to play (Hart, 1992; Hart, 2013). Only when social workers appreciate that children can initiate and lead their own activities can claim of working with a child´s perspective be made.

6.1.5 The impact of structural and organizational factors on construction of needs and Practice

6.1.5.1 Impact of structural factors (laws)

Drawing from the resulting findings in this study, the structural factors (Laws) impacting on practice with undocumented migrants in the civil society include; the 2013 health care laws (Lag, 2013: 407), the social services act (based on interpretation of the municipal councils) and migration law on the right to reside in Sweden.

6.1.5.1.1 Health care laws introduced in 2013 (Lag, 2013:407)

A new health care law entered into force, Law (2013: 407)[28]. This law was issued 2013-05-30, by the department of Ministry of social Affairs. It allows undocumented migrants legal right to subsidized health care to the same extent as those adults seeking asylum in Sweden. However, whereas undocumented children are entitled to the same comprehensive health care as residents and asylum-seeking children, including regular dental care, undocumented adults are only entitled to `emergency care´, one that cannot be postponed, including, antenatal and dental care (Lag, 2013:407).

As respondents have revealed, many undocumented patients can now go to the regular health care facilities, implying that there are few patients coming to undocumented clinics. Social workers revealed that compared to before the law came into force, the overwhelming number of

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[28] (Lag, 2013:407) in Swedish

undocumented migrants required many nurses and doctors. Today, there are few doctors in the clinic helping undocumented, helping with guidance and counselling, making referrals and guiding undocumented migrants through the health care system. Clearly the introduction of this law has shifted practice for the civil society providers. From having more doctors and nurses in the undocumented clinics to having two or less doctors as social workers have revealed. This is a positive impact of laws on practice according to social workers. However, there is speculation that this law may be taken away, as one social worker noted; *"there are also politicians these days that say this law should be taken away, that undocumented migrants have no right to health care, if that happens then we will need more doctors here (social worker, Anita)*

Going back to the two aspects raised in the new definition of social work; collective action and engagement with structures. Social workers have a role to play in ensuring that the continued existence of laws guaranteeing undocumented migrants access to health care. I argued from the ´the right to have rights´´ and anti-oppressive practice, since undocumented adults have access to only "emergency health care", social workers can capitalize on this law and push for a further incorporation of undocumented adults to the same access as residents and asylum seekers. This change as Ornellas et al., (2018), have noted is only possible through collective action to realize human rights. As political agents, social workers can also engage in advocacy and political debates to critique this limited access and reform this health care law.

This change is possible especially now that undocumented migrants have already gained some access. Achieving equal access is important as the medical personnel noted difficulty in practicing when encountering undocumented adults because they have to keep referring to what laws apply to this group and which laws apply to asylum seekers or which ones apply for Swedish residents and so on, which is confusing, as doctor Jonas, explained *"...this makes a lot of challenges as a medical person because you have to keep referring to who is this patient, what healthcare law applies to this person, is this right or wrong and this brings a lot of ethical dilemmas...Sometimes it is hard because for example my ethical rules as a doctor do not work together with Swedish laws now. The Swedish laws for example say, we have to treat undocumented migrants differently and yet am taught in my ethical laws and practice to treat everyone equally. There is confusion here.*

In other words, what doctor Jonas is trying to push is for equality in access to health care for undocumented migrants, which social workers can achieve if they engage with undocumented migrants as well as with the health care law structures in Sweden.

6.1.5.1.2 Social Services Act (Socialtjänstlag, SFS 2001:453)

The money (funding of 800,000 Swedish kroner) from Gothenburg city council to the civil society organizations to improve the living condition and the welfare of undocumented children and families is based on the municipality´s interpretation of the Social Services act of Sweden (SSA). This act was first enacted on 1 January 1982 was later restructured. New regulations introduced and a new act adopted on the 07th June 2001 with modifications and amendments since then. Under this act, each municipality has responsibility and right to organize the work of the public social services to guarantee a reasonable standard of living (Björngren Cuadra & Staff, 2014). In other words, municipal authorities are ultimately responsible for ensuring assistance to all the residents in the municipalities. Important to note is that this can act can and has been understood and interpreted differently in different municipalities in Sweden (Björngren Cuadra & Staff,

2014). For example, in Malmo city, undocumented migrants are eligible for social assistance in emergency based on the interpretation of this act (Björngren Cuadra & Staff, 2014).

With reference to findings revealed from this study, Gothenburg municipality extends a sum of 800, 000 to fund basic needs to undocumented migrants through the civil society. This is the way municipal authorities´ understand and interpret the Social Services Act in relation to this group and is something unique to Gothenburg municipality. Theorizing this room for action through Lipsky´s street level bureaucracy (1980), municipal authorities have discretionary power in terms of interpretation of the social service act and consequently the allocation of funds within municipalities. In other words, municipal authorities are street level bureaucrats with the room for action to decide how state funds, at the local municipal council can be allocated. Difference in interpretation of law by different street level bureaucrats. Therefore, there is a different interpretation of this law by different street level bureaucrats

The interpretation of this act in a way that positively includes undocumented migrants impacts on social work positively with these service users as respondents revealed. For example, social worker, Anita noted; *"…the money from the state local government is helping children and families access **basic needs**…"* the word "basic needs" is bolded to suggest that this is basic survival. The implication of this for social work practice with undocumented migrants is that, if the Social Service Act is understood as applying to all people who reside in the specific city council, including basic assistance for undocumented migrants, then social workers could from an anti-oppressive perspective use the law to advocate for the social rights and a reasonable standard of living for undocumented migrants.

6.1.5.1.3 Swedish Migration Law

According to the results from this study, involvement of the civil society organizations with undocumented migrants is because the Swedish migration law fails to recognize the rights of this group. I can argue that social work interventions become more and more needed as numbers of undocumented migrants increase.

Migration laws aim to regulate access and stay in the country. They also determine the human rights of migrants and their freedom of movement. The status of being an asylum seeker, a refugee, an undocumented immigrant, a citizen or permanent resident is created by migration laws. Thus, creating insiders versus outsiders. SFS 2005:716 Utlänningslad (Utll-Aliens Act) provides for rules on entry, asylum, stay, residence and work permits in Sweden (Iossa, nd).

According to Cap 29, section 2 of the Skollag (2010:800) Act, a resident of the country (Sweden), means the person who is to be registered under the Public Accounts Act (1991: 481), unless that person is; an asylum seeker, is staying on the basis of a temporary residence permit , has the right to education or other activities under this Act as a result of European Union law, the Agreement on the European Economic Area (EEA) or the Agreement between the European Union and its Member States, is a member of the family of a person belonging to a mission of a foreigner or a wage consulate or its servant or referred to in section 4 of the Act (1976: 661) on immunities and privileges in certain cases[29] (Skollag, 2010:800, Cap 29, sec 2). Clearly, undocumented migrants

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[29] As most laws exist in the Swedish language, this is an unofficial translation by the researcher using the help of a google translate.

do not feature anywhere in this definition. This implicates social workers to actively engage in the reform of migration laws. Beyond the opinion work and talking to politicians to uplift the rights of undocumented migrants, both social workers and undocumented migrants have a great role in policy reforms. Thus, pushing social work practice with undocumented migrants to a structural level (Ornellas et al., 2018) as called upon by the new global definition of social work.

6.1.5.2 Specific professional ethics impacting on social work practice with undocumented in the civil society

There was consensus among social workers and other practitioners that professional ethics/boundaries and organizational mandates impacted on practice in this context. Particularly, professional boundary and emotional involvement were revealed as causing dilemmas for practice. These two aspects can be placed and interpreted within the global ethics in social work, statement of principles by International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) and the Swedish national social work ethics;

6.1.5.2.1 Professional boundary (professional conduct)

In this study, social workers struggle with a question of how far to go in helping undocumented migrants." Should they take homeless undocumented migrants home and give them a warm bed and shower? or should they listen to their painful stories and simply walk away to their warm beds"? Clearly, this is a dilemma with professional boundary and it speaks to the professional conduct of social workers. The third general guideline on the professional conduct of social workers (international ethical standards for social workers), cautions social workers to act with integrity. Among other aspects, integrity involves "recognizing boundaries between personal and professional life..." (IFSW, 2004). The national ethical code of ethics for social workers in Sweden, which is "... intended to create an insight into ethical norms for the profession and to focus attention on ethical issues" (Akademiker Forbundet, 2006, p.3), points out the "risk of a-seemingly necessary-caring attitude leading to the loss of a person´s own power of initiative and sense of dignity" (Akademiker Forbundet, 2006, p.6). In other words, maintaining professional boundary is very important for social workers to make objective and professional judgement when serving undocumented migrants in the civil society.

6.1.5.2.2 Emotional involvement

As revealed in the analyses chapter of this thesis, volunteers and social workers alike struggle with emotions when they listen to painful stories from undocumented migrants. Cases were revealed where volunteers cried together with undocumented migrants. Interpreting this behavior within the social work principle of controlled emotional involvement, social workers and volunteers need to empathize with undocumented migrants while controlling the level of emotional involvement.

Implications

6.2 Role of social workers in Policy reform and the relevance of the new global social work definition

As implicated by the new social work global definition (IFSW, 2014), social workers have an active role to play in structural and policy reform to guarantee equality of rights. As it is now in the civil society that participated in this study, social workers mainly engage in ensuring survival for undocumented migrants by providing basic needs. Consequently, social workers are constructing rights at a basic level. Social workers need to move beyond this basic level to actively take their place in policy advocacy by balancing survival with structural reforms. Having to provide food and clothing, without sustainable sources of funding, social workers are merely addressing the surface of barriers confronting undocumented migrants. An active reform of policies would change laws to better incorporate undocumented migrants into the welfare state, allowing equality and access. Moreover, this would also save social workers from a grapple with resource inadequacies and having to devise eligibility criteria that could further reinforce inequalities among a group already marginalized.

6.3 Other implications for Social work practice with undocumented migrants

Social work practice with undocumented migrants possess new challenges to the profession. Certainly, these social workers are practicing in a politically and emotionally charged context. For a context like Sweden, where rights are clearly tied to citizenship and the "them-us" boundaries are vivid, social workers need to adopt creative approaches to extend their services in ways that avoid further endangering this population group. An approach such as integrated service provision in a central and anonymous location, only known to undocumented migrants could yield better results as this study has shown.

As social workers construct justifiable categories of those more and less deserving, caution needs to be taken not to pass a wrong message to their service users. Such criteria should be explained to service users. Once service users feel discriminated against, they are likely to lose trust in social workers and consequently shun their services the same way they avoid public institutions. Equally, these categorizations could reproduce inequalities that could undermine the credibility of the social work profession and its fundamental values of social justice and equality.

Constructing the needs of undocumented migrants at the basic need level should go hand in hand with reforming policies and transforming legal structures disadvantaging them at the macro level. Since undocumented migrants do not have the same access as those eligible in Sweden, limiting interventions to basic food, clothing and healthcare further marginalizes them. Social workers practicing in this context must be willing to form allies with undocumented migrants to claim and realize their rights. Perhaps rather than send social workers to talk to politicians, the voices of undocumented people themselves could uplift their situation to politicians. In fact, instead of creating new spaces outside the system, social workers can create a new system altogether (Stewart, 2017). The structural reform role is implicated for social workers in the new definition of social work where a transition is made from micro to macro and individual to collective focus (Ornellas et al., 2018).

Working in the civil society does not necessarily mean social workers work outside state systems. This study has provided evidence of how structural and macro level factors impact on practice within the civil society system. However, the civil society stands out as a space for social workers to act and negotiate recognition for undocumented migrants, a space to enact new forms of belonging. Partnership with the state through funding of civil society especially if the state is cannot directly provide for undocumented migrants is beneficial of undocumented migrants, however some respondents argue for a nonexistence of civil society and instead for the state to take a full responsibility to integrate undocumented migrants into the system.

In existing literature, constraints resulting from immigration laws and policies are emphasized as presenting worse ethical dilemmas for social work with undocumented migrants. Contrary to this, social workers from this study revealed that worse practice barrier and dilemmas are posed by professional ethics and organizational norms and boundaries. As affirmed by social workers themselves, Social work practice with undocumented migrants is an emotional charged area and yet boundaries must be maintained. Social workers intervene as professionals but also as human beings. This possess practice dilemmas to the extent to which they can get involved. The Social work profession talks generally about controlled emotional involvement, could an exception be made in the area of practice with undocumented migrants?

6.4 Implication for Social work prcatice with Families and Children
Families and children who are undocumented are in adverse life situation. Their survival possibilities lie with social workers. Extending support to them must start with basic survival, as seen from the resulting findings, however, to avoid dependency on these handouts, empowerment measures should follow. Indeed, empowering and liberating people are two very important social work processes. This requires harnessing their strengths, potentials and talents so that families can take action to improve on their situation. For example, from observation, while volunteering in one of the organizations, some families and young people are talented Artisans. Some of this Art products can be sold to raise income for these families.

In organizing services to undocumented migrants, the broad needs of families should not obstruct the individual needs of children. There is need to adopt a child centered approach. Decisions involving families must reflect the views and voices of children, even it means children themselves deciding for instance, what food stuffs to pick and take home. Participation for children and young people must be evident in child activities. Meaningful participation for children must begin with the children themselves, meaning children initiate and lead social activities and adults step aside to watch and offer guidance when needed.

Engaging with families and children who are undocumented raises new practice realities for social workers in this field. The increasing number of vulnerable families and children in need amidst limited organizational resources, as the case is in the civil society that took part in this study puts more pressure on social workers to find ways of distributing what is available. As evidenced from this study, criteria to prioritize families with small children could be one way of coping with resource inadequacies, yet again, how social workers justify sending some families home without support must be clear.

6.5 New Contributions to the Research field

These findings add to the existing body of literature about social work practice with undocumented migrants broadly. More specifically, as many previous studies on the subject of undocumented migrants in Sweden have focused on undocumented migrants themselves, this study offers a perspective of service providers that helps the readers appreciate practice and practice dilemmas through their voice and experience. Further still, this study has been able to discover an approach to organizing support services to undocumented migrants, one that is beneficial to both service users and providers. Moreover, the inquiry has been able to unearth motives and perspectives underpinning support structures in the civil society and most importantly, the construction of needs and problem-solving approaches within this space.

6.5 Conclusion

The main aim of undertaking this inquiry was to deepen an understanding of social work practice with undocumented migrants in the civil society with a focus on the services and construction of needs and problem-solving approaches. To achieve this inquiry, four research questions were helpful; What is the nature and organization of support services to undocumented migrants in the civil society, how are needs and problem-solving approaches constructed, what are the motives and perspective underpinning service provision and how do organizational and structural factors impact on the construction of needs and practice in general.

Premised on the results from this study, social workers in the civil society honor the imperative to extend social work services to this marginalized group by constructing them as eligible within this space. While adopting an approach of integrated support services under one roof, social workers do not just offer new ways of working with vulnerable groups but also an approach that can reinforce partnerships, ease referrals and displace old methods of seeking social work support services from place to place. As the emphasis is on survival needs such as food, clothing and health care, the needs of undocumented migrants are constructed at the basic survival level. However, this study has also been able to reveal an interaction between organization level constructions of needs and the macro (state) level constructions in ways that impact on the latter both positively and negatively. Beyond professional mandates and ethics, the motive drives for engaging with undocumented migrants include, upholding Christian values, solidarity with those suffering and overcoming feeling of guilt, shame and privilege. Underpinned by a human rights, victim and child perspective, undocumented migrants are eligible for support services within the spaces of the civil society but also in Sweden, in general.

Drawing on the recommendations elicited from this study, improving social work practice with undocumented migrants in general requires that, cooperation within the civil society be strengthened to fill needs, organizations are clear on what services they provide, support training (emotional aspects) for those involved, especially volunteers and those without a professional background in social work, group reflections among service providers to share experience and learn from one another. From a more macro focus, this study recommends that social workers engage with national policies in Sweden to achieve a better incorporation of undocumented migrants. Of specific relevance for reform to improve practice with undocumented migrants is the health care law, the social services act and the Swedish migration law.

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Appendices
Appendix 1: Interview guide for social workers and other service providers

Nature of services provided to undocumented migrants

- What support services and assistance is provided to undocumented migrants by this organization? (nature of services, personal role)
- Why these services are considered important for this population group?
- What perspectives motivate the provision of these support services and assistance (*probe: existing discourse; Human rights, Charity, professional ethics, self-image)*

Methods/approaches of providing services to undocumented

- How is service provision organized (practices)
- What are the different methods/approaches adopted to provide services to undocumented migrants?
- Are there any other methods/approaches that could be adopted but currently not used? If so, what are these methods/approaches?

Construction of undocumented migrants´ needs and problem solving approaches

- How are the needs of undocumented migrants assessed in this organization? (Probe; *who determines the needs of undocumented migrants?, How are service users (undocumented migrants) involved in determining their needs and in determining the services provided?*
- What motives drive service provision?
- What are the perspectives underpinning construction of needs in the civil society?
- How do these perspective affect the way you assess (define) the needs of undocumented migrants?

Perceived capacity to work with undocumented migrants?

- Do you feel well equipped and prepared to work with this population group? Please explain (*probe; availability of resources such as financial funds, time, human resources (volunteers), networks, referrals and collaborations, professional knowledge)*
- What support might be needed to improve your performance *(probe; state funding)*?
- How do contextual factors such as laws, organizational resources, norms and the perception of undocumented migrants in society impact on your practice with undocumented migrants?

Recommendations for improving social work practice with undocumented migrants

- What are your recommendations for a better improvement of social work with undocumented migrants in Sweden.

Any other comments

Appendix 2: Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET ABOUT THE RESEARCH

What am I doing? (Purpose)

I am undergoing my Final thesis and in doing so, I am conducting an Academic research study in order to **Understand Social Work practice with Undocumented Migrants by enquiring into the the services and construction of needs and problem solving approaches in the civil society organisations**

Selection criteria

All the participants and organisations in this study have been selected purposively, based on involvement and work with undocumented migrants.

Participation

Your participation in this research study is voluntary and you have a right to withdraw from the study at any time with no consequences whatsoever. If you accept to participate in this research study, I will ask you some questions regarding your work with undocumented migrants such as; the nature of services provided, the methods/approaches of service provision, nature and level of involvement of service users in constructing their needs, challenges experienced in working with this population group and support needed to improve performance, among others.

Data will be collected by an interview that will take approximately 1hr-1.30 minutes- and will be audio.

Confidentiality

All the information you provide will be kept confidential and used only for academic purposes and will only be discussed with the academic supervisor. Your personal details such as name and employer address will not appear anywhere in the final report. All participants in this study will remain anonymous.

Benefits

There are no benefits for participating in this research study, however, your views are very important in providing a better understanding of social work with Undocumented migrants in the Civil Society

Questions

If you have any questions, please feel free to ask.

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Appendix 3: Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

[To be read to—or read by—and signed on behalf of the respondent]

I have read and understood the study information sheet provided.

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study.

I understand that taking part in the study will include being interviewed and audio recorded.

I understand that participation in the study is voluntary and I can withdraw at any time without any consequences and I agree to take part in the study.

I understand that my personal details such as name and views I provide will not be revealed to people outside the research study.

I understand that my words may be quoted in the report (dissertation thesis) but my name will not be used.

☐ **Respondent agrees to be interviewed**   ☐ **Respondent does not agree to be interviewed**

Name of Participant: _____ Date:

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: