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## Attitudes matter

### Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in Swedish welfare organisations

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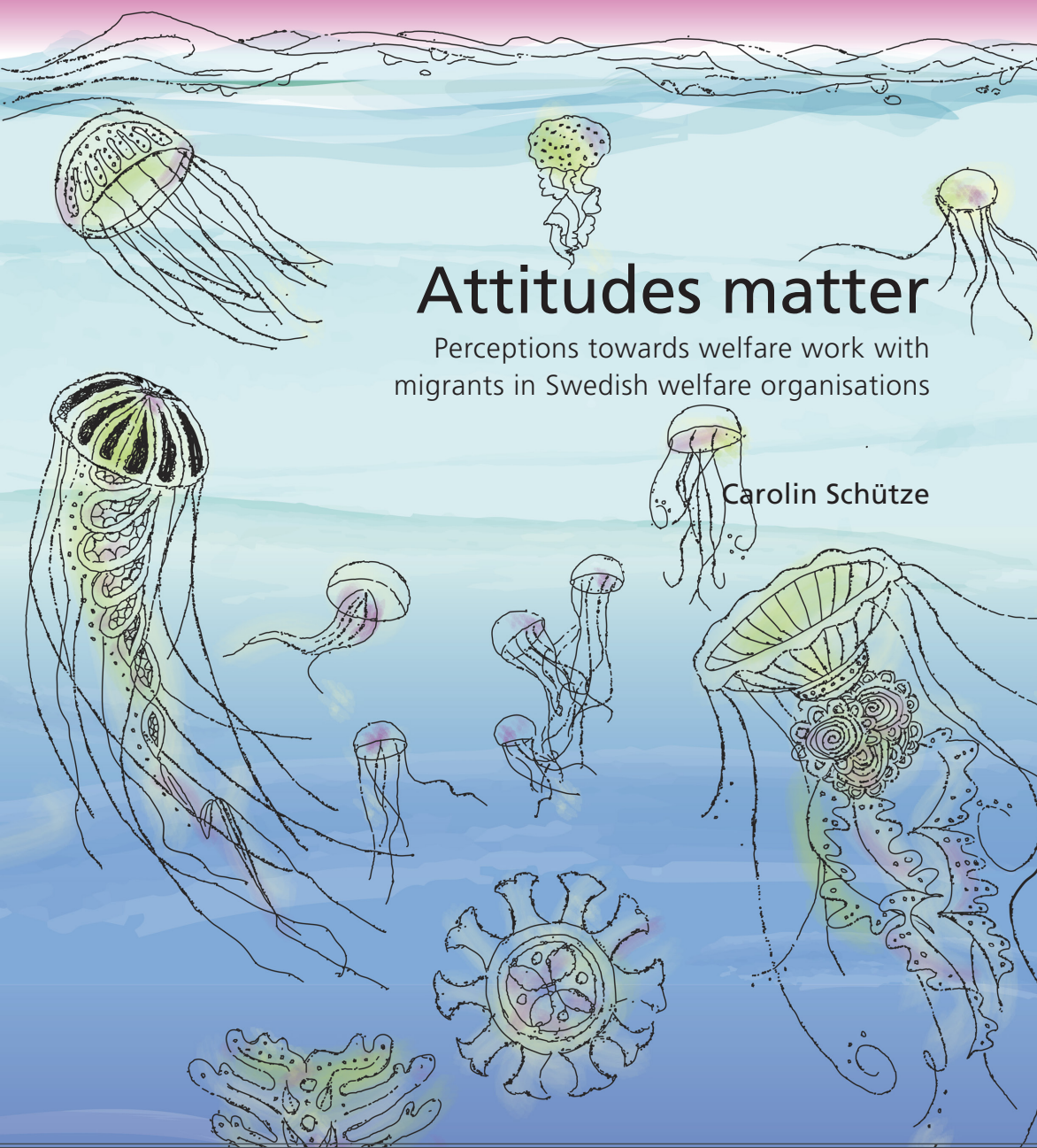
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# Attitudes matter

Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in Swedish welfare organisations

Carolin Schütze

LUND DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIAL WORK



# Attitudes matter

Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in Swedish welfare organisations.

This dissertation examines Swedish welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and migration, their perceptions of welfare work with migrants and organizational working conditions.

The dissertation is based on original survey data capturing attitudes and views of welfare workers in two Swedish welfare organisations. The thesis' conceptual framework draws on three perspectives: street-level bureaucracy theory, racial attitude studies and ontological security theory. All three perspectives bring different dimensions to the understanding of welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants.

This dissertation contributes with incorporating individual and organisational factors when studying perceptions towards welfare work and migration. The thesis integrates racial attitude studies into understandings of organisational processes and links these processes to global structural transformations. Thereby the thesis contributes to a growing line of research that is shifting the focus from internal organizational processes solely to integrating the role of individual attitudes but also external transformation processes in order to understand how welfare work with migrants is shaped.

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## Attitudes Matter



# Attitudes Matter

Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in  
Swedish welfare organisations

Carolin Schütze



**LUND**  
UNIVERSITY

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

by due permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Lund University,  
Sweden. To be defended at School of Social Work auditorium on 28<sup>th</sup> of  
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*Faculty opponent*

Professor Helena Blomberg-Kroll, University of Helsinki

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<b>Title and subtitle</b> Attitudes matter. Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in Swedish welfare organisations.		
<b>Abstract</b> This dissertation examines Swedish welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and migration, their perceptions of welfare work with migrants and organizational working conditions. The dissertation is based on original survey data capturing attitudes and views of welfare workers in two Swedish welfare organisations. The thesis' conceptual framework draws on three perspectives: street-level bureaucracy theory, racial attitude studies and ontological security theory. All three perspectives bring different dimensions to the understanding of welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants. The research has four interlinked focuses, which are presented in four empirical papers. The first focus is on (1) how individual and organisational factors are associated with welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants, and how these attitudes are linked to perceptions of welfare work with migrants. (2) In order to get a better understanding of the role of individual attitudes in relation to migrants the study investigates how welfare workers' colour-blind attitudes are associated with anti-immigration attitudes and perceptions towards welfare work with migrants. (3) Furthermore, in order to deepen the understanding of how organisational and individual factors intercept and influence welfare work with migrants the study explores in what way discretion plays an intervening role for the relation between workload, anti-immigration attitudes and perceptions towards work with migrants. (4) Lastly, the study focuses on expressions of uncertainties and insecurities caused by global transformations (e.g. migration) using the concept ontological security in order to explore how welfare workers express themselves about their work and about migration in general by studying open-ended survey responses and how we can understand these perceptions. The findings indicate that welfare workers with more negative attitudes towards migrants also tend to perceive their work with migrants as more burdensome. Simultaneously, the results show that higher levels of colour-blindness are linked to a higher likelihood to report negative attitudes toward immigrants. However, at the same time higher levels of colour-blindness are linked to a lower likelihood to report difficulty in working with migrants. This suggests that colour-blind attitudes function as interactive social norms that welfare workers deploy to perform what the organisation and society wants to communicate. The findings also show that heavier perceived workload increase the likelihood to perceive work with migrants as difficult, and that perceived discretion mediates the relation between perceived workload and perceived difficulty in working with migrants, suggesting that it functions as a buffer for organizational demands. Finally, the results suggest that welfare workers use different identity strategies, namely, <i>retreatism</i> in the form of distancing oneself, <i>essentialism</i> in the form of resentment towards migrants, and <i>engagement</i> in the form of mutual dialogue. These strategies are used to handle uncertainties and overcome complexities not only as professionals in their work life, but also as private individuals. This thesis contributes with incorporating individual and organisational factors when studying perceptions towards welfare work and migration. The thesis integrates racial attitude studies into understandings of organisational processes and links these processes to global structural transformations. Thereby the thesis contributes to a growing line of research that is shifting the focus from internal organizational processes solely to integrating the role of individual attitudes but also external transformation processes in order to understand how welfare work with migrants is shaped.		
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# Attitudes Matter

Perceptions towards welfare work with migrants in  
Swedish welfare organisations

Carolin Schütze



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*Für Kathrin*

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Malmö, July 2019  
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## List of original papers

### PAPER I

Schütze, C. (2019) Attitudes matter - Welfare work and migration in Sweden. *Migration Studies*, mny048.

### PAPER II

Schütze, C. and Ifatunji, M. (submitted) “Everyone is equal”: Color-blind attitudes in welfare practices with migrants, Submitted to *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*.

### PAPER III

Schütze, C. and Johannson, H. (submitted) The importance of discretion for welfare services to minorities: Examining workload and anti-immigration attitudes, Submitted to *Australian Journal of Public Administration*.

### PAPER IV

Schütze, C. (manuscript) Ontological Security in Times of Global Transformations? Bureaucrats’ Perceptions on Organisational Work Life and Migration.

# 1. Introduction

Much research in the public administration field has hitherto focused on organisational factors when scrutinising different aspects of providing welfare services and street-level bureaucrat's work (e.g. Lipsky 1980; Brodtkin 2013, van Berkle and Knies 2016). However, we find less research considering the role of individual factors like welfare workers' attitudes. Among the studies that exist, we find studies focusing on attitudes towards topics such as privatisation of welfare services, poverty, and unemployment (Dellgran and Höjer 2005; Kallio, Meeuwisse and Scaramuzzino 2015; Blomberg et al. 2013; Kallio, Blomberg and Kroll 2013). Relatedly, Blomberg, Kallio, Kroll, and Saarinen (2015) studied social workers' perceived job stress in relation to attitudes towards clients in different Nordic countries. Their findings suggest that social workers' positions towards clients are to some extent dependent on the level of their perceived job stress. However, studies focusing on attitudes towards minorities have received less attention when studying welfare workers' attitudes (exceptions are, e.g. Elmeroth 2005; Park et al. 2011; Pitkänen and Kouki 2002).

At the same time, we find extensive studies into general populations' attitudes towards immigration. For instance, the yearly study among the Swedish majority population, '*Mångfaldsbarometer*' (diversity barometer), demonstrates that in 2016 many Swedes had a good experience of close contact with migrants and that the majority is in favour of diversity (Ahmadi, Palm and Ahmadi 2016). Moreover, a recent panel survey studied the Swedish population's attitudes towards immigration between 2014 and 2016 showing that attitudes towards immigration were overall stable over these three years (Strömbäck and Theorin 2018). Beyond more descriptive studies focusing on attitudes towards migrants (e.g. Ahmadi et al. 2016; Severin 2014), there exists a considerable body of research linking attitudes towards migrants in Sweden to different phenomena (Bevelander and Otterbeck 2008; Bohman and Hjerm 2014; Carlsson and Eriksson 2016; Hjerm, Johansson and Werner 2018; Knudsen 1997; Müller et al. 2014).

When it comes to examining welfare work and migration, there exists a range of qualitative research focusing, among other things, on welfare workers' perceptions towards minority group clients<sup>1</sup> and the role of stereotyping clients (e.g. Soydan 1995; Johansson and Molina 2002; Pringle 2009; Eliassi 2006, 2014, 2017; Larsson 2015). Research focusing on the effects of stereotypes shows that within the Public Employment Services (hereafter PES), clients with stereotypical Swedish attributes (white) had a 50% more likelihood of being selected for a labour market programme (Arai et al. 2016). Similarly, a study from the ISF<sup>2</sup> (2014) showed that foreign-born clients were more likely to be denied sickness benefits and to experience poor treatment by the Swedish Social Insurance Agency (hereafter SSIA) compared to clients of the majority population.

These and other studies (e.g. Blomberg, Kroll and Kallio 2018) thus offer support for the argument that individual attitudes might be linked to welfare practices, even though the majority of studies in this field are concerned with the role of organisational factors for obtaining welfare services. However, we find limited research that analyses the role of attitudes towards minorities and the role of organisational conditions. This calls for opening up an understanding beyond the organisational dimension as a way to comprehend welfare work by including discussions about the role of one's attitudes towards migrants and by including perspectives that frame the individual welfare worker<sup>3</sup> not only as part of an organisation, but also as a private person who holds personal values and beliefs.

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this 'Kappa' text I use the term client. Other references might use terms like customer or user. All terms bear different connotations that can be problematic and stigmatising. In my papers, however, terms differ due to different journal contexts.

<sup>2</sup> IFS stands for 'Swedish Social Insurance Inspectorate', which is an independent supervisory agency for the Swedish Social Insurance System.

<sup>3</sup> Welfare workers are defined as employees who are working with clients in their work area and tasks.

## 1.1 Aim and research questions

The overall aim of the thesis is to combine discussions on individual perspectives into street-level bureaucracy theory (SLBT) by studying Swedish welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and their perceptions towards organisational conditions. It seeks to examine different dimensions of these attitudes and perceptions and how they might intersect and to understand and explain them and their implications for welfare work with migrants. Importantly, this study does not make implications about practices in relation to behaviour as such, but instead studies perceptions towards 'welfare work with migrants'. Against the backdrop of the discussion above, the overall research question is:

*1) How are individual and organisational factors associated with welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants, and how are these attitudes linked to perceptions of welfare work with migrants?*

In this dissertation, attitudes are a key concept that can be understood as forms of preferences and evaluations towards people by expressing favour or disfavour. Attitudes should not be understood only as individual traits, but also as being shaped by structural dimensions of society at large, e.g. organisational contexts (Van Dijk 1987). Recent conceptual work by Ray (2019) suggests that individual attitudes are not only shaped by the organisation one is situated in, but are also "filtered through – and changed by – organisations" (p. 1), thus supporting the aim to study individual and organisational factors in conjunction with each other. This dissertation ties into debates on racial attitudes and anti-immigration attitudes. In racial attitude studies, the objects of the attitudes are "racial and ethnic groups and their attributes, aspects or relations between groups, public policies relevant to race, contact between those groups, and assessments of the character of intergroup relations" (Bobo 2001:268). In anti-immigration attitude studies, the objects that are evaluated are migrants and their attributes. Thus, attitudes towards migrants thereby refer to the evaluations people make in relation to migrants and migration. Racial attitudes are operationalised in different ways in the different research questions. When operationalising 'racial attitudes' and 'anti-immigration attitudes' in form of a scale it captures a range of of attitudes from positive to negative ones. Thereby the measurements capture both positive and negative attitudes towards these groups in order to apprehend intergroup relations. In research question 1 above, I merely refer to 'attitudes towards migrants'

because that was the main outcome I aimed to explain. In research questions 2 and 3, I make use of the concept ‘anti-immigration attitudes’, the established concept in the field of ethnic and racial studies to study ‘attitudes towards migrants’ (e.g. Hjerm 1998).

To further elaborate this more general understanding of welfare workers’ attitudes towards migrants posed in the overall research question above, I studied several constitutive aspects when it comes to the role of individual and organisational perspectives in relation to perceptions of welfare work with migrants in the form of three further research questions.

In order to expand the understanding of the role of individual attitudes in relation to minority groups, I studied colour-blind attitudes in order to get a more nuanced conception of the role of individual attitudes. Colour-blind attitudes are, compared to anti-immigration attitudes, a new way to understand perceptions about minorities that reflect the current *Zetigeist* of the Swedish welfare state along the lines of a colour-blind perspective. Colour-blind theory assumes that if people or institutions do not notice race or ethnicity, then they will not act in a racist manner. According to this reasoning, avoidance of ethnoracial categories would decrease racial discrimination and increase equality. However, ignoring race or ethnicity might obscure the real impact and occurrence of inequality. I wanted to explore the role of these colour-blind attitudes in relation to anti-immigration attitudes and welfare workers’ perceptions about their work with migrants because we know very little about how colour-blindness operates in social interactions such as welfare workers’ encounters with migrants. Based on this discussion, my second research question is:

*2) How are welfare workers’ colour-blind attitudes associated with anti-immigration attitudes and perceptions towards welfare work with migrant clients?*

In order to better understand how organisational and individual factors influence welfare work, I studied how organisational factors and individual factors are linked to the concept of discretion and how they interact when it comes to welfare work with migrants. Concretely, I explore discretion in relation to individual and organisational factors in form of anti-immigration attitudes and workload. Discretion is understood as the freedom to decide and to enable meaningful choices, but it is also regulated by rules and procedures. On the one hand, it is discussed in a positive light as the means to deal with

overwhelming demands within organisations. On the other hand, it is proposed that it might allow for (racial) biases to inform judgements about clients and result in negative effects. Even though SLBT outlines a range of organisational and individual matters that are significant for how welfare workers act, we still know very little about when these matters do or do not constitute a determining factor for how discretion operates. Therefore, my third research question is:

*3) In what way does discretion play an intervening role in the relation between workload, anti-immigration attitudes, and perceptions towards work with migrant clients?*

In order to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay between organisational and individual factors, I also explore how structural processes influence welfare workers' perceptions on migration and migrants in their working lives. In order to do so, I focus on expressions of uncertainties and insecurities caused by global transformations using the concept of ontological security. Ontological security can be defined as the security of one's self and a sense of safety in the world. I thereby try to gain a better understanding about why welfare workers express resentment towards migrants in relation to their work life. Therefore, the fourth and last research question is:

*4) How do welfare workers express themselves about their work and about migration in general, and how we can understand these perceptions?*

Given these issues, the dissertation has its main point of departure in three different strands of research, namely perspectives on racial attitudes, perspectives on SLB, and perspectives on ontological security. Each of these perspectives is embedded in different fields. Racial attitude research is prominent within the field of migration studies as a way to understand intergroup relations and is embedded in the broader context of ethnic, racial, and migration studies. Studies on welfare bureaucracy are prevalent among the wider field of public administration studies, but also in the more niche area of SLB research, which I will make use of. Finally, the concept of ontological security has its origins in psychoanalysis and sociology and is prominent within studies of international relations.

In order to understand the attitudes of welfare workers, this thesis focuses on Sweden as its study context. The Swedish case can be seen as a key example to understanding these attitudes due to its welfare state that has for a long time

been perceived as universal with the ambition to offer equal services and conditions to all people residing in the country. The Swedish case is also of particular relevance due to the recent discursive shift from an open migration policy and exceptionally positive attitudes towards migration to more restricted migration policies and increased public debates where migration is portrayed as a threat to the welfare state. This thesis focuses on welfare workers in two state-run welfare organisations in Sweden, the PES and the SSIA. The analysis in the thesis is based on survey data collected from October to November 2016. The development of the research questions and overall discussions of the thesis have been influenced by the changing political and public landscape shaped by anti-immigration rhetoric. This changing landscape joins an overall trend of rapidly changing societies where contemporary life is shaped by increasing uncertainties and existential anxiety.



## 2. Swedish welfare organisations

Brochman and Hagelund (2012) state that presently one can witness the meeting between two now central elements – the welfare state and migration. The Swedish welfare state rests on universal ideals – that everyone who legally resides in Sweden should receive welfare services of similar quality and should be treated in a similar manner irrespective of class, gender, or ethnoracial status. Swedish welfare organisations are the centrepiece of conveying these welfare services, and in the following I will give an overview of the two welfare organisations that serve as the empirical base for this thesis and will address their relation to social policy changes and migration trends in Sweden.

### 2.1 PES and SSIA – historical overview

The PES and SSIA constitute two of the largest agencies with regard to implementing public social policy by providing the Swedish population with benefits and welfare services within the frame of social security and active labour market policy. They both offer coverage and assistance for the entire population, including migrants who have the right to reside in Sweden.

Historically, social policy and labour market policy have had a close association when it comes to individual's labour market participation as a form of active citizenship because the main goal is that the social security net enables the individual to work. Both organisations have the central task of social integration into Swedish society by targeting vulnerable groups and reaching social policy goals through labour market policy. Both organisations started to be developed at the beginning of the 1900s when local voluntary sickness insurance organisations developed in relation to industrialisation and an emerging demand to secure one's income when being sick (Melander 2013). Similarly, from 1902 until the 1940s the PES (at that time in the form of local agencies) was run on the municipal level by local authorities. During that time,

the PES had the primary responsibility to implement unemployment policy and functioned as a controlling unit for implementing labour market policies, e.g. demands for daily visits by the unemployed person and documentation of such visits (Delander and Wadensjö 1991). After 1955, sickness insurance became obligatory for all Swedish citizens, and SSIA's (in its more informal form at that time) role slowly changed from being an informal organisation with a voluntary character to a central actor in social policy making, which was also characterised by increasingly formalised practices and rules (Melander 2013). From 1948, the PES became responsible for realising active labour market policy in the whole country. Followed by this development, in the 1960s 'active labour market policy' was introduced as a crucial part of unemployment policy, and this influenced the PES's role in offering active measures for labour market integration as well as its role as a controlling unit when it comes to unemployment insurance and labour market participation. Just like the SSIA, during the 1960s and 1970s the PES developed into an agency with more formalised organisational routines and practices (e.g. activity planning, fixed forms of work, time booking for visits, and reporting results). In the 1980s and onwards, the PES was also increasingly influenced by active labour market policy with an emphasis on 'passive to active programmes' in order to integrate vulnerable groups into the labour market and to exercise control over individuals. Consequently, active labour market participation is associated with both securing and sustaining the welfare state (Delander and Wadensjö 1991; Ennerberg 2017). The SSIA experienced additional changes in line with increased steering and standardisations (e.g. formal routines, manuals dictating how to deal with cases, orders of task fulfilment, and time limitations on task fulfilment).

In the year 2000, all of the SSIA's county agencies were phased out and nationalised, illustrating the development of the SSIA from small-scale voluntary organisations to a large government agency (Melander 2013). The PES has undergone a similar 'formalisation process' in becoming one of the main organisations responsible for sustaining and controlling the functioning of the welfare state by linking welfare state goals with a strong 'working society'.

## 2.2 Migration and Swedish welfare organisations

The PES and SSIA are two important actors when it comes to the integration of migrants into society, but with different mandates. The PES also has had a crucial role in Sweden's immigration project historically, especially in relation to labour migration, which will be explored further in the next section.

Migration in Sweden is closely linked to labour market processes and had its beginning after WWII when Swedish industry was on the upswing and in need of labour. During that time, migration and labour market policies were marked by the need to recruit a labour force from abroad. From the 1950s and onward, different policies facilitated labour market migration, e.g. first the agreement for free labour market migration between Nordic countries, then some years later agreements of collective transfers of workers mainly from countries like Greece, Italy, and the former Yugoslavia, followed by the liberalisation of visa regulations for citizens from other Nordic countries through work permits endorsed by the labour market board<sup>4</sup>. Evidently, at that time the PES (through the labour market board) was part of the Swedish delegation that worked with active recruitments of workers from Southern Europe, e.g. it organised recruitment of labour migrants (Frank 2005). From the 1950s until 1979, the labour market board was responsible for receiving quota refugees in Sweden, but also functioned as representatives when choosing which quota refugees would be accepted in Sweden in order to account for what kind of labour force was needed. Even here the PES was part of the delegations that selected refugees in the European international camps (Thor 2008). Special selection committees would motivate choosing men of working age with special labour market skills (Ennerberg 2017). Overall, the period from the 1950s to the early 1970s is marked by a policy that promoted labour immigration by organising recruitments, but also through liberal immigration regulations. Due to a slowdown in the Swedish economy in the 1960s, more restrictions on labour migration were introduced; e.g. no entry without a visa, non-Nordic citizens would need a work permit before entering the country, and the number of work permits was reduced.

From the 1970s onwards, immigration in Sweden transitioned from labour migrants to receiving refugees and their families who were at that time coming

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<sup>4</sup> The Swedish labour market board was at that time (until 2007) the authority in charge of various efforts in labour market policy.

mostly from Asia and South America (Lundh and Ohlsson 1999). This period was marked by more distinctively adjusting immigration policies to labour market demands, equal access to the social security system, and a generous refugee and family reunification policy (Borevi 2012). The classical labour market integration was discontinued because migrants were now primarily arriving on humanitarian grounds and no specific labour needs were in place for this group of migrants. This time period also marks a shift from policies aimed at the PES handling labour migration recruitment to policies focusing on dealing with unemployment in relation to incoming migrant groups. In 1975, policies emerged aiming at supporting the integration of immigrants into society by granting access to various formal rights, e.g. voting rights for migrants who held permanent residency, liberalised naturalisation, and services and benefits especially for newly arrived immigrants (Borevi 2013). In the 1990s, due to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, Sweden received 86,000 refugees from the Balkan region with yet again a focus on labour market integration (Stativ 2007). Along those lines, from the 1990s, and in line with neo-liberal trends of being part of the labour market as a form of integration, policies increasingly focused on the labour market integration of vulnerable groups, e.g. refugees. Being integrated into the labour market was seen as part of the integration process. Lastly, recent immigration to Sweden is marked by the war in Syria. In 2017, Sweden's immigrant population consisted mostly of people coming to Sweden from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, India, and Poland (Statistics Sweden 2018). These are the groups that the PES is currently trying to integrate into the labour market through activation policy measures.

The above discussion shows that the PES and its collaborating authorities have already from their beginning been an organisation that has been involved with migrants as clients, and from 2010 the PES has the overall mandate to work with newly arrived refugees who have a residence permit and to integrate them into the labour market (Ennerberg 2017)<sup>5</sup>. The SSIA was from the beginning not involved in the handling of labour migrants because it emerged out of the need to improve workers' conditions with a focus on Swedish citizens. Only later on, when integration policies were more closely linked to labour market integration (especially after the establishment reform), did the SSIA become more involved in providing services to migrant clients

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<sup>5</sup> Before 2010, newly arrived refugees were under the integration policy umbrella where municipalities cooperated with other state authorities for the social support of this group (Ennerberg 2017).

(Ennerberg 2017; Melander 2013). Along those lines, the next section will give a short outlook on the organisational work of the PES and SSIA.

### **2.2.1 Practical welfare work**

In conjunction, the PES and SSIA both classify their clients in order to make decisions on eligible labour market programmes or insurance benefits, and activation policy is the tool used to integrate the unemployed and long-term sick into society. Activation policy focuses on individual shortcomings, flexibility, and employability rather than on the structural characteristics of the labour market. The organisational work conducted by these two agencies reflects their functioning for the state to implement social and moral control over people who are sick or unemployed. The PES focuses on employability and vocational rehabilitation of long-term sick people and unemployed people (Lindqvist and Lundälv 2018).

Moreover, the PES cooperates with the SSIA on work-oriented establishments for people who have reduced working ability due to disabilities or illness. It is also responsible for providing newly arrived refugees with sufficient training and competence so that they can enter into the Swedish labour market. The so-called ‘establishment programme’, directed at newly arrived refugees, lasts for 24 months, and after that time period the participants are either integrated into the labour market or continue with a different programme provided by the PES. In 2017, over 50% of the participants were refugees from Syria, with other major groups coming from Eritrea, Somalia, and Afghanistan (PES 2017). In terms of practices, welfare workers within the PES and SSIA both operate within teams when conducting enrolment, planning, and monitoring of clients (PES 2016). However, welfare workers within the SSIA rely to a greater extent on negotiating client cases within such teams (Hollertz, Jacobsson and Seing 2018).

In relation to this, for the work within the SSIA social welfare legislation is crucial in deciding about benefits as well as in efforts to enable vocational rehabilitation to support the long-term sick in their return-to-work process. It is argued that the SSIA is more strongly influenced by rules and regulations than the PES, but with “plenty of room for discretion” (Lindqvist and Lundälv 2018). The SSIA operates within the policy frame that emphasises the reduction of sickness benefits by motivating labour market participation. This discourse was implemented by restricting the overall sickness absence rate in order to encourage a ‘return to work’ mentality. This is also related to

exercising control with the motivation that rules and laws need to be rightfully implemented to ensure '(e)quality' when it comes to compensations (Hollertz et al. 2018). The very same logic of forcing individuals into work within the frame of activation policy is at place within the PES where it is accompanied by processes of steering and controlling the workforce through administrative badgering that might also have significance for the practical welfare work (Paulsen 2016).

Beyond its primary task to handle sick-leave cases, the SSIA deals with various forms of health insurance and additional case types. Typical cases include benefits for dental care, child benefits, benefits for parental leave, sickness benefits, housing benefits, benefits for participating in PES's labour market programmes, and benefits for newly arrived refugees who are registered in the PES's establishment programme. Fransson and Quist (2018) offer a portrayal of what they deem the primary working tasks for welfare workers within the SSIA. These tasks include calculating sickness benefit-based income, assessment of the right to these benefits, and the disbursement of these benefits. Working tasks furthermore include communication and seeking additional information for assessments while also establishing a plan for clients' return to work, planning and conducting meetings, and, importantly, recording all of these work tasks. The documentation of these working moments is supposed to be conducted in a standardised way in order to also contribute to SSIA's 'activity statistics'. Just like in the PES, work at the SSIA also includes working with external actors like employers and doctors as well as with welfare workers within the PES. Around 14,000 people were employed at both organisations in 2016, and both organisations have offices throughout the entire country. Some of the main characteristics of these two organisations are gathered in Table 1.

**Table 1. Overview SSIA/PES**

	SSIA	PES
<b>Policy domain</b>	Social security policies	Active labour market policies
<b>Employees</b>	13,400	14,400
<b>Mandate</b>	Financial security at various stages of life for anyone who lives or works in Sweden	Assistance to unemployed people, responsibility to work with newly arrived refugees
<b>Practical work</b>	Subsidy disbursement, e.g. benefits for dental care, parental leave, sickness benefits, child benefits, benefits for participating in PES's labour market programmes	Give assistance to unemployed people, incorporate newly arrived refugees into the labour market

## 2.2.2 Organisational differences and similarities

In terms of regulations, the SSIA is more legally regulated than the PES and decisions about benefits are made according to social insurance law (Fransson and Quist 2018). The PES, on the other hand, is less legally bound but more politically regulated compared to the SSIA (Delander and Wadensjö 1991). One could argue that the PES is more decentralised in that it functions as one agency but with a focus on local offices that are linked to three regional units that conduct the agency's work on the ground at about 300 offices throughout Sweden. In contrast, the SSIA nationalised its county agencies in 2005. In 2016 the agency was organised into 12 sections consisting of about 100 offices throughout Sweden, six of which deal with handling the different cases with a more centralised organisation model than the PES (Melander 2013; PES 2016; SSIA 2016). In terms of professionalism, the PES and SSIA function in a similar fashion, and in both organisations one's professional identity is shaped through internal rules, routines, practices, and work trainings rather than by educational status. When it comes to the linkage to migration processes in Sweden, the PES has historically had a strong influence on recruiting and handling labour migration from the 1950s, and then later on (after the Establishment reform in 2010) it became the main responsible actor for integrating newly arrived refugees into the labour market.

In sum, Ennerberg (2017) suggests that social policy in Sweden has always been linked to labour market policy highlighting the need for productivity. Historically, unemployment and social security benefits were mostly based on labour market participation, highlighting the interweaving of these two policy areas and these two organisations. In both organisations a neo-liberal discourse permeates all tasks, and the outline of the organisational framework is in line

with both, current “new public management” (NPM) trends and the civic turn of migrants through explicitly focusing on their labour market integration.

After introducing here some elements of the organisational framework of the PES and SSIA, the next section provides a short overview of existing attitude studies in Sweden in relation to migration in order to offer some considerations of the role of attitudes in the two organisations.



# 3. Key concepts and previous research

Having introduced the key research elements, the research issues, and the context and aims of this study, I will now introduce the main conceptual approaches used and the related previous research that guided the design and analysis of this study. Theory and previous research are presented in relation to each other because this allows an accounting for new aspects in the respective fields rather than relying solely on established theoretical underpinnings. The theoretical frame is comprised of an assemblage of three separate theoretical approaches – SLBT, racial attitude studies, and the concept of ontological security. In this constellation, SLBT functions as a contextualising element for the organisational context followed by the element of how individuals express themselves in relation to minorities. Third, the element of ontological security offers an overview that is linked to larger societal processes and is positioned outside of this organisational and individual dimension, yet has meaning for how organisational and individual processes are shaped. Therefore, in their intersection, these three different theoretical lines contribute with different understandings of racial attitudes and welfare practices with migrants when making up the general frame for this dissertation.

## 3.1 Street-level bureaucracy theory

SLBT concerns theoretical approaches that tie into the wider fields of human service organisations, public administration, social welfare, socio-legal studies, and public policy (Maynard-Moody and Portillio 2011). SLBT is nested within these theoretical discussions and marks a key notion in the conceptual discussions of this dissertation. This body of scholarship is used to understand how organisational rules and norms as well as organisational

conditions like workload impact welfare workers' actions in relation to practices with clients. This is the first tool of the theoretical assemblage of the dissertation and mainly aides in the understanding of factors that influence welfare practices.

Street-level bureaucracy (SLB) functions as a marker for public agents who represent the authority of the state and who, despite the different organisations they work in, have certain characteristics in common. SLBT provides insights into the interactions between citizens and the state and highlights the working situation of welfare workers (Brodkin 2013). Often one speaks of front-line workers when studying teachers, police officers, health care professionals, or welfare workers, which are according to Young (1981) "simply a special case of the general category of organizational actor" (p. 37). One of the key notions in SLBT is that welfare workers function as political actors or "policy intermediaries" (Brodkin 2011:199). Lipsky (1980) even refers to this group as the 'ultimate policymakers' who have the greatest influence when it comes to the policymaking process at the very end of the top-down policy procedure because prior to actual delivery to the citizens, policy is only an abstraction (Maynard-Moody and Portillio 2011). An important concept in the SLBT literature is the term 'discretion', and this has generated a lot of research. One of the main arguments in studies about discretion is that welfare workers working in welfare institutions try to resist managerial and political control through discretion. Therefore, difficulties in welfare workers' work life are linked to the structure of their work, and within these discussions one of the main focuses of SLB research has been to examine decisions through the concept of discretion (Lipsky 1980; Brodkin 2012). Hence, SLBT places welfare workers in organisational contexts in order to understand how relations with managers, colleagues, clients, and other citizens shape their decision-making (Maynard-Moody and Portillio 2011).

### **3.1.1 Organisational conditions**

SLBT pays extensive attention to organisational contexts and structural forces. Lipsky (1980) argues that the organisational context (mostly in the form of constraints) as well as relations with supervisors and clients shape welfare workers' motives and judgements. Following Seim (2017), one can illustrate organisational constraints along horizontal and vertical dimensions. On a horizontal level, welfare workers have to deal with the distribution of work and have to perform in reference to each other as colleagues, but also have to perform in reference to their clients. On a vertical level, welfare workers are

influenced by the welfare state steering its institutions. One aspect of this steering is how policies, rules, and regulations influence how organisational conditions are shaped (e.g. Brodtkin and Larsen 2013). Another aspect along the lines of steering is hardened internal bureaucracy and the use of a neo-liberal logic reflected in the operationalisation of services. One example of such a neo-liberal discourse is the focus on the individualisation of clients and their self-sufficiency. Vertical organisational constraints can be related to NPM strategies that are characterised by, for example, performance measurements and administrative burden (e.g. ‘being buried under paper’), and linking administrative rules and performance indicators of how clients are assessed (Sandfort 2000). One concept that illustrates these constraints is workload (or work pressure), which has been examined extensively within the SLB field (e.g. Jewell and Glaser 2006; Van Berkel and Knies 2016). Higher work pressure, sometimes also measured in caseload, is associated with lower performance quality and reduced efficiency (Godfrey and Yoshikawa 2012). Other studies also show that increased caseloads can be linked to unjust sanctioning because of time constraints when it comes to making decisions. To avoid only relying on case quantity and to also account for responsibilities, work tasks, time pressures, and frustrations that can lead to overall feelings of pressure, Jewell and Glaser (2006) suggest using the concept of workload rather than the one-dimensioned concept of caseload.

Overall, the structure of the work and organisational conditions is put in the centre of SLB studies. Maynard-Moody and Portillio (2011) identify factors influencing welfare workers, including their status within their organisation, with whom they interact (clients), their inherent discretion they can exercise, their autonomy. The next section will explore the different and partly syncretic discussions about the concept of discretion.

### **3.1.2 Discretion**

An important part of SLB work is the concept of discretion that, simply put, influences how welfare workers interpret rules or, according to Thomann, Engen, and Tummers (2018), is “the freedom to decide what should be done in a particular situation” (p. 583). Discretion is at the centre of SLB research. As the first to define the concept, the legal scholar Dworkin (1963) refers to discretion in the frame of legal professionals as “reaching a decision by means other than the application of standards” (p. 625). Within the legal scholar literature, discretion was at that time related to the idea that the rule of law would be violated by exercising discretion. Dworkin further illustrates

discretion as the “hole in a doughnut” referring to the circle of dough as restrictions that determine the size of the hole (the discretion) in the middle, which can be interpreted as some kind of free space to act within (1978:31). Meaning, organisational conditions or restrictions determine welfare workers’ discretion. Along those lines, SLBT defines discretion as something that emerges out of rule-bound organisations, but also as a strategy for welfare workers to cope with overwhelming work demands and emotional demands (Maynard-Moody and Portillio 2011). More concretely, scholars like Brown (1981) and Sandfort (2000) put forth that discretion is shaped and controlled by structural forces, e.g. by neo-liberal mechanisms that are manifested through NPM. Therefore, discretion needs to be understood in relation to the structural position of welfare institutions and their relation to the broader societal context (Adler and Asquith 1981).

Paradoxically, discretion on the one hand gives one the power to make meaningful choices, but on the other hand it is regulated by rules and procedures. One cannot help but wonder, then, what is a discretionary judgement? According to Maynard-Moody and Portillio (2011), it means, for example, ignoring the specific needs of certain groups of clients and only serving them by the book. Along those lines, Soss Fording and Schram (2011) suggest that discretion is broad and that welfare workers must make many choices that affect the client, which can range from the individual interpretation of certain regulations to ignoring the client’s needs and ‘sticking to the rules’. However, despite discretion being shaped by rules and procedures, Tummers and Bekkers (2014) argue that welfare workers can experience different levels of discretion within the same regulatory framework and that this can depend on different levels of knowledge about rules, different organisational contexts, different relationships to their supervisors, and their different identities. This is important for empirical investigations because welfare workers behave based on their perceptions of how much discretion they possess. However, they first need to feel that they actually have discretion before they can use it (Thomann et al. 2018).

Even though discretion is often portrayed as the ‘beacon of hope’ in the face of overwhelming demands, as to ‘do good for the clients’, and as enhancing positive service outcomes (Wallander and Mollander 2014), it does not mean that there are not also risks and concerns for potential abuse. Thomann et al. (2018) refer to this dualism as, on the one hand, a top-down approach where discretion is to be avoided due to risk of not implementing policies correctly, i.e. the risk of ‘abuse’, and on the other hand, a bottom-up approach where discretion supports making decisions about policy implementations in specific

circumstances, i.e. ‘doing good’. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) highlight the risk for punishment of clients that are deemed unworthy. One needs to acknowledge the need for discretion, but at the same time acknowledging the presence of biases that might result in negative effects in relation to welfare workers’ judgement. Sandfort (2000) refers to discretion as the ability to make responsible decisions, but also highlights the threat of discretion due to individual biases when it comes to the delivery of social services. This means that discretion also emerges through what the welfare worker brings into the institution, e.g. their own experiences, attitudes, values, norms, priorities, and skills as well as emotional uncertainties linked to ongoing societal changes like migration. Experiences of external pressure and fear of interruptions in one’s stable continuity in life are thus brought into the organisational work (Laing 2010). Watkins-Hayes (2009) states that welfare workers’ professional identity is not only informed by organisational dynamics but also by social group membership, e.g. race, class, and gender (p. 10). Organisational dynamics and social group membership intersect and shape identities that are expressed through discretion. Maynard-Moody and Musheno (2003) underline the problem of discretion being individually shaped because welfare workers first make a judgement about their clients before they “apply (...) or ignore the rules” (p. 155) to support their judgement, and they state that “identity based normative judgements determine which and how rules, procedures, and policy are applied” (p. 155). This relates to the argument that racial stereotypes and racial attitudes help to explain how welfare workers perceive and evaluate clients. The next section will discuss elements of SLBT by drawing on previous research exploring the meaning of race and ethnicity in front-line institutions and the effect of racial stereotypes and attitudes for services provided to minority groups (Maynard-Moody and Portillio 2011).

### *Racial biases in welfare work*

Literature examining the provision of welfare services to minority groups is used to introduce the link between SLBT and racial attitude studies. Earlier work can be mostly found in the US context (e.g. Giullettie, Torin and Vlassopolos 2015; Schram et al. 2009; Gooden 1998), but recently European scholars have also shown, often through replications of similar studies conducted in the US (e.g. Pedersen, Stritch and Thuesen 2018), that clients belonging to a minority group tend to receive less favourable decisions from front-line workers due to racial biases (e.g. Guul and Andersen 2019; Jilke, Van Dooren and Rys 2018; Arai et al. 2016). For example, focusing on response quality when studying German welfare offices, Hemker and Rink

(2017) show that minorities applying for benefits have lower qualities in the responses they receive compared to majority population clients. Moreover, if trusting the findings of Guul and Andersen (2019), in their rather new line of research they suggest that front-line workers might discriminate against minority clients as a way to cope with high workloads. They thereby propose an association between workload and discrimination where stereotypes are unconsciously ‘activated’ due to stressful and time-constrained work situations. Raaphorst and Groeneveld (2018) explain that one might embark from two perspectives when it comes to the role of prejudiced attitudes in relation to welfare work. On the one hand, welfare workers stereotyping clients and expressing prejudiced attitudes might be explained by organisational conditions, such as a heavy workload implying limited time, that lead to different coping mechanisms. On the other hand, one might make use of a broader sociological perspective that understands welfare workers as social actors who rely on given societal categories to make sense of their encounters with minorities. Ray (2019) supports the first line of thought by arguing that individual prejudice is connected to organisational processes because they “help to shape a larger racial order” and thus that racial biases are amplified through meso-level organisational processes (p. 2).

The studies described above are all exemplifications of ethnic and racial biases in front-line decision-making, and when linking these biases to exercising discretion, discretion might represent a hazard because it leaves room for arbitrariness. Possible negative consequences of discretion include exploitation, insecurity, and discrimination (Gooden 1998). This suggests some caution when it comes to discretion due to its possible negative impact because it allows for personal beliefs to occupy decisional space that could, due to negative beliefs about the welfare recipients, manifest themselves as racist stereotypes and possibly result in unequal welfare outcomes (Andersen 2017; Belabas and Gerrits 2017; Jilke et al. 2018; Neubeck and Cazenave 2001).

I have discussed how organisational conditions shape practical welfare work and how discretion is an important but complex concept in SLBT because it helps us to understand how bureaucrats interpret rules and make judgements. Moreover, I have started to discuss the role of ethnic and racial biases in front-line decision-making. However, Sandfort (2000) stresses that “we may be missing important social processes by focusing either on individuals or organizations as our units of analysis” (p. 752). She further argues that “it is

critical to examine how the beliefs and actions of ordinary individuals who deliver public services actually create larger structural parameters” (p. 753). Ray (2019) goes one step further and suggests that “individual racial attitudes and discrimination are enabled or constrained by organizational routines” (p. 5). The work for this dissertation argues along those lines as well by opening up for an understanding beyond the organisational dimension as a way to comprehend welfare work by including discussions about the role of one’s attitudes towards migrants and thereby offers an early attempt to contribute to this emerging line of research. Attitudes are a central concept in this dissertation, and therefore I will in the following give an overview of how we can understand attitudes and in particular consider the meaning of racial attitudes for intergroup behaviour.

## 3.2 Perspectives on racial attitudes

This dissertation focuses on attitudes in terms of fundamental individual orientations when evaluating people. Simply put, attitudes are forms of preferences and evaluations towards all kinds of possible things, e.g. people or events. When evaluating different matters, attitudes are used to express favour or disfavour. In that sense, attitudes are evaluative judgments that are made through a cognitive reaction. It is furthermore suggested that attitudes are a tendency to act favourably or unfavourably (Banaji and Heiphetz 2010; Eagly and Chaiken 1993). Adding to these definitions, Schwarz and Bohner (2001) argue that attitudes are not static but are formed when needed and are generated in response to contextual demands. Moreover, attitudes are used to organise and simplify multifaceted inputs from the environment and help to express our fundamental values (Triandis 1971). Values can be seen as guiding principles in one’s life (e.g. preference for equality in society), but unlike attitudes a value is not referencing an object. According to Rockeach (1973), attitudes differ from values because an attitude refers to the organisation of several beliefs around a specific object or situation. A value reflects what is important in one’s life and is made up of stable long-lasting beliefs, which refer to the ideas one holds to be true. An attitude is then a way a person expresses or applies their beliefs and values through their behaviours and predispositions. Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan (1997) write that attitudes “provide useful clues to a person’s behaviour” even if this cannot always be determined directly and that even though attitudes offer us only a partial view, they are an important source

of information for describing larger social climates (pp. 3-4). Van Dijk (1987) explains that attitudes refer to a complex structure of opinions (personal judgments) and function as a way of processing social information in our everyday lives. Attitudes are, however, not isolated entities but occur in organised clusters and are coherently related to each other as ideologies, which can be described as a rope of intertwined attitudes.

Along these lines, and before introducing the overall approaches linked to racial attitudes, I will explain the concepts of prejudice and stereotypes because these are fundamental in order to understand the underlying mechanisms of the occurrence and meaning of racial attitudes – attitudes that help us to understand how people think about ethnic and racial minority groups (e.g. migrants) (Van Dijk 1987; Dovidio et al. 2010). The concept of prejudice – which is an attitude reflecting an evaluation of a group – is often linked to stereotypes – which are associations of specific characteristics to an entire group (Dovidio et al. 2010:5). Stereotypes are an important part of the perceptions and judgements of other people and act as cognitive shortcuts (Samson and Bobo 2014). Dovidio et al. (2010) define stereotypes as “associations and beliefs about the characteristics and attributes of a group and its members that shape how people think about and respond to the group” (p. 8). Stereotypes can be understood as over-generalized beliefs about a particular group. Moreover, stereotypes can be seen as fixed and exaggerated ideas that are linked to categories and that function as justifications for the acceptance or rejection of a group. It is suggested that stereotypes are linked to prejudice because thinking about a group derives from the memory about a group (Pickering 2001). Dovidio et al. (2010) put forth that prejudice as an attitude reflects the beliefs about a group, often portrayed as a negative attitude. In the field of psychology, prejudice is understood as an attitude held by an individual. However, in the field of sociology the group-based function of prejudice is in the foreground when investigating the social and structural dynamics of intergroup relations. When integrating the individual-level and group-level approaches, prejudice can be used to uphold the status between majority and minority groups. Along these lines, Landy (2008) puts forth that prejudice can enhance one’s self-esteem through a stronger feeling of association with one’s own group by contrasting it to the out-groups. In sum, prejudice might best be understood through the intersection of psychological (attitudes, stereotypes) and social (roles, contexts) processes where one is embedded in a certain group position and tries to maintain this social position with the help of prejudice. Even though an individual-level attitude, prejudice is group based and not personal and as such is “acquired, shared and communicated within the in-group in various social



(historical, cultural) contexts” (Van Dijk 1987:211). Van Dijk (1987) further argues that prejudice functions as the “planning, execution, and justification of negative actions against minority groups by a dominant majority and within a racist social structure” (p. 211).

Following this basic understanding of prejudice and stereotypes, I will now introduce some of the main discussions in the field of racial attitude studies, which marks the second central theoretical approach of my framework.

Studies of racial attitudes started out by examining explicit attitudes when it comes to negative feelings about out-group members, e.g. individuals not belonging to the national in-group. The earlier focus on social biases among small groups was subsequently challenged with the argument that social biases are a group-level phenomenon. Blumer (1958) put forth that prejudices are inherited through ‘a sense of group position’ where one’s attitudes involve normative ideas about the position of one’s own group. Beyond measuring prejudice and illustrating the prevalence of negative attitudes towards outgroups, researchers have also examined the relationship between prejudiced intergroup attitudes and discriminatory behaviour by arguing that “few people keep their antipathies entirely to themselves” (Duckitt 1992:292). In a very general sense, Allport (1979) and others (e.g. Brown 1981) suggest that behavioural expressions of prejudice could result in a different tone of voice, reduced eye contact or verbal interactions, and less friendliness, but also in verbally expressed hostility, avoidance, direct discrimination by excluding the outgroup from certain social rights or privileges, and physical violence. Beyond these general behavioural outcomes, behavioural expressions due to the racial bias of welfare workers have been already discussed in the section above.

Previous studies examining explicit racial attitudes were challenged due to a shift in public norms, and blatant racist expressions were condemned and racial topics avoided. Overt biases are thus increasingly shaped by public condemnation (Forman and Lewis 2015; Neville et al. 2016). Scholars like Forman (2004) point out that “individuals are likely to not express their prejudice toward racial minorities explicitly but rather are more likely to express their negative feelings in ways that are subtler or covert” (p. 46). This marks a shift from more overt racist expressions to more subtle ways to expressing negative attitudes against minorities, reflecting new, contemporary forms of prejudice against minorities (Forman and Lewis 2015).

This does not mean that racial biases are not present anymore in people’s minds, and intergroup bias endures, just with a new face. Consequently,

measuring racial attitudes has evolved into new forms that capture and reflect the current Zeitgeist. This shift to more subtle ways of expressing oneself includes colour-blind attitudes that convey the current norm of so-called postraciality or ‘not talking about race’ (Bonilla-Silva 2006). This shift also reflects that racism does not disappear due to more subtle forms of racial attitudes and that it always emerges in new forms. Along these lines, Omi and Winant (1994) explain that the process of *racial formation* creates, inhabits, transforms, and destroys categories and that this process is linked to historical projects and social structures.

In the following sections, classical anti-immigration formation theory, reflecting more overt racial expressions but also the more novel theoretical perspective of colour-blindness, which reflects more subtle racial expressions, will be discussed in order to understand what factors influence welfare workers’ anti-immigration attitudes. It will also show how the less static theoretical perspective of colour-blindness helps us to nuance how anti-immigration attitudes function in organisational contexts where current norms of not appearing ‘prejudiced’ complicate how we can understand anti-immigration attitudes in relation to practical welfare work.

### **3.2.1 Anti-immigration attitudes**

Assessing anti-immigration attitudes is mainly used to capture the operationalisation of prejudice or negative attitudes towards ethnic and racial minorities. Anti-immigration attitudes, sometimes used interchangeably with anti-immigrant prejudice, are expressions of intergroup relations that are tied into one’s identity. There exists a vast body of literature concerning anti-immigration attitudes (e.g. Hjerm 1998; McLaren 2003; Wilkes, Guppy and Farris 2008) demonstrating that attitudes towards migrants are complex and multifaceted (Hellwig and Sinno 2017). In this dissertation the concept is used in the form of a scale that captures a range of attitudes from positive to negative. Researchers are mainly interested in the consequences of negative attitudes towards migrants, and therefore there is a focus on the ‘negative’ side of attitudes towards migrants.

Wagner (2010) stresses that immigrants face negative attitudes and that examining these attitudes is of crucial importance because “it represents a serious social issue because they are often accompanied by discriminatory behaviour” (p. 362). Studying these biases became prominent after WWII, and up to 1970, studies focused mostly on migrant workers in receiving countries because these comprised the main migration groups. After increased migration

flows of refugees fleeing conflicts, studies started to shift their focus towards these migrant groups instead (Wagner, Christ and Heitmeyer 2010). Within this literature, rational explanations and psychological propositions are often combined when determining forms of threats to predict oppositions towards migrants. Group conflict theory focuses on the functional relations between groups with reference to competition and perceived threat as one of the causes of intergroup prejudice. Two different forms of threat dominate the academic discussions – the rationally explained economic threat and the psychologically expounded cultural threat (e.g. Turper 2016; Hellwig and Sinno 2017). For example, the national in-group might be opposed to migrants if migrants are perceived as a personal or collective safety threat (Turper 2016). Along these same lines, Wilkes, Guppy, and Farris (2008) put forth that ideology-based explanations focus on the beliefs that one group (that is ethno-racially/culturally different) is superior to the other, and therefore such beliefs would be seen as racist rather than beliefs formed because of a perceived threat. In the same vein, Esses et al. (2002) suggest that symbolic factors might have more impact on harbouring prejudice than a threat related to competing for economic resources. Moreover, individual characteristics, e.g. gender, age, education, and income (Scheve and Slaughter 2001) are also well-researched predictors for anti-immigration attitudes. Other so-called individual drivers that the literature focuses on are political affiliation and religious aspects (Jolly and DiGiusto 2014; Bohman 2014). Relatedly, theories of group threat can be linked to one's sense of being in the world as a form of external pressure that challenges one's sense of security and therefore offer some understanding of why anti-immigration sentiments might occur beyond classical threat theory approaches (Giddens 2006; Hage 1998). In the next section, this aspect of understanding will be further linked to the notion of national identity.

After presenting the various different approaches in the field related to different forms of threat, I will in the following account for two main approaches beyond the threat theory approach to explain variations in these attitudes, namely the notion of national identity and contact theory.

### *National identity*

Group positioning is based on national identity and marks the most important explanatory element when it comes to anti-immigration attitudes in my theoretical frame. There exists a vast body of literature that links one's sense of national identity to anti-immigration attitudes (e.g. Hjerm 1998; Knudsen 1997; Lewin-Epstein and Levanon 2005; Jeong 2013). Smith (1991) explains that national identity and its related notion of the nation are complex concepts

based on several aspects that are tied into each other. Components like “ethnic, cultural, territorial, economic and legal-political” are used to express a relation between members of a nation. This relation, or bond as Smith (1991) calls it, is further strengthened by providing individuals with shared values, symbols, and traditions. In that sense, national identity is linked to the western model of what a nation is. As others have specified before (e.g. Hjerem 1998), I will also make use of Smith’s (1991) more narrow definition of national identity as a “means of defining and locating individual selves in the world, through the prism of the collective personality and its distinctive culture” (p. 17). Reflecting the emotional attachment to the nation, Kohn (1960) speaks of the nation-state being “deep-rooted in the emotions of the masses” (p. 23). Along those lines, Billig (1995) highlights that national identity is a form of life. This form of life includes the way we regard ‘us – the nation’ with its destiny or identity and how ‘we’ in contrast regard ‘them – the foreigner’ that ‘we’ identify as different. One sees oneself as a member of the so-called national ‘ingroup’, and in order to do so there is a need for an ‘outgroup’. To reinforce the sense of the ‘ingroup’, nations produce positive stereotypes affiliated with the ‘ingroup’ and more demanding or challenging stereotypes for other nations, the ‘outgroup’. This leads to the creation of a certain social identity distinguishing the ‘ingroup’ from the ‘outgroup’. The created stereotypes underpin the creation of norms, which are then associated with the national identity and with oneself. Members of a nation become aware of who they are and who they are not, which leads to the conclusion that “the national community can only be imagined by also imagining communities of foreigners” (Billig 1995:79). Self-evidence, like having a gender, is decided upon birth. Although in today’s society one’s gender can be changed and nationalities can change, one’s belonging and identity might still be dependent on where one was born, where one grew up, and/or on one’s mother tongue (Calhoun 2007). The discourse of nations displays two sides of the same coin – on one side is the acknowledgment of common ethnicity, and on the other is the idea of shared membership of a state. Smith (1991) divides the concept of national identity into a civic or territorial identity and an ethnic identity while stressing the dualism as well as the range of both models in the sense that they might have varying degrees<sup>6</sup>. The civic model is characterised by a politically defined community with a common territory, laws, and institutions, but also

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<sup>6</sup> For a more extensive discussion on the distinction between ethnic and civic perceptions of nationhood, see for example Larsen (2017).

equal rights for those who are seen as members of the nation. The ethnic model stands for an imagined community held together through a common affiliation, or perceived common descent, as expressed through a common origin, language and culture. The ethnic model of belonging sells the imagination of a homogeneous nation where the right to participate is inherited (Borevi 2012; Hjerm 1998; Smith 1991). Because the homogeneous community in fact does not exist, the ethnic model of belonging is used as a mechanism of exclusion to define those who do not belong. The criterion of belonging is therefore given to one but not the other (Emcke 2016). Previous research shows that there is an association between elements of national identity and attitudes towards migrants. The ethnic model is associated with less favourable attitudes towards migrants than the civic model (Hjerm 1998), which underlines that national identity consists of excluding and including components when it comes to attitudes towards migrants (Hernes and Knudsen 1992).

### *Contact theory*

Another prominent approach in the literature on anti-immigration attitudes is contact theory. This theoretical approach is important because it concerns the reduction of biases, and since the 1950s (e.g. Allport 1979) it has been discussed as one of main strategies for improving intergroup relations. According to contact theory, exposure to various groups can increase positive attitudes towards these outgroups and can simultaneously reduce prejudice. On the one hand, previous studies emphasise that the quantity of intergroup contacts contributes to the reduction of biases. This suggests that more frequent personal interaction between members of different groups results in more positive attitudes towards different groups due to the creation of familiarity (Allport 1979; Dixon 2006; Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux 2007). However, one can also find studies suggesting that superficial interactions (e.g. encounters on the street) can increase negative feelings towards different groups resulting, for example, in increased levels of anxiety or reduced levels of empathy (Hamberger and Hewstone 1997; Thomsen and Rafiqi 2017). On the other hand, there are discussions emphasising the relevance of the quality of the intergroup contact. The nature of the relationship has an impact on one's attitudes, and more intimate relationships result in more favourable attitudes, e.g. having friendships with members of minority groups (McLaren 2003). Along those lines, Pettigrew (1998) states concretely that the strongest indicator for reducing prejudice is that the groups in question become friends. Vezzali and Giovanni (2012) propose that contact via friendship allows the individuals to develop emotional bonds that result in decreased levels of

anxiety and increased levels of empathy. Moreover, contact can in this way increase the knowledge one has about different groups and therefore change one's perception about them. Although contact theory is viewed as an effective psychological strategy for improving so-called intergroup relations, one needs to be aware that this might not account for ideological beliefs sustaining systematic racism, meaning that underlying racist structures cannot be eliminated through personal contact (Dixon, Durrheim and Tredoux 2007).

### **3.2.2 Colour-blindness**

#### *Colour-blind perspective*

Anti-immigration attitude scholarship reflects elements that explain rather explicit ways of expressing one's racial biases; however, due to racial formations new forms of expressing oneself about minorities have emerged, and the theoretical perspective of colour-blindness offers an understanding of how racial transformations express themselves through our attitudes.

The main idea one normally relates to colour-blind perspectives is that "all people are fundamentally the same, and thus we should ignore racial differences and treat everyone as an individual" (Babbitt, Toosi and Sommers 2016:54). According to this reasoning, ignoring or avoiding racial categories should result in decreased racial discrimination and increased equality. However, ignoring racial categories might in fact conceal the real impact of inequality. Babbitt et al. (2016) clearly underline that despite possible good intentions, colour-blindness has in fact "limited power to address discrimination" (p. 56) because racial stereotypes are activated automatically. Despite this, Babbitt et al. (2016) offer various perspectives on why people might endorse colour-blindness anyway. First, colour-blindness is used in good faith to advance racial harmony and equality; second, it is used to sustain one's status quo; third, it might be used as a strategy to appear unbiased and not come across as racist; and lastly, it might be the default approach due to social norms. I suggest that these different perspectives can co-occur and might not appear mutually exclusive to each other. For example, using colour-blindness as a strategy to appear unbiased might be because one wants to conform to social norms that condemn expressing oneself in prejudiced manner. Beyond these various perspectives, Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues that colour-blindness can be understood as a form of racism that is characterised through the denial of the role of race and racism when it comes to different forms of inequality. Bonilla-Silva (2006) defines *colour-blind racism* in the US as an "ideology that

explains contemporary racial inequality as the outcome of nonracial dynamics” (p. 2). An overall colour-blind perspective is also one of the main symptoms of the supposedly post-racial European society that functions through the denial of the racial and active intolerance as the norm (Goldberg 2015).

A variety of scholars have engaged in how we can understand colour-blind perspectives. Vargas (2014) explains that colour-blindness connotes that “race no longer matters in this supposedly post-racial USA” (p. 2282). Doane (2017), stresses that a colour-blind perspective is *not* about “not seeing race” but the denial of racial inequality and racist practices (p. 976). Overall, Doane (2017) suggests that colour-blindness is racist, “but it is not racist in and of itself”; it is racist because it serves the majority group in power (p. 979). Forman (2004) states that colour-blindness “explains away inequities, blaming the victims of racial discrimination for their situation” highlighting how colour-blindness refers to the individual dimension related to individual choices as opposed to a structural dimension (p. 45). Karafantis, Pierre-Louis, and Lewandowski (2010) write that a colour-blind perspective allows the illusion of equal treatment by ignoring group differences and by focusing on similarities between people. This then leads to the assumption that people of different social categories are equal and that we are in fact living in ‘social harmony’ (p. 690).

Beyond the American context and in line with the first perspective of understanding colour-blindness, the French sociologist Bonnet (2014) conceptualises colour-blindness along the lines of performing non-racism while conforming to societal and organisational norms. He distinguishes between the colour-blind and race conscious approach, which are mutually contradictory and can both be deemed as racist due to denying race or acknowledging racial differences, depending on the national context. Bonnet (2014) stresses the importance of acknowledging that it is significant for people and organisations to avoid accusations of racism and therefore to perform non-racism.

### *Colour-blind attitudes*

Colour-blindness within society at large, as well as within organisations, reflects itself in individual-level attitudes. The prevalence of colour-blind attitudes through survey measurements can mostly be found in the US context. To measure the multi-dimensional aspects of colour-blind racial attitudes, Neville et al. (2000) developed the ‘Color-Blind Racial Attitude Scale’ to assess how the concept of colour-blindness relates to other outcomes. In this dissertation, colour-blind attitudes are operationalised in a form of a scale that

ranges from low to high levels of colour-blindness and does not automatically imply that all respondents are colour-blind.

Many studies focus on mapping out white people's (mostly college students) attitudes and how these are pervaded by a colour-blind perspective (e.g. Bonilla - Silva and Forman 2000; Gallagher 2003; Loya 2011). Yet, it is also shown that elements of colour-blindness are supported across racial groups (Bonilla-Silva 2006; O'Brien 2008; Manning, Hartmann and Gerteis 2015) and among politically progressive people and antiracist activists (Doane 2017). When it comes to colour-blind attitudes in Europe, Jansen et al.'s (2016) study investigated colour-blindness and multiculturalism as two opposed forms of diversity in Dutch organisations and their affect on work satisfaction for minority and majority employees. Colour-blind attitudes, conceptualised as equality regardless of group membership, was prevalent in both employee groups. However, the colour-blind attitudes were associated with increased work satisfaction for majority employees only, indicating that colour-blindness does not result in equal outcomes in work life.

Several studies have suggested that colour-blind attitudes might be used to 'camouflage prejudice' (e.g. Penner and Dovidio 2016) and are in fact associated with elevated levels of prejudice (e.g. Bonilla-Silva 2006). It is however problematised that wanting to appear unbiased might 'backfire' during interactions and lead to negative non-verbal behaviour. Penner and Dovidio suggest that health professionals who endorse colour-blindness might end up providing lower quality of care to minority patients. Vorauer, Gagnon, and Sasaki (2009) suggest in their research on interracial interactions that majority group participants who adopted a colour-blind orientation were less positive and supportive in their interactions with minority members. However, the mechanisms that are at play, e.g. anxiety, that might cause fewer positive interactions have not been explored or empirically supported in the literature.

### **3.2.3 Summarizing remarks**

To summarize, attitudes are used to express favour or disfavour towards different groups of people and therefore help us to understand what people think about minority groups. To better understand the judgment of a group, the concept of prejudice, as an intersection of attitudes/stereotypes and social roles/context, is used to comprehend these negative and sometimes also positive individual-level attitudes towards groups. One can capture prejudice by assessing anti-immigration attitudes that offer an expression of inter-group relations. Determining factors can include in what way one defines one's



national identity and contact with outgroups. Related to this, new forms of expressing oneself about minority groups have emerged. Colour-blind attitudes are seen as new and contemporary forms of expressing attitudes towards minorities and might function as a strategy to appear unbiased and to conform to societal and organisational norms. However, just like anti-immigration attitudes, colour-blind attitudes might result in negative outcomes when it comes to inter-group relations.

### 3.3 Ontological security

Lastly, I relate the two main theoretical elements, SLBT and racial attitude studies, to the concept of ontological security because it shapes organisational as well as individual processes that are influenced through global processes. Ontological security as a concept was first developed by the psychiatrist Laing (1991, 2010) and later on advanced by the sociologist Giddens (2006). Giddens (2006) argues that societal transformations interrupt experienced protective community forms and pre-established practices, leading to a sense of insecurity and a lack of tools to navigate through a perceived changed environment. This leads to feelings of anxiety and a perceived threat to one's sense of having a place in the world. Ultimately, one experiences ontological insecurity due to the fear that the self cannot sustain external influences and therefore loses the sense of basic trust in one's reality and presence in the world shaped by routines that are now interrupted. This perceived fear is linked to structural circumstances where macro-ideological discourses as well as meso-level processes contribute to an increased level of ontological security at the individual level (Kinnval and Nesbitt–Larking 2011).

These processes are characterised by neo-liberal forces that shape how welfare organisations and their workforces are governed as well as by patterns of global migration. For welfare workers, the conjunction of these two processes creates possible uncertainties that can challenge welfare workers' emotional uncertainties and therefore contribute to increased levels of ontological insecurity and a 'real' perceived or 'felt' anxiety about one's existence and sense of being in society because "the life they once led is being contested and changed at the same time" (Kinnval and Nesbitt – Larking 2011; Kinnval 2004:742). One can link organisational constraints to the emotional self-management of welfare workers and to NPM strategies with a desire for performance, but monitoring these performances can also pose a challenge for

welfare workers' ontological security. Control exercised through managerial processes at work along with an increased administrative burden can impact the self and potentially cause feelings of vulnerability, increased levels of anxiety, and a feeling of losing control over one's work life. This in turn can lead to frustration that might impact one's work with clients, for example, by distancing oneself from them (Ashman and Gibson 2010; Brown 2000; Ryu, Wenger and Wilkins 2012). Moreover, negative attitudes towards migrants can be linked to exclusionary processes such as creating boundaries between the 'self' and the 'other', but also by emphasising ethnoracial hierarchies in order to have a sense of one's position in society that allows for an increased feeling of ontological security. Hage (1998) explains that these exclusionary processes are linked to the feeling of national belonging and in turn to a sense of entitlement that reflects sustaining one's sense of being. The national identity is in this sense a stable pillar in counteracting the 'felt' destabilising effects linked to a more heterogeneous society, and it serves as a reliable source to make sense of the world by reducing existential anxiety (Skey 2010).

### 3.4 Theoretical Nexus

I have tried to establish a 'theoretical nexus' by connecting the three main perspectives of SLBT, racial attitudes, and ontological security. All three perspectives bring different elements to the understanding of welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and have potential implications for practices with migrant clients. SLBT is relevant for understanding how organisational factors like workload and organisational norms shape welfare practices. Theories linked to anti-immigration attitudes as well as to colour-blindness offer explanations for what influences welfare workers' attitudes as well as how their actions can be shaped by these attitudes. When intersecting these two strands of research, we can learn more about how, for example the concept of discretion can have meaning for how attitudes play out in practical welfare work or if we see different effects of welfare workers' attitudes depending on organisational context. Lastly, including the concept of ontological security allows for a better understanding of why welfare workers might express resentment towards migrants and can be linked to SLBT. It also allows for a better understanding on how organisational conditions can create uncertainties that can be relevant for practical welfare work. The concept of ontological security functions therefore as an external element that is linked to theories of

SLB and to anti-immigration attitudes. Welfare workers are on the one hand exposed to external processes, e.g. different trends of globalisation, that influence their ontological security. On the other hand, they are influenced by internal organisational processes, such as performance pressures linked to NPM trends, that have consequences for their experienced ontological security. Thus both external and internal processes influence welfare workers' work life and their work with clients. I therefore suggest how attitudes are a reflection of different processes that are not only linked to the individual level, but also to the organisational and societal levels. This supports the argument that attitudes are more complex than simply individually shaped evaluations.



## 4. Method

This chapter discusses the thesis's methodology. I begin by introducing the details of my empirical material, which was a survey study. This is followed by an overview of the different analytical strategies I undertook. Finally, I discuss the main ethical considerations concerning the survey study and offer some methodological reflections.

### 4.1 Survey study

The work for this thesis is based on an online survey directed at welfare workers in two main Swedish welfare organisations (PES and SSIA). The survey included questions about: a) the workplace and work environment, b) client contact, c) attitudes towards migrants and immigration, d) attitudes towards diversity in Sweden along with some background demographic questions (the questionnaire is included as Appendix I)<sup>7</sup>. The survey was conducted in October and November 2016. The time of the data collection was not insignificant because the study took place soon after Sweden experienced a short-term but large increase in immigration that changed its discourse from an open and welcoming migration policy to a more restricted policy with an overall change in narrative to portraying immigration as a threat to the welfare state. October and November 2016 constitute a time that could be seen as the beginning of this changed discourse, and this might have had implications for the responses given by the welfare workers.

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<sup>7</sup> In order to make sure that the study was conducted in accordance with guidelines of ethical research processes, it was reviewed by the Regional Ethical Board (EPN) in Lund in September 2016 and approved on the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 2016.

## 4.1.1 Survey design and instrument

### *Access to population*

In order to gain access to my target population (welfare workers within the PES and SSIA), the study was conducted in cooperation with the union ST (a union for people with a state mandate). Cooperating with a union in order to gain access to these two organisations was a practical decision. First, in previous studies union cooperation was shown to be a sustainable way of gaining access to welfare organisations (e.g. Blomberg et al. 2015). Second, ST is the biggest union when it comes to workers in the PES and SSIA and allowed for negotiations with one overarching entity rather than having to consult with two different organisations, which might have jeopardised gaining access to both organisations. The planning for the survey took place during the spring of 2016. After initial contact via telephone and a meeting with the respective ST representatives for the SSIA and the PES, a collaboration for conducting the survey with ST members in both organisations was agreed on. This was followed by dialogues via telephone and email concerning practical issues like anonymity, sampling, and the distribution of the survey. I presented the study for the ST representatives in order to receive feedback on the survey as well as to get their confirmation on the proposed questions. They had no objections to the survey, and did not suggest any changes. In other words, ST did not influence the content or design of the survey questions.

A draft of the survey was also piloted with two welfare workers within the SSIA (contact information was received via ST) and among three voluntary welfare workers within the PES (contact information was received via a common contact). The participants from the PES provided feedback via email and had no annotations and expressed no interest in meeting with me without saying why. However, I had the opportunity to meet the participants from the SSIA in person in June 2016. The participants gave feedback on how to refine question 6 in the survey; I had not included an option on ‘completed single courses at the university’, and it was suggested that maybe some employees did not complete a whole university programme but might have taken some single courses instead. Furthermore, the participants gave feedback on how to refine question 12 (work area within SSIA). They also expressed that they appreciated the survey questions because they gave them a chance to reflect about their work and migration in a way that they had not done before. Overall, they did not have major suggestions for changes and confirmed the soundness of the design and thus contributed to its validity.

### *Survey instrument*

The survey consisted of 43 questions. The survey was designed with the SUNET programme, which is used by researchers at Lund University for research purposes and course evaluations. Lund University has an agreement with the company for use of the programme. Survey answers were registered in SUNET, and only I and the SUNET systems manager at Lund University have access to the data sets. In the process of designing the questionnaire, I made use of existing scales for most survey items (see all questions and sources in Appendix III), which contributed to increased validity and reliability of the survey items.

## **4.1.2 Organisation, population, and sample**

### *Study population*

The population of the study was Swedish welfare workers working in the PES and SSIA. Within SLB research, it is very common to study employees and professionals within different organisations, thus emphasising differences across organisational features. It is stressed that welfare workers have things in common that can be captured as one general category of actors, such as front-line workers in public agencies (Brodkin and Marston 2013; Young 1981). For instance, based on a study on a sample of various health care professionals (psychiatrists, psychologists, and psychotherapists) working in different health care institutions in the Netherlands, Trummers and Bekkers (2014) argued that all of these professionals fall under the category ‘street-level bureaucrats’ and hence could be analysed in an integrated manner. Following Trummers and Bekkers (2014), I consider employees in the PES and SSIA as expressions of welfare workers, and hence analysed them to large extent as a single category. Descriptively, respondents in both organisations (PES and SSIA) did not differ significantly from each other<sup>8</sup> in the main measures used in my analysis.

### *Sample*

I followed the so-called sampling frame method (Buskirk 2014). With this method, one first defines the target population (welfare workers at the PES and

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<sup>8</sup> Except for the construct discretion where the mean differed by 0.3, civic belonging with a mean difference of 0.1, and the binary variable work with migrants where more workers from the PES responded ‘Yes’.

SSIA) and then finds a sampling frame, which for this study was the union ST and their members of the PES and SSIA. The table below summarises employee and ST membership information of both organisations. ST had in total 14,000 members from both organisations in 2016, and 12,000 of them had registered email addresses in the ST member list. These 12,000 members made up the survey sample for the study.

**Table 2. Overview of sampling information**

	PES	SSIA
<b>Employees total 2016</b>	14,400	13,400
<b>ST members 2016</b>	7,000	7,000
<b>Total ST members 2016</b>	14,000	
<b>Registered ST email 2016</b>	12,000	

In line with the theory of probability, the needed net sample size for a population of 12,000 is 728<sup>9</sup>. This calculation helps to determine how many responses one needs in order to get results that represent the target population. When deciding on the gross sample size, in order to ensure a minimum sample size of 728, a couple of factors were taken into consideration. First, the study concerns ST members who are welfare workers, i.e. employees who mainly deal with client queries. However, ST members also include employees who work, for example, in the IT department or communication division within the PES and SSIA, and these make up about 15% of all ST members within the PES and SSIA according to the estimations I received from ST. These employees could not be removed from the member list (12,000) and are therefore part of the survey sample (12,000). Second, every ST mailing distribution results in 5% of the emails bouncing (e.g. natural non-responses), meaning emails that are linked to a wrong address. Third, web-based surveys tend to have a lower response rate. All of these factors led to the decision to select approximately 7,000 individuals from the survey sample (12,000 ST members at PES/SSIS with a registered email) to be included in the gross sample (Gross sample = 7000). Because I did not get access to ST’s member list, an employee from ST’s IT unit was assigned to draw a random (probability sample) of 7,000 individuals. In an oral communication on the telephone, ST’s employee stated that the random sample was drawn from the member list in Excel through a function in Excel to generate random numbers. I had no

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<sup>9</sup> With a 99% confidence level and 3% of margin of error



influence over this process. The final net sample<sup>10</sup> size was 6,650, excluding the 5% of natural non-responses such as invalid email addresses<sup>11</sup>. It is important to note that the final net sample size (6,650) was estimated after the random sample of 7,000 emails was drawn because I did not have access to the email list of the 7,000 individuals and therefore did not receive any information on which email addresses out of the 7,000 were eventually invalid. Figure 1 illustrates the survey sample in relation to the target population and the respondents, which will be discussed in the next section.

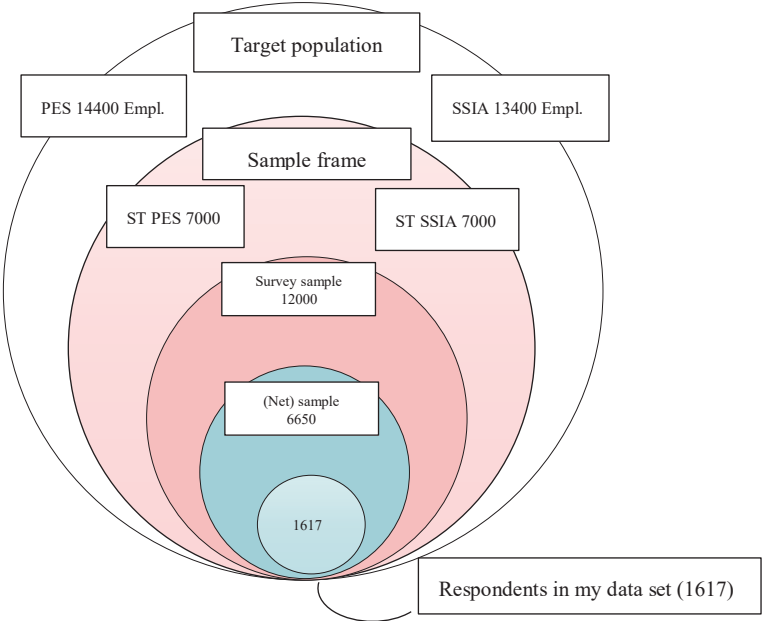


Figure 1. Survey population and sample

Ideally, the sampling frame (ST members at PES/SSIA) perfectly coincides with the target population (welfare workers at PES/SSIA), but that is not always possible. Sometimes the frame will be larger or smaller depending on practical ways of getting in touch with each member of the sample, see figure 2 (Buskirk 2014). For this study, the sampling frame and the target population overlapped by 50% because half of the overall target population (welfare

<sup>10</sup> Net sample = sample from the available sample frame

<sup>11</sup> Invalid email addresses were estimated by ST to be 5% (5% of 7,000 = 6,650)

workers at PES/SSIA) are members of ST. The results of the study are discussed in reference to welfare workers at the SSIA and PES in general (target population), while being aware that that the sample frame only covers 50% of the target population. The question that arises is whether the sample for this study is representative of all welfare workers at the PES and SSIA. Data on union membership in Sweden are sensitive, but existing information suggests that in 2016 approximately 82% of all civil servants in the public sector in Sweden were members of a union (Kjellberg 2017). This means, that even if the welfare workers are not in the ST that I used for my sampling frame, they are very likely in at least one other union. Thus the issue is not so much whether or not welfare workers at the PES/SSIA are in unions and therefore whether union welfare workers are different from other welfare workers. One could only argue that ST union members make up a special group among union members overall and might therefore differ from other union members. We do not know if this is the case, and can only assume that systematically these welfare workers are not different from each other, and only a study including the whole target population could show if results are similar between the sample frame and target population. Therefore, the representativeness of my study sample for all welfare workers at the PES/SSIA needs to be assumed with caution keeping this limitation in mind. In the next section, I will account for the data collection process.

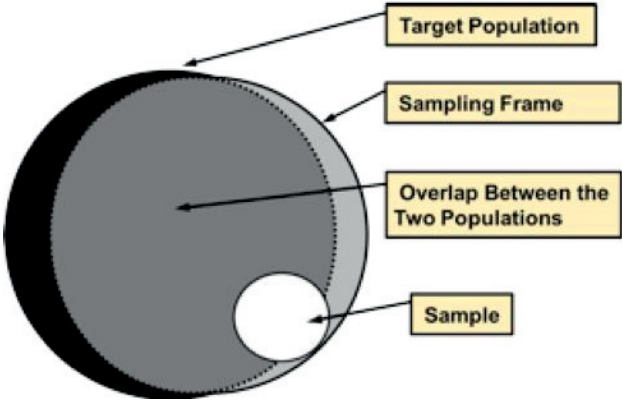
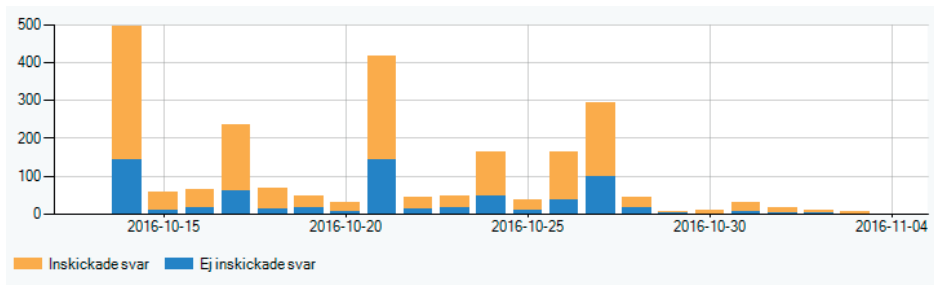


Figure 2. Target population and sample frame (Buskirk 2014)

### 4.1.3 Data collection

#### *Survey response*

ST sent out the survey via email along with some information about the study. In the email one could find a URL link that would lead to the online survey<sup>12</sup>. I made use of a public URL link. This means that the link was the same for every email address and technically was publicly available. However, the survey could be answered from the same computer only once in order to prevent people answering twice. Because I did not have access to the email addresses myself, this was the only way to send out the survey. The survey was sent out on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October followed by two reminders one week after the first mailing and 5 days after the second. The survey was closed on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November. Figure 3 shows the response rate throughout the whole period that the survey was accessible (yellow represents the submitted responses and blue represents the non-submitted responses).



**Figure 3. Response rate**

A total of 1,617 respondents completed the survey. The completion rate (number of surveys filled out and submitted (1,617) divided by the numbers of surveys started by respondents (2,290)) was above 70% (70.6%) throughout the data collection period. The non-completion rate could possibly be linked to the length of the survey because it was rather long. Based on the net sample<sup>13</sup> of 6,650, the response rate was 24.4%. As already reported above, the net

<sup>12</sup> Note, in Appendix I the survey is presented as a postal survey because retrieving the survey from SUNET in this format gives the best design to see all questions. Presenting the survey in its online format resulted in a less clear design where page numbers overlap.

<sup>13</sup> Net sample = Gross sample (7,000) – natural non-responses (5% = 350).

sample included ST members at the PES/SSIA who are employees who work, for example, in the IT department or communication division and are not part of my target population (welfare workers at the PES/SSIA) who make up about 15% of all ST members within the PES and SSIA<sup>14</sup>. It was not possible to remove these ST members from the list of members with registered emails (survey population = 12,000). However, some of these employees (e.g. employees who work in the IT department, or communication division) might have answered the survey despite the information in the email (that ST sent out with the survey link, see Appendix II) that this survey was directed towards ‘employees who work directly or indirectly with customer issues’<sup>15</sup>. These employees are not part of the target population (welfare workers at PES/SSIA) and therefore the survey included two questions about one’s work area and work tasks (questions 12-15<sup>16</sup> in the survey; see Appendix).

### *Final working sample*

Starting with the 1,617 respondents who completed the survey, I deleted two cases because all answers were missing, arriving at a sample of 1,615. Based on that sample, I deleted the respondents who were, according to questions 12, 13, and 14 in the survey ‘not working with clients’. For question 12 these included the work areas of analysis and forecast, IT, legal department, and HR department. For question 13 these included analysis and forecast, IT, communication department, management, production department, and department for digital services. For question 14 these included administrative tasks, coordination, and management of staff. Respondents could also specify their work area through the option ‘otherwise, specify’, and these responses (171 for the PES and 78 for the SSIA) were classified as welfare worker or not (0/1) based on their work tasks in a manual coding. Often the specified answers overlapped with the pre-given answer options (e.g. administrative tasks; HR), and other answer options were, for example, ‘janitor’ or ‘social media’.

These questions were then used to decide if the respondent could be classified as a welfare worker or not, arriving at 222 cases that were not classified as welfare workers. In a second step, I made use of question 15 (‘In

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<sup>14</sup> Estimated by ST.

<sup>15</sup> The original and full sentence was: ‘Denna enkätundersökning om arbetsmiljö och migration riktar sig till medarbetare inom Arbetsförmedlingen och Försäkringskassan som jobbar direkt eller indirekt med kundfrågor’.

<sup>16</sup> Question 12 was aimed at employees at the SSIA and question 13 was aimed at employees at the PES.

what way do you get mainly in touch with your clients?') in the survey to delete all respondents who answered 'I do not have customer contact', which included 74 cases. This selection process was conducted in reconciliation with my supervisors and was made upon what I classified as a welfare worker, namely employees working with clients through their work area and tasks. After 296 cases were excluded in this selection, I arrived at a final working sample of 1,319 respondents (the same procedure was used by Liozu and Hinterhuber 2013).

**Table 3. Steps towards the final working sample**

Respondents	1617
Delete cases with all answers = missing	-2
Delete cases based on selection with help of questions about work area (questions 12–14) in the survey	-222
Delete cases that answered 'I do not have customer contact' in question 15	-74
Final working sample	= 1,319

**Table 4. Sample characteristics**

	Count (%)	Missing	N
Male	368 (27.9%)		
Female	938 (71.11%)	13 (0.99%)	1319
Age (mean)	47.74	17	1319
Foreign born	196 (14.86%)	11 (0.84% - 3 out of 11 stated 'do not want to answer')	1319
Non-foreign born	1112 (84.31%)		
<b>Education</b>			
Elementary school or similar	9 (0.86%)		
Secondary school	336 (25.47%)		
University or similar higher education	763 (58.07%)	5 (0.38%)	1319
Vocational training	66 (5%)		
Single courses at university	140 (10.61%)		
PES	742 (56.25%)		
SSIA	575 (43.59%)	2 (0.15%)	1319

*Non-responses*

In every survey, data collection reflections on non-response are important. Non-responses are a concern because there is a risk that non-respondents might significantly differ from respondents with regard to survey variables, which can result in nonresponse bias (Kalton 1983; Peytchev 2013). One can differentiate between unit and item non-response. Item non-response means that certain questions in the survey are not answered by the respondent, and unit non-response means that the randomly sampled welfare worker chose to

not participate in the survey (Pauwels and Svensson 2008). The sources of unit non-responses for this survey can be varied. Because I did not have any access to the respondents myself, I could not follow up on non-respondents to inquire why they chose not to participate. Plausible reasons are first that these are professionals under time constraints who simply did not have the time or wanted to invest time into this ‘extra curricular’ task during their work time. Along these lines, one should also mention that the survey was rather long, which might also play into this. Second, it is known that people are reluctant to answer questions concerning their racial attitudes, or any other ‘sensitive questions’ (Tourangeau and Yan 2007). Third, the survey was sent out via the union ST, which might have created even more reluctance to answer because ST sends out frequent information and occasionally also collects survey data. Overall, previous research also suggests that non-response might reflect an overall trend of decreased interest in answering surveys (Pauwels and Svensson 2008).

Even though I had no information about the target population, I was able to receive some known parameters of the sample frame from ST regarding all their members in the two welfare organisations. The sample frame population of PES and SSIA employees in the union was 28% men and 72% women with an average age of 46 years at the time the survey data were collected<sup>17</sup>, and this reflected the survey respondent data almost identically for this demographic information, but it does not guarantee that the responses would be the same for my key measurements. In sum, non-response bias in survey estimates can be found in estimated means, percentages, and totals, but more importantly it can also affect the suggested associations (e.g. regression coefficients), which was the most relevant for my analysis because I focus on studying associations rather than basing my implications on descriptive evidence (Peytchev 2013). The ambition of this thesis was not to draw conclusions based on patterns in the descriptive data but to draw conclusions based on the associations identified in the data. Evidence from the research literature is not coherent, but it mostly suggests that bias in associations is generally relatively small when it comes to non-response bias (e.g. Lepkowski and Couper 2002). In sum, given the discussions above, I can only assume that my respondents did not differ significantly in their answers from the non-respondents and that non-responses did not impact my estimated associations to any significant extent.

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<sup>17</sup> This is all the information I received from ST concerning population parameters of their members.

The item non-response rate, e.g. missing data for specific questions, among the survey questions used for my main measurements in the papers (I-III) was under 5% for all survey questions (see tables 6–11 in Appendix IV). The highest item non-response rate was 2.27% for one of the questions on national identity (see table 7 in Appendix IV). However, this was within the frame of an acceptable item non-response rate (Pauwels and Svensson 2008). Questions concerning attitudes towards immigrants and colour-blindness (see table 6 & 8 in Appendix IV) had a high percentage of ‘Don’t know’ responses. The lowest rate was 2.12%, and the highest was 23.58%. This can be seen as one of the consequences of choosing answer categories that do not include a neutral middle option (‘neither agree nor disagree’), which gives the respondent the option to not take a direct stand while still performing the task of answering the question. I chose to not include a neutral option in my answer options<sup>18</sup> because choosing this neutral option could be done due to the desire to answer in a socially desirable manner or due to a lack of an attitude regarding the matter and might run the risk of a large number of neutral responses. This could in turn make it difficult to analyse the results (Oppenheim 2000). However, because respondents have the right to opt out of answering specific survey questions, I still chose to add a ‘Don’t know’ option. This answer option either reflects an absence of a real opinion or is chosen because respondents are more likely to avoid or to give more socially desirable answers to sensitive survey questions (e.g. questions related to measuring perceptions towards minority groups, see D’Ancona 2013).

Because it is common practice, I re-coded the ‘don’t know’ answer options into ‘missing’ because this information has no value when creating an index (e.g. the Migration Index in paper I). Therefore, the items making up the latent constructs of anti-immigration attitudes, colour-blindness, and ethnic and civic national identity had a higher rate of ‘missing’ values. In general, item non-responses (‘missing’) can influence results because one could argue that it is not as representative of the population. However, a study on the sensitive subject of self-reported crime among adolescents in a survey study in Belgium and Sweden while that took into account the problem of item non-response for the construction of latent variables showed that item non-response did not bias the variables or correlations in the analysis (Pauwels and Svensson 2008). Based on this previous research, I suggest that item non-response did not have a serious impact on the results of my analysis, while still acknowledging that

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<sup>18</sup> Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree)

questions about anti-immigration attitudes, colour-blindness, and ethnic and civic national identity caused a higher rate of ‘don’t know’ answers.

In order to deal with the item non-responses that I coded into ‘missing’ and the general ‘missing’ rate (respondents who chose to not answer at all), I made use of several different post-hoc methods.

In paper I, I dealt with missing items by using the ‘adding and averaging missing data’ methods when developing my indexes (e.g. the Migration Index measuring attitudes towards migrants and the National identity Index measuring the perception of how important or not important different factors are for someone to be Swedish). This method allows one to add or average variables while controlling for how many variable values are allowed to be missing for a single respondent. When developing indexes or scales, one averages the values of selected variables (Sweet and Grace-Martin 2012). However, in the case of missing data one wants to control or limit how many variables need to be observed to calculate the mean. For example, if one uses eight variables to estimate the mean it would not be reasonable to estimate it from only two out of eight variables. Therefore, I decided to control how many variables must be present in order for the mean to be calculated. If one wants six out of eight variables present for the mean to be calculated, then one would only have an overall ‘missing’ if fewer than six variables are present. I calculated the mean for my scale for paper I in the following way:  $\text{MigrationIndex} = \text{Mean}.6(X1, X2, X3, X4, X5, X6, X7, X8)^{19}$ . I reflected a lot on what would be the best method to deal with missing items for paper I, and decided that any imputing method would distort the data and might put too much emphasis on the indexes in either direction (e.g. positive or negative attitudes towards migrants). Pauwels and Svensson (2008) caution against imputation methods when constructing scales because the results can be “seriously different from the results from non-imputed data” (p. 294). I also decided against listwise deletion in order to keep as much information as possible.

In papers II and III, dealing with missing data was more straightforward because I used the software Mplus, which is ‘doing the job for you’. Mplus does not impute values for missing data per se, but in its default option it uses all available data to estimate the model. Muthén and Muthén (2017) state “the default is to estimate the model under missing data theory using all available data” (p. 20).

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<sup>19</sup> This calculation was performed in SPSS.



In paper IV, missing data did not have the same meaning for the analysis as for papers I–III. In paper IV, many respondents chose to not give their opinion in an open-response option. Only 10% of all respondents (N1319/N130 = 10.14%) chose to express their thoughts in this commentary option. This means that we had information from only a small part of the survey sample. However, the aim of this paper was not to generalise the results of this commentary but to gain an understanding of welfare workers’ perceptions and the development of further research directions.

#### 4.1.4 Measurements

No measurements are neutral entities, and they always bear different connotations. Therefore, I will discuss how categories informed the way the empirical material was collected and analysed, followed by a more detailed discussion of the main measurements used in the papers (I-III)<sup>20</sup>. Paper IV did not make use of preconceived measurements because the empirical material was based on open-ended comments.

##### *Power of categories*

People make use of categories to position themselves and others in the social world. These categories carry evaluative connotations but also function as a linkage between individuals and social groups and thereby shape interactions between groups (Foner, Deaux and Donato 2018). Categories are seemingly necessary, but they are far from innocent and without consequences, and especially when conducting research categories can bear many different connotations that can be problematic and need to be discussed. In his book *Durable Inequality*, Tilly analyses “the cause, uses, structures, and effects of categorical inequality” by demonstrating how relational dimensions are linked to categorical differences such as black and white, male and female, citizen and foreigner, and so on. Categories are always determined by “social organization, belief and enforcement” (Tilly 1998 : 7). Not all categories used in society are equal, and therefore they might reproduce inequality because people who have value-producing resources are linked to organisational dynamics and create systems of exclusion and control. In brief, inequality might depend on the institutionalisation of categories in welfare institutions.

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<sup>20</sup> The survey made use of additional scales that I did not use in the papers but can be found in the appendix.

Reflecting on Tilly, one can conclude that categories are shaped and reproduced within welfare institutions and that they function as boundary markers but also distinguish between people in a hierarchical manner. External categories can also influence how welfare workers perceive their clients. One of the main categories of this dissertation and the empirical material collected is the category of migrant. There exists no specific definition of ‘migrants’, other than the legally defined term ‘refugee’. The term migrant is not a uniform one and can imply different meanings and power dimensions. Moreover, the term is used as a container category and umbrella term to refer to migrants, immigrants, and refugees without distinguishing between them (Lewis 2006). However, one can argue that the term migrant should be used as a broader category that also includes, for example, refugees, but these terms should not be used interchangeably. Moreover, the category migrant can have many different meanings, and in current societal and political debates it is often used to objectify people and to mark them as ‘not belonging’. People categorised as migrants are often constituted hierarchically in relation to the perceived national in-group where the construction of a ‘we’ and ‘them’ sentiment is linked to notions of national belonging. The term ‘migration’ is often related to images concerning groups of people from the global south and to marginalisation and often overlooks the fact that the mobility of white nationals of the global north is a form of migration as well (Carling 2018; Lundström 2017).

Despite the importance to defining the term migrant, the survey did not distinguish between refugees and migrants and used the term ‘immigrant’ (*invandrare*) and the expression ‘foreign background’ (*utländsk bakgrund*) because these terms are more widely known and understood in the targeted welfare organisations. The terms ‘immigrant’ and ‘foreign-born’ are often used interchangeably<sup>21</sup> in the Swedish context and relate to being racialised as non-white, non-belonging, and non-Swedish (Strömblad and Myrberg 2015). This means that despite immigration standing for simply having moved to Sweden from another country, it bears different negative connotations. The pilot study and meetings with representatives of both organisations helped to identify the

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<sup>21</sup> Strömblad and Myrberg (2015) state that the term ‘foreigner’ (*utlänning*) has been used instead of ‘immigrant’ earlier in the Swedish context when speaking of targeted groups for political actions. Currently, Statistics Sweden uses the categories ‘foreign born’ and ‘foreign background’ (when one is born in Sweden but both parents are foreign born) (SCB 2002).

everyday concepts, or ‘common sense categories’ (Dahinden 2016), used by welfare workers, which was important in order to communicate their feelings and perceptions (Simon 2010).

Critical voices (e.g. Hansen 1995) have raised concerns about attitudinal surveys by arguing that predetermined answer alternatives reproduce ideas of who belongs to the out-group and who does not. Along those lines, Foner, Deaux, and Donato (2018) put forth that when it comes to statistical definitions about ethnoracial groups, categories function both as a cause and as a consequence and that their establishment is always linked to political decisions, which in turn influence the ways in which individuals’ understandings are shaped. While agreeing with this problematisation, critiques aimed at attitudinal survey studies often overlook some important points when trying to study attitudes towards migration and immigrants. First, within the frame of attempting to show overall patterns, scholars need to make use of simplifications and proxies. Second, as Dahinden (2016) suggests, we need to be aware of ‘common-sense’ and ‘analytical’ categories. In doing so, issues around migration need to be related to various social science theories in order to avert the view away from the migration populations towards society at large.

Categories used in research are always linked to relative perspectives and interpretations. The ‘common sense’ categories are the categories given in the framework of the nation-state and are constantly reproduced and are generally used by individuals to make sense of their everyday life and thus made up part of my empirical data. The ‘analytical’ categories, however, make up researchers’ conceptual tools. These tools are derived from theories in social science and allow researchers to put the ‘common sense’ categories into context. In relation to my survey data, the ‘common sense’ categories refer to the terms that were used; e.g. foreign background. The wording in my measurements reflects a certain ‘common sense’ dimension that in turn reflects the labels used in the wider society and especially in the welfare organisations. Dahinden (2016) stresses that the key is not to avoid these ‘common sense’ categories (because that is impossible if collecting empirical data in a given nation-state framework) but to reflect on them and to put them into a theoretical context. ‘Common sense’ categories are part of the object of the study and should therefore not be avoided but investigated by using analytical categories. Along these lines, it is also important to keep in mind that surveys are social interactions that are embedded within social structures and are shaped by “shared cultural understandings” (Foner, Deaux and Donato 2018 : 12).

When it comes to the ‘analytical’ categories in relation to my study, these reflect the theoretical terms and approaches I used to make sense of my data and for my analysis. I agree that binary categories like foreign-born/non-foreign born give a very vague picture and are in need of more refined categorisations that reflect ethnoracial appearance or different minority group belonging, which is also one of the limitations in my survey. As an example, Elrick and Schwartzman (2015) argue that detractors of ethnic statistics often put forth that official state statistics fail to capture complexity and construct and constitute groups and that little research actually focuses on the impact of these statistical categories. Their content analysis of German parliamentary debates shows that “whereas immigrants and their descendants are classified statistically in nuanced ways with reference to citizenship and place of birth, state representatives in organized politics transform this nuanced statistical category into a homogenized social category” (p. 1,546).

Having problematised the use of categories in data collection, I will now present the main measurements used in papers I–III. Paper IV did not make use of preconceived measurements because the empirical material was not based on respondents’ answers to pre-coded survey items.

### *Measurements in papers I–III*

The chosen measurements that will be presented below represent the operationalisation of my theoretical perspectives. The survey encompassed more questions than were used for my papers. Relevant questions asked in the survey were left out in order to follow the guideline of parsimony<sup>22</sup> for my statistical models in which only theoretically relevant variables were included. The format of the papers where the analysis aimed to make a single argument per paper also contributed to a limited number of variables being chosen in order to obtain a more refined analysis. Some decisions to leave out questions were also made during the refinement of the paper, e.g. excluding the variable about caseload because previous research suggests that the concept of workload is a better way to capture complex tasks that are not just linked to how many cases one needs to handle (see more details in paper III).

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<sup>22</sup> Parsimonious models are simple models to increase explanatory predictive power. These models explain the outcome variable of interest using a minimum number of predictor variables.

### *1) Perceptions towards working with migrants (papers I–III)*

The focal dependent variable used in papers I–III was whether respondents perceived their work with migrants to be difficult. That is, I asked respondents, “Do you find it more difficult to handle/provide service for users with a foreign background?” (original version in Swedish: ‘Upplever du att det är svårare att handlägga/ge stöd till kunder med utländsk bakgrund?’). If the respondent answered ‘yes’, then I coded their response as 1, and if the respondent answered ‘no’, I coded their response as 0. A total of 720 (54.59%) respondents answered ‘yes’ to this question and 575 (43.59%) respondents answered ‘no’ (with a sample of 1,319 and 24 missing cases). This was a binary variable and therefore did not operationalise an exact concept. This survey question was not based on any existing previous measurement, but I formulated this survey question myself in order to have a proxy for capturing whether welfare workers express themselves positively or negatively about providing services to migrants. This means that the survey question was not validated through previous studies. However, in a pilot study (described in more detailed description in 4.1.1) the question was not pointed out as unclear as to what the questions aimed at, and the question was reviewed by a colleague experienced in survey and migration research in order to ensure face validity of the survey item. Face validity is established when an expert on the research subject reviews the survey question and agrees that it captures what it is supposed to measure, but this validity test concerns only the theoretical reasoning of the survey question and gives no empirical support for the validity of the construct (Bolarinwa 2015).

Furthermore, a follow-up question helped to concretise why welfare workers might experience giving services to migrants as being difficult. Those who reported ‘difficulty’ (N = 720 with 6 cases missing in all answers) were asked the following, “Please tell us why you find it difficult to work with some customers with a foreign background.” The survey provided respondents with seven response options to this follow-up question: 1) Age, 2) Ethnicity, 3) Culture, 4) Gender, 5) Health situation, 6) Level of education, and 7) Language skills. Respondents could choose three options. These response options were developed together with a colleague who has expertise in welfare work and migration studies. In the pilot study, these response options were confirmed as relevant. Around 95% (678 cases) of the respondents answered that they find it difficult to work with foreign customers because of “Language skills”, 43% (307 cases) answered “Culture”, 36.8% (263 cases) answered “Level of education”, and this was followed by 20% (143 cases) who answered “Health

situation.” Fewer respondents answered “Gender” (4%, 31 cases), and only 3% (22 cases) answered “Ethnicity” and “Age”.

The main weakness of this survey question is that it might be interpreted differently by the respondents. On the one hand, welfare workers might find it more difficult to provide services to migrants due to greater task complexity or communication issues based on language. On the other hand, responding that it is more difficult to provide services for migrant clients might also be an expression of having biased views about migrants. Qualitative studies focusing on Swedish welfare workers’ interactions with migrants suggest that welfare workers have pre-decided images about migrant clients and that negative stereotypes about different migrant groups can influence the way these migrant clients receive services (e.g. Johansson and Molina, Eliassi 2014). These studies give some guidance for how responses to this survey questions might be interpreted, suggesting that when responding that providing services to migrant clients is more difficult might be related to holding negative views about migrants.

Moreover, it is important to note that this question did not measure the actual practice or behaviour of welfare workers, but instead referred to their perception towards providing services to migrant clients. In papers I–III, this variable was used as a suggestion for how welfare workers might treat migrants based on the way welfare workers view their service provision to migrant clients. The question was only meant to imply and speculate about possible behavioural outcomes, but did not suggest actual behaviour at work because it only reflects survey responses about experiencing the work with migrants as more difficult or not. This implies that I could not offer any predictions about ‘actual work’, but could only show how respondents express their views about their practices.

Future research might address these limitations with quasi-experimental field studies to determine if stereotypical thinking about migrants influences the services they receive. For example, Arai et al.’s (2016) study made use of photographs of different racial profiles showing that job seekers with a white image had higher chances of getting recommendations in the work programme.

## *2) Anti-immigration attitudes (papers I–III)*

In order to operationalise attitudes towards migrants I created a multi-dimensional index where I made use of questionnaire items from the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) and their ‘National Identity III’ survey that has been also used in several previous studies (e.g. Hjerm 1998). In papers II and III, I assessed attitudes towards migrants using the concept

‘anti-immigration attitudes’, which is a common practice in the field of ethnic and racial studies (e.g. Hjerm et al. 2018; Hjerm, Eger, Danell 2018). This does not mean that all respondents hold anti-immigration attitudes, but it is a way to conceptualise attitudes towards migrants when being interested in capturing the effects of negative attitudes towards migrants. Descriptively, the majority of respondents thus tended to express positive attitudes towards migrants and migration (see Appendix IV). I made use of the ISSP survey used for Sweden (Sjören and Edlund 2013), so the questions were therefore already in Swedish. All items and their answer options are listed in table 6 in the Appendix IV. Paper I made use of all eight items (1-8), while papers II and III made use of items two, four, five, six, and seven. The number of items used to operationalise the concept varied between paper I and papers II and III due to different analytical approaches. In other words, the decision to reduce the items from eight to five was the result of a factor analysis that was conducted in relation to the analysis in papers II and III. Response options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree), and the construct showed a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.875 and a mean of the index of 3.2 (where 1 = negative attitudes towards migrants and 4 = positive attitudes towards migrants) in paper I and a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.80 and a mean of the anti-immigration construct index of 1.8 (where 1 = positive attitudes towards migrants and 4 = negative attitudes towards migrants) in papers II and III.

### *3) National identity (paper I)*

In order to operationalise the two notions of national identity and belonging (ethnic/civic), I again made use of the Swedish version of the ISSP survey. (Sjören & Edlund 2013). I made use of nine items to operationalise these two underlying concepts. All of these items represented the items used in the ISSP survey, and I added the statement ‘To be able to speak Swedish without an accent’ in order to have an additional variety on language that links to the ethnic identity model. Answer options ranged from 1 (very important) to 4 (not important at all). For the ethnic model, Cronbach’s alpha was 0.71 with a mean response score of 1.44, and for the civic model Cronbach’s alpha was 0.67 with a mean response score of 2.84 (higher values implied more importance of ethnic or civic factors). The descriptive statistics of the answer options used for this measurement can be found in Appendix IV.

#### 4) *Colour-blind attitudes (paper II)*

In order to operationalise the theoretical perspective of colour-blindness, I made use of the 'Colorblind-Racial Attitude Scale' (Neville et al. 2000), which was developed in an American context. The scale is very comprehensive with 26 survey items, but I used only the survey items that link to the concept of power evasion, e.g. everyone has the chance to succeed in society despite their background. This decision was also a practical one because I could not include all 26 items in my survey. The wording of the questions had to be changed and adjusted to the Swedish context, which means that I did not make use of the terms *Race* or *White* but instead used *Ethnicity* or *Colour of the skin* and *Swedish*. In the end, based on a factor analysis, I used three items linked to the concept of power evasion in order to measure the construct of colour-blindness with answer options ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree) and an obtained Cronbach's alpha of 0.64 and a mean response score of 2.2. The descriptive statistics of the answer options used for this measurement can be found in the Appendix IV.

#### 5) *Social desirability (paper II)*

I also made use of the so-called 'Social Desirability Scale' (Kemper et al. 2012). The scale exists in English and German, and I used both versions in order to translate the scale into Swedish. Kemper et al. (2012) developed and validated the scale. They assembled an item pool and then adjusted the wording through expert interviews, followed by a structural analysis that showed a two-factor structure with exaggeration of positive qualities and minimization of negative qualities. After a multistage item selection, the final scale resulted in two different factor items (one for the exaggeration of positive qualities and one for the minimization of negative qualities). Kemper et al. (2012) validated the scale through three different samplings. First, they performed a quota sampling (N = 741). Second, they performed a probability sampling that was representative for the German population over the age of 18 (N = 1,134), and finally they performed an online sampling (N=939). The factorial validity showed high loadings on both items, which was one indication of a validated construct. The translation of the scale was reviewed by a colleague who is fluent in German, English, and Swedish and who has experience with the translation of scales. I operationalised the latent variable of social desirability by using the three items that captured the exaggeration of positive qualities (Kemper et al. 2012). The five answer options ranged from 1 (completely true) to 5 (not true at all). The rather newly developed construct had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.56 and a mean response score of 4.08. The descriptive statistics of the answer options used for this measurement can be found in Appendix IV.



#### *6) Perceived discretion (paper III)*

To capture the underlying concept of perceived discretion in how organisations govern welfare workers, I made use of the survey items of Hovmark and Thomson (1995) and their study on workload in one's work life. The items were in Swedish and did not have to be translated. I used four different items to operationalise the concept tapping into statements related to autonomy at work and being able to make independent decisions. Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree). The construct showed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.78 and a mean response score of 2.9. The descriptive statistics of the answer options used for this measurement can be found in Appendix IV.

#### *7) Perceived workload (paper III)*

I also used Hovmark and Thomsson's (1995) survey items to measure perceived workload. I made use of four survey items to operationalise the concept with statements tapping into feeling time constraints and having too many work tasks or too many clients to be able to do a good job. Again, the items were already in Swedish. Answer options ranged from 1 (strongly disagree) to 4 (strongly agree), and the construct showed a Cronbach's alpha of 0.93 and a mean response score of 2.6. The descriptive statistics of the answer options used for this measurement can be found in Appendix IV.

## 4.2 Analytical strategies in papers I–IV

In my four papers I employed a range of different analytical techniques to analyse my survey data. The majority of research strategies were quantitative methods except for paper IV. Table 5 below summarises the aim, analytical strategy, and variables used in the different papers that were linked to the respective research questions of the papers. The aim of this thesis was to integrate discussions on individual perspectives into SLBT and into discussions of welfare work by studying Swedish welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and their perceptions towards organisational conditions. Papers I–III made use of different combinations of variables representing organisational and individual factors in order to examine the different dimensions of welfare workers' attitudes and perceptions. Because paper IV aimed at understanding rather than explaining, it made use of a text analysis of open-end commentaries in order to understand welfare workers' perceptions.

**Table 5. Summary of analytical strategies**

	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Analytical strategy</b>	<b>Dependent Variables</b>	<b>Independent Variables</b>
<b>Paper I</b>	Investigate factors that influence welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and how these attitudes are associated with perceptions towards working with migrant clients	1. Index creation 2. Factor analysis 3. Hierarchical OLS regression 4. Hierarchical logistic regression	1) Attitudes towards migrants (Qs 38–39 in survey) 2) Experienced encounters with migrant users (Q 26 in survey)	Peer contact (Q 36 in survey) National identity (Q 40 in survey) Organisational context (Q 9 in survey) Controls (Qs 1–8 in survey)
<b>Paper II</b>	Examine how welfare workers' colour-blind attitudes are associated with anti-immigration attitudes and perceptions towards working with migrant clients	1. Confirmatory factor analysis (measurement model) 2. Structural equation modelling (path model)	1) Anti-immigration attitudes (Qs 38 and 39 in survey) 2) Perceptions of work with migrants being more difficult (Q 26 in survey)	Colour-blind attitudes (Q 41 in survey) Social desirability (Q 42 in survey) Controls (Qs 1–9 and 11 in survey)
<b>Paper III</b>	Explore the relation between perceived workload, anti-immigration attitudes, perceived discretion, and perceptions towards working with migrant clients	1. Confirmatory factor analysis (measurement model) 2. Structural equation modelling (path model)	1) Perceived discretion (Q 17 in survey) 2) Perceptions of working with migrants being more difficult (Q 26 in survey)	Perceived workload (Qs 20) Anti-immigration attitudes (Qs 38–39 in survey) Controls (Qs 1–9 + 11 in survey)
<b>Paper IV</b>	Understanding welfare workers' perceptions in relation to the concept of ontological security	1. Directed content analysis	Open-ended responses (Q 43 in survey)	

### 4.2.1 OLS and Logistic regression (Paper I)

In paper I, I first created three indexes for my dependent and independent variables (the Migration Index, the Civic Model Index, and the Ethnic Model Index) by measuring the mean scores of different survey items<sup>23</sup> (see survey items in Appendix). Additionally, I conducted a factor analysis as a robustness test to analyse the interrelations among the variables that explain the different common underlying dimension; e.g. ‘attitudes towards migrants’ (Hair et al. 1998).

<sup>23</sup> How I dealt with missing values while creating this index is accounted for in the section on non-responses above.

In paper I, I used hierarchical multiple OLS<sup>24</sup> regression analysis to predict the changes in the dependent variable “in response to changes in the independent variables” (Hair 1998 : 17). Hierarchical regression is used to determine if the variables of interest explain a statistically significant amount of variance in the dependent variable after accounting for all other variables. This allows one to compare the different models. In my analysis, I built four regression models by adding variables for each additional model to see if the added variables improved the model ( $R^2$ ) and if the magnitude of the strength of the relationship between the variables increased or decreased. The working sample for the OLS analysis was  $N = 1,319$ . Because each of the four models had different sample sizes (due to different numbers of variables in each model and with variation in missing values), I had to use the same sample for all models in order to have comparable results, meaning only the observations used in model four were used for the other three models. Model four included the most variables and therefore had the smallest sample size ( $N = 960$ ), i.e. the fewest observations.

I also made use of hierarchical logistic regression in a second analysis in this paper with two categorical (dichotomous) dependent variables. Here the same procedure of a step-wise regression as described above was used. The logistic regression included two different dependent variables and therefore two different analyses and two different sample sizes ( $N = 944$  and  $N = 914$ ). The first analysis included the answers *Yes* and *No* to the question ‘Do you find it more difficult to handle/provide support for users with a foreign background?’ The working sample for this logistic regression was  $N = 1,319$ . The second analysis included the same dependent variable, but because almost all respondents reported ‘Language’ (95%) as a motivation for why it is ‘more difficult to handle/provide support for users with a foreign background’, all respondents that did not attribute language to difficulty in working with migrants (5% = 36 cases) were excluded from this working sample ( $1319 - 36 =$  a sample of 1,283). In that way, I ruled out language differences as a unique source of difficulty in working with migrants, e.g. none of the variation in the outcome variable was due to variation in language difficulty and therefore language as a contributing factor was controlled for. I used the STATA software to conduct these analyses.

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<sup>24</sup> OLS = Ordinary least squares

## 4.2.2 Structural Equation Modeling (Papers II and III)

Papers II and III performed Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) and Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) using the software Mplus. CFA is similar to ordinary factor analysis, but it is a confirmatory technique that is theory driven. The way the analysis is planned is driven by the theoretical relationships among the observed and unobserved variables. SEM consists of two assemblages – the measurement model (CFA) and the structural model, where the measurements are put into relation with each other. Many scholars like to think of SEM as a combination of CFA and multiple regression (Hair et al. 1998; Schreiber et al. 2006). However, scholars like Kline (2016) refer to SEM as a family of related procedures. Moreover, Bollen and Pearl (2013) point out that SEM and regression are fundamentally different because in regression one can technically interchange the roles of the predictor and the outcome variable in order to estimate an association. However, when specifying predictor and outcome variables in SEM, one suggests a causal link reflecting one's theoretical expectations. Along those lines, Kline (2016) states that SEM in general is situated in the context of causal modelling.

In paper II, I used CFA to estimate the latent variables of colour-blindness, anti-immigration attitudes, and social desirability. The working sample for this analysis was  $N = 1,283$  after following the same procedure as described above when excluding respondents who did not attribute language to difficulty in working with migrants (36 cases). In a second step, the dependent and independent variables were put into relation to each other while testing whether the variable 'anti-immigration attitudes' functioned as an intervening variable for the association between colour-blindness and the outcome variable 'difficult to handle/provide support for users with a foreign background'.

In paper III, I again used CFA to estimate the latent variables of perceived workload, perceived discretion, and anti-immigration attitudes. The working sample for this analysis was  $N = 1,319$ . The analysis in this paper was also conducted with a sample of  $N = 1,283$  after excluding respondents who did not attribute language to difficulty in working with migrants (36 cases), but because the results were almost identical in this analysis, the decision was made to use the full sample of  $N = 1,319$ . In a second step, the dependent and independent variables were put into relation to each other while testing whether the variable 'perceived discretion' functioned as an intervening variable (mediator or moderator) for the association between perceived workload and the outcome variable 'difficult to handle/provide support for users with a foreign background'. It was also tested whether 'perceived discretion'

functioned as a moderator for the association between anti-immigration attitudes and the outcome variable ‘difficult to handle/provide support for users with a foreign background’.

Kline (2016) also highlights the importance of theory because the “point of SEM is to test a theory by specifying a model that represents predictions of that theory among plausible constructs measured with appropriate observed variables” (p. 10). Kline (2016) stresses that SEM is not a magical statistical method that allows one to “specify causal models, collect data, tinker with the model until its correspondence with the data is acceptable, and then conclude that the model corresponds to reality” (p. 20). Some of the main points to take into consideration when conducting SEM are theory (the most important ingredient), design, data, replication, and causal assumptions. Given this, tentatively causal assumptions need to resist replication or alternative models for the same data (Bollen and Pearl 2013). However, in the behavioural sciences experimental designs are seen as the golden standard for causal inference, although some go so far as to say that there is no causation without manipulation (Kline 2016). Nonexperimental design, like my survey data (passive observations), are less likely to be able to make claims about causal inference. This is especially true for concurrent measurements (e.g. cross-sectional survey data), which is also the case for my survey data because they provide no temporal precedence and the design cannot determine which variables are presumed to have a cause and effect. In these cases, causal inference is based on assumptions that require extensive knowledge about the phenomena that are being studied, and assumptions of causality should be made with caution and under the circumstances of testing alternative models and possible replication, similarly to what I am suggesting in my SEM papers. Reflecting on the writings above, Hayes (2013) perfectly summarises the way I think about causality and imperfect models and data:

*“We don’t use statistical methods to make causal inferences. Establishing cause and effect is more a problem in research design than it is in data analysis. Statistical methods are just mathematical tools that allow us to discern order in apparent chaos or signals of processes that may be at work amid random background noise or other processes we haven’t incorporated in our models. The inferences we make about cause are not products of the mathematics underneath the modelling process. Rather the inferences we make are products of our minds – how we interpret these associations we have observed; the signal we believe we have abstracted from the noise. To be sure, we can and should hold ourselves to a high standard. We should strive to*

*design rigorous studies that allow us to make causal inference with clarity when possible. But we won't always be able to do so given constraints on resources, time, the availability of data, the generosity of research participants, and research ethics. We should not let the limitations of our data collection efforts constrain the tools we bring to the task of trying to understand what our data might be telling us about the processes we are studying. But we absolutely should recognize the limitations of our data and couch our interpretations with the appropriate caveats and cautions” (p.17).*

Relating this quote to my study, the survey data I collected have several limitations, for example, measurement of my focal dependent variable could be improved, there were missing data, and the data were cross-sectional. Still, I think the data in relation to my conducted analyses offer some relevant clues as to the directions we need move in order to develop relevant and correct theories.

In papers II and III, I make very cautious assumptions, highlighting in both papers the limits of making causal claims and the need for further studies and replications that would confirm the models. I chose to use the software Mplus to conduct my analysis because it can analyse a great variety of latent variable models as well as mixed models that include binary outcome variables.

In the following I discuss the advantages and disadvantages of SEM. Regression analysis investigates the relationship between more than one independent variable and a single predicted outcome variable. SEM, however, can analyse the relationship between different dependent variables through simultaneous estimations that would have been conducted separately in a multiple regression analysis. Furthermore, measurement and structural equations are solved at the same time in each model. Moreover, SEM considers the latent variable within its measurement error, which allows for more accurate relations between constructs. However, a disadvantage of SEM is the need for a large sample size when using more complicated models<sup>25</sup> (Jeon 2015).

### **4.2.3 Text analysis with Atlas.ti (Paper IV)**

Deductive coding and directed content analysis were used to analyse the open-ended responses that constituted the empirical data for paper IV. The empirical

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<sup>25</sup> For a more detailed discussion about the advantages and disadvantages of SEM, see Jeon 2015.

material was based on a sample of 130 open-ended responses that were based on the last question in the survey asking, ‘Do you have any other thoughts or comments regarding your work and/or migration in Sweden?’ The majority of respondent who chose to make a comment were from the PES (70,77%), and further detailed information on the sample characteristics can be found in table 1 of paper IV.

A directed coding approach (theory-driven data coding) allows one to advance existing theoretical frameworks, concepts, and theories. I made use of prior research and existing theory in order to identify key concepts that serve as coding categories, and this helped me to recognise patterns within the data. Emerging themes then became categories for the analysis. After that, each category received an operational definition based on my theoretical underpinnings. The chosen theory also guided the discussion of the findings where, according to Hsieh and Shannon (2005), existing theory can be supported or extended. The use of the Atlas.ti software enabled the implementation of a rigorous but manageable analysis of the data (Babbi and Mouton 2001). Codes could be linked to quotes and sorted based on categories in a systematic matter. Denzin and Lincoln (2008) further highlight that organising and analysing open-ended survey comments can add a more complex and deeper level to otherwise quantitative survey results (given that the open-ended question is asked in a way that allows for a deeper understanding), and thus paper IV complements papers I–III with understandings beyond pre-coded survey questions. Practically, with the help of Atlas.ti, comments were first coded into categories, and in a second step these codes were assigned to an underlying theme. I used *open coding* to create new codes and then used *code by list* to apply existing codes to similar responses in order to minimise the number of new codes and to establish a pattern. In that way, a network was established of codes that belong to a particular theme/category. During that process similar themes were collapsed. I also carried out a *recoding process* in order to ensure that all responses were coded properly and to offer some degree of consistency and reliability. One should note that the process of assigning codes and categorising codes into themes is not automatic, and this identification depends on the researcher’s interpretation of the comments (Bradford and Bower 2008). Beyond the analytical details, Paper IV allowed me to study welfare workers’ perceptions of migrants and their work life through their own words. It also allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of the validity and meaning of the survey data (Wrench 2011).

## 4.3 Methodological reflections

### *Ethical considerations*

The research reported in this dissertation focuses on individuals and their attitudes. The main concern of every scientific study is to protect respondents from potential negative consequences resulting from participation, and the main ethical challenges in the work for this thesis were to guarantee anonymity and confidentiality, to minimise the burden for the respondents, to be mindful that questions concerning migration and immigration might be experienced as distressful or troubling, to obtain informed consent, and to ensure voluntary participation and the possibility to opt out at any time without consequence.

In terms of anonymity, no survey answer can be linked to specific individuals because I did not receive any personal information (e.g. their email address), and when using Lund University's survey tool that has a 'personal data agreement' the stored survey answers are not accessible by anyone but me and the employee responsible for the survey tool. Moreover, prior to starting the survey the respondents received information that all data would only be presented in an aggregated form and that the aim of the study was to study overall patterns and not single individuals.

I also had the ambition to keep the respondent's burden to a minimum. In terms of access, the survey could be easily accessed through a URL link. However, one should note that the survey was rather long and might have taken up a little bit too much of these professionals' time.

Questions concerning attitudes towards minorities or migration in general are defined as sensitive questions and can be perceived as distressful due to society's normative pressure to, under no circumstance, come across as racist as well as societal discourses portraying migration as a 'loaded' topic. These processes are linked to the awareness of social desirability, especially for more highly educated respondents, but also welfare workers like my study population as a special group of civil servants guided by legislation stating that decisions should be equal for all (D'Ancona 2013). I undertook several measures in order to account for concerns about 'sensitivity'. First, the survey was presented to several colleagues who have expertise in this area to make sure that the measurements and questions were sound. Second, as already mentioned above, I carried out a pilot study where a handful of welfare workers in these two organisations could give me feedback on the questions. While meeting them, I asked explicitly if some of the questions made them feel uncomfortable, and received a clear no to this question. On the contrary, they



emphasised that they appreciated being exposed to some of the questions, and they said they made them reflect on current trends in society. Consequently, this might actually have positive effects for these welfare workers' own reflections and for their practical work.

In relation to this, it is worth reflecting on the ethical implications of making use of racial attitude studies and using the term 'anti-immigration attitudes' to describe welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants because it bears a negative connotation. However, use of this term is common practice in the field of ethnic and racial relations and migration studies when wanting to understand why some individuals have negative reactions to migrants and when putting these attitudes in relation to other phenomena (e.g. Bohman 2014; McLaren 2003; Schneider 2008). However, it is important to note that this does not imply that all respondents have negative attitudes towards migrants, and it is rather used as a way to signalise what questions and research fields are of interest. Appendix IV shows the descriptive data from questions concerning attitudes towards migrants where negative attitudes towards migrants make up between 3% and 30% of the responses, thus allowing the reader to see the actual responses.

Informed consent was ensured by informing the participants in the email they received about the study purpose and that when submitting the survey one agrees to be part of this study, to access the survey, and this information was repeated at the beginning of the survey to ensure that all participants were conscious of what they had agreed on. Each respondent had the possibility to choose not to participate or to opt out while filling in the survey. The response was only received if the participant gave consent at the end of the survey that it should be sent in and thus count as active participation in the study. I also provided my contact information so that participants could contact me if they were to have any further questions concerning the study. Participation was completely voluntary, and respondents were not offered any compensation for participating in the study.

### *Validity and Reliability*

I have in the different parts of the method section already touched upon validity and reliability but will here shortly summarise all of the points that contributed to the validity and reliability of the study.

Most importantly, I mainly used existing measurements for the operationalisation of my concepts, which can contribute to the validity and reliability of the measurements. My results show consistency with previous studies using similar or the same measurements. Moreover, I conducted a pilot

study with a handful of welfare workers in both organisations in order to ensure that the questions would be understood by the targeted group and to ensure that I had used the terms that are common in these organisations in order to ensure the internal validity of my measurements. Additionally, I met with the union representatives from both organisations to discuss the survey and to make sure that the questions and terms were in line with what is communicated in these organisations thus contributing to the accuracy of the survey.

The reliability was increased by using existing measures because the same information linked to my theoretical concepts has been extracted in previous surveys through the same measurements. Repeating this particular survey would increase our knowledge of the reliability of the survey questions, and this might also reveal whether the refugee surge of 2015 impacted how the questions were answered.

### *Final reflections*

The most important methodological contribution is that welfare workers' attitudes in relation to migration could be studied through a large sample by administering a nationwide survey. Because such data are missing in the Swedish context, the survey data is unique by collecting survey data that is adapted to welfare worker's role within their organisation but also adapted to capture their private attitudes. Measurements were taken from various international sources, and even though the study only concerned the Swedish context, some generalisations beyond the Swedish context could be made.

The other contribution this dissertation offers in terms of methods is a variety of analytical tools that allowed me to look at more classical X influences Y models as well as more complex models in order to deepen our knowledge of underlying mechanisms like interfering mediation effects. Moreover, I not only analysed pre-coded survey questions, but also open-ended questions, and that analysis allowed me to capture more ambiguous perceptions and to get a deeper and broader understanding of welfare workers' attitudes and perceptions.

However, there were of course several methodological limitations. One limitation might be the sample, and due to the sample frame method one might argue that if the sample would have been drawn from the whole population (not only ST union members) the outcomes might look different. On a more general note, also with reference to my latent constructs and models, no model is perfect and in principal all models are wrong to some degree, but it is certainly a challenge to capture the complexity of the world (or reality) while trying to keep the analysis simple and feasible.

# 5. Summary of papers

## Paper I

### **Attitudes matter - Welfare work and migration in Sweden.**

C. Schütze

#### **General establishment of integrating individual and organisational factors by testing whether attitudes towards migrants are related to perceptions towards welfare work with migrants**

The first paper evaluates how individual factors are associated with welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and to what extent these attitudes are related to perceived welfare work with migrants. Based on my survey data and with the help of *OLS* and *logistic regressions*, the paper predicts influencing factors when it comes to welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants. Making use of anti-immigration attitude literature (e.g. Hjerm 1998; McLaren 2003; Wilkes, Guppy and Farris 2008), the paper uses contact theory and notions of national identity to confirm well-established theories, but here for the particular group of welfare workers. In line with previous research on general population studies, welfare workers' favourable attitudes towards migrants were predicted mainly by personal contact with migrants. Less favourable attitudes towards migrants were primarily predicted by a strong ethnic national identity, as opposed to a civic national identity. Moreover, the paper uses SLBT and argues that this theoretical approach benefits welfare work with migrants by testing the role of welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants. This therefore integrates the importance of organisational constraints and socialisation processes into discussions on the importance of welfare workers' attitudes for their practices and decision-making. The results confirm previous research mostly based on anecdotal evidence that welfare workers who hold more negative attitudes towards migrants tend to perceive their work with migrant clients as more difficult.

## Paper II

### **“Everyone is equal”: Color-blind attitudes in welfare practices with migrants.**

C. Schütze & M. Ifatunji<sup>2627</sup>

### **Colour-blind attitudes are related to elevated levels of anti-immigration attitudes and are used as a strategy to appear unbiased**

The second paper offers a different angle in understanding welfare workers’ expressions of racial attitudes and the possible implications these might have for their practical welfare work. Based on critical race theory, the paper suggests that colour-blind attitudes are a more contemporary form of expressing oneself towards racial minorities. However, previous research shows that colour-blind attitudes are associated with elevated levels of prejudice towards minorities, suggesting a new and distinct way of expressing views about minorities. Moreover, the paper makes use of literature that argues that colour-blindness is used as a strategy to appear unbiased in order to not to come across as racist. The paper again employs my survey data using CFA and SEM to test these theoretical expectations. The results show that greater levels of colour-blindness are simultaneously linked to a higher likelihood of reporting negative attitudes towards immigrants, but at the same time greater levels of colour-blindness are linked to a lower likelihood of report difficulty in working with migrants. This confirms previous research from the US context (e.g. Bonilla-Silva 2006; Richeson and Nussbaum 2004), but it also shows that welfare workers in their role as professionals perform non-racism as a way to conform to the societal and organisational norms of equal treatment for all clients.

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<sup>26</sup> M. Ifatunji is an assistant professor at the Sociology Department at the University of North Carolina.

<sup>27</sup> The idea for the paper was developed by C.Schütze, and she conducted the majority of the work.

## Paper III

### **The importance of discretion for welfare services to minorities: Examining workload and anti-immigration attitudes.**

C. Schütze & H. Johansson<sup>2829</sup>

#### **Does discretion function as an intervening variable for the relationships between workload and work with migrant clients and anti-immigration attitudes and migrant clients?**

In contrast to papers I and II, this paper includes more organisational discussions by testing if discretion, the main concept in SLBT, functions as a moderator or mediator for the relationship between workload and perceived work with migrant clients as well as whether discretion functions as a moderator for the relation between anti-immigration attitudes and perceived work with migrant clients. Focusing mostly on SLBT discussions about discretion and the role of organisational and individual factors for discretionary judgments, the paper uses a defined SEM model (again using my survey data) based on latent measurements defined through CFA. The results show that heavier perceived workload increased the likelihood of perceiving work with migrants as difficult and that perceived discretion mediates the relation between perceived workload and perceived difficulty in working with migrants, thus suggesting that it functions as a buffer against organisational demands. However, the interaction of anti-immigration attitudes and discretion does not seem to have any effect on perceived difficulty in working with migrants, although anti-immigration attitudes influence perceived work with migrants ‘independently’ suggesting that their effect is not dependent on different levels of perceived discretion.

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<sup>28</sup> H. Johansson is a professor at the School of Social Work at Lund University, Sweden.

<sup>29</sup> The idea of the paper was developed by C. Schütze, and she conducted the majority of the work.

## Paper IV

### **Ontological Security in Times of Global Transformations? Bureaucrats' Perceptions on Organisational Work Life and Migration.**

C. Schütze

#### **Offering a 'distinct' way of understanding welfare workers' perceptions towards their work and towards migration through the concept of ontological security**

The three previous papers tested the role of organisational and individual factors for welfare work with migrants by analysing the survey's pre-coded items. In order to gain more understanding of the relation between what welfare workers think (or express) and what they possibly do with an overall reference to racial attitudes, this paper adds to the previous findings by accounting for responses to feelings of ontological insecurity. A systematic content analysis of the survey's commentary (N=130) was employed using the Atlas.ti software. The respondents' wide range of views resulted in ten themes that were merged into seven overall themes based on theoretical consensus. The paper is guided by overall discussions of how ontological insecurity caused by global transformations influences individuals and how these influences manifest themselves in the working life of welfare workers. The results show that bureaucrats use different identity strategies, namely, *retreatism* in the form of distancing oneself, *essentialism* in the form of resentment towards migrants, and *engagement* in the form of mutual dialogue. These strategies are used to handle uncertainties and overcome complexities not only as professionals in their work life, but also as private individuals.

# 6. Discussion

This dissertation concludes that we need to reframe our idea of what shapes practical welfare work with migrants, away from overemphasising organisational factors as the main drivers influencing welfare outcomes, and instead incorporating the role of individual factors such as attitudes. The thesis moreover indicates that we should not try to account for individual or organisational attitudes in isolation, but rather should study them in conjunction with each other and relate them to the broader context of global transformations. The following concluding chapter addresses the key results from the four papers included in this thesis, thus providing some general interpretations and theoretical implications.

## 6.1 Importance of attitudes

The main argument of the dissertation is that attitudes are important to understanding underlying mechanisms when it comes to welfare services provided to minority groups. This argument runs as a red thread through all the papers. Taken together, the papers show the importance of the individual attitudes held by the welfare workers, what factors can explain these attitudes, and their possible implications in terms of inequalities when providing services. Three of the four papers of the dissertation included and tested this relationship, and in all three statistical models, with their different constellations of independent variables, this relationship remained robust. In paper I, contact with migrants in one's free time and notions of national identity are shown to influence welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants. Additionally, paper I provides support for the body of qualitative work that has found that preconceived negative attitudes about migrants has meaning for welfare work with migrants. The analysis shows that welfare workers who have more positive attitudes towards migrants are less likely to report their work with migrants as being difficult. Or, the other way around, welfare

workers with more negative attitudes towards migrants were more likely to report their work with migrants to be more difficult. The same relationship was analysed in papers II and III, with the same results despite a variation of influencing variables when it comes to perceived welfare work with migrants. The findings also contribute to SLBT by highlighting the need to consider attitudes towards migrants in the constellation when studying welfare work with migrants.

All in all, the papers provide evidence that attitudes towards migrants are a valid and important factor to integrate when trying to understand welfare work with migrants.

## 6.2 Colour-blindness

This thesis also sought to challenge current understandings of attitudes towards migrants by engaging with current debates on colour-blindness as an additional mechanism at play when it comes to welfare workers' perceptions towards their work with migrants. The notion of colour-blindness opens up for an alternative conceptualisation on how and why attitudes towards migrants matter, and it opens up for more nuanced approaches to understanding racial attitudes and their linkage to other social behaviours and social interactions.

The results of paper II confirm previous research in the US context showing that colour-blind attitudes are linked to high levels of prejudice towards minorities (Bonilla-Silva 2006; Apfelbaum et al. 2008). This could be interpreted as meaning that these theoretical claims of colour-blindness being associated with higher levels of prejudice can be applicable in different contexts. Paper II suggests that we might need to move beyond trying to show that expressing anti-immigration attitudes leads to possibly unequal outcomes when providing services to minorities. It is argued that wanting to appear unbiased due to pressure to conform to organisational and societal norms might be an important part of understanding how encounters with migrants when providing services are likely to play out. This highlights the role of cultural proficiency – the mastery of cultural norms and values – within organisations (Gorman 2015) and thereby offers support for discussions on welfare workers' desire to be perceived as fitting neatly within given social and organisational norms because their legitimacy depends on at least appearing to perform in a non-prejudiced manner (Bonnet 2014). I suggest that colour-blind attitudes function as “interactive social norms” that welfare workers deploy to perform



non-racism (Jackson, Wilde and Goff 2016 : 130). However, they are also a way to perform what the organisation and society wants to communicate (Apfelbaum et al. 2008; Bonnet 2014; Correll, Park and Smith 2008).

It is suggested that reporting colour-blind attitudes is a way for welfare workers to also act in line with organisational norms and values, but my results can be interpreted in the opposite direction. Because colour-blind attitudes co-occur with high negative attitudes towards migrants and in turn negative attitudes are related to a higher likelihood of perceiving one's work with migrant clients as more difficult, one interpretation could be that practical outcomes for minorities might be unequal or that these attitudes might shape the dynamics of encounters, for example, with less friendly behaviour on the part of the welfare worker or a feeling of anxiety, as suggested by Jackson, Wilde, and Goff (2016). Nevertheless, these are only suggestions for possible interpretations that need to be followed up in future studies.

Another important result is the proposition that the association between colour-blind attitudes and perceived difficulty in working with migrants is linked to social desirability in such a way that welfare workers who report more social desirability also express higher levels of colour-blindness but less negative attitudes towards migrants. Including measures of social desirability is novel and has barely scratched the surface in racial attitudes studies and thereby contributes to our understanding of the role of social desirability in relation to these issues and the importance of including it in our models.

### 6.3 Discretion as an intervening factor

The interplay of organisational and individual factors is the collective contribution of the different papers and combining these factors is executed to different extents in the different papers. I argue that, taken together, all four papers show that integrating organisational and individual factors is key to understanding welfare work with migrants because organisational context moderates processes occurring at the individual level (Gorman 2015; Ray 2019). Organisations have given routines and norms that shape one's attitudes, but welfare workers' personal 'baggage' is not left outside of the office but is tied into these processes; they simply cannot be understood separately when scrutinising welfare work with migrants. Paper III offers evidence for an intervening process, namely that discretion mediates the relation between workload and perceived difficulty in working with migrants, but at the same

time discretion does not influence the effect that anti-immigration attitudes have on the same outcome variable. The findings underline that perceived discretion serves as an important tool for SLBs to cope with organisational constraints. Previous research suggests that organisational characteristics can increase or decrease the impact of personal attributes on welfare practices with minorities, but my findings do not support these claims (e.g. Watkins-Hayes 2009). This also contributes to on-going discussions that discretion might allow for biases to affect welfare outcomes negatively for minorities because the results suggest that discretion does not intervene the relation between biases and perceived welfare work with migrants. Possible reasons for this outcome linked to the study design are discussed in the limitation section. Therefore, I argue that these intersections need to be studied to a greater extent in order to expand our understanding of how organisational characteristics accentuate or mitigate the effects of racial biases (Gorman 2015).

Paper III contributes by confirming previous studies on SLB and discretion and how discretion is used as a buffer against organisational demands and pressures. The paper's main contribution to SLBT is to show empirically that discretion functions as a mediator for the relation between workload and perceived difficulty in working with migrants. Previous studies have not focused much on testing how discretion functions as an intervening variable, which is the novel contribution of this paper.

All in all, intersecting organisational processes and racial attitudes open up for a whole new understanding of underlying mechanisms behind inequalities based on how organisational processes might amplify, reproduce, shape, or mute these attitudes, but there is still little knowledge on the possible outcomes of such processes for minorities.

## 6.4 Ontological security

Paper IV goes beyond the classical theoretical frames used in the other papers in order to account for current transformation processes linked to globalisation, e.g. migration. It accounts not only for internal organisational processes when understanding welfare workers' perceptions towards their work with migrants, but also accounts for external processes and their possible implications for perceptions towards one's work life. Synthesizing organisational and individual aspects through the concept of ontological security allows for a more complex understanding linked to responses to work life pressure and

perceived threats to one's position in society. Analysing responses linked to feeling insecure has gained less attention when studying welfare workers' work life and work with migrants, but it is an important part of the theoretical puzzle when wanting to gain insights into why welfare workers might express resentments towards migrants in their work life and how work pressure might create feelings of vulnerability that in turn might also influence how clients are treated. The results show that welfare workers apply different professional and individual strategies to cope with feelings of insecurity and to overcome complexities in their work life. I suggest that the concept of ontological security, along with its developed identity strategies, offers a valuable theoretical approach for understanding the working life of welfare professionals. My results also show that welfare workers belonging to a minority group experience discrimination and exclusion at the workplace, which might lead to ontological insecurity.

Overall, paper IV contributes by identifying coping strategies applied by welfare workers to overcome complexities and insecurities in both their social and work lives. It also shows that the concept of ontological security might prove to be a valuable theoretical tool when capturing the linkage between internal and external transformation processes.

## 6.5 Summarising remarks

In sum, this dissertation aimed at integrating discussions on individual factors into SLBT and discussions on welfare work by studying welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants in relation to their perceptions towards organisational conditions. The different papers studied different dimensions of these attitudes and perceptions with a focus on how individual and organisational factors might intersect or should be analysed in a more compartmentalised fashion. What makes the combined results of this dissertation interesting is a more nuanced understanding of the intersection of individual and organisational factors by analysing these factors in a combined fashion in my theoretical and statistical models in order to show how they are related, i.e. how one's attitudes can be shaped by organisational processes. The bureaucratic work within welfare organisations is rigid to different extents with the promise to equality through clear standards and little space for biases to interfere with these fixed bureaucratic standards. However, the results of this thesis show that bureaucratic work is, on the one hand, not necessarily fixed

but is often perceived very differently within the same bureaucratic frame, while on the other hand it is not free from the effects of biases. This contributes to theory building about the processes that possibly generate inequality within welfare organisations based on the intersection of individual and organisational factors. The dissertation could also show that attitudes are also shaped by macro-level societal processes that influence welfare workers' working conditions and sense of safety in the world and how these have important implications for the emotional uncertainties of welfare workers that then are conveyed into their work life.

## 6.6 Theoretical implications

The dissertation made use of a plurality of theoretical explanations in order to study welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants and their perceptions towards organisational conditions and their implications for perceived welfare work with migrants. The central conceptual perspectives are SLBT, anti-immigration attitudes, colour-blindness, and ontological security. All of the perspectives offer different understandings on welfare workers' attitudes and practices, and together they add up to a theoretical frame relevant for scrutinising welfare work and welfare work with migrants.

First, the contextual theoretical component of the dissertation was SLBT. As a niche sub-theory within the literature of public administration theory, SLBT offers explanations on how practical welfare work is influenced by organisational rules, regulations, norms, and organisational pressure as well as by discretionary space. These theoretical explanations give us a deeper understanding of the effects of organisational factors but offer very little understanding on more individual factors such as negative attitudes towards migrants. For example, one way of interpretation could be that organisational rules and norms are related to why welfare workers might want to perform 'non-racism'. It has also been suggested that discretion amplifies or weakens anti-immigration attitudes, but the findings of this dissertation suggest that this is not the case. Instead, I argue that the scholarship on discretion often romanticises this concept as the remedy to organisational pressure, but theoretically there is also a need to link the concept of discretionary space more to the functioning of racial attitudes within this space. Nevertheless, it could be shown in this thesis that organisational processes influence each other and

do not operate independently. This means that the effect of workload is weakened through greater levels of discretion, suggesting that we should pay more attention to intervening mechanisms when trying to elaborate theoretical understandings about which mechanisms influence practical welfare work with migrants. Despite no evidence for discretion amplifying welfare workers' anti-immigration attitudes, my outcomes show that only accounting for organisational factors results in statistical models with less explanatory power, telling only 'one side of the story', which again supports the argument for incorporating individual factors, e.g. anti-immigration attitudes, in our models in order to gain better understandings on welfare work with migrants.

Second, the scholarship on studying anti-immigration attitudes offers classical and well-established explanations for attitude formation. It helps us to understand how individual factors (e.g. gender and education), different forms of perceived threat (e.g. economical or cultural), forms of belonging (e.g. ethnic/civic national identity), and ingroup/outgroup contact shape welfare workers' attitudes towards migrants. This scholarship also puts forth that these attitudes can influence one's behaviour and in the case of welfare workers they influence the practices with migrant clients. These well-established understandings can be seen as classical attitude formation theory that in this dissertation helped me to show that the same factors shape welfare workers' attitudes like they do for society at large, as shown in various previous studies (e.g. Hjerm, Hernes and Knudsen 1992). This line of research was also used to show that attitudes are an important influential factor for the perceived work with migrant clients, which is in the line with the argument that attitudes influence behaviour.

However, only using classical anti-immigration attitude theory oversimplifies the picture (e.g. anti-immigration attitudes influence practices with migrants) and does not allow for a more complex understanding that reflects current racial transformations processes linked to societal norms where expressing explicit anti-immigration attitudes is 'distasteful' and against the ethical, societal, and organisational codes that advertise for equality despite ethnoracial differences. To obtain a more comprehensive understanding of how anti-immigration attitudes influence practical welfare work, we need to account for additional understandings that capture these current transformations. The concept of colour-blindness is based on the perspective that everyone has equal chances in society despite ethnoracial differences. With the help of this concept, I suggest one way of interpretation where expressing oneself in colour-blind ways (e.g. reporting colour-blind attitudes) can be used as a way to perform non-racism according to social and

organisational norms, helping us to understand how welfare workers might feel conflicted in their practical work and potentially feel unease or anxiety, but with little information on how this might affect the practical encounters with migrants. In that sense, colour-blind theory is not a parallel theoretical pillar to the scholarship on anti-immigration attitudes, but is rather an additional explanatory dimension that should be incorporated into this formation theory in order to advance understandings of how anti-immigration attitudes might influence behavioural outcomes.

Lastly, I have accounted for the classical attitude formation theory with clear explanations on what factors influence one's attitudes towards migrants, accompanied by the concept of colour-blindness that helps us to understand attitude formation and behavioural processes. Moreover, SLBT helps us to understand how organisational factors influence practices with migrant clients. Still, I argue that we also need to include more subjective factors to understand how these attitudes occur and how they reflect society's current transformations leading to increased levels of uncertainties. The concept of ontological security accounts for how current transformations challenge our emotional equilibrium and sense of being in the world. In turn, this kind of emotional unbalance can be linked to strategies of re-installing one's sense of safety by expressing oneself as exclusionary against migrants. I suggest that experiencing ontological insecurity is linked to a greater likelihood of expressing resentment towards migrants. In turn, this then might have relevance for welfare practices with migrants, showing how the different theoretical key concepts, with their different ways of explaining attitudes, perceptions towards work conditions, and existential uncertainties contribute and are tied into each other when it comes to their theoretical implications for welfare work with migrants. This shows that concepts like colour-blindness, usually outside of the scope of SLBT discussions, provide deeper understandings on why welfare workers might act in the way they do, but also that including a dimension on ontological security gives a more nuanced picture on why welfare workers might express resentments towards migrants.

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# Summary in Swedish

Denna avhandling undersöker svenska välfärdsarbetsares attityder till migranter och migration, deras syn på välfärdsarbete med migranter och betydelsen av organisatoriska faktorer knutna till deras arbetsorganisation. Avhandlingen baseras på en enkät med välfärdsarbetare i två svenska välfärdsorganisationer (arbetsförmedlingen samt försäkringskassan). Teoretiskt bygger avhandlingen på tre perspektiv: "street-level bureaucracy theory", "racial attitude studies" och "ontological security theory".

Avhandlingen består av fyra artiklar. I den första undersöks hur individuella och organisatoriska faktorer kopplas till välfärdsarbetarnas attityder till migranter och deras välfärdsarbete med migranter. I den andra artikeln används teorier om 'colour-blindness' som ett raster för att analysera hur välfärdsarbetsares 'colour-blind attitudes' samverkar med attityder mot migranter och uppfattningar om välfärdsarbete med migranter. Avhandlingens tredje artikel undersöker på vilka sätt välfärdsarbetarnas handlingsutrymme påverkar deras uppfattning om arbetet med migranter. I avhandlingens fjärde och avslutande artikel analyseras välfärdsarbetsares attityder till migration och migranter som ett uttryck av osäkerhet och globala omvandlingar. Med hjälp av begreppet "ontological security" undersöks hur välfärdsarbetare uttrycker sig om sitt arbete och om migration i allmänhet.

Avhandlingen visar på att välfärdsarbetare med mer negativa attityder gentemot migranter tenderar att uppleva sitt arbete med migranter som mer belastande. Samtidigt visar resultaten att högre nivåer av 'colour-blindness' sammanfaller med högre grad av negativa attityder gentemot migranter. Trots det är högre nivåer av 'colour-blindness' kopplade till lägre sannolikhet att rapportera svårigheter att arbeta med migranter. Det kan tolkas som att 'colour-blind' attityder ger uttryck för en social norm som välfärdsarbetare använder för att förmedla vad organisationen och samhället vill kommunicera.

Avhandlingen visar också att högre uppfattad arbetsbelastning ökar sannolikheten för att arbete med migranter upplevs som svårare. Dessutom visar avhandlingen att den upplevda handlingsfriheten fungerar som en buffert

mellan upplevd arbetsbelastning och upplevd svårighet i arbetet med migranter.

Slutligen visar avhandlingen att välfärdsarbetare använder olika identitetsstrategier i relation till migration och migranter: *retreatism* uttrycks i ett ”tillbaka dragande”, *essentialism* uttrycks i ett avståndstagande till migranter och *engagemang* uttrycks i ett sökande efter ömsesidig dialog. Välfärdsarbetarna använder dessa för att hantera osäkerheter och övervinna komplexitet som migration innebär. De strategier som uttrycks visar att de påverkas inte bara som professionella utan också som privatpersoner.

Sammanfattningsvis visar avhandlingen att individuella och organisatoriska faktorer har avgörande betydelse för att analysera välfärdsarbete och migration. Avhandlingen visar på betydelsen av att studera välfärdsarbetares attityder, organisatoriska förhållanden och strukturella omvandlingsprocesser i kombination snarare än som enskilda faktorer. I relation till den etablerade forskningen pekar avhandlingen därmed på att forskning inte enbart kan studera välfärdsarbete som format av organisatoriska förhållanden utan också behöver ta hänsyn till välfärdsarbetarnas attityder likväl som externa omvandlingsprocesser.

# Summary in German

Diese Dissertation untersucht die Einstellung der schwedischen SozialarbeiterInnen (im Englischen welfare worker) zu Migranten und Migration, ihre Wahrnehmung zur Arbeit mit Migranten und ihre organisatorischen Arbeitsbedingungen.

Die Studie basiert auf einer Umfrage, die die Einstellungen und Ansichten von SozialarbeiterInnen in zwei schwedischen Wohlfahrtsbehörden erfasst. Der konzeptionelle Rahmen der Arbeit umfasst drei Perspektiven: „street-level bureaucracy“ Theorie, „racial attitude studies“ und „ontological security“ Theorie. Alle drei Perspektiven tragen durch unterschiedliche Dimensionen zum Verständnis der Haltung von SozialarbeiterInnen gegenüber Migranten bei.

Die Studie hat vier miteinander verknüpfte Schwerpunkte, die in vier empirischen Arbeiten (papers) vorgestellt werden. Der erste Schwerpunkt untersucht (1) wie individuelle und organisatorische Faktoren mit der Einstellung der SozialarbeiterInnen gegenüber Migranten zusammenhängen und inwiefern diese Einstellung mit der Wahrnehmung über die Arbeit mit Migranten zusammenhängt. (2) Um die Rolle der individuellen Einstellungen in Bezug auf Migranten besser zu verstehen, untersucht die Studie, auf welche Weise eine farbenblinde (colour-blindness) Einstellung der SozialarbeiterInnen mit Einstellungen gegen Migranten und Wahrnehmungen gegenüber der Arbeit mit Migranten verbunden sind. (3) Um das Verständnis zu vertiefen, wie organisatorische und individuelle Faktoren die Arbeit mit Migranten beeinflussen, untersucht die Studie, inwiefern Diskretion eine entscheidende Rolle für das Verhältnis zwischen Arbeitsbelastung, einwanderungsfeindlichen Einstellungen und Wahrnehmungen in Bezug auf die Arbeit mit Migranten spielt. (4) Schließlich konzentriert sich die Studie auf die Äußerung von Unsicherheiten, hervorgerufen durch globale Transformationen (z. B. Migration). Dabei wird das Konzept der ontologischen Sicherheit (ontological security) verwendet, um basierend auf einer offenen Antwortmöglichkeit zu untersuchen, wie sich SozialarbeiterInnen zu ihrer Arbeit und zu Migration im Allgemeinen äußern.

Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass SozialarbeiterInnen mit einer negativeren Einstellung zu Migranten ihre Arbeit mit Migranten tendenziell als belastender empfinden. Gleichzeitig zeigen die Ergebnisse, dass ein höherer Grad an Farbenblindheit mit einer höheren Wahrscheinlichkeit verbunden ist, negative Einstellungen gegenüber Einwanderern anzugeben. Ebenso ist ein höherer Grad an Farbenblindheit mit einer geringeren Wahrscheinlichkeit verbunden, Schwierigkeiten bei der Arbeit mit Migranten anzugeben. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass farbenblinde Einstellungen als interaktive soziale Normen fungieren, die SozialarbeiterInnen einsetzen, um das zu vermitteln, was die Organisation und die Gesellschaft kommunizieren möchten. Die Ergebnisse zeigen ebenfalls, dass eine höhere wahrgenommene Arbeitsbelastung die Wahrscheinlichkeit erhöht, die Arbeit mit Migranten als schwierig wahrzunehmen, und dass die wahrgenommene Diskretion die Beziehung zwischen der Arbeitsbelastung und der wahrgenommenen Schwierigkeit von Arbeit mit Migranten beeinflusst. Dies deutet darauf hin, dass Diskretion als ‚Puffer‘ für organisatorische Anforderungen fungiert. Schließlich deuten die Ergebnisse darauf hin, dass SozialarbeiterInnen unterschiedliche Identitätsstrategien anwenden, nämlich *retreatism* in Form von Distanzierung, *essentialism* in Form von Abneigung gegenüber Migranten und *engagement* in Form von gegenseitigem Dialog. Diese Strategien werden eingesetzt, um mit Unsicherheiten umzugehen und Komplexitäten aufgrund globaler Transformationen, nicht nur als Berufstätige, sondern auch als Privatpersonen zu überwinden.

Diese Dissertation trägt dazu bei, individuelle und organisatorische Faktoren in die Wahrnehmung von sozialen Diensten und Migration einzubeziehen. Die Dissertation integriert „racial attitude studies“ in das Verständnis von Organisationsprozessen und verknüpft diese Prozesse mit globalen Strukturveränderungen. Damit trägt die Dissertation zu einem wachsenden Forschungsschwerpunkt bei, der den Fokus von internen Organisationsprozessen auf die Integration der Rolle individueller Einstellungen, aber auch externer Transformationsprozesse verlagert, um zu verstehen, wie die Arbeit mit Migranten beeinflusst wird.

# Appendix I



## Enkät om arbetsmiljö och uppfattningar om migration

Denna enkät är en del av ett forskningsprojekt om välfärdsarbetsmiljö och uppfattningar om migration.

Vissa frågor i enkäten är obligatoriska. Det betyder att dessa måste besvaras för att man skall kunna fortsätta fylla i enkäten. Dina svar registreras först när du har tryckt på 'Skicka nu' knappen på den sista sidan av enkäten. Genom att skicka in enkäten samtycker du till att delta i undersökningen.

Enkäten inleds med några frågor om dig själv, frågor om din arbetsmiljö, din arbetsplats och dina kundkontakter på arbetsplatsen, och avslutas med frågor om din syn på och värderingar om invandring och invandrare i Sverige.

I enkäten kommer vi att använda oss av orden **invandrare/invandring/utländsk bakgrund**.

Med **invandring** avser vi inflyttning till och permanent bosättning av en *utrikes född* person i Sverige. Med ordet **invandrare** avses en *utrikes född* person som bor i Sverige, samt nyanlända flyktingar. Med **utländsk bakgrund** avser vi personer som är *utrikes födda* eller där bägge föräldrarna är *utrikes födda*.

I enkäten använder vi oss av ordet **kund**. Med **kund** avser vi **arbetssökande eller försäkrade**. Med **kund** avses därmed enskilda individer och **inte företag**.

Stor tack för din medverkan!

Med vänliga hälsningar

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### Så här fyller du i pappersenkäten<sup>1</sup>

Nedan ser du hur du markerar ett svarsalternativ, och hur du avmarkerar ett redan gjort val.

- Korrekt markerat svarsalternativ
- Inkorrekt markerat svarsalternativ, krysset ska vara mitt i rutan
- Inkorrekt markerat svarsalternativ, krysset är alltför kraftigt
- Angrat val, svarsalternativet räknas inte som markerat

Inledningsvis några frågor om dig

<sup>1</sup> The survey was a web-survey but the postal-design version gives a more clear overview of the answer options







**1. Ange kön**

- Kvinna  
 Man

**2. Hur gammal är du? (ex. 35 år)**

**3. Bor du i .....**

- en storstad (över 100'000 invånare)  
 en förort till eller i närheten av en storstad  
 en liten stad (under 100'000 invånare)  
 en by eller mindre samhälle  
 en gård eller enskilt hus på landet

**4. Är du född i Sverige**

- Ja  
 Nej  
 Vill inte svara

**5. Är dina föräldrar födda utomlands?**

- Ja, en  
 Ja, båda  
 Nej, ingen av dem  
 Vill inte svara

**6. Vilken är din högsta avslutade utbildning?**

- Grundskola eller liknande  
 Gymnasieutbildning  
 Yrkesutbildning  
 Universitets- eller högskoleutbildning  
 Enstaka kurser på högskola eller universitet



**7. Om du har genomgått en universitets- eller högskoleutbildning, vilket var ditt huvudämne?**

- Socialt arbete
- Psykologi
- Statsvetenskap
- Sociologi
- Humanoria
- Pedagogik
- Vård/Omsorg
- Juridik
- Ekonomi
- Om annat, specificera

**8. Läste du under din utbildning kurser:**

	Ja	Nej	Vet ej
om migrationspolitik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör kultur och etnisk mångfald	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör psykiska och sociala konsekvenser av tortyr, krigsupplevelser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör praktiskt bemötande av invandrare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Här kommer några frågor om dig och din arbetsplats

**9. Vilken är din nuvarande arbetsplats?**

- Arbetsförmedlingen
- Försäkringskassan

**10. Hur länge har du jobbat inom Arbetsförmedlingen? Anger i antal år.**

**11. Hur länge har du jobbat inom Försäkringskassan? Anger i antal år.**



**12. Kryssa det som passar bäst. Jag arbetar mest med/ inom:**

- Avdelningen för barn och familj     Avdelningen för gemensamma försäkringsfrågor  
 Analys och prognos     Avdelningen för funktionsnedsättning  
 Avdelningen för nyanlända eller arbetssökande     IT     Rättsavdelning  
 Avdelning för sjukförsäkring     HR - avdelning  
 Avdelningen för gemensamma kundfrågor  
 Om annat, specificera

**13. Kryssa det som passar bäst. Jag arbetar mest med/inom:**

- Rehabilitation till arbete     Analys och prognos     Förmedlingstjänster     IT  
 Avdelningen för nationella kunder     Kommunikationavdelning  
 Integration och etablering  
 Förvaltning (ekonomi, infrastruktur, juridik, personal och upphandling)  
 Produktionsavdelning     Avdelningen för digital tjänster  
 Om annat, specificera

**14. Kryssa max 2 svarsalternativ. Jag jobbar mest med:**

- kundservice     handläggning     rådgivning  
 administrativa uppgifter (inkluderar inte handläggning)  
 samordning och ledning av personalen     assistentuppgifter     kundresurs  
 arbetsgivarekontakt  
 Om annat, specificera

**15. På vilka sätt kommer du främst i kontakt med dina kunder? Kryssa max 2 alternativ.**

- Telefon  
 Email  
 Online chat  
 Post  
 Personliga möten  
 Jag har ingen kundkontakt

**16. Hur många kundärenden hanterar du i genomsnitt under en vanlig arbetsdag?**



17. Följande frågor berör arbetsmiljön inom din organisation (Arbetsförmedlingen eller Försäkringskassan). Instämmer du i eller tar du avstånd från följande påståenden? Var vänlig kryssa i en ruta på varje rad.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Jag kan i stor utsträckning själv påverka hur jag ska genomföra mina arbetsuppgifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag har stort inflytande på vad resultatet blir av mitt arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
När jag använder mig av organisationens riktlinjer kan jag ändå göra mina egna bedömningar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag bestämmer självständigt på vilket sätt mina arbetsuppgifter skall utföras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ofta måste jag ta beslut som missgynnar mina kunder för att hålla mig inom organisationens riktlinjer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag kan anpassa mina beslut till de riktlinjer som finns inom organisationen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag kan påverka vad som skall uppnås genom mitt arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att följa organisationens riktlinjer betyder att jag måste arbeta inom en snäv ram	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



18.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Det händer att jag får mig ett riktigt gott skratt tillsammans med mina arbetskamrater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner mig accepterad av mina arbetskamrater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Min arbetsgrupp är en källa till glädje och gemenskap	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Min arbetsgrupp planerar gemensamt hur vårt arbete ska genomföras	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner mig inte som en del av arbetsgruppen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I min arbetsgrupp brukar vi diskutera oss fram till förändringar och förbättringar av arbetsförhållanden	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det händer att jag känner mig ledsen när jag är på arbetsplatsen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



19.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Mitt arbete försvåras av oförenliga krav från olika avdelningar inom organisationen eller från utomstående, t. ex. andra myndigheter, kunder, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag får tillräckligt med information från chefer och arbetskamrater för att effektivt kunna utföra mina arbetsuppgifter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det är svårt att förena krav från olika personer på min arbetsplats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag saknar information om sådant som berör mig och mitt arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Motstridiga direktiv och krav försvårar mitt arbete	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



20.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Jag arbetar under oacceptabel tidspress	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag har så många arbetsuppgifter att det inverkar negativt på mina möjligheter att arbeta effektivt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det händer att tidspress tvingar mig att göra ett sämre jobb än jag annars skulle göra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag har för många kunder för att kunna göra ett bra jobb	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner mig ofta stressad och hinner inte med det arbete jag ska göra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner ofta frustration över min arbetsituation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kommentar

21. Har du på din arbetsplats gått kurser:

	Ja	Nej	Vet ej
om migrationspolitik	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör kultur och etnisk mångfald	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör psykiska och sociala konsekvenser av tortyr, krigsupplevelser	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
som berör praktiskt bemötande med personer med utländsk bakgrund	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



## 22. Kryssa Ja eller Nej

	Ja	Nej	Vet ej
Jag känner att jag har tillräckligt mycket kunskaper i frågor om migration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det skulle vara ett stöd i mitt arbete att få mer vidareutbildning i frågor om migration	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 23. Uppskattningsvis, hur stor andel av de kunder du personligen handlägger/ge stöd och service åt på din arbetsplats har utländsk bakgrund?

## 24. Hur upplever du din kontakt med:

	Övervägande positiv	Både positiv och negativ	Övervägande negativ	Vill ej svara
kunder med utländsk bakgrund du betjänar på din arbetsplats?	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

## 25. Vilka länder eller regioner är mest vanligt förekommande bland dina kunder med utländsk bakgrund (ex. kunder från Polen/Östeuropa). Ange 3.

## 26. Upplever du att det är svårare att handlägga/ge stöd till kunder med utländsk bakgrund?

- Ja  
 Nej

## 27. Ange gärna exempel på vilka länder eller regioner är mest vanligt förekommande bland dina kunder med utländsk bakgrund (max 3).





**28. Berätta gärna varför du upplever att det är svårare att jobba med vissa kunder med utländsk bakgrund. Kryssa max 3.**

- ålder
- etnicitet
- kultur
- kön
- hälsosituation
- utbildningsnivå
- språkkunskaper

Kommentar

**29. I det följande anges påståenden som handlar om din syn på mötet med kunder med utländsk bakgrund.**

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Det är tjänstemannens uppgift att förklara svenska värderingar och normer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
De bedömningar som görs på min myndighet väger ofta inte in kundens kulturella erfarenheter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det är bäst om samtal förs på det språket kunden önskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det är vanligt att kommunikation med kunder med utländsk bakgrund leder till missuppfattningar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



30.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Det är bra om kulturella skillnader mellan kunder med utländsk bakgrund och tjänstemän tillåts komma fram	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det är bäst att behandla alla på samma sätt oavsett deras kulturella bakgrund	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ibland känns det bara för mycket med alla krav som kunder med utländsk bakgrund ställer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kunder med utländsk bakgrund får mindre attraktiva former av erbjudanden än övriga kunder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**31. När jag bemöter kunder med utländsk bakgrund, är jag:**

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
orolig för att det jag sa eller gjorde ska upplevas som förolämpade	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att jag ska säga något som kan förstås som nedlåtande	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att göra något som gör att min kund känner sig obekväm	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
nervös för att jag inte ska ha något att säga eftersom vi inte har mycket gemensamt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att jag ska framstå som fördomsfull	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att jag ska framstå som ignorant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



32.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
orolig för att min kund ska döma mig som naiv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att min kund ska bli förolämpad av något som jag sa	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att min kund ska få ett felaktigt intryck av mig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
nervös för att min kund ska se mig som oförskömmad	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
orolig för att min kund ska bli upprörd av vårt möte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kommentar

**33. Sen sensommaren 2015 har invandringen till Sverige ökat och fått mer fokus och uppmärksamhet. Känner du att utvecklingen har påverkat ditt arbete?**

- Ja, väldigt mycket
- Ja, någorlunda
- Nej, inte så mycket
- Nej, inte alls
- Vet ej

Kommentar



**34. Följande påstående berör situationen på din arbetsplats sedan sensommaren 2015.**

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Antalet kunder som jag ge stöd och service åt har ökat kraftigt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag ser mer positivt på invandring till Sverige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det förs mer diskussioner om migration på min arbetsplats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner mer frustration över kunder med utländsk bakgrund	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag känner mig mer stressad på min arbetsplats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det finns fler kollegor som pratar negativt om invandrare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mina värderingar om invandrare och invandring krockar med de mål och den värdegrund som finns på min arbetsplats	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kommentar

Migration och migranter i Sverige

**35. Bor du i ett bostadsområde där många människor har utländsk bakgrund?**

- Ja
- Nej
- Vet ej



**36. Hur ofta har du kontakt med personer med utländsk bakgrund på din fritid?**

- Mycket ofta
- Ofta
- Inte särskilt ofta
- Inte alls
- Vet ej

**37. Hur skulle du beskriva dina kontakter med människor med utländsk bakgrund?**

- Övervägande positiva
- Något positiva
- Något negativa
- Övervägande negativa
- Vet ej

**38. Följande påståenden handlar om invandrare i Sverige, instämmer du i eller tar du avstånd?**

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Invandrare förbättrar det svenska samhället genom att tillföra nya idéer och kulturer	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare gör att brottsligheten ökar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare är på det hela taget bra för Sveriges ekonomi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare tar jobben från infödda svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
På det hela taget medverkar invandrare till att svensk kultur urholkas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



39.

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Invandrare som inte är svenska medborgare bör ha samma rättigheter som svenska medborgare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sverige bör vidta starkare åtgärder för att utestänga illegala invandrare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare som har rätt att vistas i Sverige ska ha samma rättighet till allmän skolgång som svenska medborgare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare är en belastning för Sverige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att få medborgarskap bör vara svårare för invandrare än vad det är i dag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>



40. Vissa människor anser att följande saker är viktiga för att någon ska vara svensk. Andra anser att de inte alls är viktiga. Hur viktigt tycker du att följande är för att någon ska vara

	Mycket viktigt	Ganska viktigt	Inte särskilt viktigt	Inte alls viktigt	Vet ej
Att vara född i Sverige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att bo i Sverige	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att vara svensk medborgare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att ha bott i Sverige större delen av sitt liv	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att kunna tala svenska	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att kunna tala svenska utan brytning	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att vara kristen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att respektera svenskt statskick och svenska lagar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att känna sig svensk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att ha svenska förfäder	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att man följer svensk kultur och svenska traditioner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Att det inte syns på utseendet att man har ursprung i ett annat land	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Kommentar



#### 41. Instämmer du i eller tar du avstånd från följande påståenden?

	Instämmer helt	Instämmer delvis	Tar delvis avstånd	Tar helt avstånd	Vet ej
Svenskar har vissa fördelar i samhället på grund av sin etnicitet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Invandrare har inte samma möjligheter som svenskar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Alla som arbetar hårt, oavsett vilken etnisk bakgrund de har, har lika stor chans att lyckas i livet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Rasism är ett problem idag	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Många invandrare jobbar hårt för att integrera sig	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Hudfärg kan påverka människors möjligheter i det svenska samhället	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sveriges mångfald när det gäller etnicitet, religion och kultur bidrar till dess styrka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Huruvida personer som tillhör minoritetsgrupper kan accepteras fullt som medlemmar av det svenska samhället beror på vilken grupp de tillhör	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det finns en gräns för hur många människor med annan etnicitet, religion eller kultur ett samhälle kan acceptera	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>





**42. Sist kommer några frågor om din vardag.**

	Stämmer mycket	Stämmer	Stämmer något	Stämmer inte	Stämmer inte alls	Vet ej
Även om jag känner mig stressad, är jag alltid vänlig och artig mot andra	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Det har hänt att jag har utnyttjat någon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ibland vill jag bara hjälpa folk om jag får något tillbaka	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I en argumentation förblir jag alltid objektiv och håller mig till fakta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Jag har någon gång kastat skräp i naturen eller på vägen	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
När jag pratar med någon lyssnar jag alltid noga på vad den andra personen har att säga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

**43. Har du några övriga funderingar eller kommentar angående ditt arbete och/eller migration i Sverige?**

# Appendix II

E-post massage to selected sample (in Swedish):

Hej!

Denna email avser en enkätundersökning som du har valts för som en del av ett slumpmässigt urval av fackförbundet STs medlemmar.

Denna enkätundersökning om arbetsmiljö och migration riktar sig till medarbetare inom Arbetsförmedlingen och Försäkringskassan som jobbar direkt eller indirekt med kundfrågor.

Anställda på Försäkringskassan och Arbetsförmedlingen spelar en viktig roll i integrationsarbetet. Det är därför viktigt att ta del av både dina erfarenheter i detta avseende och dina synpunkter på frågor kring arbetsmiljö, migration och invandringen till Sverige.

Enkäten är en del av ett forskningsprojekt om välfärdsarbeters attityder till migration, invandring och invandrare. Studien bedrivs vid Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet och är en del av ett avhandlingsarbete. Huvudansvarig är doktorand Carolin Schütze samt professor Håkan Johansson och docent Norma Montesino.

Det är frivilligt att delta i studien och alla svar är anonyma. Det tar cirka 20-25 minuter att fylla i enkäten. Dina svar registreras först när du har tryckt på 'Skicka nu' knappen på den sista sidan av enkäten. Genom att skicka in enkäten samtycker du till att delta i undersökningen.

För att börja enkätundersökningen klicka på följande länk \_\_\_\_\_

På första sidan av enkäten finns ytterligare information om studien och enkäten.

För mer information om projektet och eventuella frågor kontakta Carolin Schütze via mail [carolin.schutze@soch.lu.se](mailto:carolin.schutze@soch.lu.se) eller via telefon xxx.

Denna enkätundersökning är viktigt för en bättre förståelse av välfärdsarbete och migration och jag uppskattar ditt deltagande i denna undersökning.

Med vänliga hälsningar

Carolin Schütze

Socialhögskolan, Lunds Universitet

Doktorand, Projektansvarig

[Carolin.schutze@soch.lu.se](mailto:Carolin.schutze@soch.lu.se)

Mobil: xxx

# Appendix III

Question Nr.	Question/Question section	Form of Question	Source
1 to 8	Inledningsvis några frågor om dig..	Background	SCB 2002; Elmeroth 2003
9 to 16	Här kommer några frågor om dig och din arbetsplats....	Workplace	Own construction
17 to 20	Följande frågor berör arbetsmiljön inom din organisation....	Work environment/ Discretion	Hovmark & Thomsson 1995
21 to 22	Har du på din arbetsplats gått kurser...	Education	Elmeroth 2003; Park et al. 2011
23-24	Uppskattningsvis, hur stor andel .../Hur upplever du din kontakt med...	Customer contact	Park et al. 2011
25	Vilka länder eller regioner är mest vanligt förekommande bland dina kunder ...	Customer contact	Own construction
26	Uppllever du att det är svårare att handlägga/ge stöd till kunder med utländsk bakgrund?	Customer contact	Own construction
27	Ange gärna exempel på vilka länder eller regioner är mest vanligt förekommande ....	Customer contact	Own construction
28	Berätta gärna varför du upplever att det är svårare att jobba med vissa kunder ...	Customer contact	Own construction
29 to 30	I det följande anges påståenden som handlar om din syn på mötet med kunder med utländsk bakgrund...	Customer contact	Elmeroth 2003
31 to 32	När jag bemöter kunder med utländsk bakgrund, är jag...	Anxiety	Critcher et al., manus
33	Sen sensommaren 2015 har invandringen till Sverige ökat och fått mer fokus och uppmärksamhet....	Workplace	Own construction
34	Följande påstående berör situationen på din arbetsplats efter det senaste året...	Contact	Own construction
35	Bor du i ett bostadsområde där många människor har utländsk bakgrund?....	Contact	Park et al. 2011
36	Hur ofta har du kontakt med personer med utländsk bakgrund på din fritid?...	Contact	Park et al. 2011
37	Hur skulle du beskriva dina kontakter med människor med utländsk bakgrund?...	Contact	Park et al. 2011
38 to 39	Följande påståenden handlar om invandrare i Sverige, instämmer du i eller tar du avstånd?	Attitudes tow. Immigrants	Sjöbrén & Edlund 2013 (ISSP)
40	Vissa människor anser att följande saker är viktiga för att någon ska vara svensk...	National Identity	Sjöbrén & Edlund 2013 (ISSP)
41	Instämmer du i eller tar du avstånd från följande påståenden?...	Diversity/Colour-blindness	Neville et al. 2000
42	Sist kommer några frågor om din vardag....	Social Desirability	Kemper et al. 2012
43	Open-end question....	Own construction	Own construction

# Appendix IV

**Table 6: Answer options for survey questions about anti-immigration attitudes**

Items	Agree strongly	Agree partly	Disagree partly	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Missing	N
Attitudes towards migrants							
Immigrants improve the Swedish society by bringing new ideas and cultures	502 (38,06%)	593 (44,96%)	98 (7,43%)	32 (2,43%)	80 (6,07%)	14 (1,06%)	1319
Immigrants increase crime rates	79 (5,99%)	317 (24,03%)	369 (27,98%)	350 (26,54%)	187 (14,18%)	17 (1,29%)	1319
Immigrants are generally good for Sweden's economy	461 (34,95%)	476 (36,09%)	150 (11,37%)	51 (3,87%)	162 (12,28%)	19 (1,44%)	1319
Immigrants take jobs away from people who were born in Sweden	3 (0,23%)	37 (2,81%)	178 (13,50%)	999 (75,74%)	84 (6,37%)	18 (1,38%)	1319
Sweden's culture is generally undermined by immigrants	37 (2,81%)	121 (9,17%)	222 (16,83%)	787 (59,67%)	131 (9,93%)	21 (1,59%)	1319
Sweden should take stronger measures to exclude illegal immigrants	278 (21,08%)	362 (27,45%)	253 (19,18%)	192 (14,56%)	206 (15,62%)	28 (2,12%)	1319
Immigrants are a burden for Sweden	28 (2,12%)	146 (11,07)	320 (24,26%)	709 (53,75%)	92 (6,97%)	24 (1,82%)	1319
Acquiring citizenship should be more difficult for immigrants than it is today	103 (7,81%)	175 (13,27%)	198 (15,01%)	512 (38,82%)	311 (23,58%)	20 (1,52%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent constructs (scales/indexes) 'ethnic/civic model'

**Table 7: Answer options for survey questions about national identity**

Items	National identity	Very important	Quite important	Not very important	Not very important at all	Don't know	Missing	N
<i>Items Ethnic Model</i>								
To have been born in Sweden		30 (2,27%)	90 (6,82%)	337 (25,55%)	797 (60,42%)	42 (3,18%)	23 (1,74%)	1319
To be able to speak Swedish without accent		619 (46,93%)	473 (35,68%)	100 (7,78%)	80 (6,07%)	28 (2,12%)	19 (1,44%)	1319
To be Christian		12 (0,91%)	24 (1,82%)	140 (10,61%)	1070 (81,12%)	49 (3,71%)	24 (1,82%)	1319
To follow Swedish culture and Swedish tradition		116 (8,79%)	352 (26,69%)	449 (34,04%)	325 (24,64%)	49 (3,71%)	28 (2,12%)	1319
To have Swedish ancestry		10 (0,76%)	24 (1,82%)	173 (13,12%)	1037 (78,62%)	46 (3,49%)	29 (2,20%)	1319
That it is not visible on the appearance that one has her origin in another country		9 (0,68%)	13 (0,99%)	94 (7,13%)	1118 (84,76%)	55 (4,17%)	30 (2,27%)	1319
<i>Items Civic Model</i>								
To live in Sweden		238 (18,04%)	401 (30,40%)	286 (21,68%)	322 (24,41%)	51 (3,87%)	21 (1,59%)	1319
To have lived in Sweden most of your life		84 (6,37%)	244 (18,50%)	466 (35,33%)	435 (32,98%)	61 (4,62%)	29 (2,20%)	1319
To respect Swedish political institutional and laws		1082 (82,03%)	146 (11,07%)	16 (1,21%)	25 (1,90%)	27 (2,05%)	23 (1,74%)	1319
To be Swedish citizen		347 (26,31%)	419 (31,77%)	245 (18,57%)	231 (17,51%)	56 (4,25%)	21 (1,59%)	1319
To be able to speak Swedish		619 (46,93%)	473 (35,86%)	100 (7,58%)	80 (6,07%)	28 (2,12%)	19 (1,44%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent constructs (scales/indexes) 'ethnic/civic model'

**Table 8: Answer options for survey questions about colour-blind attitudes**

Items	Colour-blindness	Agree strongly	Agree partly	Disagree partly	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Missing	N
Swedes have certain advantages in society because of their ethnicity		459 (34,80%)	518 (39,27%)	104 (7,88%)	131 (9,93%)	88 (6,67%)	19 (1,44%)	1319
Everyone who works hard, no matter what ethnic background they have, has equal chances to succeed in life		414 (31,39%)	453 (4,34%)	277 (21,00%)	105 (7,96%)	47 (3,56%)	23 (1,74%)	1319
The color of one's skin affects/influences people's possibility in society		454 (34,42%)	563 (42,68%)	109 (8,26%)	82 (6,22%)	92 (6,79%)	19 (1,44%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent construct (scale/index) 'colour-blindness'

**Table 9: Answer options for survey questions about social desirability**

Items	Social Desirability	Doesn't apply at all	Doesn't apply	Applies somewhat	Applies	Applies completely	Don't know	Missing	N
Although I feel stressed, I am always kind and courteous to others		1 (0,08%)	9 (0,68%)	102 (7,73%)	588 (44,58%)	603 (45,72%)	3 (0,23%)	13 (0,99%)	1319
In an argument I always remain objective, and adhere to the facts		18 (1,36%)	79 (5,99%)	366 (27,75%)	536 (40,64%)	250 (18,95%)	47 (3,56%)	23 (1,74%)	1319
When I talk to someone, I always listen carefully to what the other person has to say		2 (0,15%)	17 (1,29%)	182 (13,80%)	711 (53,90%)	385 (29,19%)	3 (0,23%)	19 (1,44%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent construct (scale/index) 'social desirability'

**Table 10: Answer options for survey questions about perceived discretion**

Items Perceived discretion	Agree strongly	Agree partly	Disagree partly	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Missing	N
I can to a large extent influence how I fulfill my work tasks	281 (21,30%)	767 (58,15%)	188 (14,25%)	75 (5,69%)	1 (0,08%)	7 (0,53%)	1319
I have great influence on the outcome of my work	297 (22,52%)	727 (55,12%)	227 (17,21%)	52 (3,94%)	8 (0,61%)	8 (0,61%)	1319
When I use the organization's guidelines, I can still make my own assessments	311 (23,58%)	794 (60,20%)	147 (11,14%)	48 (3,64%)	6 (0,45%)	13 (0,99%)	1319
I decide independently how I execute my work tasks	226 (17,13%)	703 (53,30%)	236 (17,89%)	132 (10,01%)	3 (0,23%)	19 (1,44%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent construct (scale/index) 'perceived discretion'

**Table 11: Answer options for survey questions about perceived workload**

Items Perceived workload	Agree strongly	Agree partly	Disagree partly	Disagree strongly	Don't know	Missing	N
I work under unacceptable time pressure	275 (20,85%)	444 (33,66%)	344 (26,08%)	241 (18,27%)	8 (0,61%)	7 (0,53%)	1319
I have so many work tasks that it affects my ability to work effectively	302 (22,90%)	437 (33,13%)	330 (25,02%)	231 (17,51%)	10 (0,761%)	9 (0,68%)	1319
Time pressure forces me to do a worse job than I would do otherwise	336 (25,47%)	464 (35,18%)	285 (21,61%)	212 (16,07%)	11 (0,83%)	11 (0,83%)	1319
I have too many clients to be able to do a good job	370 (28,05%)	342 (25,93%)	289 (21,91%)	269 (20,39%)	29 (2,20%)	20 (1,52%)	1319

Note: Don't know as an answer option was coded into Missing for developing the latent construct (scale/index) 'perceived workload'



