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TITLE: Experiences of work and social inclusion/exclusion among the male immigrants from the Middle East

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Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to discover experiences of inclusion/exclusion among the immigrants from the Middle East. The study focuses on inclusion/exclusion of the immigrants in work and social life in Stavanger, Norway. The study has a qualitive design. The data has been collected through personal semi-structured interviews with ten immigrant workers from the middle east who have worked at least for four months in the service industry as low-skilled workers.

This study presents the results in three main parts including a) expectations and motivations before migration b) challenges in the job seeking process and experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the workplace c) experiences of inclusion/exclusion in social life. furthermore, identified barriers and facilitators for work and also social inclusion are provided. In addition, varying markers for work and social inclusion/exclusion have been extracted from the study.

The results of the study are discussed with consideration of social identity theory as the main theory and some other connected theories including the network theory, dual labour market theory and cumulative causation. Moreover, the results are compared to the previous researches so as to show the similarities and differences.

Finally, the study shows that despite different experiences of exclusion among the participants, generally, they still perceive themselves included in the workplace; however, this inclusion seems to be in a low level. In addition, they perceive themselves included in the workplace more than the social life.

KEYWORDS: work Inclusion, work exclusion, social inclusion, social exclusion, integration, diversity management, qualitative research

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Foreword

I would like to thank all the people who supported me in conducting this study. To begin with, I would like to express my profound gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. Trude Furunes for her guidance, kind support and encouragement. I appreciate the valuable time you devoted to support me in the conducting process of this study sincerely. In addition, I also wish to thank Dr. Åse Helene Bakkevig Dagsland and Dr. Tone Therese Linge for their guidance and support.

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Alireza Ebrahimi - June 2019

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The service industry is highly competitive and labour intensive. Although the industry provides varying types of jobs, it is also characterized by seasonal jobs, precarious workforce, high employee turnover rates, intersectionality and is affected by overall political and economic situation of the host country. Immigrants constitute a considerable proportion of the workforce of the industry due to the fact that many of local people have a low tendency to apply for the jobs which are linked to short-time contracts, low wages and low status. Therefore, this labour shortage is met by immigrant workforces (Choi, Woods, & Murrmann, 2000). In addition, recruitment of immigrant workforce can result in cultural diversity which can be beneficial if diversity management exists (Baum et al., 2007). in contrast, if migrant integration cannot be met, it might rise to serious challenges for the host society, particularly if they are seen negatively in the society related job competition or social norms (Janta, Brown, Lugosi, & Ladkin, 2011).

Service industry, especially the hospitality sector is one of the first environments where in the early weeks after entering, migrants can seek a variety of occupational opportunities and take up employment (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Jobs in service industry are distributed into two main categories: front and backroom jobs. On the one hand, concerning front jobs, employers mostly seek people who have better appearance and are better in language and communicational skills and are more familiar with social and cultural characteristics of the area. On the other hand, for backroom positions, employers usually look for people who have specific skills and are more hardworking. In fact, appearance, language

is considered to be less significant for the backroom workers (Wills et al., 2009). As a result, there would be more chance of finding jobs for newly coming immigrants who are not so familiar with the new culture and might have language and communicational problems.

A variety of reasons can be mentioned to explain why migrants are considered as the target group for working in service industry by employers. To begin with, sometimes it can happen due to specific skills that only a particular group of migrants have (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). For instance, the cooks or waiters who have skills related to specific culture can seek job in ethnic restaurants (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Not only this, as there are many temporary jobs in service industry, those groups of migrants who seek to work for a short time and then return home after gaining some money, can take these temporary positions and meet the employers' expectations (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). These groups of migrants are named as transient migrants; therefore, they accept hard work conditions such as low payments, lack of stability beside low status which are less probable to be accepted by native people in the recipient area (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Aasland and Tyldum (2016) adds that it is not only due to stability that migrants accept these types of jobs with hard conditions, but also it is because of the marginalised place that migrants have in the host society. As the majority of residents in the host country do not tend to apply for and occupy the positions with hard work conditions, migrants have this chance to accept to work in the hard situations due to they cannot access better occupational opportunities, particularly in the first weeks after entering the new living place (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Migration decision making can happen because of different purposes such as work and education. To explain a migration flow simply, it is necessary to study the push factors in the origin and the pull factors in the destination. In fact, one the on hand, there are different push factors such as war, low income and high unemployment rates which encourage people

to leave their countries and move to a new environment in which they might find better life conditions. On the other hand, there are different pull factors in the host countries such as educational opportunities and higher level of income that can attract people in the origin countries (Choi et al., 2000). In addition, workforce shortage and low birth-rates persuade the governments of host countries to promote and facilitate immigration for the needed groups of migrants, particularly the young immigrants who are able to work and increase the productivity.

According to Statistics Norway (2018), 14% of Norway population are immigrants. Among these people, the percentage of the ones who come to Norway for family, work and education are 39%, 32% and 5% respectively. In addition, 23 % of immigrants are refugees. In the two recent decades, there has been a massive increase in number of immigrants due to different factors including EU expansion from 2004 (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Although migrants from other European countries comprise a considerable number of immigrants to Norway, among first 15 largest groups who moved to Norway, five countries are from middle east including Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Furthermore, Syrian immigrants have had the highest growth since 2016, mostly due to the recent war (Statistics Norway, 2018). These figures clearly demonstrate that policymakers and Norwegian government face considerable population from middle east while, there are less background information about them, compared to other groups of immigrants who move from European countries such as Poland and Sweden.

Although there have been different studies (see literature review) on migration and/or integration (e.g., Ager and Strang, 2008; Cherti and McNeil, 2012; Dekker et al, 2015; Scholten et al, 2015), this study would be the first study that focuses on experiences of inclusion/exclusion among the immigrants from the Middle East in terms of both work and

social life. This study seeks to fill the available gap through addressing following research questions.

1.2. Aim and research questions

The overall aim of this study is to discover experiences of inclusion/exclusion among immigrants from the middle east in the local community and workplace in Stavanger, Norway.

Some of the specific significant research questions which will be addressed by this study:

- What expectations and motivations did the immigrants have before migration?

- What challenges did the immigrants face in job seeking process? To what extent do immigrants perceive and feel included/excluded in work life?

- To what extent do the immigrants perceive and feel included/excluded in social life?

- What are the barriers to inclusion in work and social life?

- What are the facilitators for inclusion in work and social life?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical framework and review of related theories

2.1.1. Social identity theory

Social identity theory was presented originally by Henri Tafjel and John Turner (1979). The theory focuses on the relationship between group membership and the individual identity, given the meanings and the value that people consider for the groups in which they are member (Mor Barak, 2008). These social groups can be characterised by different factors such as gender, ethnicity, nationality and age. that they feel belonged (Tajfel, 1982). According to the theory, people do not consider other members of the groups as unique individual (Mor Barak, 2008). That is, they consider a social identity for the group based on the most salient factor such as age, gender and skin colour (Mor Barak, 2008). As a result, each member seeks to judge other groups' members and also is judged based on the groups that he or she belongs. Membership in groups helps people define themselves and their identity (Mor Barak, 2008). This is supported by the argument about forming and developing individual and social identity (Pearce, 2013).

The interesting point is that people inherently seek to have a favourable view of themselves, therefore they define a positive social identity for the groups that they are members of or become a member in the groups that they can find their desired social identity (Shinnar, 2008). In fact, this social identity helps people create their favourite self-concept and meet their need of being included in a group and simultaneously, their need of being different from other groups (Shinnar, 2008). This is exactly what Tafjel (1978) expressed as

positive and distinctive identities that people seek to gain. Hence, they try to distinguish in-group relations from out-group relations (Shinnar, 2008). Consequently, in order to keep the positive image of themselves, they seek to make the comparisons between in-group and out-group relations favourably (Shinnar, 2008).

Not only this, the group situation can lead to a type of superiority or inferiority against other groups, and this determines who is included in the group and who is excluded from the group (Mor Barak, 2008). In fact, groups would be open for the people who are similar to other members and those people who are different, are excluded from the group (Mor Barak, 2008). Furthermore, social comparisons can lead to a type of discrimination and prejudice since people would not consider each out-group member as a unique individual (Mor Barak, 2008). For instance, there are varying cultures and countries in Asia, but the host society might consider all the immigrants as 'Asian'. That is, this can form different stereotypes along the time (Mor Barak, 2008). In addition, values of the group and emotional bonds between members play a key role in shaping the favourable self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). Therefore, people discriminate against other groups' members and judge their own groups favourably (Mor Barak, 2008).

In fact, people inherently seek to have a favourable view of themselves, therefore they become a member in the groups that they can find their desired social identity (Shinnar, 2008). In fact, this social identity helps people create their favourite self-concept and meet their need of being included in a group and simultaneously, their need of being different from other groups (Shinnar, 2008). Therefore, they try to distinguish in-group relations from out-group relations. Consequently, in order to keep the positive image of themselves, they seek to make the comparisons between in-group and out-group relations favourably (Shinnar, 2008). In addition, values of the group and emotional bonds between members play a key role in shaping the favourable self-concept (Tajfel, 1981). For migrants as the minor group,

compared to the host society and the dominant culture, ethnic identity can constitute a considerable part of their social identity (Shinnar, 2008).

Although in many occasions, people have a tendency to make positive social comparisons between their in-group relations and out-group relations, sometimes this can lead to a negative comparison. In fact, when they find the other groups with higher status, they reach this negative feeling about their groups (Shinnar, 2008). The perception of negative social identity can result in three different reactions from the group members.

The first reaction is 'individual mobility' which happens when the members accept this feeling about their current status and seek to join higher-status groups (Shinnar, 2008). In fact, they decide to replace their current disadvantaged group with the groups that they can find higher status and positive self-concept (Shinnar, 2008). In fact, each member acts individually to become a member of higher-status groups, and even has less tendency to put in a great deal of effort beside other members to change the negative social identity (Shinnar, 2008). Concerning migrants, getting separated from ethnic groups and joining more dominant cultural groups in the host society can be named as an illustration of this. It is significant to note that when the differences between current low-status group and the higher-status group is huge, it can be so difficult for members to have individual mobility (Shinnar, 2008). Therefore, individual mobility can be challengeable for many groups of migrants if the host society shows low tendency to accept their membership (Shinnar, 2008).

The second response to negative social identity is 'social creativity' which includes putting emphasis on the strengths and positive characteristics of the group (Shinnar, 2008). To explain more, by highlighting positive features of the group, group members seek to make new social comparisons between their groups and other groups and consequently, perceive their social identity positively (Shinnar, 2008). Not only this, group members might change

the interpretation of current values and alter the negative effect of group identity (Shinnar, 2008). In this situation, although the former facts remain, the way of looking and the interpretation change. In addition, group members might replace their current choice of groups which they compare with their own group, that is, they choose the groups that they can make positive comparisons with (Shinnar, 2008). For instance, migrants can compare themselves to their prior situation in their origin country in terms of income or other related striking factors (Shinnar, 2008). The members of the low-status group might also create different sub-categories which they can know themselves belonged to the upper group (Shinnar, 2008). As an illustration, migrants from the same origin country can create sub-categories in terms of income or education, and then compare themselves with the ones who are less educated or have less income. This allows them to keep their positive social identity (Shinnar, 2008).

The third way of reacting to the perceived negative social identity is 'collective action' (Shinnar, 2008). To explain, members of the low-status group can act collectively against all related negative stereotypes that exist in the host society (Shinnar, 2008). In fact, they seek to become more active in the society to improve the perceived image of themselves in other groups' opinion. This social action also requires an internal action in the way that those negative behaviours which can shape negative stereotypes get altered, and the members can be aware of the effect of their behaviour on the general image of the group in the society (Shinnar, 2008).

2.1.2. What is integration and what does constitute its framework?

There has been much debate on the meaning of integration, given the fact that there are a variety of meanings which are used for the concept 'integration'. The study carried out by Ager and Strang (2008) presents a framework for 'integration' so as to reduce the current

ambiguity concerning this concept. In this part, the explanation of this framework is presented which has been referred completely to the mentioned paper.

Figure 1. Core Domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008, P.170)

According to the mentioned paper, in order to achieve a successful integration, different measures should be taken in four main areas generally: work, housing, wellbeing, and education. First and foremost, workplace can play a key role in language progression and also in recovering self-respect for the migrants. Not only this, living place can affect both physical and mental health of migrants because it is strongly connected to their security and the facilities which they have access to. Furthermore, education can support migrants in gaining access to the better occupational opportunities through making them able to acquire more required qualifications. Education can also provide an environment for the migrants to establish new contacts with local people and develop their language skills, particularly for the kids and teenagers. In addition, Health is really significant for reaching a successful integration for migrants. That is, migrants' involvement in the society can get influenced by the extent to which they can have access to the health services within the country, compared to the residents of the host country (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Moreover, according to the authors of the paper, although the four mentioned areas are mostly noticed for promoting integration, there is also a need of foundation in the country. A foundation that determines the boundaries of the practical programmes that are established and implemented to achieve integration. In fact, this foundation includes the rights that are given to each migrant and also the expectations that the host society have toward the migrants as the probable future citizens. Additionally, it is important to imply that these expectations are mostly affected by the values which create the cultural and national identity of the people in the host country. Therefore, these values present the definition of citizenship among the people of a country. For instance, in Germany, this sense of national identity is based on blood bonds, not being born in the country (Ager & Strang, 2008). This gains more significance when the discussion about integration is focussed on the children who are born in the recipient country from migrant parents which is beyond the scope of this research(Ager & Strang, 2008).

It is also significant to note that there is an interesting question about the relationship of immigrants with the local people. That is, in mutual relationships between migrants and the host society, which side should put more effort in strengthening the relationships? To answer, some believe that there should be a type of preparedness among immigrants to adjust themselves to their new living environment and the dominant culture (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Ager and Strang (2008) use the term 'social connections' as a mediator factor between the needed legal foundation and the observable results of an achieved integration in all those four mentioned areas such as work life. To explain more, integration can be understood in another way, which is a two-sided procedure that can lead to an integrated community (Ager & Strang, 2008). Therefore, investigation of social connections between immigrants and other groups in the host society really matters.

The interesting point is that people with different cultural background can interpret the concept 'integration' in different ways. According to the paper conducted by Ager and Strang (2008), as an example, some might identify a situation without conflicts between migrants and the host society as integration while some might have higher expectations and indicate a need of diverse environment where both groups of migrants and local people get involved equally. There are some people who go beyond this and know the sense of belonginess among migrants as the ideal achievement of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Social connections can be divided into three major categories: social bonds, social bridges and social links (Ager & Strang, 2008). Social bonds include the social relationships that migrants have with the people who are with the same cultural background, particularly family and relatives. These relationships can make it possible for migrants to maintain their traditions and experience settlement (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Ager and Strang (2008) add that social bridges include the relationship and interactions between migrants and local people in daily activities. Greetings can be a good example of this where migrants find themselves to feel being at home. It can also exceed this and include engagement in a variety of activities with other groups of the society. As a result, immigrants can experience safety and comfortability in their new living area due to a sense of being welcomed by local people (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Social links relates to the connections between migrants and government which can help them access different type of public services that they might need the same as other groups living in the recipient country (Ager & Strang, 2008). Considering the language problem among refugees and providing them services in the language and in a suitable way can be mentioned as an example of this.

Regarding different types of migrations and migrates, there are a variety of categorizations of different forms of migrations. This study follows the categorization presented by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2003) (UNESCO) which is done based on migrants' motivations. The significant point is that it includes refugees as forced migrants into different migrants' categories (UNESCO, 2003).

2.1.3. Acculturation theory

Migrants as the non-dominant group of people in the new living area can face four types of acculturation defined by W. Berry (1997). These include assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation (W. Berry, 1997). Separation refers to a situation where on one hand, migrants maintain their cultural identity strongly and on the other hand, they keep themselves away from having interactions with local people in receiving areas (W. Berry, 1997). In contrast, assimilation happens when migrants do not seek to maintain their origin culture and have a marked tendency to interact with other cultures in receiving countries (W. Berry, 1997). Not only this, there would be a type of integration if migrants have interest in both keeping their cultural identity and acting as integral part in daily relations with other in cultures the society (W. Berry, 1997). Eventually, marginalisation appears if migrants cannot or do not have interest in maintaining their origin culture and also in having interactions with local people who have different cultures. This usually happens when there is a type of exclusion, harassment or discrimination (W. Berry, 1997).

Assimilation	Separation
Integration	Marginalisation
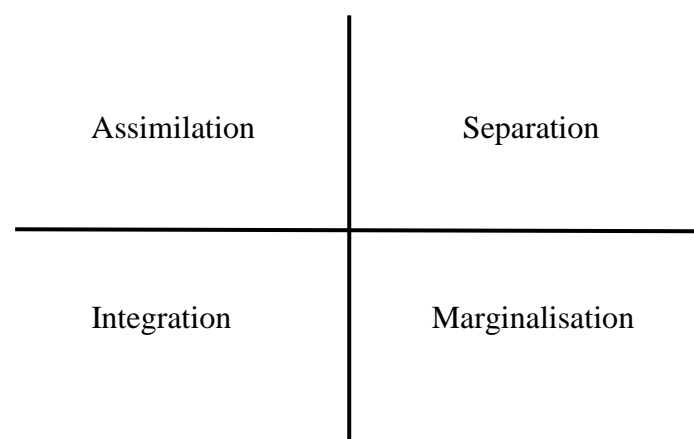
2.1.4. Review of international migration theories

In the paper written by some of the members of the IUSSP Committee, a review of migration theories is provided. In this part, different interesting points and explanations of the migration theories are presented, all based on the mentioned paper written by Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouchi, Pallegrino and Taylor (1993).

Among different international migration theories, there are some to explain why international migration initiated and some to explain how this international trend has gotten perpetuated (Massey et al., 1993). The former includes four main theories: Neoclassical economics, the new economics of migration, dual labour market theory and world system theory, and the latter includes some theories such as network theory (Massey et al., 1993).

Neoclassical economics: Macro theory

According to the mentioned paper, this is the oldest international migration theory which explains international migration from individual perspective. Based on this theoretical model, the wage difference between sending and receiving areas is the only main reason why international migration happens. In fact, each individual seeks to maximize income, therefore individuals in low-wage areas such as developing countries have more tendency to maximize their income by entering high-wage areas, mostly, developed countries where they can gain more money per the same work hours in their origin country (Massey et al., 1993). In addition, this theory mentions the imbalance between labour endowment and capital in recipient and sending areas which leads to wage differential between their labour markets (Massey et al., 1993). The other significant point related to this theory is that as this

movement of labour includes considerable number of skilled workers. As a result, there would be a decrease in human capital in sending countries and an increase in recipient ones (Massey et al., 1993).Furthermore, other markets are not considered to be as significant as labour markets, therefore. Governments can influence migration flows only through labour markets both in receiving and sending areas (Massey et al., 1993).

Neoclassical economics: Micro theory

According to this theory, migration includes costs and benefits for migrants. international migration can be a way of investing in human capital for migrants. That is, individual migrants seek to move to places where they can increase their productivity and gain the highest net return from this investment; therefore, they calculate cost and benefit of migration to have an expected estimation of net return (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, wage gap or different employment rate between sending and receiving countries, is the only factor causes international migration. It is necessary to mention that new technologies, social conditions and whatever that can reduce the cost of migration, can increase the probability of such international movements (Massey et al., 1993).

The new economics of migration

Theory of neoclassic economics got challenged and questioned by emergence of a newer theory, "The new economics of migration". Based on this theory, the migration decision is not made by isolated individuals, in fact, each of these individuals acts as a member of his/her household or family as a larger unit, therefore, not only seeks to maximize income, but also aims to minimize the risks for other members of the household or family (Massey et al., 1993). This can be observed in many developing countries where risks for families and their incomes are higher than developed countries due to lack of governmental supports and private insurance programs (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, in developed

countries, availability of credit markets provides people with the opportunity of financing new projects; however, in developing countries people cannot access to credit markets, or if they can it would be too costly for them (Massey et al., 1993). All of these acts as a push factor for families in developing countries and creates the motivation for international migration. Some families decide to migrate together, while some only send one or more members to developed countries and finally the resulted resources are would be allocated to all family members (Massey et al., 1993).

Existence of future markets in developed countries can protect farmers from the risk of fluctuations in crop price by guaranteeing the selling price for future harvested crops (Massey et al., 1993). In contrast, in developing countries there is always the risk of reduction of price for crops after harvesting due to lack of future markets which can create an intention of migration for them (Massey et al., 1993). These types of protective programmes are not concluded only to farmers, but also there are various unemployment insurance in developed countries which support workers and employees in different unexpected situations such as injury and sickness (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, this pull factor can motivate some non-farm households to migrate.

Moreover, farmers in developing countries, face severe financial problems when they intend to enhance the productivity by applying new methods and investing in new technologies, purchasing higher-quality fertilizers and more advanced machines, trainings of workers (Massey et al., 1993). This also happens for non-farmer families when they seek to invest in education for one or members of the family but lack enough money (Massey et al., 1993). This is because there is no effective banking system that can provide sufficient fund for people, and furthermore, most families are in the same situation and cannot support others (Massey et al., 1993). Even if people can borrow money from other people or institutions, they usually have to return the money with high-interest rates (Massey et al., 1993). This is

exactly where capital markets matter and can play a role in motivating households developing countries to leave their home and move to a new country with more plain sailing access to needed funds (Massey et al., 1993).

Dual labour market theory

Unlike both neoclassical economics and new economics theories which explains initiation of international migration with micro-level models and individual/household decision making, Dual labour market theory considers structural conditions in more developed countries (Massey et al., 1993). According to this theory and Piore's (1979) arguments, in more modern societies, there are intrinsic factors that create a need of foreign workforce, that is, pull factors in receiving countries lead to international migration flows (Piore, 1979). This is against two previous mentioned theories that know push factors in sending areas as main reason for such international movements (Massey et al., 1993).

Dual labour market theory explains the role of pull factors by indicating four basic characteristics of modern industrialized societies, these include: structural inflation, motivational problems, economic dualism and the demography of labour supply (Massey et al., 1993).

First, although wages are considered as a tool for employers to control supply and demand in labour market, it is believed by many employees that wages should reflect their social status (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, any change in paid wages of a group of workers or employees can have serious effects on other groups of employees in other levels of organization (Massey et al., 1993). For instance, if an employer decides to increase the paid wages of lower-level workers in the organizational hierarchy, this can affect superior workers and employees negatively, as they might feel that they are missing their former status (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, they put pressure on manager to raise their wages as well,

and this structural inflation leads to enormous cost for the organizations and makes employers seek to hire foreign workers who accept to work with low wages (Massey et al., 1993).

Second, in lower level positions, it is more likely for workers to encounter motivational problems, as they lack social status and also work in harder conditions (Massey et al., 1993). This can affect productivity and make managers face significant challenges, particularly when raising wages might be too costly (Massey et al., 1993). To deal with these motivational problems, employers have more tendency to recruit migrant workers who are able to tolerate poor conditions due to a number of reasons (Massey et al., 1993). To begin with, migrants aim to improve their life conditions for themselves and their families at home and to achieve this goal, bear low wages, at least in first steps after entering new environment (Massey et al., 1993). Not only this, the existing gap between living standards and provided facilities in their origin country and new living place makes them feel better than locals while working in low level jobs with hard conditions (Massey et al., 1993). In addition, they do not know themselves as a part of this new society and believe that they belong to their home country, and this makes them compare themselves with locals less, and consequently, have more motivations to keep on working (Massey et al., 1993).

Third, labour markets have been bifurcated in industrial countries as the relation of capital and labour (Massey et al., 1993). When demand falls, in the labour-intensive secondary section, employers seek to reduce costs of unemployment by dismissing low-skilled and unstable workers (Massey et al., 1993). However, in the capital- intensive primary section, the situation is different as workers in this sector have more secure jobs, fixed contracts, higher wages, more chance of getting promoted and have undergone trainings to become more skilled which all brings considerable cost for the employers and seeks to keep this group of workforces (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, native workers tend more to work

in the primary sector, while many migrants are forced to bear unpleasant work conditions in secondary sector and admit their costs (Massey et al., 1993).

Fourth, in the past, the demand of workforce for the jobs with harder work conditions in secondary sector was met by two major groups: women and teenagers (Massey et al., 1993). Nowadays, the situation is completely different. Women have more participation in society and workplaces and also due to low birth-rates and also increase in number of divorces, they require a type of job that is more secure and provides them with more income (Massey et al., 1993). However, in the past, they were satisfied with temporary low-skilled jobs since these jobs were not the main source of the family income (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, because of higher educations, teenagers prefer not to work as labour forces, while in the past, work could generate a motivation in them to gain new experiences and earn some spending money which could rise their status (Massey et al., 1993).

World systems theory

Although dual labour market theory introduces new categorization within labour market in particular industrial countries as the main reason for migration, world system theory mentions the emergence of new economic structures in the world market ,and explains the role of neo-colonial governments and global companies in shaping and accelerating of migration flows (Massey et al., 1993). According to this theory, international migration is resulted from market penetration of these multinational capitalist companies which seek for land, labour, raw materials and new consumer markets in the peripheral poor countries (Massey et al., 1993). On one hand, this economic process, leads to formation of new push factors in developing countries, and on the other hand, it attracts people in those poorer countries to move to the developed receiving countries (Massey et al., 1993).

To begin with, with arrival of capitalist firms, new methods and advanced technological approaches get applied (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, machines replace people in many of former manual tasks and this leads to a decrease in demand for workforce. Not only this, applying new methods and using more efficient fertilizers cause cost reduction for production (Massey et al., 1993). Furthermore, non-capitalist farmers would not be able to compete capitalist ones because of missing the competitive advantage (Massey et al., 1993). These reasons might put a pressure on farmers who have lost their former productivity to leave their lands in current situation and move to a new area where they can work with better conditions (Massey et al., 1993).

Beside lands, by supplying and selling raw materials in world market, there is a need of workers in the extraction process (Massey et al., 1993). This demand mostly is met by local workers who were former peasants and workers (Massey et al., 1993). Consequently, new labour markets are created on the basis of new values such as individualism and social change which can enhance migration flows, particularly the international movements (Massey et al., 1993).

In addition, low wage rates in developing countries has made multinational firms invest in building factories and producing the products with export capacity (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, there would be an increase in the share of female workforce in these factories, as they accept to work with lower wages; therefore, there would be a considerable number of male workers who encounter with unemployment, and this might create a strong motivation for them to decide to migrate (Massey et al., 1993).

Finally, it should be mentioned that the new market penetration in developing countries, creates specific ideological and material links to the developed countries where this process originates from (Massey et al., 1993). To explain more, there would be sizeable

investment in development of transportation systems due to facilitating the movement of raw materials and goods in production and also in export process (Massey et al., 1993). The major point is that the new infrastructures including expanded transportation system can facilitate international movements of people as well (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, it would be easier for people to move to developed countries.

Moreover, this economic process creates cultural connections which affect people in a way that is different from former colonial effects (Massey et al., 1993). The influence of cultural links is more when it is mixed up with mass communication which is transmitted via various types of media such as television channels that are mostly centred in recipient countries (Massey et al., 1993). Through these communicational channels, information about living conditions and lifestyle in developed countries, is spread in the world (Massey et al., 1993).

Furthermore, it is significant to highlight the place of global cities in shaping and accelerating of immigration movements (Massey et al., 1993). These particular cities are the world financial and technological centres where banking and production of advanced technological products are concentrated (Massey et al., 1993). Los Angeles in the United States or London in Europe or Tokyo and Sydney in Asia and Pacific can be named as examples of global cities (Massey et al., 1993). There are a large number of highly educated workforces who live and seek high paid jobs. Top-level jobs in occupational hierarchy are mostly occupied and held by these educated natives (Massey et al., 1993). In addition. As low educated natives tend less to take jobs with low paid wages and status at the bottom of hierarchy, they seek to occupy positions in the middle level (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, there would be a demand for workers at the bottom of hierarchy, especially in services, which can be met by unskilled migrants (Massey et al., 1993).

Perpetuation theories

International migration can be initiated due to various reasons. On one hand, it can be investigated and discussed in individual level. That is, some people might decide to migrate for their personal gain such as higher wage, while some others might migrate to eliminate or decrease the economic and other types of risks for their families (Massey et al., 1993). On the other hand, some might consider bifurcation in the labour market in some particular developed countries as the main reason of initiation of international movements, and some others might believe that globalization and neo-capitalist market penetration in developing countries have formed and enhanced the international migration flows (Massey et al., 1993).

It is significant to mention that by beginning of international movements, other factors emerge that can play a crucial role in increasing the international migration rate between sending and recipient countries in the world (Massey et al., 1993). These individual factors include migrants' networks and influences of relevant public and private institutions; therefore, network theory and institutional theory should be noticed to create a clearer image of international migration trends in the world (Massey et al., 1993).

Network theory:

By entering new country, migrants' networks are built up via interpersonal bonds in the form of friendship and family that connect migrants to native people and former immigrants (Massey et al., 1993). These networks increase the probability of international immigration since they can reduce the risks and the costs of migration. As a result, it can enhance the net return for the migrants. Each migrant after establishing new networks in the receiving country reduce migration costs for other potential migrants in his origin country (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, some of these potential migrants migrate and this cycle

begins all over again and the number of these people who have personal and social ties increase across time (Massey et al., 1993).

Although in the beginning, migrants are more linked to their friends and relatives who had moved sooner, they inevitably make new contacts with non-immigrants (Massey et al., 1993). This acquires wider significance since these social ties can play a crucial role in migrants' access to the occupational opportunities. The other point is that governments can control migration through different sets of rules which affect the strength of the networks. For instance, by giving migrants' relatives a right to enter the receiving country (Massey et al., 1993). Beside economic effects, each migrant can minimize the risks for their relatives and friends who might display the tendency for migration. Thus, the role of networks in producing migration flows gets independent from other factors that were mentioned (Massey et al., 1993).

Institutional theory:

Since migration between developing and developed countries have begun, there has appeared an imbalance between demand for entering rich developed countries and the restricted number of visas for migrants (Massey et al., 1993). This growing imbalance has led to the establishment of a set of organizations which seek to meet the huge created demand. Some of these institutions are private which provide services for migrants before and after entering in exchange for money they receive (Massey et al., 1993). It is important to suggest that these services can be legal and also illegal; however, there are also voluntary organizations that seek to provide migrants with legal counselling before and after migration and offer advices about different types of visas or on how to get job after entering the receiving country (Massey et al., 1993). In addition, these voluntary organizations,

particularly humanitarian ones put pressure on government to create more favourable

conditions for migrants (Massey et al., 1993).

Accordingly, as time goes by, these institutions and organizations get more known to

the people and create a type of social capital for migrants to seize occupational opportunities

in other countries' labour markets (Massey et al., 1993).

Cumulative causation:

Beside all the factors suggested so far, international migration itself can cause more

movements from the sending countries to the recipient countries. That is, any successful

migration attempt by migrants can create a type of motivation for other potential migrants in

their origin countries and this leads to more movements across time (Massey et al., 1993).

This process has been named cumulative causation by Myrdal (1957). "*six socioeconomic*

factors that are potentially affected by migration in this cumulative fashion: the distribution

of income, the distribution of land, the organization of agriculture, culture, the regional

distribution of human capital, and the social meaning of work" (Massey et al., 1993, p. 451)

Concerning distribution of income, before beginning of migration flows, the sense of

deprivation among people in sending countries is low (Massey et al., 1993). This is because

although the distributed income is not high, it is almost in the same amount for most

households (Massey et al., 1993). When some of the people move to developed countries and

get access to the foreign labour market, there would happen a type of wage gap in the way

that these groups of migrants occupy upper levels in income hierarchy, compared to the ones

who live in their origin country (Massey et al., 1993). This causes a sense of deprivation

among non-migrants in sending areas which can motivate more people to migrate, and the

increase in migration rate would continue until when all families have some members who

have access to income sources in foreign markets, and this growth decreases when income inequality gets lower (Massey et al., 1993).

Not only this, distribution of land in sending countries are affected by migration flows. That is, some of migrants prefer to invest all or a part of their saved money in buying lands in their origin country for the rest of their life after retirement (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, these lands which had been used by farmers to produce agricultural food products, get less productive (Massey et al., 1993). Thus, there would be a less need of farm workers and this generates a motivation for some of these unemployed workers to migrate to big cities in their country or to other countries where they can work with better conditions (Massey et al., 1993).

Furthermore, there is a more tendency for using new technological methods and machines among new owners of farmlands (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, many of those former tasks that were done by farm workers, are done by machines and this lowers the number of workers needed for agricultural processes in farm production; therefore, these displaced workers face tremendous pressure which can cause migration decision making (Massey et al., 1993).

Moreover, Migration flows can influence the values and cultural features of the origin society due to the changes that occur in migrants' motivations and tastes along the time (Massey et al., 1993). To explain succinctly, as migrants get access to the income resources in the labour markets of industrial countries, they become more able to live with the close quality to the host community as possible as it is (Massey et al., 1993). This new pleasant experience of living causes migrants to look for those high-quality goods and services that they had access in the recipient country, wherever they live; however, when they are in their origin country, there is high probability for them to migrate again since they mostly cannot

find those living conditions and lifestyle that they could find in receiving countries (Massey et al., 1993). Among other groups of sending society, especially the young ones, migration appears such a road to the place where they can meet their dreams and due to such new values, people who are not interested in migration, might be considered as lazy ones (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, there would be a strong motivation for people in sending region to migrate.

Regarding distribution of human capital, it is significant to suggest that a considerable number of migrants are skilled or educated people who contribute to economic growth (Massey et al., 1993). Therefore, as migration increases between sending and receiving areas, there would be a decrease in human capital in sending countries unlike the receiving ones (Massey et al., 1993). As a result, negative effect of migration on economic growth appears as economic stagnation which can generate a strong motivation for people in sending areas to migrate, and this would be more significant if the role of education and increasing number of educated people are considered as key factors in motivating people to migrate (Massey et al., 1993).

Finally, it should be suggested that migration can change the social meaning of some jobs, in the way that some of jobs and positions would be considered as migrant jobs which host society and natives do not tend to work in. Therefore, there would be always an enormous demand for immigrant workforce for these type of jobs with the label of migrant jobs (Massey et al., 1993). Additionally, these labels might vary in different countries. For instance, a job might be considered as a migrant job in Norway while in US it might be considered as native jobs (Massey et al., 1993).

2.2. Other previous studies on migration and/or integration

There are different studies conducted in terms of migrant integration in social life and in the workplace, which present different outcomes (e.g., Ager and Strang, 2008; Cherti and McNeil, 2012; Dekker et al, 2015; Scholten et al, 2015). One of the marked studies on migrant employees in hotels has been conducted by Aasland and Tyldum (2016) in Oslo.

According to the mentioned research, although Norwegians work in all hotel parts and in all jobs, the number of them are the least in physical jobs such as cleaning or in the jobs that are not certain and are temporary (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). In fact, they tend to occupy managerial and administrative positions and work in jobs that are more stable (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). The research also indicates that Asian workers constitute the largest group of workers in physical and temporary jobs (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Furthermore, there is an international trend of short-time contracts and external recruitment in service and tourism industry (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). A survey carried out in Oslo shows that the percentage of workers who have fixed contracts are the lowest in restaurants and housekeeping with 59% and 70% respectively (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Furthermore, there are noticeable differences between different groups of migrant employees and workers including Europeans from EU countries, other Europeans, Asians and Africans when there is a comparison with Norwegians (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Based on the study, native workers and west Europeans occupy most of the permanent jobs, and Asians are the groups who have the least permanent employment, and mostly work under temporary contracts (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Not only this, the study presents a meaningful comparison between different groups of migrant workers and native workers. according to the results of the study, migrant workers in Norway report that they worry more about job loss, and experience more discrimination and harassment (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). In overall, they are less satisfied with their jobs,

compared to Norwegian workers. In addition, the number of migrant workers who have several jobs are so much more than the Norwegian ones (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Concerning education and work promotion, the study illustrates that non-European migrants including Asians are over-qualified for their jobs in hotels in Oslo, compared to their Norwegian co-workers and some other European countries (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). This can happen because they lack language skills and strong networks to access better occupational opportunities which suite their educational level more (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Therefore, for some it might change and lead to a job mobility since they can develop their skills or extend their networks (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). Furthermore, it is significant to mention that Asians, Africans and south Americans, were least satisfied with their jobs, while they occupied permanent positions and were not optimistic about positive job mobility in the future (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

Furthermore, social contacts and networks play a key role in getting access to the jobs for the migrants. This is because information about occupational opportunities can be transmitted more through these communicational channels between friends, relatives and the people with the same culture or nationality (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). The effect of poles' networks on occupying secondary jobs in construction industry in Norway can be named as an example of this (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). It is also significant to mention that the chance of taking these types of jobs can increase when newly arrived migrants can get support from some of those former migrants who are experienced workers or could occupy higher positions (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016). For instance, in construction industry such as team leaders (Friberg, 2012). However, these ethnic networks are more effective in secondary jobs, compared to occupying more stable positions which are more dependent on the factors different from such networks at this level (Aasland & Tyldum, 2016).

There are some researches that investigate integration in terms of policies and regulations (e.g., Dekker, Emilsson, Krieger and Scholten, 2015). It has been a debateable issue that whether specific national or local policies can be applied to different cities so as to direct integration (e.g., Caponio and Borkert, 2010; ; Jørgensen, 2012; Ambrosini, 2013) or each area with its special political and cultural context can shape the policies (e.g., Scholten, 2013).

There are also some studies on family migration. To begin with, "International Migration Outlook" (OECD) report provides valuable comparable data related to family migrants. According to OECD (2017) report, family migrants have less participation in the labour market, compared to other groups of migrants including students and job migrants. In addition, family migrants are less good at linguistic skills, in comparison to other groups of migrants (Eggebø & Brekke, 2018).

Regarding differences of language skills among varying groups of migrants, the study carried out by Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2006) present how visa categories relate linguistic skills of the immigrants. According to the study, skilled labour migrants are the best group regarding language skills. Thereafter, family migrants are the second group that show a better level of language proficiency, compared to asylum seekers and refugees. However, the study suggests other factors that can affect language skills among immigrants including the length of stay, age, gender and educational level (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2006).

Concerning gender and job status, the study conducted in Canada by Rupa Banerjee and Mai B. Phan (2014) suggest that female migrants are more likely to have less job status, compared to men regardless of their educational level. This is because they allocate a considerable part of their time to household duties which men do not usually have (Banerjee

& Phan, 2014). In addition, the study indicates the lack of recognition of educational background for some of migrants as a barrier (Banerjee & Phan, 2014). The study carried out by González-Ferrer (2011) in Spain also adds more comparative information about different groups of female migrants. The study argues that the chance of getting recruited for married woman including female reunification immigrants are higher than single women. (González-Ferrer, 2011).

Regarding education and employment, in developing countries, in contrast to the developed ones, education might lead to unemployment or at least, does not enhance the chance of employment for the people. For instance, in many of Asian countries, less educated people face more employment rate due to the fact that many of these people have the jobs which do not require formal qualifications such as farming (Choi et al., 2000).

3. Method

3.1. Design

This study examines the experiences of inclusion/exclusion among immigrants from the middle east in Stavanger, Norway. Stavanger is located in southwest Norway with a population of 134258 in December 2018 (Statistics Norway, 2018). This study has a qualitative design, as it seeks to discover human experiences and perceptions. Therefore, in-depth qualitative study is conducted.

3.2. Sample

The sample was recruited from the target group which include migrants from middle east. Ten interviews were conducted until saturation got reached. To eliminate the homogeneity risk, snowball sampling was done in addition to asking some other students to introduce relevant people for the interview. All informants were male immigrants who had at least one-year living experience in Norway and had worked as low skilled workers in the service industry sectors for at least four months; however, there are some factors that would be varying among participants such as origin country, educational level and type of migration. The origin countries among migrants include Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Lebanon. Their age varies from 22 to 33 years old. In the following table more background information about sample is shown.

Name	Age	The year entered Norway	Origin Country	Marital Status	Type of Workplace and Position	Higher Education	Gender	Type of Migration (Early Motivation)
Informant 1	24	2008	Afghanistan	Single	Restaurant Waiter	No	Male	Refugee
Informant 2	30	2015	Afghanistan	Married	Hotel Restaurant Waiter	No	Male	Family Migration (Marriage Migrant)
Informant 3	28	2016	Afghanistan	Single	Supermarket	Yes	Male	Refugee
Informant 4	25	2017	Iran	Single	Hotel Restaurant Waiter	Yes	Male	Student
Informant 5	27	2016	Iran	Married	Restaurant Waiter	Yes	Male	Student
Informant 6	22	2006	Iran	Single	Supermarket Worker & Salesperson	Yes	Male	Family Migration
Informant 7	33	2003	Iraq	Married	Hotel Cleaner	No	Male	Refugee

Informant 8	29	2002	Iraq	Single	Restaurant Dishwasher	No	Male	Refugee
Informant 9	28	2017	Lebanon	Married	Restaurant Chef	Yes	Male	To study
Informant 10	23	2015	Lebanon	Single	Café Waiter	Yes	Male	To study

Table 1. Some demographical data of the sample

3.3. Data collection

Data were collected through in-depth semi-structured personal interviews due to the fact that the research question is concerned with perceptions and experiences of immigrants. A twenty-question interview guide was used. This interview guide was developed and modified during the pre-test period which included four people before recruiting the informants and interviewing of the study. All ten interviews were pre-arranged and took almost ninety minutes. The interviews were conducted in English. To avoid any interviewer interference, even the informants from Afghanistan and Iran were asked to express their perceptions and opinions in English, given the fact that all could speak English. Only for two of participants when they could not find a few specific words in English to express their perceptions and opinions, they used Persian language and then those few words got translated to English in a way that match with their original statement. To avoid missing data, audio of each interview was recorded and then transcribed. However, to protect from informants' anonymity, all audio recordings got deleted immediately after transcription. Data collection was done during March and April of 2019.

3.4. Trustworthiness (credibility, dependability and transferability)

Regarding credibility, as the study seeks to include more experiences, it was aimed to increase the variance in the sample as long as it can be related to the overall aim and research

questions. Not only this, it should be indicated that the research seeks to present the most related and comprehensible meaning units which are not so long to get confusing and also not too short to get meaningless. In addition, related to the findings, the study seeks to include all the relevant data in the findings, and there is not any systematic removing of relevant data from the findings. In addition, all the themes and categories are fully distinctive, and the descriptions and connections are shown in findings section. Finally, the results of the study are sent to some of the participants in order to have their feedback.

In terms of dependability, data collection was done in an arranged period of time to keep the focus and avoid any negative effect of inconsistency of the data. The same interview guide has been used in all interviews except a few points that could be gained through previous interviews. These points did not change the focus and direction of the research, but they could help study evolve positively.

Concerning transferability, it should be mentioned that all the interviews were conducted when and where informants could find it easier to talk about different topics in the interview. To explain, the interviews were done in a quiet environment such as café where the informants could express their experiences and opinions freely since nobody else could listen to what they said. Not only this, the interviews were conducted when the informants were not tired or affected by the pressure of the work. Regarding confirmability, the findings are compared to previous researches to show the connections. In terms of research ethics, all the participants were informed about the purpose of the study and signed the consent form in English which was delivered to them before the interview. In addition, they were given this right to request for removing their participation and data from the study freely. Furthermore, before the beginning of interviews, the research protocol and informed consent form were sent and applied to the Norwegian centre of research (NSD) and the confirmation got

received. Given the fact that pseudonymisation has been used, data and participants are not identifiable. All recordings got deleted immediately after the transcription.

3.5. Strengths and Limitations

Concerning the recruitment of informants, the aim of this study was to include more countries in the study, but among other countries, there were some people who refused participation in the study after knowing the nationality of the interviewer. This might be because the conflicts that exist in the middle east, and the role of stereotypes in judging is undeniable. Therefore, they refused participation and support of the study. This can be mentioned as one of the limitations of the study.

Regarding sample and data collection, it should be mentioned that all the interviews were conducted in English. To avoid any interviewer interference, even the informants from Afghanistan and Iran were asked to express their perceptions and opinions in English, given the fact that all could speak English. Only for two of participants when they could not find a few specific words in English to express their perceptions and opinions, they used Persian language and then those few words got translated to English in a way that match with their original statement; therefore, this study has sought to avoid any translation so as to maintain the originality of the data as possible as it could be.

3.6. Reflexivity

In this part, the background of me as the author of this thesis is presented shortly due to the fact that this can affect the different stages of the research including recruitment of the informants, data collection and data analysis. To begin with, I am from the Middle East, and my self-experience and knowledge about Middle East countries might affect the topic of this research. In fact, as a person who is an immigrant from the Middle East in Norway himself, this topic has been interesting to me, whereas other researchers with different background

might be less or more interested in this topic according to their background and self-experience. This background also might affect the interview process, as it has been semi-structured, and an interview guide was designed and used by the interviewer during the interviews.

Regarding recruitment of the informants, it is significant to indicate that my nationality has positive and negative effects on the process of recruitment of the informants. That is, on the one hand, people from some of the Middle East countries might feel closer to someone that is from that region himself. It also can ease building the trust with the interviewer for the participants. If someone else sought to do the same research, probably, would not be able to get access the same informants and data. It also exists related to other factors such as gender. As the participants of the study are male, if the interviewer was female, she would not probably get access to the same data which exists now.

On the other hand, the aim of this research was to include more countries, but some of the invited informants refused participation in the study only due to the nationality of the researcher. Hence, if my nationality was different, my sample and even my data might be different; therefore, other researchers, given their personal characteristics and background might include different countries from the Middle East in the study.

Not only this, the participants of the study are young, as the age of participants varies from 22 to 33. My age is also in this range which could make it easier for the informants the interview process in a way that they could express their experiences freely and easily. If someone with an age outside this range sought to conduct the same study, this could affect both sample and data collection process.

Moreover, the purpose and the length of stay are also noticeable. I have been student in Norway for almost two years and also have had relevant work experience in the service

industry during this time. All these factors can lead to a different sample, data collection and data analysis, compared to a person that has been stayed for a longer time, or is not student or has not work experience in the service industry.

However, it should be mentioned that as a researcher, I sought strongly to avoid any interference which could make the research results biased, but it was significant to present my background to show how the research process might be different for other probable researchers.

3.7. Data Analysis

Transcribed interviews got analysed through thematic analysis according to Brinkman & Kvale (2015). Different meaningful patterns could be found through the analysis. The thematic analysis was conducted in a combination of inductive and deductive way, as there were two main themes in the questionnaire guide from the beginning of the study including work inclusion/exclusion and social inclusion/exclusion. In addition, new themes and categories could be identified through the analysis. The identified themes and sub-themes include the most prevalent ones across the dataset and also some which are less prevalent but still significant for the study.

Identifying themes and sub-themes were done by considering this point that all themes and categories should be coherent and distinctive. In 'findings' section, descriptions for each theme and category is provided. In the following table, some examples for coding and identification of categories and themes are shown.

Meaning unit	Condensed meaning unit	Code	Category descriptive (What?)	Theme (How?)

They are ok… if I have a problem or question… and ask them… yes, they help but just that's it! We are not friends. I don't have anybody to talk when I am sad, … when I have a problem in my family. I have to work and hide. Nobody knows and work gets harder for me	Feel loneliness at work due to lack of personal relationships at work with colleagues	Missing sympathy and empathy	Work Loneliness	Inclusion/Exclusion in the workplace
We must do hard jobs… physical jobs because they don't like to do these jobs. This is not what I want… I was an electrician in my country but here they don't let me do. They say you have to go to university first, but I can't, I have to earn money for my family.	Feel low job status resulted from a comparison of themselves with Norwegians and their former job status in their origin country	Missing Status	Job Status	Inclusion/Exclusion in the workplace
I have only one Norwegian friend, he knows me as his best friend but it's strange for me because the way we interact is not like I am his best friend at all. Whenever we meet each other he starts spending time with his phone and our conversations are concluded only to some single words. It was hard for me at first but now I try to act like him and just look at my phone.	Different ways of interpreting words and phrases such as 'best friend' and different resulted expectations	Different meanings and expectations	Meanings and expectations	Cultural Differences
They actually expect me more than Norwegians, I think it goes back to the culture, because Norwegians know that when	Feel Being over expected at the workplace	Feel discriminated	Fairness	Inclusion/Exclusion in the workplace

Asian migrants such as me come to Norway, they have more energy and motivation to work, so Norwegians expect me more, you know… Norwegians are good. They work well but to be more accurate, I have to work more, sometimes I do a double shift work in one shift.				
It has happened several times for me that when I am in a luxury shop to buy something like watch, salesperson's behaviour was in a way that he thought I want to steal something! It showed indirectly but easy to understand. I think it's because they think that all people in the middle east are poor, but it's not true.	Feel discrimination in shops which seems to be related to stereotypes about the middle east countries	Feel discriminated	Fairness	Inclusion/Exclusion in social life

Table 2. Examples of meaning units, condensed meaning units, codes and themes (Motivated by Graneheim & Lundman, 2004)

4. Findings

In addition to the questions that were designed to obtain background demographical data on informants, the interview guide contained three main parts and 20 questions. The analysed data can be organized and presented in four main parts: in the first part, it focuses on the data that is related to pre-migration stage when the decisions about migration and destination were made. At this stage, this research sought to discover the migrants' perceptions and knowledge about the host country (Norway) and the expectations that got

aroused from. In the second part, it includes the data which reflects migrants' experiences of job seeking and then their perceptions of working with others in service industry in Norway. To explain more, this study seeks to discover different challenges and problems that migrants might face in job seeking process, and also seeks to discover to what extent they perceive themselves included in or excluded from their workplaces. In the third part, this study seeks to discover migrants' experiences of inclusion or exclusion in the social life. This part focuses on migrants' networks, social connections and their preferences in personal contacts. In the fourth part, some of the barriers and facilitators that have been identified directly or indirectly through interviewees are presented and described.

4.1. Pre-migration Stage (Expectations and knowledge about destination)

Among our respondents, on the one hand, refugees and the people who migrated as a child with or without their family, had little general information. On the other hand, the ones who came to study had more information about Norway. Furthermore, the internet, friends and relatives, particularly the ones who had migrated earlier, were the main sources of information for the participants of the study. Generally, despite having little information about the host country, most of the informants had a relatively high expectation and positive image of living and working in Norway in their mind before entering.

> "I knew about geography of Norway, its good economic situation, and its cultural differences with Afghanistan culture. … also, I had heard that Norway provides the best facilities for the old people after retirement, and there are good rules that protect people regardless of their status and social level in the society" (Informant 2)

> "I knew some general things like Norway is one of the best countries regarding welfare or happiness, but about culture, almost I knew nothing honestly." (Informant 4)

In addition to higher standards of living, the participants of the study stated different motivations which led them to choose Norway. For instance, free education was one of the main motivations for students, while for asylum seekers, the chance of being accepted as refugees was more important even than quality of life in the host country. This is reflected in their statements which shows clearly what led them to choose Norway.

"my motivation was to be accepted as a refugee, it was the only thing I wanted, I could tolerate anything else, even so hard." (Informant 1)

"Honestly, for me it was really important that education is free in Norway. For an international student like me, there are not many options to study for free. In addition, I found out that the university is one the of the best in the world in my major." (Informant 10)

4.2. Experiences of work inclusion (job seeking process)

First, it should be mentioned that the participants introduced job seeking websites such as 'Finn.no' or 'jobbnorge.no, their relatives and friends, particularly the co-national ones as the main sources for getting known about the available job vacancies. Concerning job seeking process, the informants expressed three main reasons why it was hard for them to find a job including low language skills, lack of strong networks and the effect of seasonality on jobs in the service industry in Stavanger. To begin with, all the informants started to learn Norwegian language after entering. Hence, in the early weeks, they could not access front jobs and the possible jobs for them were mostly limited to the backhouse jobs such as cleaning.

"look! knowing language is really important if you want to get a good job! Personally, I missed the chance of getting some good jobs only because of Norwegian language. For example, I applied for the receptionist position in a new established hotel last year. I was

learning language at that time but that was not enough, and… they rejected my application." (Informant 5)

However, even for backhouse jobs, there is a high demand in Stavanger. This is resulted from the fact that international students constitute a considerable number of the population that seek for a job in the service industry. In fact, many of these international students seek to cover all or a part of their living expenses in Norway by using their student work permit.

"… we are living in one of the most expensive countries in the world. Rent, food, entertainment, almost everything is costly. I am student here and need to work. I know that these jobs are not my ideal ones, but I have to work." (Informant 10)

Not only this, some of the interviewees expressed that they could not have considerable networks, and this prevented them from getting access to better occupational opportunities. Even concerning internships positions, the informants who have been students in Norway, stated that getting an internship is highly dependent on social connections. Hence, in some cases, even favouritism might affect job seeking process.

"Here people say that hiring is not based on relationships, but as I have seen, I mean my surrounding environment, it is not true! Even if someone international is high qualified, this takes him a lot of time to get a full-time contract unless he knows someone" (Informant 6)

"Connection really matters. My experience is that people who have connections can easily access to jobs and internships but someone like me didn't have this chance. I couldn't get internship, but I saw some students who could get internship because they had connections" (Informant 9)

Furthermore, in informants' opinion, jobs in the service industry, especially in Stavanger is seasonal and highly dependent on the weather as it can affect both the number of

local people who tend to spend more time outside and also the number of tourists enter Stavanger. This problem might lead to a set of temporary jobs and short-time contracts which can affect work inclusion.

> "Yes, one of my friends had serious challenges, I think it was because hr chose a wrong time, because in Norway and here in Stavanger, weather and seasons really matters. Depends on tourists and when they come, For me it was in September and it that restaurant a lot of people had left, so I was lucky but my friend he also started job seeking in September but he recently managed to find a job, almost after 7 months, and the challenges were that there weren't a , lot of work, so the restaurants and institutions tried to cut down cost, so they weren't willing to hire more employees."

4.3. Experiences of work inclusion/exclusion in the workplace

Informants presented different experiences of being included or excluded in the workplace and to what extent they feel belonged to their workplaces. In general, despite some perceptions of exclusion, most of the participants seem to be satisfied with their job; however, this sense of satisfaction is mostly dependent on financial motivations for majority of the informants except a few ones who stated stronger motivations than money. This can be resulted from the lack of close relationship in the work environment. It is also significant to indicate that the financial-related satisfaction without existence of other motivational factors such as work mobility and promotion, might affect their commitment in a way that they seem not to be loyal to their organizations and employers, as it can be seen in the first following quotation.

> "Honestly, it's only because of money that I can earn, it's not anything else that gives me especial energy or motivation to do my daily job… I don't have other options now, if I can find a better job, I will leave my current job." (Informant 7)

> "I got this job because I really love cooking. I enjoy serving food to people. The money I get from this job is used only for travelling around and is not used for my expenses like rent and food." (Informant 9)

In addition, some informants expressed the feeling of low job status in their workplaces. That is, some of them think that the positions with higher job status are mostly occupied by Norwegians. As a result, they probably have to work more in the positions with lower job status which usually include more physical work with harder working conditions such as cleaning jobs. It seems that this feeling might exist among the migrants whose former jobs in their origin country were attached to higher job status. In fact, their frame of reference for what a good job is seems to be far from their current jobs, compared to their former jobs in their origin country. This acquires more immense significance when the educational level of some of these people is considered as well. This can lead them to feel they deserve a better position, compared to the one they occupy currently.

> "we must do hard jobs… physical jobs because they (Norwegians) don't like to do these jobs. This is not what I want… I was an electrician in my country but here they don't let me do. they say you have to go to university first, but I cannot, I have to earn money for my family." (Informant 3)

However, it seems that the degree to which they are hopeful about work promotion or work mobility in the future, might influence their satisfaction with their job. For instance, among informants, students were more satisfied with their job since they found this job as a temporary work during their study. On the other side, some refugees mentioned that they are not optimistic about their future and this has made them become less satisfied, compared to the students. This can show the effect of optimism or having qualifications generally.

"This job is not my favourite but it's ok for me. It's temporary, just to earn some money beside my study. After my study I will look for better jobs." (Informant 1)

Furthermore, some of the informants mentioned experience of work loneliness in the workplace. To describe, although they note that they do not have any conflict with their colleagues at work, their relationships are only limited to the workplace and their work tasks, and their conversations are only limited to the work-related topics. In fact, they acknowledge that they get a job-related support but are not able to create personal relationships with their colleagues which could help them express their personal problems. Additionally, some of the informants use the term 'friend' as a mark of an integrated workplace. The following example can clarify how they might expect closer relationships with some of their colleagues since they had experienced different types of relationships in their former workplaces in their origin country. Finally, a few of participants who could not speak Norwegian fluently, stated that they experience to be excluded when some of their colleagues prefer to speak Norwegian in the workplace and this stops the informants from getting involved in discussions and decisions.

"They are ok. if I have a problem or question… and ask them… yes, they help but just that's it! We are not friends. I don't have anybody to talk when I am sad, … when I have a serious problem for example in my family. I have to work and hide. Nobody knows and work gets harder for me." (Informant 2)

"I see them start talking in Norwegian and laugh, I like to join them, but I cannot, you know… I can't… understand what they say and when I ask them about what they are talking about… they just smile and say 'nothing'." (Informant 8)

Some of the participants suggested that they have experienced fear of losing job many times while they were working. This can be because for some of them, the contracts are

short-time and they perceive that there are always many people outside waiting for such positions to occupy when they get vacant. Especially, in Stavanger, as it was mentioned earlier, demand for the jobs in service industry seems to be higher than supply due to large number of students. Not only this, some mentioned to low wages, compared to other jobs, and the fact that how low wages can affect the ones who support their family and relatives in origin country. Hence, the vulnerability, the precarious work and its resulted stress might affect their productivity and even social life.

> "My wage is not so much but it could be good enough if I could have it all, because I told you, I send the half of my income to my family in Afghanistan. I should support them." (Informant 1)

Some of the informants stated that in their opinion, migrants from middle east are expected more by their employers in Stavanger, compared to Norwegians. In fact, they believe to be seen as hard workers by their employers and it is due to the image that mostly people have about the middle east cultures. Despite this feeling of unfairness or discrimination in the workplace, many of immigrants are willing to work, particularly the newly arrived ones who need to work so as to cover all or a part of their living expenses. Additionally, although Some of the participants mentioned that they have experienced considerable pressure and stress in the workplace, a few of them believe that it has increased the chance of getting hired for them.

> "They actually expect me more than Norwegians, I think it goes back to the culture, because Norwegians know that when Asian migrants such as me come to Norway, they have more energy and motivation to work, so Norwegians expect me more, you know… Norwegians are good. They work well but to be more accurate, I have to work more, sometimes I do a double shift work in one shift. "(Informant 9)

To conclude, it should be mentioned that most of the informants believe that they are included, but in a low level. Most of the participants expressed that job seeking and entering jobs are the most challengeable parts. After getting into the jobs, the challenges would be less and conditions get easier and more tolerable, and this might be due to existence of effective rules that support the immigrants the same as other groups including the citizens. To highlight more, all of the informants mentioned that they have had formal contracts for their jobs in Norway so far, and nobody expressed any problem in receiving the salaries from the employers. In addition, as it was mentioned in explanation of precarious work, the co-workers have been mostly supportive in work-related problems which enhance the feeling being included somehow, however, this cannot fully meet expectations of the participants regarding inclusion, sense of belonging and loyalty to their workplaces.
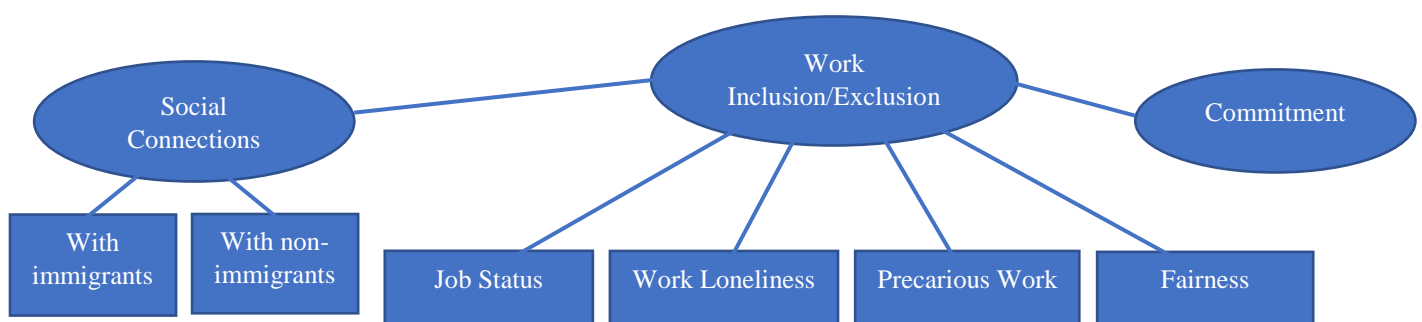
Figure 2. The thematic map presenting the impact of social connections on work inclusion/exclusion, the effect of work inclusion/exclusion on commitment and four main identified markers used by the participants to express inclusion/exclusion experiences

4.4. Experiences of social inclusion/exclusion

In this part, the experiences of inclusion/exclusion in the local community are shown including their connections and relationships with the people from their origin country,

Norwegians and other countries. Not only this, their experiences of inclusion/exclusion in public organizations and in their daily activities such as shopping are also noticed. The first significant point to mention is that nobody among the informants expressed experiences of harassment from the local people whom they might have social interactions with including their neighbours. Although these participants express that they are satisfied with this lack of conflict, their expectations are higher which make them feel less included in the local community. This is clearly reflected in the expression of informant 2 which indicates a type of missed friendliness.

> "Nothing! we don't have anything to say to each other. We don't even say hello when we see each other. I mean… Not positive and not negative… nothing." (Informant 7)

> "It's completely different from my experiences in my country. If we see anybody that we know at least we have a short greeting but here, even the neighbours who know you don't care about you at all. To me at least, I don't feel included." (Informant 2)

Concerning group of friends, most of the informants implied that the people from their country and then other internationals constitute their groups of friends. Thereafter, Norwegians have the least proportion in the groups of friends for the participants. In addition, among their friends, they have a preference to spend their time with the ones who are from their country, and their second preference is to have social interactions with internationals. However, a few of respondents mentioned that there is no difference between their Norwegian friends and the other ones. In general, according to the data, friendship can be named as one of the inclusion markers among the participants. They stated different reasons why they are not successful in making Norwegian friends, and also why they prefer to spend their time with the people who are from their origin country and then with the internationals.

To begin with, some of the informants indicated the long-lasting process of making Norwegian friends. That is, they believe that most of the times, they have to take the first steps in making friendship. Even though some of the respondents believe that it happens because Norwegians are shy, some others think that it is due to lack of trust which needs more time to get built.

"… with Norwegians, it's a bit tough, emm… I mean, you have to invest a lot of energy to break the ice. It took me a while more than a month to break the ice, but with internationals it is done less than a second! but with Norwegians you have to do it slowly. If you do it fast, people will be going to freak out." (Informant 9)

"Here people are cold until they know you. You have to be patient if you want to have a Norwegian friend." (Informant 8)

Not only this, the informants stated in different ways that they could find more common things to share with each other, compared to what they can share with the Norwegians. Sharing common things with each other seems to make their relationships more enjoyable. In addition, there is a feeling of empathy and sympathy among the middle east migrants which is more directly reflected in refugees' statements. However, this feeling exists less in the relationships between the migrants and Norwegians. In fact, they assume that their problems are not believable or comprehensible enough for Norwegians, because they have never experienced such problematic situations.

"I like more to spend my time with the friends who are from my country or even internationals, because it has more fun. We have more things to share. Because both we are immigrants and we show more tendency to create those bonds, we also have more things to share with each other. Sharing these experiences helps you make the bonds faster. On the other side, even if you break the ice with Norwegians, there are still some obstacles that you cannot overcome." (Informant 9)

"… we are all in the same situation. Norwegians do not have the problems that we experience, for example, beside all problems I had before getting accepted as a refugee, now I am far away from my family and only the half of the money I earn is mine and I send the other half to my family. I think it is hard or incredible for Norwegians to understand the problems that I have had so far." (Informant 1)

In addition to all what has been mentioned so far, some of the informants mentioned the huge cultural differences between migrants from middle east and the Norwegians. This difference does not conclude only to physical cultural differences such as food and clothing style, but also includes more intangible items such as meanings of some concepts such as 'friend' or 'best friend'. In fact, they believe that the way they interpret such concepts are different from Norwegians. This difference can lead to different expectations in social relationships. For instance, based on the data, it seems that the immigrants from middle east might expect warmer and more open relationships with the people they know as their friends, while Norwegians might have different interpretation and expectations. This can make both sides of relationship feel a type of inability to meet mutual expectations.

"I have only one Norwegian friend, he knows me as his best friend but it's strange for me because the way we interact is not like I am his best friend at all. Whenever we meet each other he starts spending time with his phone and our conversations are concluded only to some single words. It was hard for me at first but now I try to act like him." (Informant 5)

Moreover, a few of participants indicated feeling discriminated in an indirect way in daily social activities such as shopping. As it is shown in the following expression, it seems that this unfairness can be resulted from the common stereotypes that local people might have about the immigrants from the middle east. In fact, these stereotypes might create an image of

middle east countries in the host society that is connected to some negative concepts such as poorness or war.

> "It has happened several times for me that when I am in a luxury shop to buy something like watch, salesperson's behaviour was in a way that he thought I want to steal something! It showed indirectly but easy to understand. I think it's because they think that all people in middle east are poor, but it's not true." (Informant 8)

> "Well! It's been many times that in the first impression, local people think that I am a refugee, but I am student! I mean, they think that all people here from the Middle East are refugee and. are paid by Norwegian government, but… it's not true. It's a little annoying that I have to explain it again and again for each person to know what the truth is." (Informant 10)

Furthermore, these cultural differences are reflective in different personal and social values that the immigrants might have, compared to the values of the host society. Some of the participants indicated that they were not willing to change their values at all and this make them excluded from the groups that do not care about these values.

> "when you go out with Norwegians, there is a type of cultural gap in social interactions, I know some internationals who have tried to fill this gap or narrow it but for me, I think I couldn't… I have some fundamental values that I never like to change them. In some cases, I might try to make them fit my new living place, but they never change one hundred percent." (Informant 9)

Additionally, as it is shown in figure 3, precarious work can influence social inclusion. That is, working with stress and hard conditions such as low wages or short-time contracts seems to affect social inclusion in the local community negatively. This would be highlighted more when the expenses in Norway are noticed, and when the fact that some of these vulnerable immigrants support other family members as well is regarded.

"Honestly, if I want to compare the costs between the time I am with my friends from Afghanistan and the ones from Norway, I have to say that the costs would be less when I go out with my friends from Afghanistan, and this is important for someone like me that has limited budget for such things." (Informant 1)

It is also important to mention that different viewpoints were presented by the informants when they considered age as a factor in the comparisons that they made between older people and the younger ones. On the one hand, some of the participants suggested that they found older Norwegians more open. On the other hand, some others expressed that it was easier to have social interaction with the younger ones, as these generations are growing up with the immigrants from childhood.

"Old people are much nicer, from my personal experience. I think they have had more time to discover more things about other countries and also I think younger generations, despite of accessing the internet, prefer to keep focusing on the things that happen here in the world, they are living In their bubble, away from other countries and the world. Older people are more open to have conversation with you and share more empathy and sympathy with you" (Informant 10)

"honestly, there have been only few cases that I have seen harassment from the people in all these years and those have been mostly by older people. For example, once in my workplace. when an old man found out that I am not Norwegian, started to talk with an accent and talked too quickly to make me not understand, and then he got angry and said 'is there anybody can speak Norwegian?' then I said him 'I know Norwegian if you speak a little more slowly', but you know… he had this intention to put pressure on me to annoy." (Informant 1)

To conclude, it is significant to indicate that the participants feel less included in their social life, compared to the workplace. There might be different reasons why this difference exists. One of the probable reasons would be the rules and the managers who can affect the

way employees interact with each other, which is missed in social life. In fact, social interactions are mostly influenced by the people individually or outside factors such as their personal and social values which could be resulted from their origin culture. Although social norms can affect behaviour of people in the society, it is not as effective as rules and managers' directions can be.

> "I didn't expect to be like this… it was really different from back home, you know… because in the middle east it is really different how you interact socially, you are more open, you go out more, you know… you can have easier conversations with people. But here at first when arrived, it was a bit hard to communicate with Norwegians at least, because international ones are always open, but with Norwegians it was a little hard." (Informant 10)
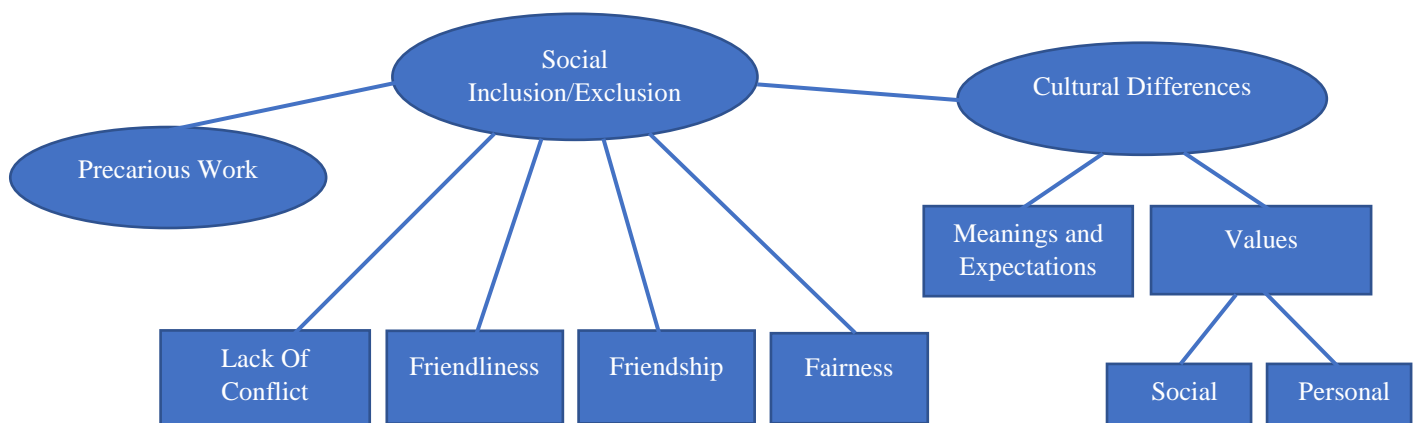
Figure 3. The thematic map presenting the effect of precarious work and cultural differences on social inclusion/exclusion, and four main identified markers used by the participants to perceive and express inclusion/exclusion experiences

4.5. Facilitators and barriers

In this part, the identified facilitators and barriers to work and/or social inclusion are presented which would address the research questions '3' and '4'. The resulted facilitators from the study include language, education, job references and supportive regulations. In addition, the discovered barriers include stereotypes, automation, non-recognition of qualifications and broad cultural differences.

Knowing language and effective language learning process- As it was clearly mentioned in both work and social inclusion parts, knowing Norwegian language has been one of the main facilitators for the immigrants to get included more in the local community and the workplace. Concerning language learning process, there is a marked difference between refuges and other groups of migrants. Refugees are provided language programs, whereas family migrants are not. Among the sample, students expressed that they have been offered some Norwegian courses, but some believed that these courses have not been effective enough.

> "Norwegian courses at the university are not good at all, they teach you a bit, but they are not enough." (Informant 9)

Furthermore, it is significant to indicate that international students mostly possess better English language skills, compared to refugees and family migrants. Although learning Norwegian might seem to be easier for the migrants who know English, there are different reasons why some cannot improve their Norwegian language skills. One of the major problems is the considerable cost of private Norwegian courses that these migrants have to bear.

> "…if you want to take Norwegian classes and courses, they are really costly, it's more than one month rent for each level." (Informant 9)

"language courses at the university were not bad for me, but of course you can only learn the basics from it, and if you don't practice you cannot have progress… even you'll forget." (Informant 4)

Not only this, some of the informants stated that they did not find it necessary to learn Norwegian after entering due to the perceived fact that many of Norwegians can speak English fluently. Therefore, these migrants could do almost all their daily activities only by speaking English. In addition, on the one hand, a few of students implied that good English skills among Norwegians have prevented them to speak Norwegian with local people. These factors, all together might make some educated migrants not learn Norwegian language.

"here almost all the people know English. If you start to speak Norwegian and they recognize you cannot speak Norwegian so well, they switch to English. This has made me only speak English even for easy things like shopping." (Informant 4)

Automation and less human contact- one of the major barriers that has been extracted from the data is the decrease in human contacts due to existence of new advanced technologies, especially the communicational technologies. Although some believe that it can help people control their feeling of homesick in the beginning more easily, it can make people have less face-to-face interactions which can reduce the depth of the relationship from former deep level to current superficial one. Hence, despite having more friends in peoples' friends list, the contacts and the relationships are superficial. It also can be developed to a broader level in which we can see how human workforce are replaced with machines, even in shops. In general, it can be resulted that there should a type of balance between using new technologies and having human contact.

"I cannot tolerate if I don't talk to my mother more than 3 days. If the internet and these new mobile phone applications were not, I couldn't tolerate the feeling of homesick. Especially,

for me, it was harder because I was only 13 years old and I was so much dependent on my family" (Informant 1)

"when I entered Norway in 2006, in those early years, there was more chance to have contact with other people. Now everything is automated, when I go to the airport, I don't talk to anybody and even the grocery shops." (Informant 6)

However, on the one hand, a few of participants express that new technologies can help people share their experiences and opinions with more people and can make extensive social contacts. On the other hand, some others believe that this cannot be long-lasting. In addition, one of the informants mentions that it should be differentiated between 'experiencing together' or 'sharing experiencing with each other'. In fact, sharing experiences cannot help people achieve the things that they can gain when they experience something together.

"By using social media, you can share your culture, experiences and make people have more interactions with you. I have to add that it really depends on the way you use." (Informant 10)

"I don't think social media can help people get integrated, if you watch a video about Norway, that's not help integration, that teaches you, or if you watch a video about a Norwegian food, it doesn't give you the experience you can have when you eat it in reality." (Informant 6)

Non-recognition of qualifications: according to the data, one of the barriers for the migrants, particularly refugees is non-recognition of their qualifications. This can prevent them from getting access to better occupational opportunities. It might be due to lack of effective system in terms of education between the middle east countries and Europe which could facilitate and ease the confirmation of qualifications. The negative effect of some former migrants who have presented fake degrees is also undeniable.

"It has taken long time to confirm my degree, I was engineer in my country, my work was completely mental, but now I have to do physical jobs that I don't like." (Informant 3)

Job References- as it was explained in work inclusion part, social contacts play a key role in getting access to the jobs, particularly job references which act as facilitator for reaching to full-time jobs. In fact, these job references might lead to trust between employers and immigrants by overcoming the stereotypes.

"Here people say that hiring is not based on relationships, but as I have seen, I mean my surrounding environment, it is not true! Even if someone international is high qualified, this takes him a lot of time to get a full-time contract unless he knows someone." (Informant 6)

Broad cultural differences- as it was mentioned in previous parts, cultural differences can affect both work and social inclusion. It is because different ways of interpreting concepts can shape different expectations, and when these expectations are not met, there might be a feeling of exclusion among the people. It is also more when physical cultural differences are so huge, and people do not have a tendency to change their personal and social values.

Stereotypes- most of the informants expressed that in their opinion, Norwegians have specific stereotypes about the middle east countries and the immigrants who are from those countries. Although there are some positive stereotypes about middle east migrants such as being hardworking, there are a large number of negative stereotypes. For instance, some of participants indicated that there are negative stereotypes that make Norwegians think that all the middle east countries are faced with the poorness, war and some other negative concepts. They mostly know media, particularly television channels as the main source of creation of such negative images about the middle east countries. These stereotypes can play a crucial role in social relationships, as they can act as a barrier to trust-making procedure between the immigrants and the local people.

"media and people in Norway are really stereotypical. They have a general image of all middle east countries, while these countries are completely different from each other. You can find out this problem in first impressions." (Informant 5)

"I don't see the behaviour of people as insult because the media usually creates a bad image from the middle east, so I try to fix it and explain them, at least for the ones who are more open" (Informant 4)

However, as it was mentioned that a few of immigrants believe that these stereotypes can be positive sometimes such as the stereotype about the attribute 'hardworking' related to the migrants from the Middle East. Additionally, a few of migrants suggested that some of the current stereotypes are resulted from the former migrants' behaviour in the host society in the past.

"We have to accept that all the immigrants are not the same. They might be some people who do bad things here. I think this can have effect on stereotypes that people have about the migrants." (Informant 9)

Supportive regulations- as it was explained in social inclusion part, all the informants stated that they have had formal contracts for all of the jobs they have had in Norway so far. This high level of regulations has exceeded the former experience of some of the participants in their origin country, and this has make them perceive safety and trust more in the workplace, and in overall, it seems that it acts as a facilitator for their work inclusion.

Education- Education includes both international educational environment such as international schools and universities in Norway, and also vocational trainings related to specific occupations. The former is significant since it can give more chance to immigrants to have more interactions with the Norwegians and the internationals, and the latter can help immigrants prove their skills to get related jobs or promotion.

"This job is not my favourite but it's ok for me. It's temporary, just to earn some

money beside my study. After my study I will look for better jobs." (Informant 1)
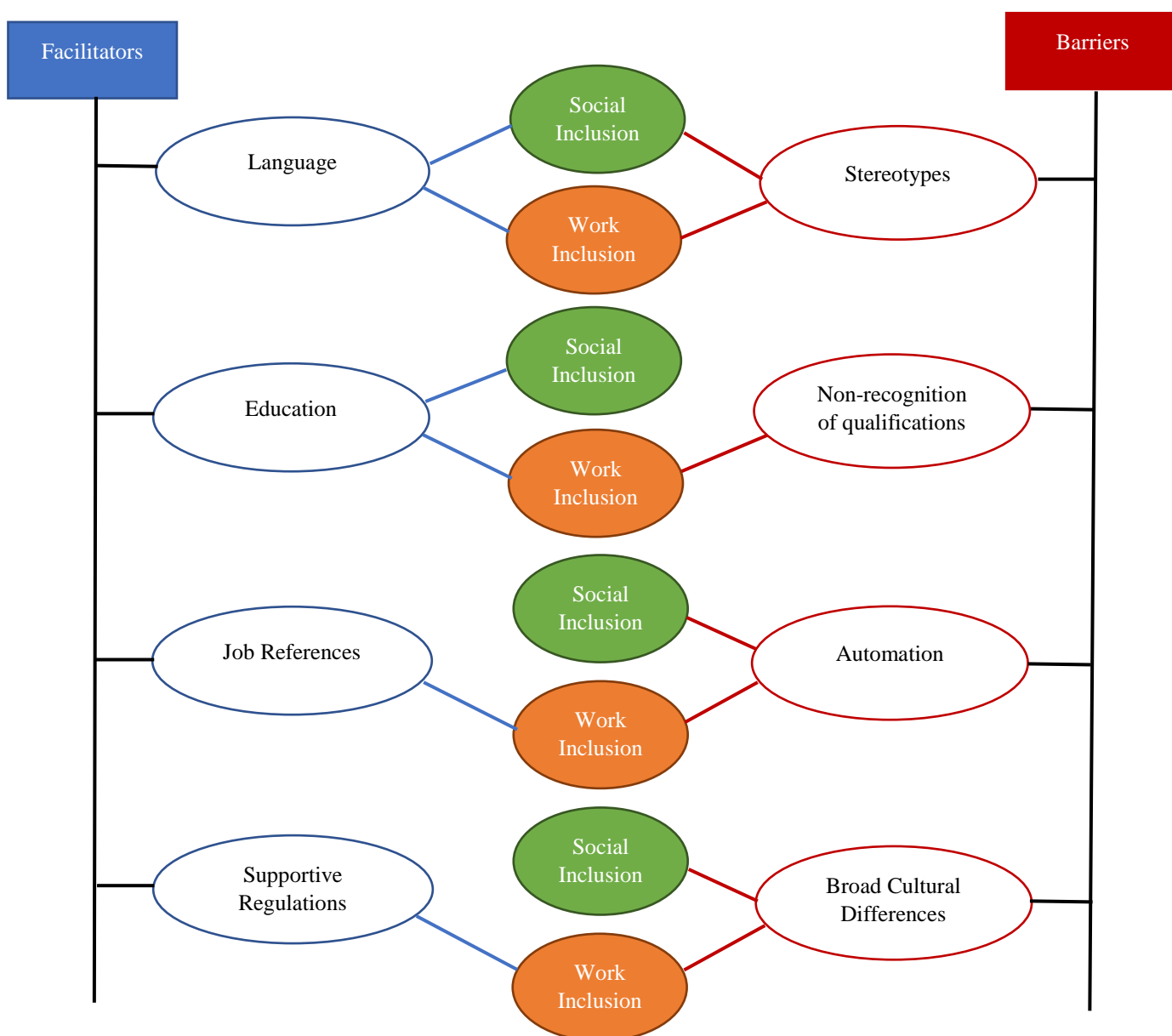

Figure 4. Identified barriers and facilitators for inclusion in work and social life

4.6. How might be the future?

Although this part has not been among the main research questions, the study seeks to present some of the data that is related to the feeling that the participants have about staying in the country. To begin with, it should be indicated that among the immigrants, those who have been here for a longer of time, present a more positive feeling of living in the country. That is, they suggested that they know Norway as their home and even the problems in their origin country get solved, they do not tend to leave Norway and comeback their former living place.

> "For me, here is my home. Norway gave me so many things that I cannot forget, and I am sure that even if I try, I cannot do something which can compensate for it." (Informant 1)

Finally, it should be added that most of the participants are optimistic about inclusion of next generations in the future. To explain, they believe that for the future generations, the integration process would be more effective due to the fact that those kids are born in Norway and grown up with other Norwegians from the childhood. However, there might be some conflicts resulted from the probable contradiction before the values of the family and the values that those kids are grown up in social environments such as schools.

Discussion:

This study sheds light on 'experiences of inclusion and exclusion among immigrants from the middle east'. The findings of the study can be explained by social identity theory which has been presented in literature review section. First, it is shown clearly that the participants perceive and categorize the people whom they interact with in three main social groups including middle eastern, internationals and Norwegians. In addition, they make

different sub-categories such as 'old Norwegians' or 'young Norwegians' to form their judgements. In fact, they categorize these social groups based on the salient factor which in this case is age. This coordinates with what Mor Barak (2008) and Tafjel (1982) suggested about how people categorize and then consider a social identity for the groups based on the most salient factor such as age, gender and skin colour. Thereafter, they seek to form social comparisons between the group they belong and the other ones. In this study, as a result of these comparisons, the participants present different reasons why they prefer their group and find it superior. This is reflected when they use some specific phrases such as 'it is more enjoyable' or when they believe that they have a shared feeling of empathy and sympathy with other members in the group. These reasons have made them have positive self-concept and satisfaction through their membership in the group which is connected to what Shinnar (2008) argued related to the favourable comparisons that in-group members form to achieve positive self-concept.

On the other hand, in-group members might show discrimination toward out-group members. in this study, some of the informants discriminated in a way against out-group members such as the Norwegians, when they used some categories such as 'cold people'. In fact, such these categorizations can lead to the formation of specific stereotypes and consequently, the stereotypical judgements about out-group members. As a result, they seem show a low tendency to become a friend for a Norwegian since they think that all Norwegians are cold in terms of behavioural characteristics, and this prevents them from trying to make new friends. This finding can be referred to what Tafjel (1978) suggested about two main features of social comparisons between in-group and out-group members including positive social identity and distinctiveness. The findings are also supported by Mor Barak (2008) who indicated that the social identity of each group determines which people can join to the group and which people are excluded.

However, these inter-group relations do not always lead to perceived positive social identity for them. In this study, some of the participants expressed such negative feelings about their groups when they compared middle east migrants with Norwegians. Expressing, can be named as an example of perceived negative social identity. As it is explained by negative social identity theory, there are three main reactions to negative social identity including individual mobility, social creativity and collective action (Shinnar, 2008). In this study, concerning individual mobility, there were a few informants who expressed the negative effect of bad behaviour of some of middle east migrants as some members of the group on stereotypes of Norwegians. This shows that some of the migrants accept this negative social identity and seek to join superior groups. Although it is clear in this study that all of the participants find it difficult. This difficulty might be due to broad cultural differences between Norwegians and migrants from middle east which can be referred to negative social identity theory when it explains how huge differences can make individual mobility hard for the minority group in the host society (Shinnar, 2008). It is exactly compatible with what some of the informants expressed about the values that they resist change for.

Furthermore, it is important to mention that social creativity is seen as the most common strategy for the participants to deal with negative social identity among the participants of this study. Especially, when the migrants change the groups that they compare their own one with. For instance, in this study, participants seek to achieve the positive social identity when they compare themselves with their former situation in their origin country based on different factors such as income. In addition, some of the informants have formed sub-categories of their group so as to compare their own sub-category with the other ones. As an illustration, one of the informants presented a type of these sub-categorization in the Middle East group in a way that there might be some people who do bad things in the society,

and then the informant finds himself separated from this sub-category. Moreover, some of the participants seek to change the interpretation of some facts about their current situation. This is clearly reflective in expression of those informants who even find all the difficulties which they have experienced so far as a value, when they express a type of feeling of sympathy and empathy among themselves.

Regarding collective action, it seems that there are not serious measures to be taken by the migrants. This might be due to the fact that they have not formed strong widespread networks, as what we can grasp about poles' networks in the study conducted by Aasland and Tyldum (2016). The lack of strong networks is also connected to the network theory which explains how such networks can enhance the chance of having access to occupational opportunities for the immigrants, particularly the newly arrived ones (Massey et al., 1993). Additionally, as it was indicated in network theory, to get access to upper-level positions, there might be a need of having connections with non-immigrants (Massey et al., 1993). This can be linked to this study which shows lack of such connections might affect the job seeking process for the immigrants. In addition, as it was mentioned in findings section, despite different experiences of exclusion, the participants perceive themselves included in the workplace and social life, but in a low level. To connect this result with the theory of acculturation, it should be suggested that it seems that these migrants are threatened by the effect of separation, which means a situation in which they maintain their cultural identity but have no tendency to interact with the culture of host country (W. Berry, 1997).

This is also significant to add that this study focuses only on immigrants' side. However, it might be resulted from the study that there can be such social comparisons and discriminating reactions in the other side which is the group of Norwegians. That is, despite some similar patterns, the Middle East countries can be highly different from each other in terms of some aspects such as cultural features including language, history and traditions.

According to the findings of this study, there might be some categorizations of the Middle East countries among Norwegians which can lead to general stereotypes which form the judgements about the immigrants. It gets more highlighted when one of the informants mentions that he has been seen as a refugee who is paid by the government, while he is a student. this can be reflective of different sub-categorizations about Middle East migrants among the local people which needs more research to examine.

As it was mentioned in findings section, the main reason for migrants to accept their job and its hard conditions is the financial motivations when they compare their current income with their former situation in their origin country. This coordinates with the theory of dual labour market which explains why employers prefer to hire immigrants for some positions in the bottom of organizational hierarchy where the provided jobs are mostly with harder work conditions and less income (Massey et al., 1993). This also seems that some jobs are regarded mostly as migrant jobs such as cleaning jobs, at least in the participants' opinion of this study, which seems to match with the theory of cumulative causation (Massey et al., 1993).

Moreover, this study discovers that in the cases that migrants are hopeless about work promotion or mobility (e.g. refugees without educational degree), their satisfaction with their jobs gets lower than the ones who are hopeful about future (e.g. students) and occupying the positions with better work conditions including salary. This is similar to the study conducted by Aasland and Tyldum (2016) which showed how less satisfied were Asian workers in hotel in Oslo, compared to other workers from different zones, and how related this less satisfaction was with being hopeless about future.

Furthermore, this study shows the role of education as a facilitator for social and work inclusion. In addition, to overcome the problem that people who have skills but their

qualifications have not been confirmed, there is a need of programs and vocational training for the migrants who believe that they can have a better job if their skills get recognized and confirmed. This is supported by the study carried out by Duke, Sales and Gregory (1999) which suggest about the effect of education and training on the place which migrants can occupy in the host society. These trainings include the ones which are more general such as language, and the ones which are more specialized (Duke, Sales, & Gregory, 1999).

As it was mentioned in limitation part of method section, this study has focuses low-skilled workers who mostly work in precarious positions which is completely different from those migrants who work in top-level positions such as managers or those ones who play the investor or entrepreneur role in the service industry. Regarding difficulties of integration for low-skilled immigrants, the results of this study coordinate with the study conducted by McPhee (2016). The author of the study argues that integration would be challengeable and hard for precarious workers due to the fact that many of those immigrants might face specific problems including lack of time, money and work stress which can affect their social inclusion in the host society (McPhee, 2016). In addition, the role of communicational technologies in this study is connected to the research carried out by McPhee (2016); however, this research also adds to the research conducted by McPhee (2016) by showing the negative effects of automation as well as positive impacts.

In addition, this study shows that social contacts can ease the job seeking process and work inclusion for the migrants, which matches with the study conducted by Janta et al. (2011) that argues how social contacts are noticed by the migrants in order to secure their employment in the service industry-related jobs. Additionally, The significance of language as a key facilitator for both social and work inclusion of the migrants is shown in this study which coordinates with what Hofstede (2001) suggested about the necessity of language in integration of the migrants in the host society, and what Ager and Strang (2008) indicated

concerning the role of language as a facilitator in migrants integration. Moreover, in this study, all the participants had worked with formal contracts. This high level of regulation is similar to the study conducted by Aasland and Tyldum (2016) which showed 98% of the informants had formal contracts.

5.1. Implications for managers and policy makers

Although this study focuses only on the workers but not the managers, it is significant for the mangers to know how the relationships between their employees are. Recruiting people with diverse background can be an important step for reaching diversity benefits but it is not enough at all. It would be helpful for the managers to discover how different the expectations of their employees from each other are. This study shows that some of the migrants from the Middle East might expect a closer relationship with their colleagues to feel included in the workplace. Furthermore, managers can create a suitable environment to overcome the feeling of work loneliness by holding social gatherings, whether inside or outside the workplace, and by encouraging the teamwork. It might be helpful for the mangers to notice the point that this investment in strengthening the relationships brings the benefits for the organization that would outweigh the probable costs.

In addition, this study shows the lack of motivations for the immigrants in the workplace except the financial motives. This can affect their overall satisfaction and their commitment and loyalty to the organization; therefore, in order to decrease any probable workforce turnover in the organization, it is important for the managers to consider other types of motivations for the employees, particularly because it seems that it might affect their productivity in the workplace as well.

It is argued by this study that knowing Norwegian language can play a key role in both social and work inclusion for the immigrants. Furthermore, it is important to add that

there are different reasons why some immigrants have less motivation to learn Norwegian language (see findings section). To overcome these barriers, there is a need of rules and programs which can encourage immigrants to learn language. Beside language, the lack of effective integration programmes for the different groups of immigrants except asylum seekers and refugees that are provided with such programs, have been extracted from the data. Therefore, it is significant for policy makers to take specific measures so as to enhance integration level through such programs.

5.2. Limitations and future researches

This study focuses on experiences of inclusion/exclusion among low-skilled workers; therefore, these experiences might be completely different from the ones who work in upper-level positions such as managers or the ones who are involved in the service industry as entrepreneurs or investors. Hence, it might need more researches to identify how similar or different the experiences between these two group of immigrants can be. Furthermore, this study does not reflect managers' opinion and attitude toward inclusion of immigrants, diversity management programmes and the probable challenges in the workplace; therefore, there would be other research questions that can be addressed by future related researches.

Not only this, this study examines the experiences of inclusion/exclusion among immigrants from the Middle East only in the local community and the workplace. As it was mentioned in the literature review section, Ager and Strang (2008) presented more domains for the migrants' integration including health, housing and education; therefore, these domains can rise to new research questions which should be addressed by probable future researchers.

Moreover, this study has a qualitative design with a limited number of informants and has conducted in Stavanger. Accordingly, the aim of this study with the qualitative design is

to get more in-depth nuances, and accordingly, the findings of this study cannot be generalized. However, there might be a need of more studies in other cities in Norway and also other countries to discover the similarities and differences between the identified patterns. Additionally, the sample of this study includes immigrants from four different countries in the Middle East including Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Lebanon. It is recommended to other researchers who are interested in this topic to add more countries from the Middle East, especially Syria which has had one of the most migration growth rates in Norway during recent years.

6. Conclusion

This study explores the experiences of inclusion/exclusion among the immigrants from the Middle East in Stavanger, Norway. The study seeks to address five specific research questions. Hence, the qualitive design was selected, given the fact that the study relates to immigrants' perceptions and experiences. The sample includes ten male migrants who have at least one-year living experience in Norway and have worked as low skilled workers in the service industry sectors for at least four months. The origin countries among migrants include Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Lebanon, and the age of participants varies from 22 to 33 years old. Data was collected through semi-structured personal interviews and then got analysed through thematic analysis according to Brinkman & Kvale (2015). Different themes and categories got identified and the connections were presented in figure 2 and figure 3.

The first question of the research was related to the expectations and motivations of the immigrants before entering the host country. The findings of the study show that generally, the participants had relatively high expectations due to the positive image of working and living in Norway that they had in their mind before migration. Different motivations also got discovered through the study, and this could show to what degree the

motives can be varying among different groups of immigrants including refugees, students and family migrants.

Regarding the research questions '2' and '3', the findings show that migrants perceive to be included in work and social life; however, the level of this inclusion is low due to different experiences of exclusion among the participants. Hence, some of the immigrants might be threatened to get separated from the host society, as it is explained by acculturation theory (W. Berry, 1997). Additionally, the participants state that they perceive themselves more included in the workplace, compared to the local community. In addition, different markers for work and social inclusion got identified through the analysis. In fact, these markers can show how the immigrants perceive and express their experiences of work inclusion/exclusion in the workplace and social life. Four markers for the work inclusion/exclusion include 'job status', 'work loneliness', 'precarious work' and 'fairness'. In addition, two new themes have been identified which have connection with the theme 'work inclusion/exclusion'. These themes include 'social connections' and 'commitment'. Furthermore, four markers for social inclusion have been extracted from the data which include 'lack of conflict', 'friendliness', 'friendship' and 'fairness'. Additionally, the connection between the theme 'cultural differences' and social inclusion/exclusion ,and also the effect of category 'precarious work' on social inclusion/exclusion are described in findings section and shown in figure 3.

Four facilitators and four barriers got identified which address the two last questions of the research (Q4 and Q5). The facilitators include language, education, job references and supportive regulations. In addition, the barriers include stereotypes, non-recognition of qualifications, automation and broad cultural differences. Some of these barriers and facilitators are for both work and social inclusion, whereas some others are only for work inclusion or social inclusion. This has been shown clearly in figure 4.

In discussion section, the findings are discussed according to the social identity theory as the main connected theory with this study. Not only this, the study made an attempt to show the connections between the findings and other related theories including the network theory, dual labour market theory and cumulative causation. Furthermore, the similarities and differences between the findings and other previous studies are presented and discussed. Moreover, some implications for the managers and the policy makers got provided, and finally the limitations of the study beside some directions for the future researches were presented.

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