

## **Are Immigrant Workers Discriminated? An Empirical Study with Special Reference to the Hospitality Industry of Kristiansand, Norway**

THARINDU NUWAN GAMAGE

SUPERVISOR

Morgan Storm Scoville-Simonds

**University of Agder, [2022]**

Faculty of Social Sciences

Department of Global Development and Planning

# Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been produced solely by myself and it has not been presented to any other institution. Except where mentions otherwise by reference or acknowledgment, the work is entirely my own.

Student's researcher: Tharindu Nuwan Gamage

# Abstract

The topics about immigrants in media, and academia are not rare anymore due to the rise of immigrants in the global north at an exponential rate. However, despite the extensive number of studies on such topics, the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations in the host countries is still much visible due to different reasons and it is not an exception for countries like Norway where social equality is enshrined.

Considering Norway, one putative cause of immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations in addition to most pronounced reasons such as language barrier is ethnic discrimination. Therefore, this qualitative study was conducted to explore how ethnicity affects the occupational choices of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway, and what are the other specific factors that lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in elementary occupations. The hospitality industry in Kristiansand, Norway was selected as a case study and mixed technique of coding and thematic analysis, were used for analyzing the transcribed semi structured interviews.

As the results of the study demonstrated, the ethnicity of immigrants is considered by some employers as a proxy to determine the suitability of immigrant job applicants to certain jobs. Thus, immigrants are perceived by a majority of employers as workers suitable for physically demanding jobs in the lower segment of the labor market. On the other hand, some employers consider the ethnicity of immigrant job applicants to avoid or reduce the participation of certain ethnic groups in the upper segment of the labor market due to a mere dislike they have regarding certain ethnic groups. Similarly, the poor social and human capital of immigrants, labor market segmentation, and immigrants' dual frame of reference were also found as major reasons for immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations.

# Acknowledgment

First I would like to thank the University of Agder for giving me the opportunity to complete this Master's degree. It was an honor to be a student of such a great university. Further, as an international student, I would like to acknowledge the employees in Norway who pay taxes to finance the free education facility of Norwegian state universities.

Specially, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my humble supervisor Dr. Morgan Storm Scoville-Simonds. I could not have completed this study without his supervision and guidance. Further, I am deeply indebted to my parents. This academic journey would never be possible without them. Finally, I am also thankful to all the research participants and everyone who supported me in every possible manner to make this work a success.

# Abbreviations

CV: Curriculum Vitae

EEA: European Economic Area

EU: European Union

IOM: International Organization for Migration

NAV: Norwegian Labor and Welfare Administration (Ny arbeids- og velferdsforvaltning)

NOK: Norwegian Kroners

NOKUT: Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (Nasjonalt organ for kvalitet i utdanningen)

NSD: Norwegian Center for Research Data (Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata)

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

UDI: The Norwegian Directorate of Immigration (Utlendingsdirektoratet)

UK: United Kingdom

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

# List of Figures

Figures 1 - Net immigration

Figures 2 - Occupations between 20-66 years immigrants and non-immigrants

Figures 3- Employment among immigrants, non-immigrants as a percentage of total registered number of employees

Figures 4 - Employed persons (year 20-66, total of both sexes) by occupation and country background

Figures 5 - 2021 average monthly earnings of different occupation categories

Figures 6 - Kristiansand municipality area map

Figures 7 - Conceptual framework

Figures 8 - Initial coding table

Figures 9 - Thematic map A

Figures 10 - Thematic map B

Figures 11 - Final conceptual framework

# Table of content

- Declaration ..... 1
- Abstract ..... 2
- Acknowledgment ..... 3
- Abbreviations..... 4
- List of Figures ..... 5
- Table of content..... 6
- Chapter 1: Introduction ..... 9
  - 1.1 Background ..... 9
    - 1.1.1 The Industry Selection ..... 12
    - 1.1.2 Motivation for Conducting the Study ..... 14
  - 1.2 Research Problem..... 15
  - 1.3 Research Questions ..... 21
  - 1.4 Study Objectives ..... 22
    - 1.4.1 General Objectives ..... 22
    - 1.4.2 Specific Objectives ..... 23
  - 1.5 Geographical Study Area and Context ..... 24
  - 1.6 Significance of the Study..... 25
  - 1.7 Organization of the Study ..... 26
- Chapter 2: Literature Review..... 28
  - 2.1 Introduction ..... 28
  - 2.2 Ethnicity and Religion ..... 30
  - 2.3 Social Capital ..... 35
  - 2.4 Human Capital ..... 37
  - 2.5 Labor Market Segmentation. .... 38

2.6 Connecting Ideas for the Initial Conceptual Framework.....	39
2.7 Initial Conceptual Framework.....	42
Chapter 3: Methodology .....	43
3.1 Introduction .....	43
3.2 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations.....	43
3.2.1 Positionality and Reflexivity .....	45
3.3 Research Strategy.....	46
3.4 Research Design .....	48
3.5 Sampling Method .....	49
3.5.1 Inclusion Criteria for Respondents .....	50
3.6 Data Collection Method.....	51
3.7 Data Analyzing Method .....	52
3.8 Ethical Considerations .....	55
3.9 Data Validity .....	57
Chapter 4: Major Findings .....	59
4.1 Introduction .....	59
4.2 Ethnic Discriminations .....	60
4.2.1 Statistical Discriminations .....	60
4.2.2 Taste-Based Discriminations .....	63
4.3 Human Capital.....	66
4.3.1 Language Barrier .....	66
4.3.2 Difficulties in Accreditation of Immigrants' Local Education.....	68
4.3.3 Over-Education of the Immigrants.....	70
4.4 Social Capital .....	70
4.4.1 Socialization with the Same Immigrant Groups.....	71
4.4.2 Poor Contacts with Norwegians.....	72

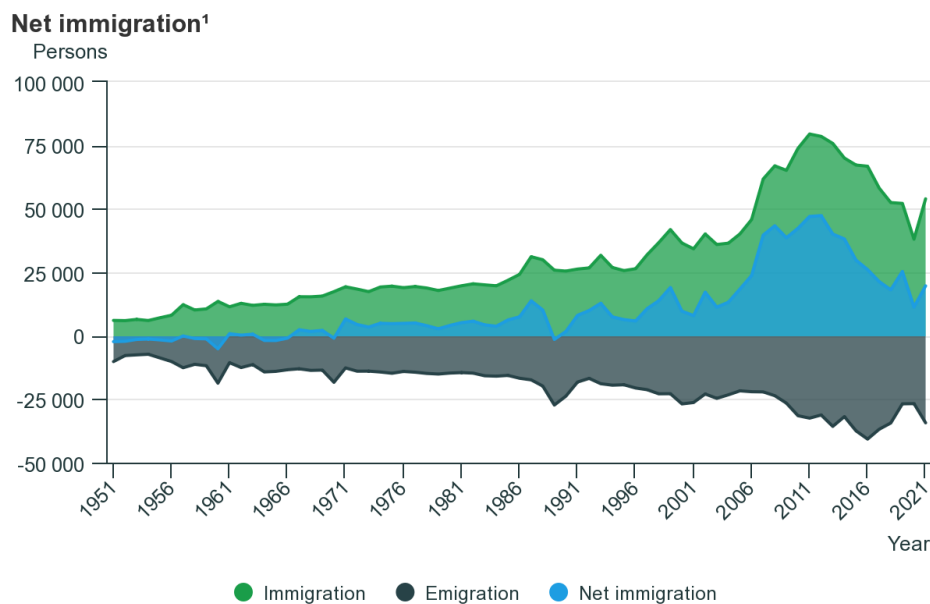


4.5 Labor Market Segmentation .....	73
4.6 Dual Frame of Reference .....	75
Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion .....	77
5.1 Taste-Based Discriminations .....	77
5.2 Statistical Discriminations Face by Immigrants .....	79
5.3 How does Ethnicity Affect the Occupational Choices of Immigrant Laborers in Kristiansand, Norway?.....	81
5.4 Human Capital .....	82
5.4.1 Language Barrier.....	83
5.4.2 Difficulties in Accreditation of Immigrants’ Local Education .....	84
5.4.3 Over-Education of Immigrants .....	85
5.5 Social Capital .....	86
5.5.1 Socialization with the Same Immigrant Groups.....	86
5.5.2 Poor Contacts with Norwegians .....	87
5.6 Labor Market Segmentation .....	88
5.7 Dual Frame of Reference .....	89
5.8 What are the Other Specific Factors That Lead to the Clustering of Immigrant Employees in Low-Wage, Physically Exhausting Elementary Occupations in Kristiansand, Norway? ..	90
Chapter 6: Conclusion .....	91
6.1 Conclusion of the Discussion.....	91
6.2 Summary Reflection on the Research .....	94
6.3 General Recommendations .....	95
6.4 Limitations of the Study.....	97
6.5 Recommendations for Future Research .....	97
References: .....	99
Annexures.....	110

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

According to current media representations, the present-day immigration trends in Norway have been portrayed as unprecedented and emerged in 19<sup>th</sup> century. For instance, as many media sources and publications have shown, the channeling of immigrants to Norway in large numbers has started during 1950-1960 (Cappelen & Skjerpen, 2012, p. 4). Similarly, most of these media revelations highlight the growing trend of immigration as a burden or an encumbrance to the Norwegian society and economy due to the influx of refugees and asylum seekers (Midtbøen, 2013, p. 1665). However, the existing evidences are not entirely consistent with it. According to literature, the inception of immigration to Norway, dates back to medieval period and the reasons for immigrants' arrival to Norway is a confluence of different factors.



**Figure 1:** Net immigration

**Source:** Statistics Norway, 2022

Considering the history of Norway, immigrant workers have always been demanded by Norwegians to perform various roles such as clergymen, merchants, military officers, craftsmen (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008).

As it has been mentioned in the book of Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008), initially Norway has expected the support of immigrant experts to setup different branches of knowledge and institutions. Especially, the importation of clergymen to Norway for setting up Christianity is recognized as a premium channeling of immigrants in the middle ages. Since there had been a few native Norwegians who were competent in Christianity, the specialist clergies have been imported from Denmark, England and Germany to indoctrinate missionary work. Usually, the arrival of missionaries to a certain country has always shown as an attempt to convert the local people into Christianity and invade the country. But considering the Norwegian history, these clergymen have arrived as they were invited by the Norwegian rulers to teach the Christian doctrines to the local clergymen (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, p. 42).

Further, many other career immigrants for different fields such as royal service, construction, military, medicine, business have been imported from neighbor countries offering them higher wages, social status, and fiefs as well. Subsequently, those who migrated as experts have directly sluiced into the upper social classes or aristocracy of the Norwegian society at that time (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, p. 42).

As Eriksen (2013) has mentioned in his study, Norway has been an exporter of labor in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and it has changed to an importer of labor by the end of 1960s (Eriksen, 2013, p. 4). Further, after the breaking down of the Iron curtain and expansion of the European Union, migration has intensified as the member countries of the EU and EEA have become one common labor market (Cappelen & Skjerpen, 2012, p. 4).

However, in last few decades the arrival of immigrants to Norway has increased enormously. According to Statistics Norway (2021), the percentage of immigrants and Norwegian children born to immigrant parents has been recorded as 18.5% of the total population. Similarly, considering the immigrants' representation in the labor market, almost a half of million immigrants are employed in Norway by 2021. Therefore, the contribution of immigrants to the Norwegian labor market appears to be quite significant and certain industries in Norway such as, construction, Administrative and support services, Food and beverage services,

cleaning, manufacture are mostly depending on immigrant laborers due to several reasons that will be discussed in next chapters (Statistics Norway, 2021).

Generally, Norway is well known as a welfare state which maintains the highest living standards and one of the richest countries in the world thanks to its oil and gas industry. Subsequently, immigrants seek opportunities in Norway to spend a better life and create a better future for their descendants. However, recent researches in the field of immigration have documented that, immigrant laborers are mostly clustered in elementary jobs that have been defined as relatively less paid and have to be performed with considerable physical efforts or mostly using hand-held tools, regardless of the education qualifications the employees (Friberg & Midtbøen, 2017). This argument is also seemingly consistent with the figures of Statistics Norway (2022a). For instance, while 2.7% of the elementary occupations are performed by natives, 12.6% of elementary occupations are performed by immigrants (this will be further illustrated under the research problem). In contrast, considering the figures related to other white collar jobs such as manager positions, the engagement of immigrants is considerably less than natives. Such reports and research studies carried out by various researchers and scholars have fueled heated debates on immigrants' labor discriminations and different scholars have pointed out various reasons for labor discriminations in different countries including Norway. For instance, some studies have pointed out that, the immigrants are more likely to be rejected by the employers due to their foreign names which signal their religion and ethnicity (Larsen & Stasio, 2019, pp. 1209-1211). Similarly, recent studies have documented that, it is not only the ethnicity or religion that is taken into consideration by employers but the language skills, and other qualifications (Flotskaya, 2011, p. 18).

However eventually, in either case, immigrants are more likely to be confined to marginal positions in the Norwegian labor markets.

At the same time, Norway has long been perceived as an egalitarian context with Social, economic equality and integrity, and this notion has been affirmed by Norway's higher ranking in global social mobility index, and UN's human development index (UNDP, 2022b); (World Economic Forum, 2020). Therefore, this study was conducted to investigate how immigrants' ethnicity affects their occupational choices in the Norwegian labor market and to

find out what other factors lead to the clustering of immigrant workers in low-paid primary occupations.

With that explanation about the background of this study, the rest of the section will discuss the reasons for selecting the hospitality industry as the case study and the motivation for conducting this study.

### 1.1.1 The Industry Selection

The scope of hospitality industry is broad and complex since it contains different subsectors which can be mainly categorized into two sectors as food & beverages and accommodation (Hassanien et al., 2010, p. 21). However, this study has focused on both sub sectors taking employees who work at restaurants, hotels, pubs and catering services under the spot light during the study.

The hospitality industry is one of the main industries that immigrant employees depend on. Conversely, the employers of the hospitality industry also depend on the immigrant employees (Bhatt, 2022, p. 7). According to Statistics Norway (2022c), around fifty thousand immigrants work in the Food and beverage service activities. Further, many of the immigrant employees select the hospitality industry to start their careers since they have higher chances in this industry compared to other industries regardless the possession of educational qualifications and experiences (Choi et al., 2000, p. 61). Similarly, most of the immigrants start their first job in the host country as a restaurant or hotel worker, since the industry always has openings for new employees due to the challenge employers have to face when keeping the balance between labor supply and demand. Further, many of the immigrants who are unable to find jobs relevant to their educational experiences also end up in the industry.

Moreover, the job roles available in this field range from cleaners to the highly skilled managers (Flotskaya, 2011, p. 10). Usually, the guests who visit restaurants and hotels experience the delectability and coziness. However, an extensive body of empirical work demonstrates the harsh working conditions of the hospitality industry such as low wages, long working hours, discriminations, narrow job functions, less training opportunities (Bhatt, 2022, p. 14). In the study of Robinson et al. (2019) they explain the tourism industry as a field in which precarity is naturally associated, and subsequently it has become a fertile ground for

exploitations, marginalization, exclusion and vulnerabilities as well. Further, they argue the main negative characteristics of hospitality industry such as poor payments, absence of union representations and loose regulations, exploitations, discriminations have not been changed or improved with the time (Robinson et al., 2019, p. 1009). For instance, in the study of Wood (1992), he defines the marginal workers as disadvantaged group of labor who do not have high bargaining power due to less experience, skills, or those who can sell their labor only in certain contexts where the employers are mostly favored (Wood, 1992, p. 179). Correspondingly, he points out employment in the hospitality industry as a prime example for workers who have to face and have faced different discriminations.

However, most of the times, the immigrants who work in the hospitality industry possess educational qualifications fit for other well-paid jobs with better working conditions. Consistent with this argument, Bhatt (2022) mentions in his study, racism, and less recognition of educational credentials of immigrants make them cheap laborers such as dish washers, cleaners, waiters in the hospitality industry. In his study he has specifically written about the people who work as dishwashers in Sweden and he points out that, such job roles have become common positions for some ethnic groups regardless the good educational qualifications they have. Bhatt's observation resonates with the findings of Adler (2005), and as he mentions, there is a hierarchy in the employment of restaurants and there is a division of work as front and back. The workers who engage in the front jobs have to deal with customers and workers who engage in back jobs support all the kitchen works from dishwashing to making foods. However, he mentions the position in that employment hierarchy or the division of work as front or back is determined not only by the level of experiences, language skills, but also by race, ethnicity and gender as well (Adler, 2005, p. 231).

Consistent with this finding, Wright and Pollert (2006) mention the division of workers in the UK restaurant industry based on ethnicity and class. As they highlight, attractive British white women are always recruited as receptionists, while immigrant women are recruited for the lowest-graded positions such as chambermaids (Wright & Pollert, 2006, p. 19). This also has been discussed in the study of Friberg and Midtbøen (2017, p. 3). Here, they have highlighted the division of natives and immigrants between front stage, and backstage functions in the hotel industry of Norway.

Thus, in this study two situations related to the hospitality industry have been taken into consideration by the researcher when selecting the hospitality industry as the case study. The first one is, gravitation of immigrants to the industries such as hospitality regardless their qualifications and the second one is the way they are positioned in different job roles within the industry.

### 1.1.2 Motivation for Conducting the Study

After moving to Norway for higher studies, there is one common challenge that almost every international student (especially from non-EU countries) has to experience. That is not something else other than finding a part time job to afford the housing rent and other daily expenses. I also as an international student was seeking a part-time job and eventually, got a job in a restaurant to work as a kitchen helper and a dishwasher. (The way my personal experiences and attitudes about immigrant workers in the industry might affect the study will be discussed in Section 3.2.1).

I worked at several restaurants and realized most of the employees who work in the industry are immigrants. The casual chats I had with other workers were not only about the countries and cultures we belong to. But also, we frequently talked about different hardships we were experiencing including finding better jobs. Specially, during those casual chats I found, Most of the employees who work in the industry have completed qualifications that fit on other industries although some of them have tried so hard to find at least a restaurant job.

Further, anyone who frequently step into restaurants or hotels in Norway likely have recognized a familiar trend that the least paid and the most physically exhausting , back stage positions such as dish washers, kitchen porters, assistant cooks, runners, waiters tend to be filled by certain ethnic groups mostly come from Asia, Africa. In contrast, relatively better paid, less physically exhausting, (compared to other jobs within the industry) front office jobs such as restaurant managers are filled by certain ethnic groups who are mostly white.

Therefore, I selected this topic for this study since I wanted to study, why immigrants have to select the physically exhausting, less paid jobs such as restaurant or hotel jobs regardless of their educational qualifications and how these immigrants are positioned in different job roles from dishwashers to the managers within the hospitality industry.

Thus, with the influence of my personal experiences and observations, I built up the research problem of the study which is described in the next section.

## 1.2 Research Problem

Following table shows the employment of immigrants in several industries of Norway and those numbers resonate with the argument that immigrant workers have mostly clustered in the elementary occupations compared to the higher positions in the Norwegian labor market hierarchy.

Occupation	% of Non-immigrants	% of Immigrants	Over / under representation
Managers	9.7	4.5	Non-immigrants > immigrants
Professionals	28.3	18	Non-immigrants > immigrants
Technicians and associate professionals, armed forces	16.2	9	Non-immigrants > immigrants
Clerical support workers	6.2	5.7	Non-immigrants > immigrants
Service and sales workers	18.5	23.6	Immigrants > Non-immigrants
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	0.6	0.8	Immigrants > Non-immigrants
Craft and related trades workers	7.2	12	Immigrants > Non-immigrants
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	5.5	8.6	Immigrants > Non-immigrants
Elementary occupations	2.7	12.6	Immigrants > Non-immigrants

(Note: > = Numerically greater than)

**Figure 2:** Occupations between 20-66 years immigrants and non-immigrants

**Source:** Statistics Norway (2022a)



When scrutinizing above percentages, it can be deduced that the occupations such as managers, professionals, Technicians and associate professionals, and armed forces are mostly carried out by non-immigrants while the elementary occupations are mostly carried out by immigrants. According to Statistics Norway (2022a), the over-representation of immigrants in elementary occupations such as cleaners and helpers, Painters, building structure cleaners and related trades workers, Food and related products machine operators, Domestic, hotel and office cleaners, and Food preparation assistants is highly visible compared to the manager level positions such as Legislators and senior officials, Managing directors and chief executives, Business services and administration managers, Professional services managers, Engineering professionals.

Similarly, according to literature, the ethnicity seems to be a determinant of immigrant's occupation in western countries including Norway. For instance, in the study of Friberg and Midtbøen (2017), they have studied the immigrant employment hierarchies in Norwegian low-wage labor markets and they argue, employers believe that immigrant employees have special set of soft skills that make them fit for certain physical tasks based on their ethnicity (Friberg & Midtbøen, 2017, p. 1464). Further, the disadvantage of having a foreign family name has also been discussed in many studies, media narratives and reports. According to a comparative field experiment which was conducted by Midtbøen (2013) using fictitious Norwegian and Pakistani job applications has found that Pakistani applicants have 25.5% less probability for being selected for an interview compared to the Norwegian applicants who have similar qualifications. Further, the attention of public media and journalists also has been placed on the narratives of immigrants who have sound educational backgrounds with higher educational qualifications but still engage in elementary jobs that do not require such educational qualifications (Jakobsen, 2022). Similarly, recent media reports have revealed there is a trend among the immigrants in Norway to change their names with the intention of getting a job. As they highlight, name-changing is just another strategy that is tried by many immigrants to avoid discriminations they face in the labor markets and Norwegian society as well (Sørensen, 2020, p. 14).

As mentioned earlier, the Scandinavian region is well-known as an egalitarian context where the social equality is well established. However, the recent researches have called into question this idea. For instance, in the study of Orupabo and Nadim (2020), which is

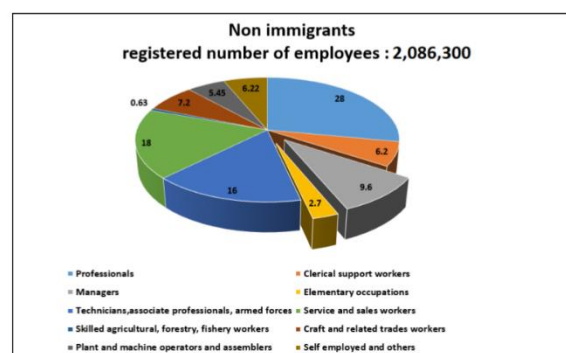
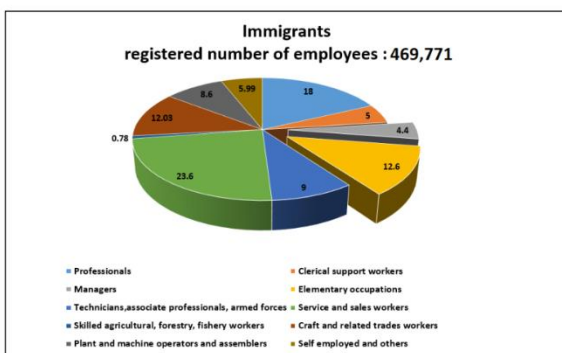
conducted based on the cleaning industry of Norway, it is mentioned that the ethnic minorities have to face challenges for upward career mobility, notwithstanding the egalitarian nature of Scandinavian region (Orupabo & Nadim, 2020, pp. 348-350). Further they argue the categorization of labor and allocation of different groups of labor into different tasks is mostly determined by the factors such as gender, ethnicity and immigrant status.

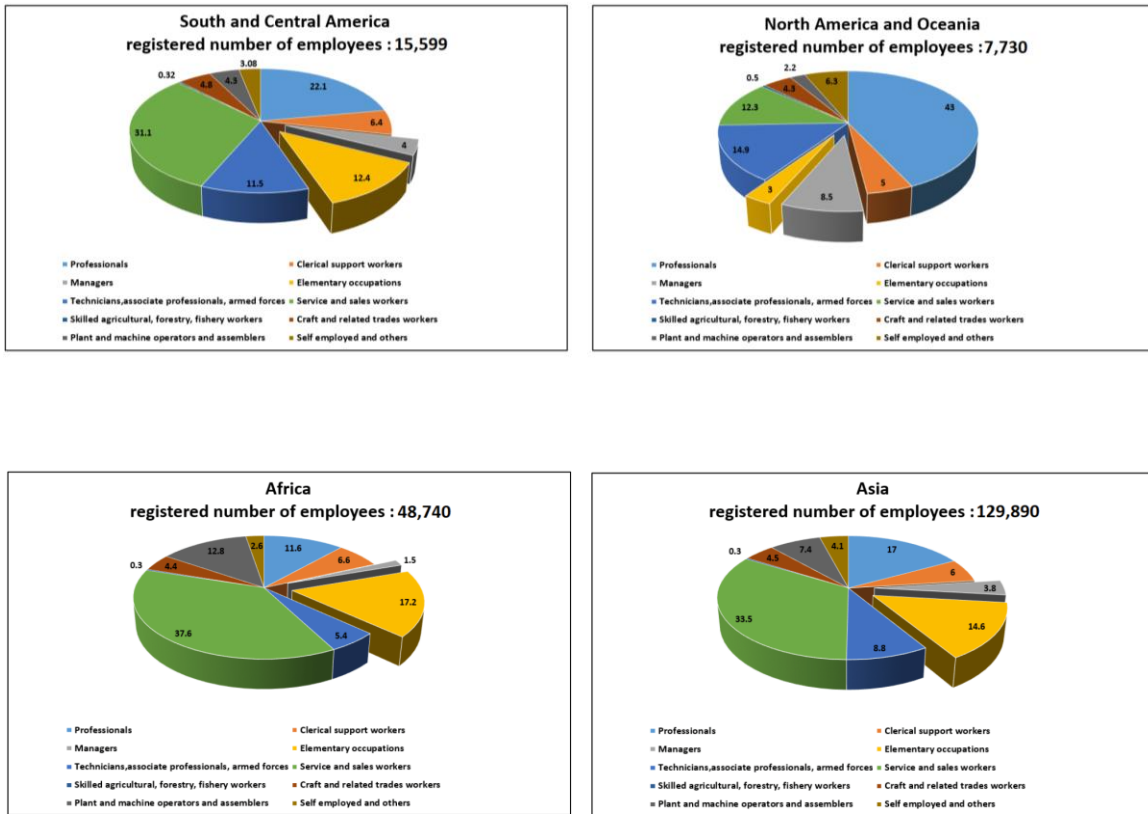
Similarly, in the study of Goździak and Main (2021), they have mentioned the exploitive and precarious working conditions that have to be experienced by immigrant nurses who work in Norwegian hospitals. As they have mentioned, the job roles and working conditions of Polish nurses are different from Norwegian nurses. For instance, The upper levels of the employment hierarchies in Norwegian healthcare institutions are filled by native Norwegian employees while the lowest positions of the hierarchies are filled by immigrant employees whose bodies are perceived as more suitable for performing ordinary physical tasks of the patients such as feeding, dressing and washing that do not require special experience, educational qualifications regarding nursing (Goździak & Main, 2021, p. 9).

When scrutinizing the literature related to discriminations prevail in the Norwegian labor markets, the researchers have pointed out different factors that lead to discriminations. For instance, Larsen and Stasio (2019), point out the effect of rigid employee protection laws in Norway on causing labor market discriminations. As they point out, due to the strict employee protection laws in Norway, the employers tend to take risk aversive decisions when they hire employees. In other words, an employer cannot dismiss an employee after realizing his poor performance at work. Therefore, some irrational proxies such as ethnicity is used for measuring unobservable, productivity related qualities of the job applicants at the interviews or even before calling for interviews (Larsen & Stasio, 2019, p. 1206) .

Among the factors that have been pointed out as the reasons for clustering immigrants in certain elementary occupations, the mismatch of educational qualifications and language proficiency also has been received a significant attention from the researchers. When scrutinizing the conclusions of relevant studies, it can be observed that some employers in Norway are reluctant to accept the foreign educational qualifications of immigrant applicants and they are skeptical about immigrant applicants' Norwegian proficiency as well (Arnfinn & Midtbøen, 2014, pp. 1665-1669).

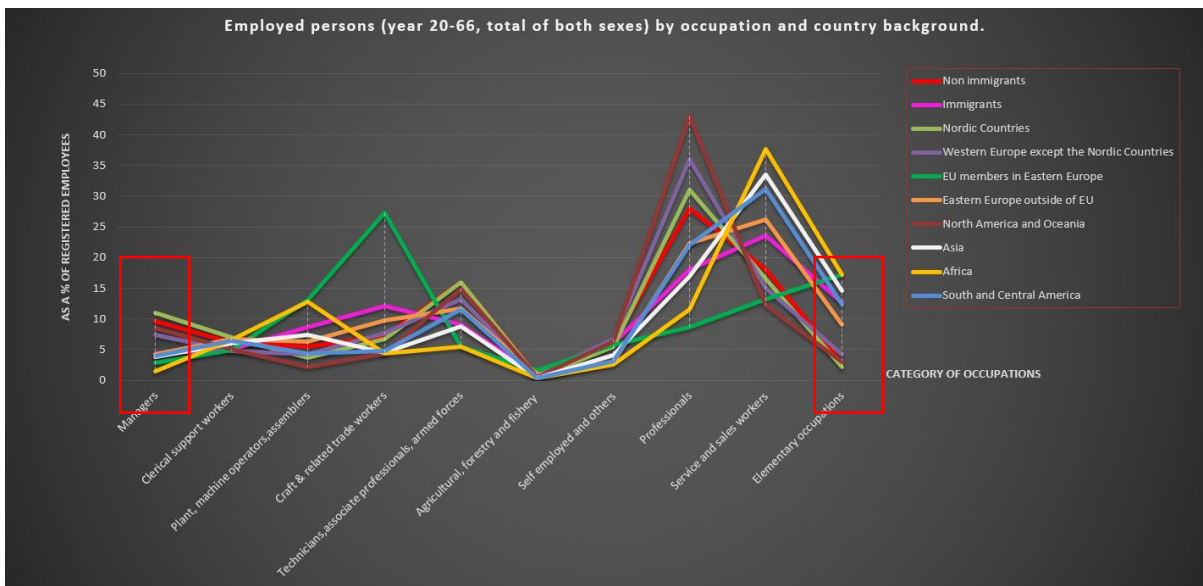
The following charts (Figures 3 and 4) show the statistics regarding employment among immigrants who come from different regions and non-immigrants. According to those numbers it can be observed that the population of certain immigrant categories such as Africans, Nordics, Western Europeans, and Eastern Europeans are somewhat close to each other. But considering the representation of these immigrant employees in different fields, and occupations, some significant variances can be identified. This has been further discussed at the end of figure 5 which helps to identify the average monthly income difference between employees engaged in elementary occupations and other occupation categories.





**Figure 3:** Employment among immigrants, non-immigrants as a percentage of total registered number of employees.

**Source:** (Statistics Norway, 2022a)



**Figure 4:** Employed persons (year 20-66, total of both sexes) by occupation and country background.

**Source:** (Statistics Norway, 2022a)

**Note:** The calculations for figure 3 and 4 were done by researcher using the most updated data source tables 09837, 12554 of Statistics Norway (2022)

Occupation	Monthly earnings in NOK
Managers	76,140
Professionals	58,650
Technicians and associate professionals	57,590
Clerical support workers	43,530
Service and sales workers	37,580
Skilled agricultural, forestry and fishery workers	39,740
Craft and related trades workers	42,110
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	43,230
Elementary occupations	36,910

**Figure 5:** 2021 Average monthly earnings of different occupation categories.

**Source:** (Statistics Norway, 2022e)

As illustrated in the above charts (Figures 3 and 4) the division of occupations among certain ethnic groups does not appear to be equally distributed. As it can be noticed at a glance, the highly paid positions are held by non-immigrants and immigrants come from Nordic countries, Western Europe, North America and Oceania.

Considering the manager positions which are highly paid, the Nordic countries hold the highest representation. But considering other ethnic groups who have almost a similar number of registered employees, their representation in management positions is significantly less than the workers who come from Nordic countries. For instance, when 11% of the registered employees who come from Nordic countries engage in Management positions, the percentage of immigrants who come from Western Europe (except Nordic countries) is recorded as 7.4%. However, percentages of Eastern Europe (outside of the EU) and Asia are recorded as 4.2% and 3.8% respectively. Similarly, the percentage of Africa which has almost a similar number of registered employees compared to Western Europe (except Nordic countries) is recorded as 1.5%.

In contrast, considering the elementary occupations which receive the least monthly salary (according to Figure 5) the highest representations are recorded from African and Asian immigrant employees as 17.2% and 14.6% respectively. Comparing this percentage with other countries, the percentage of Western Europe (except Nordic countries) is 4.2%, Eastern Europe (outside of the EU) is 9.1 % and the percentage of Nordic countries is recorded only as 2.2%. Considering South and Central America, their representation is also significantly high in elementary occupations compared to immigrants who come from North America and Oceania whose representation is quite visible in manager category occupations.

If the above-mentioned occupations are ordered according to the monthly salary, it can be identified that certain immigrant groups such as Asians, Africans, Eastern Europeans except (EU members) and South Americans have mostly clustered in low waged occupations while non-immigrants and immigrants who come from Nordic countries, Western Europe, North America, and Oceania have mostly clustered in relatively well-paid occupation categories.

Therefore, it is of high importance to study the factors which lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in low waged, physically exhausting elementary occupations and how ethnicity affects the occupational choices of immigrants. The results of this study provide a theoretical explanation to describe why immigrant workers are mostly clustered in certain elementary and low waged occupations, analyzing the experiences, and thoughts of immigrant employees, and employers in the hospitality industry of Kristiansand. In other words, the hospitality industry is used to zoom in on the big picture of immigrant integration in Norwegian labor markets.

Thus, based on the above research problem the following research questions will be addressed in this study.

### 1.3 Research Questions

- I. How does ethnicity affect the occupational choices of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway?
- II. What are the other specific factors that lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway?

Since “ethnicity” also appears to be another factor for the clustering of immigrant employees in elementary occupations it is worth mentioning the reason for making a separate research question focusing on ethnicity.

The reason can be comprehended by referring to the data depicted in the above charts (Figures 2, 3, 4). According to the data depicted in the charts although immigrants’ representation in elementary occupations is generally higher than non-immigrants, not every immigrant group show an overrepresentation in elementary occupations. For instance, immigrants coming from countries such as Western Europe, North America, and Oceania show a considerable representation in occupation categories such as managers and professionals rather than in elementary occupations. Thus, it appeared to be that ethnicity has a certain effect on determining the category of occupation. Therefore, I decided to place special attention on ethnicity by making a separate research question.

So far, this chapter was discussing the background of the study, the research problem, and the research questions. The next section will focus on the study objectives including general objectives and specific objectives of this study.

## 1.4 Study Objectives

### 1.4.1 General Objectives

As exemplified in above passages, the integration of ethnic minorities in Norwegian labor markets does not appear to be a finished project yet. Similarly, according to literature and media narratives, there are several drivers that position immigrant laborers in the lower levels of the Norwegian employment hierarchy. For instance, the ethnicity, religion, language fluency, rigid labor laws in the Norwegian labor market, have been discussed as the most common and visible upheavals that hinder the integration of ethnic minorities in Norwegian labor markets and position immigrant laborers in the lower levels of Norwegian employment hierarchy. Specially, the terms “ethnic discrimination, racism” have commonly been pointed out as a reason that affects the positioning of immigrant laborers in the lower levels of the Norwegian employment hierarchy. There may, however, also be invisible, obscure factors that augment the clustering of immigrant workers in the lower levels of the Norwegian employment hierarchy.

Subsequently, such reasons can be kept unaddressed and neglected. For instance, according to some literature, there can be a mismatch between the qualifications of immigrant laborers and the requirements of Norwegian employers. Then, the immigrant employees might have to engage in elementary jobs that do not require higher educational qualifications. However, if such situations are also interpreted as a result of ethnic discrimination, the real root causes of the issue can be remained unaddressed. Conversely, if the ethnic discrimination remains as the main reason above all other reasons, it also has to be properly addressed by the respective authorities.

Generally, every job is equally important to any country or economy although, there are certain socially constructed connotations associated with certain jobs. From cleaners to professors, everyone contributes to the social, and economic growth of a country in different ways. However, the freedom for career mobility should be equally available for everyone regardless the ethnicity or any other social stratifications. In other words, if someone who starts his or her career life from an elementary job has to be stuck in the same kind of job throughout life because of any discrimination, challenge prevailing in the labor market, it is not fair and that can be obviously problematic to the whole society and economy.

Even according to the UN's sustainable development goals, every person deserves a decent job regardless the immigrant status, gender or ethnicity (UNDP, 2022a). Moreover, according to UDHR, (Article 23) it is a human right someone should have for choosing employment freely, to be received favorable remuneration, and to have favorable working conditions (United Nations, 2015).

#### 1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- Find out the effect of immigrants' ethnicity when applying for a job in Kristiansand, Norway,
- Find out the challenges immigrants have to face when getting into better jobs that offer higher salaries and good working conditions in Kristiansand, Norway,
- Find out the other factors (except the ethnicity) that could lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in lower segment of the Norwegian labor market.



After the study objectives section, the next section of the chapter will cover the geographical study area and the significance of the study. As the last section of the introduction chapter, the organization of the study section will give a concise but informative overview of each chapter to the readers.

## 1.5 Geographical Study Area and Context

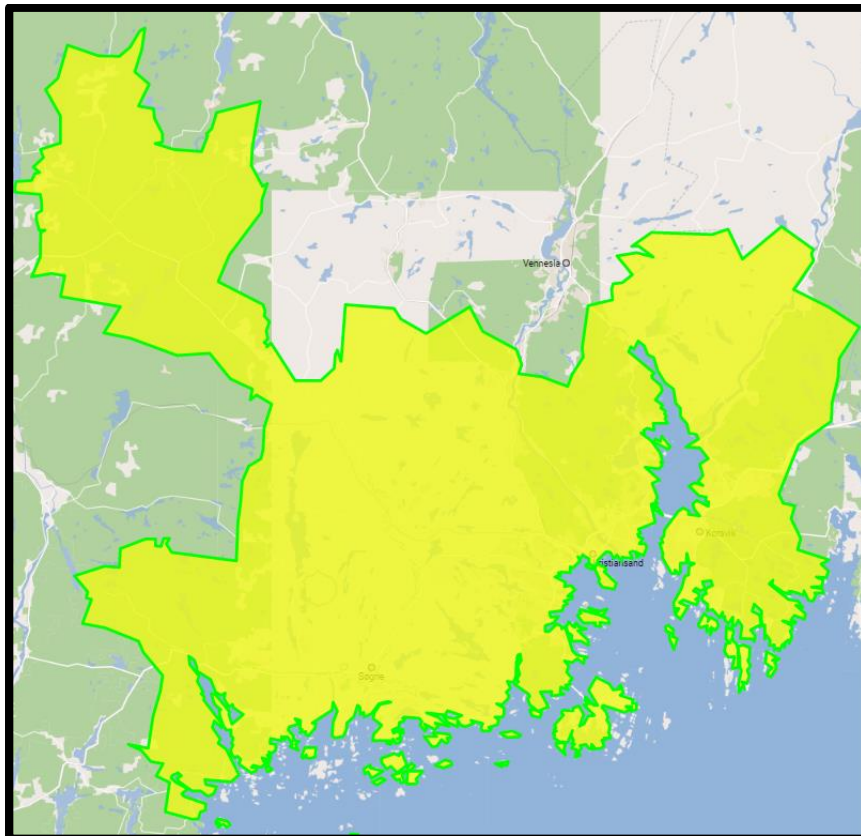


Figure 6: Kristiansand municipality area map

Source: (City population, 2022)

The study is conducted in Kristiansand city Norway. The geographical outreach of the area extends up to 608.8 km<sup>2</sup> with a population of 113,737. Kristiansand is a multi-ethnic city in the Vest-Agder region with 103,706 Natives and 10,031 immigrants by 2022 (City population, 2022). Considering the ethnic composition, Poland, Vietnam, Iraq, Denmark and Chile have the highest immigrant representation by 2015 (Statistics Norway, 2015). Kristiansand is known as a popular tourist destination. Therefore, many restaurants, hotels, pubs, food trucks, have been located especially in the city center of Kristiansand. As statistics Norway (2022) has reported to CEIC data (2022), there are 26,000 hotels and similar establishments

in the Vest Agder region by 2018 (CEIC Data, 2022). Subsequently, the employment opportunities are also quite high in tourism and hospitality industry compared to other fields. Specially, it is common to see many immigrants work in hotels and restaurants. Therefore the clustering of immigrants in the industry is quite visible. In this study, immigrant employees (Dish washers, assistant cooks, cooks, waiters, restaurant managers, head chefs) who work in the hotels, pubs and restaurants in Kristiansand were interviewed. Further owners, managers were also interviewed in order to identify their attitudes about immigrant workers and how they affect the positioning of immigrant workers in certain job roles.

## 1.6 Significance of the Study

As mentioned earlier, the representation of immigrants in the Norwegian population is significant and it is not possible to expect an end to migrants' arrival to Norway due to both push and pull factors of immigration.

The government has strengthened the integration policies to increase the partake of immigrants in Norwegian labor markets and community life. As mentioned on Migration and Integration 2020-2021 Report for Norway to the OECD, *"The Integration Act on integration through training, education, and work, National Strategy for Children growing up in Low-income Families (2020-2023), A White Paper on The Completion of Education Reform – opening the door to the world and the future, Strategy to strengthen the role of civil society in developing and implementing the integration policy for the period of 2021–2024"* are some of the new and reformed integration related policies introduced by the Norwegian government. Although the government has introduced such policies, still there is a need for ground-level observations to identify the factors that can have a discernible effect on the integration, employment of immigrants, and effectiveness of the integration policies that have been introduced so far.

This study has analyzed the reasons for clustering immigrant laborers in the lower levels of Norwegian labor market using the data collected through semi- structured interviews had with both employers and employees of hospitality sector.

Therefore, the findings of this study can be helpful to both National and local level policy actors for reforming and introducing integration policies, programs. Further, the employers in the different fields of Norwegian labor market can be influenced by the findings of this

study to augment the ethnic diversity in their work places. Similarly, the findings will definitely be helpful to the civil society organizations in Norway such as Amnesty International in Norway that defend immigrant workers' rights (Amnesty International, 2018).

After the explanation regarding the significance of the study, the next section will explain the organization of the study.

## 1.7 Organization of the Study

There are six chapters in this study as introduction, literature review, methodology, major findings & discussion and conclusion.

### **The introduction chapter** (Chapter 1)

The first part of this chapter mainly discusses the background of the study shedding the light on Motivation for conducting the study and reasons for selecting the hospitality industry. Then it focuses on the research problem, research question, and study objectives including general objectives and specific objectives. The last part of the chapter has been allocated to explain the geographical study area and the significance of the study.

### **Literature review chapter** (Chapter 2)

In the literature review chapter, it has been discussed the previous study findings related to this topic and theories that have been used by previous researchers to analyze the collected data. Thus, I was able to observe what previous studies have already investigated as the reasons for the clustering of immigrant employees in elementary occupations and what research gaps still prevail to cover. Especially, the research questions, conceptual framework, and semi-structured interview guides were also developed taking into account the contents in the literature review chapter.

### **Methodology** (Chapter 3)

The methodology chapter discusses the methods employed for completing different phases of the study. Especially, this chapter has elaborated sampling method, epistemological and ontological considerations of the study, positionality, reflexivity of the study, and reason for

selecting the research strategy, which is a mix of inductive and deductive approaches. Further, it has been discussed the reasons for selecting the semi-structured interviews as the data collection method, snowball, and purposive sampling methods, and data analyzing method using codes and thematic analysis. Similarly, it has focused on inclusion criteria for the respondents, ethical considerations, and the validity of data as well.

#### **Major findings** (Chapter 4)

The chapter contains all the empirical findings of the study. The findings have been organized under different main themes (ethnic discrimination, human capital, social capital, segmented labor market, dual frame of reference) and sub themes developed following the method for thematic analysis. This chapter appears to be more descriptive rather than analytical since it includes findings in the form of direct conversations with respondents.

#### **Analysis and discussion** (Chapter 5)

The collected and transcribed data have been deeply analyzed in this chapter. The findings which are arranged under main themes and sub-themes have been analyzed using relevant theories and by looking into previous literature as well. Eventually, the chapter has been ended by addressing each research question based on the analyzed research findings.

#### **Conclusion** (Chapter 6)

This is the chapter that wraps up the study through a compendious conclusion of the findings and a flashback to the previous chapters. Further, this chapter includes general recommendations to address the selected research problem, recommendations for future studies, and limitations of this study as well.

The introduction chapter of the study marks its end here approaching the literature review chapter. The introduction chapter mainly covered the background of the study, research problem, research questions, study objectives, geographical study area, and significance of the study eventually discussing the organization of the study as well.

# Chapter 2: Literature Review

## 2.1 Introduction

In the literature review, the researcher presents the logically argued, analyzed findings, cases from previous studies related to the topic with the purpose of understanding the current state of knowledge about the selected study topic (Machi & McEvoy, 2012, p. 4). In this study, the researcher has studied research articles, books, reliable web pages and government reports related to the topic so that the researcher can identify the current position of knowledge about the topic and research gaps prevail in the previous studies related to the topic. However, while there are much larger number of literature related to discriminations and challenges prevail in the labor market for immigrants, there are relatively less literature under the same topic in the context of Norway. Therefore, the researcher has used some literature related to other Scandinavian and European countries as well.

According to the IOM, a migrant has been defined as a person who has moved away temporarily or permanently due to various reasons within a country or across countries from the usual place where he or she has been living (IOM, 2022). However, depending on the purpose and reason for moving away, the migrants have been categorized under different terms such as asylum seekers, refugees, economic migrants, and irregular migrants. Further, considering the difference between the terms, “immigrant” and “migrant” these two terms are slightly different from each other because a migrant becomes an immigrant after that person reached the host country (International Society of Travel Medicine, 2019).

The immigrants have played a significant role in the history of Norwegian development and have been key players in the capitalization and commoditization of Norwegian society. As it has been mentioned in the study of Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008), in early modern Norway (1500-1814), the nationality of immigrants had not been considered by the Norwegian authorities as long as they are wealthy, competent, and loyal to the state. Until Norway becomes a welfare state, the Norwegian rulers have considered immigrants based on cost-benefit evaluations. In other words, they have considered the assets ownership, competencies of immigrants and whether they will be a burden to the economy (Ibid, P80).

Today, although such evaluations are not much visible in Norwegian society, the demarcation of immigrants and natives seems to be much more pronounced in the labor market.

Generally, the jobs are divided into casual categories such as good or bad depending on the working conditions, salaries, social acceptance, requirement of qualifications etc. Considering the theories that have been used to explain such divisions, the segmented labor market theory can be highlighted (This will be further discussed in the next section). According to segmented labor market theory there are two segments in the labor market, as primary and secondary. The jobs in primary segment (upper segment) have higher wages, good working conditions and career development opportunities. In contrast, the jobs in the secondary segment (lower segment) have low wages, poor working conditions and less chances for upward career mobility (Reich et al., 1973, p. 359). An extensive body of empirical work demonstrates the positioning of immigrants in the lower levels (secondary segment) of the labor market hierarchies although those studies have used different terms to imply the division of primary, and secondary segments (Friberg & Midtbøen, 2017);(Bhatt, 2022);(Orupabo & Nadim, 2020). In this study, the secondary segment or lower segment term is used in the broadest definition to denote all the elementary, low-paid occupations and in contrast, the term primary segment is used to denote well-paid jobs with good working conditions.

I have already reviewed a sizable amount of literature related to the topic in the introduction chapter to explain the study background and build the research problem, research question, and study objectives. However, in the literature review chapter, special attention will be placed on concepts and theories included in the literature to build up the initial conceptual framework and thereby address the research questions.

Thus, in this literature review, it will be discussed several causes of discrimination that deprive the chances in the primary segment of the labor market for immigrants and factors that affect the clustering of immigrants in the secondary segment or lower levels of the host country's (Norwegian) labor market touching upon the relevant theories.

## 2.2 Ethnicity and Religion

This section has shed the light on literature that has pointed out how ethnicity and religion-related discrimination can affect the occupational choices of immigrants. Correspondently, it has focused on forms of discrimination such as statistical, taste-based discrimination, and skin-tone discrimination, while touching upon two main theories as statistical discrimination theory and taste-based discrimination theory to comprehend the mechanism behind ethnic discrimination prevailing in labor markets.

According to Eriksen (2010, p. 5), although the term ethnicity is mostly used for discussing minority issues and race relations, it has been defined in social anthropology as an aspect of relationships between culturally distinctive groups. In a similar vein, Cohen (1978) as cited in the study of Fought (2006, p. 6) defines ethnicity as “a set of descent-based cultural identifiers used to assign persons to groupings.”

When scrutinizing previous studies mentioned in the introduction chapter, ethnicity has been identified as a critical factor which affects the clustering of immigrants in the elementary occupations although it does not affect the hiring decisions always in a similar manner. In other words, employers perceive the ethnicity in different ways and relate those perceptions to their hiring decisions. According to Friberg and Midtbøen (2017, p. 1), immigrants tend to find niches in the lower levels or secondary segment of the labor markets since they have fewer chances in the primary segment due to the discrimination prevailing in the labor markets of the host countries.

However, generally, every employer prefers to hire the most efficient, qualified, hardworking employees to their organizations. But, when employers do not have an adequate amount of information regarding applicants who have applied for a job, the ethnicity, race, ethnically distinct names are used as proxies to determine the characteristics related to productivity (Arnfinn & Midtbøen, 2014, p. 1660). Therefore, in such cases, if employers believe, job applicants who represent a certain ethnicity is less efficient and less reliable, they are not selected to the job as a risk averse measure. Such decisions of employers are not based on tastes or personal preferences but on perceptions of reality, beliefs, and previous experiences they have regarding certain immigrant employees. However, such hiring decisions are consistent with the idea of statistical discrimination, and Midtbøen (2013, p. 1661) has used the statistical discrimination theory to elucidate how employers' productivity based beliefs

about immigrant workers lead to discrimination when they make hiring decisions. (The statistical discrimination theory will be further discussed in Section 2.6).

Further, this argument coincides with the arguments of Bursell (2007). He has discussed the discriminations prevail in the Swedish labor markets and he points out how skin color, sex, race becomes proxies when employers do not have enough information when making hiring decisions. In a similar vein, Midtbøen (2013) point out the effect of cognitive structures of employers based on prejudices about unprivileged groups. Considering the results of their empirical study held in Norway, the applicants who have Pakistani names are less likely to be called for interviews compared to the Norwegian applicants who have similar level of Norwegian fluency and other related qualifications. As a percentage, the minority applicants have been called for interviews 31.9% of the time while the Norwegian applicants have been called 42.8% of the time. Further, they have interviewed the Norwegian employers and asked about their take on well qualified foreign applicants. Those responses have been divided into main categories. The first category is related to the assumed personal characteristics of the foreign job applicants and the next category shows the employers' disfavor towards immigrant labors since they think that immigrant workers ruin the system of a welfare state or exploit the system for taking advantages.

As one interviewee in the study of Midtbøen (2013, p. 1664) has stated "In our industry, many immigrants will only work until they've acquired their rights. Then they'll stop and start exploiting the system. It's an attitudinal problem among Norwegians, our traditional attitudes. We must be fed with news showing a different picture; we don't call ourselves racists, but in practice that's probably what we are"

According to Becker (1971), as cited in the study of Lippens et al. (2021) when employers tend to avoid employees belonging to minority groups, it refers to taste-based discrimination. Thus above-mentioned interviewees' statement is seemingly consistent with the idea of taste-based discrimination. In the study of Midtbøen (2013, p. 1661) he used taste-based discrimination theory to elucidate how employers' dislikes, and hostilities about immigrant workers lead to discrimination when they make hiring decisions. (This also will be further discussed in Section 2.6).

Similarly, this finding is in line with findings of previous research on the immigration history of Norway and racial disadvantages prevailed in the Norwegian labor market as a result of



orientalist, Eurocentric ideologies. For instance, in 1898 the national liberal labor movement has requested from the parliament of Norway to stop the influx of foreign workers highlighting the fact that, those who lack honor and respect come as foreign workers and spread evil while making the Norwegian-ness stifled (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, p. 100). Moreover, Brochmann and Kjeldstadli (2008) writes about the notions of supremacy Norwegians had in their minds regarding certain nationalities by early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Here they point out how Norwegians positioned different nationalities in their mental hierarchy about supremacy. For instance, countries outside Europe were placed on the lower levels of the hierarchy since they were considered as less developed and stagnated. On the other hand, England and Germany were placed on the higher levels. Further, Norway, Sweden and Danes were placed on a similar level (Ibid, 94).

Considering recent field experiments related to integration trends in Norway and its Scandinavian neighbors, such ideologies still appear to be existing. As Larsen and Stasio (2019, p. 1209) argue, Somali and Pakistani immigrants experience more discriminations in labor markets compared to equally qualified Swedish and Polish peers. Further, according to Rooth. D.O (2002), as cited in the study of Strömgre et al. (2014), in Sweden, adopted children who originally come from Global South, have to struggle considerably when seeking jobs compared to the natives although they have studied and raised with natives and possess the similar qualifications. Further, they write, the immigrants come from Global South and whose foreign ethnicity is quite visible, have to struggle immensely in the Swedish labor markets compared to the immigrants come from Global North (Strömgre et al., 2014, p. 649). Moreover, the immigrants from Global North mostly work in the fields where more natives are employed. In contrast, considering immigrants who originally come from Global South are primarily employed in the fields where natives are less employed (Strömgre et al., 2014, p. 660).

Similarly, considering highly immigrants clustered industries such as cleaning industry in Norway, Orupabo and Nadim (2020) mention that, the judgments of the employers about suitability of immigrant workers to such jobs are very explicit. In their study, the employers who were interviewed have mentioned their criteria that determine the suitability of workers to the industry. According to the responses of those employers, being an immigrant is one of the main requirements after being a male worker. The employers have clearly demarcated the native and immigrant workers. Briefly, they see natives as demanding and who expect

high status in the jobs. Similarly, they think natives do not possess the soft skills, right attitudes, and motivation required to engage in such menial employment. In contrast, as employers believe immigrant workers have all these requirements to engage in such jobs. Especially, the devalued status ascribed to immigrants has made the notion that immigrants are suitable for such jobs (Orupabo & Nadim, 2020, pp. 354-359).

The skin-tone discrimination is another form of discrimination that is under scrutiny by many scholars for years. “The prejudicial treatment against individuals with dark skin tone refers to skin tone discrimination” (Oh et al., 2021, p. 542). Its historical routes extend up to the European colonialism and slavery. However, still, some skin color-based ideologies have not completely wiped out from the European societies (Dankertsen & Kristiansen, 2021, p. 3). Therefore, in some contexts, the whiteness of the skin still represents superiority, civility while darkness of the skin represents inferiority and savagery. For instance, considering the Norwegian context, Africans have to face explicit, discriminations due to their dark skin-tone (Kunst & Phillibert, 2018, p. 3) According to Dankertsen and Kristiansen (2021, p. 10), “Norwegianness” is something associated with “whiteness” and physical features such as skin color clearly demarks the boundaries of ethnicity, race in Norway. Thus, they assert that ethnic minorities experience discriminations both in labor markets and educational system.

At first glance, the argument of skin-tone discrimination seems consistent with the trend illustrated by figures 3 and 4 in the introduction chapter. As it depicts, most of the physically exhausting, elementary jobs are performed by immigrants who have darker skin and come from Asia and Africa. Especially, considering the hospitality industry, it is more likely to see Africans and Asians doing the jobs such as dishwashing, and kitchen helping cleaning compared to white-skinned immigrants.

In most of the literature, it has not been mentioned specifically which factor between ethnicity and religion has affected the most for exclusion of immigrants from the labor markets since those two factors have been entangled together. Although there is well-developed body of research on native’s attitudes towards Muslim immigrants in general, there is much less literature on how employers perceive their culture and religion separately in the labor markets. Considering the results of Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey (2017), religion is identified as one of the main grounds for

discriminations prevail against immigrants since it has been identified as a distinct element or sub-dimension of the ethnic origin (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2017).

When studying the immigration history of Norway, religion has been identified as a critical factor for segregation. However, even this tendency has been overruled by the state if they wanted to import wealthy skillful immigrants. For instance, during 1500-1800 there had been a condition in the state for not allowing Jews to enter the realm. However, the Portuguese Jews had been allowed to enter the realm due to their wealth while the East European Jews were forbidden since they were poor. "At the end of the day, social class mattered the most, being poor was the ultimate sin" (Brochmann & Kjeldstadli, 2008, pp. 80-81).

According to literature, and media narratives, most of the time Muslims are exposed to discrimination in the labor market, due to both ethnic and religious prejudices. Focusing on current Norwegian society, most of the time, Muslims are recognized as an ethnic group that does not consider, democracy, gender equality, and individual rights, and they have always been described negatively in the media narratives compared to other immigrant groups. On the other hand, higher attention has been placed on Islam due to the influx of immigrants from predominantly Muslim countries and recently reported terrorist attacks caused by Islamic extremists. Subsequently, the religious, and cultural symbols such as Hijab, lead to provoking negative attitudes of the natives about immigrant Muslim job seekers and workers despite their job qualifications (Strabac et al., 2016, pp. 2666-2669).

Stasio et al. (2021) also have focused on the influence of host country's religion when employers make hiring decisions. As they point out, western countries where the Christianity is established are severely disadvantage contexts for Muslim job applicants whose ethnic demarcation is highly visible due to their religious garments, beliefs and values. To imply this idea these authors have used the term "*Muslim Penalties*" and as they have mentioned the job applicants who have shown their affiliation to the Islam are considerably less likely to be selected for the jobs compared to the equally qualified applicants who come from different religions. Based on their study findings, they have named Norway as the least favorable country for integration of Muslims among the countries they took into consideration in their study.

As a quick summary, in the ethnicity and religion section, it was reviewed the literature related to the topic of how ethnicity and religion-related discrimination can affect the occupational choices of immigrants. Further, it mentioned forms of discrimination and theories that have been used by other researchers which can be used to address the research questions of this study. (These theories will be further explained in Section 2.6).

### 2.3 Social Capital

According to Lin (2001), investments in social relationships with the expectations for returns refer to social capital. As she mentions further, such relationships pave the way to access and borrow the both social and personal resources of others. Similarly, according to Johnson (2013), the social capital concept explains how self-interested persons involve in collective behavior and continue social order. There are major elements of social capital such as social networks and individual resource gains. Further, as he points out there are various benefits associated with social capital such as human capital, cultural capital, and especially success in business and job change (Johnson, 2013, p. 4).

These definitions give an idea of how social capital relates to this study. Therefore this section will focus on the literature that has discussed how the social capital of immigrants affects their occupational choices.

The information about job opportunities is mostly obtained through, social networks and this situation is more pronounced in the upper segment of the labor market. Thus, the immigrants who have weaker social networks are more likely to lose opportunities in the primary segment (Brekke & Mastekaasa, 2008, p. 510). In a similar vein, based on the idea of social capital, Strömgre et al. (2014) have tried to uncover the wider interplay between workplace segregation and residential segregation of immigrants in Norway. They highlight, as a result of neighborhood-based job-seeking networks, immigrants tend to channel into workplaces where their neighborhood immigrants already work. In other words, neighborhoods of the immigrants become conduits for job-related information to the newly arrived immigrants and this situation refers to the “*Network effect*”. On the other hand, considering the employers' side, they also prefer referral-based recruitment because it saves time and cost. Subsequently, employers tend to recruit employees who have been recommended by their current or previous employees. Moreover, some employers perceive the residential

segregation as an indicator of low productivity. Thus, being an immigrant and living in immigrants' dense areas (residential segregation) leads to double disadvantage, ultimately propelling them to immigrant clustered workplaces (Strömgre et al., 2014, p. 649). This has also been discussed in the study of Badwi et al. (2018). In this study, they have studied the Norwegian labor market integration of immigrants coming from Ghana. As they point out, although the immigrants who took part in their study had good educational qualifications, with Norwegian language proficiency, they had extremely limited social networks with Norwegians. Subsequently, most of them are unemployed or engaged in jobs that do not fit their qualifications. Thus, they conclude that, less labor market integration of immigrants is not a mere outcome of poor human capital but also an outcome of limited Norwegian networks (Badwi et al., 2018, p. 28).

Especially considering the social networks of refugees in Norway, their interactions with Norwegians are extremely low. The results of a field experiment in Oslo have documented that 40% of the total refugees who joined that study representing six countries who have been living in Norway for more than 6 years had not had any kind of contact with a Norwegian during the previous year before the study Hauf and Vaglum (1997, p. 413). However, According to Kracke and Klug (2021), these ethnically homogenous social networks, increase the risk of the immigrants being stuck in occupations to which they are overqualified because those social networks deprive the chance of having host country-specific knowledge about job application procedures, strategies for job-seeking, and the labor market in general (Kracke & Klug, 2021, p. 1583).

Sometimes, religiosity also becomes a barrier to labor market integration, not because of the way how it is perceived by the employers; but as a result of strong in-group bonding with similar ethnic, and religious groups and lack of contacts with natives or majority groups due to the highly time-consuming religious activities. For instance, generally, the information regarding job opportunities channel through the majority members of the society (natives), and building social capital with co-ethnics and co-religionists can be less effective for finding job opportunities than building social capital with majority groups (Stasio et al., 2021, pp. 1306-1308).

As a summary, this section reviewed the literature that has discussed how the social capital of immigrants affects their occupational choices. The next section will review the literature related to human capital.

## 2.4 Human Capital

Similar to social capital human capital has also been commonly discussed in the literature when exploring the immigrant's labor market integration and positioning of immigrants in the lower segments of the host country's labor market. Garibaldi (2006) defines human capital as knowledge or innate and acquired characteristic of a person that contribute to economic productivity. By the same token, Shultz (1979) as cited in the study of Alike and Aibieyi (2014, p. 56) describes human capital as an investment in education and training.

However, previous studies have established that the immigrants' educational qualifications and competencies are less recognized in the host countries (Hardoy & Zhang, 2019, p. 4). Similarly, when focusing on the Norwegian context, some immigrant groups do not have the qualifications, and skills expected by Norwegian employers. Consequently, in either case, the immigrants have to engage in jobs that they are overqualified for (Botoon, 2020, p. 18).

Specially, in many studies, the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations has been explained as an outcome of poor language proficiency which is considered as a main element of human capital. However, it should be noted that, here I have not considered the language as a marker of ethnicity.

In Norway the immigrant workers are recruited to elementary job roles in the fields such as tourism, construction, and fish processing regardless their language fluency. For instance, the salmon industry in Norway has become significantly immigrants clustered and those immigrant workers struggle for upward and, inter- sectorial career mobility and social integration due to their poor language fluency (Tiller et al., 2015, p. 568). However, other Scandinavian countries whose main language is not English are not exceptions for these realities. For instance, the immigrant workers in Denmark also end up in elementary occupations such as dishwashers, cleaners, housekeepers regardless their sound educational qualifications due to their poor Danish fluency (Bhatt, 2022, p. 23). Generally, language fluency is an important qualification that should be completed by immigrant job applicants

when they apply for jobs in the host country. Therefore, being positioned in elementary jobs is something more likely to happen if they do not manage to master the language of the majority. Especially considering Norway, language proficiency has been recognized as the key to approaching its labor market (Mentzoni et al., 2016, pp. 59-72).

Similarly, this is a finding in line with previous research on explanations of disadvantages experience by the Asian Green Card Holders (a document offered for permanent residency) in the Danish labor market. The immigrants who have granted green cards in Denmark are highly educated and skillful in different sectors. However, due to language barriers and less recognition of their educational credentials they end up being cheap tourism laborers in the secondary segment of the labor market which has been described by Bhatt (2022) as a spider web that is hard to escape from (Bhatt, 2022, p. 18).

In a similar vein, Recent field experiment in Norway has documented some degrees or other qualification obtained by immigrants from their home countries are not accredited at all in Norway either because they are irrelevant to the Norwegian labor market or the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT) does not accept them (Botoon, 2020, p. 43)

However, as Tiller et al. (2015) argue, employers and governments strategically delimit the chances available for immigrants to learn the language to get the labor supply for secondary segments of the labor market and keep the wage levels low and Tiller et al. (2015) have analyzed their selected case study using segmented labor market theory.

Therefore, the next section will review the literature that has focused on labor market segmentation explaining how it might affect the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations.

## 2.5 Labor Market Segmentation

As briefly explained in chapter 1, labor market segmentation refers to a division that persists in the labor market as primary and secondary in terms of working conditions, wages, and career mobility opportunities (Eurofound, 2022). According to McLafferty (2001), this division can be caused by different reasons and differences in education and skill levels are recognized as major reasons. In more specific terms, when there are differences in education and skill

levels among job seekers it creates divisions in the labor market. Correspondently, as Leontaridi (1998) argues the segmented labor market theory explains how institutional barriers strategically support the division of employees between the upper and lower segments of the labor market.

For instance, the immigrants who work in the Norwegian salmon industry are given free Norwegian language courses by employers considering the nature of job contracts given to employees. The most basic course which is called Salmon Norwegian (The salmon industry-related language) is given to all employees who work in the factories. But, advanced courses are only given to permanent employees. The reason for such practice is, that employers do not need to improve the language fluency of employees which can be helpful for them to find a job elsewhere with a higher salary because of the better language fluency. Similarly, In Norway, the immigrants who come just for working do not have a right to have free Norwegian classes as refugees receive in their introduction programs (Tiller et al., 2015, p. 571). (The theory will be further discussed in the next Section 2.5).

After reviewing the literature several factors such as ethnicity, social capital, human capital, and labor market segmentation were found as factors that might affect the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations. The next chapter will explain how these factors link to building the initial conceptual framework of the study.

## 2.6 Connecting Ideas for the Initial Conceptual Framework

According to Ravitch et al. (2017), the conceptual framework of a research study, is used to identify the presumed relationships among major factors that have been identified to study. The presumption of relationships can be justified through one's own previous studies or findings of literature review.

As the literature cited above has exemplified the clustering of immigrants in the lower segment of the labor market is not a result of one factor but a confluence of different factors. For instance, there is adequate empirical evidence as cited in above literature review linking ethnicity, social capital, and human capital to the clustering of immigrants in the lower segment of the host country's labor markets. Therefore, in this section, the above mentioned



factors will be linked together building a conceptual framework and thereby addressing the research questions.

Before, moving to selected factors, it is important to describe what is a theory and its usage. Briefly, a theory elucidates why certain things work in a particular way by identifying the relationships between things that are relevant to that phenomenon (Ravitch et al., 2017, p. 43). Therefore, as mentioned earlier, to discern the effect of the above-mentioned factors on the research problem the researcher has used several theories as below.

### **Statistical and Taste-Based discrimination theories**

The term discrimination can be defined as an unjust conduct towards groups of people based on perceived, categorical distinctions. Therefore, discrimination is considered as an interpersonal act which limit the opportunities available for people and ultimately affect the quality of life (Fish & Syed, 2019, p. 6). The discriminations prevail in the markets have been analyzed by the economists and statistical discrimination and Taste-Based discrimination are two such theories that have been developed for describing the rationalities behind discriminations prevail in the labor market.

According to Guryan and Charles (2013, p. 418), statistical discrimination refers to an attempt of economic actors to assess certain characteristics of people based on currently available limited information. In more specific terms, when the employers do not have perfect information to access the productivity of applicants, they predict the productivity of the applicants using the available limited information such as race, ethnicity, and gender of the applicant. Therefore it is a discrimination occurs as a result of stereotyping based on group membership recognized through limited, inadequate information.

Similarly, Brekke and Mastekaasa (2008) assert statistical discrimination, occurs when employers and their agents make hiring decisions based on accurate or inaccurate work-related beliefs about a certain group of population. As an example, they highlight, the fallacious beliefs employers have regarding immigrants such as high level of absenteeism, and how they deprive the employment opportunities of immigrant workers. On the other hand, taste-based discriminations refer to an exclusion of a certain group as a result of hostility or dislike prevailing against that group (Guryan & Charles, 2013, p. 418).

### **Social capital theory**

As Bhandari and Yasunobu (2009, p. 8) mention in their study, social capital theory is based on the notion of trust and informal networks. Further, it points out social relations as valuable resources that can help to generate economic benefits. Similarly, according to Thomas and Gupta (2021, p. 4), the social capital theory describes the social association between individuals as productive resources.” Correspondently, they point out how social capital provides access to information and resources.

### **Human capital**

According to OECD (2004) as cited in the study of Tan (2014, p. 412) human capital refers to “productive wealth embodied in labor, skills, and knowledge”. Similarly, as Olaniyan and kemakinde (2008) mention in their study, the human capital theory emphasizes how the productivity and efficiency of employees can be augmented through increasing investment in education. In other words, people who increase their human capital can effectively increase the performance levels in their jobs or any economic activity they are involved in (Alika & Aibieyi, 2014, p. 57).

### **Segmented labor market theory**

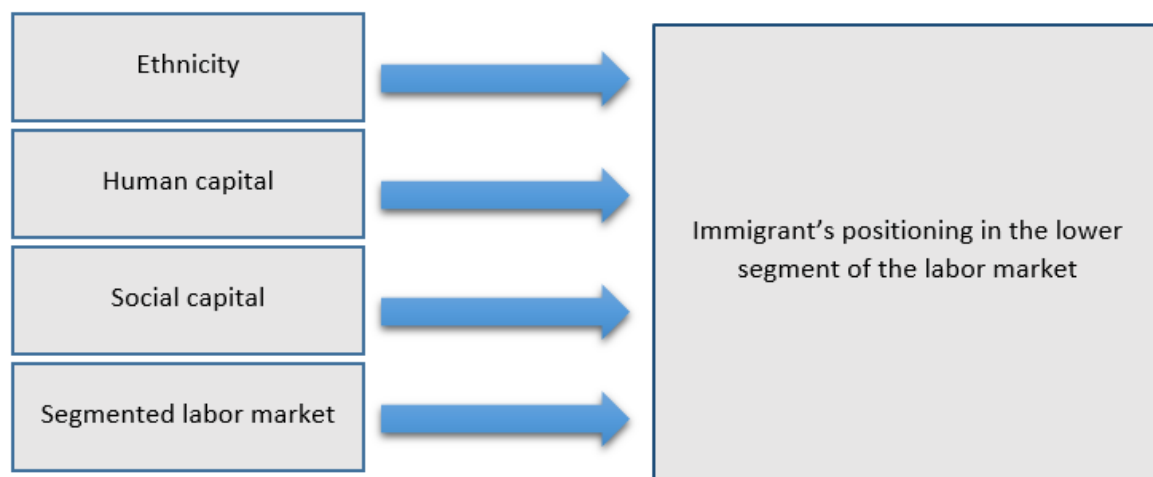
According to segmented labor market theory, the labor market is a composition of two different segments that differ from each other in terms of rewards offered for human capital because of institutional barriers that avoid the chances available for all parts of the population to equally benefit from education and training. Subsequently, the workers belong to vulnerable groups, stuck in the lower segment since they cannot move between the upper (primary), and lower (secondary) segments. Further, the wage levels of this segment remain low due to the excess supply prevail for these jobs from vulnerable groups. Therefore, as the core idea of the segmented labor market theory, it is concluded that the segmentation of labor markets is not an outcome of human capital differentials but an outcome of institutional rules (Leontaridi, 1998, p. 64).

Thus above mentioned theories will be used to comprehend how immigrants are clustered in elementary occupations identifying the relevancy of the factors identified above.

## 2.7 Initial Conceptual Framework

Initially, I developed the following conceptual framework pointing out the relationship between independent and dependent variables identified from the review of the literature keeping in mind that it can change during the study since the research strategy is a combination of inductive, and deductive approaches.

Further, according to Bryman (2012, p. 408), in qualitative research studies, theories and concepts emerge from data. Similarly, since this study also has used the qualitative approach, I decided to use an initial conceptual framework so that I can interrogate its relevance and develop it further through the confrontation of empirical data while exploring other factors that affect the research questions.



**Figure 7:** Conceptual Framework

(Source: researcher, 2022)

With the above-depicted initial conceptual framework, the literature review chapter marks its end. This chapter reviewed the literature related to the topic, captured factors highlighted in the literature that might affect immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations, and built up the initial conceptual framework of the study. The next chapter will focus on the methodology of the study.

# Chapter 3: Methodology

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the methodological dimensions of the study. The selected research problem, the clustering of immigrant workers in the lower segment of the Norwegian labor market will be studied following various methodological practices and principles that relate to social science research studies.

This study was conducted as a master's thesis, based on qualitative data collected from employees and employers who work in the hospitality industry of Kristiansand, Norway. The research paradigm was based on interpretivism and constructionism while the research strategy was a combination of both inductive and deductive approaches. The collection and analysis of data were carried out based on the framework of a case study research design while the respondents for the semi-structured interviews were selected following purposive and snowball sampling methods.

Finally, the data were analyzed using thematic analysis, and, in this chapter, I have also touched upon the ethical considerations taken into account when conducting the research.

## 3.2 Epistemological and Ontological Considerations

According to Bryman (2012, p.27), "an epistemological issue concerns the question of what is (or should be) regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline". In a similar vein, Williams, (2016, p. 36) defines epistemology as a "branch of philosophy concerned with the study of knowledge". Further, as he mentions, epistemology is a term used in the social sciences to denote how the selected methodology in a study has been underpinned by philosophical rationality. In more specific terms, As Williams (2016, p. 37) mentions, "It is a justification for human knowledge" It rationalizes the way we got to know something so that the knowledge can be differentiated from faith, beliefs, or prejudice.

Considering the ontological considerations, as Bryman (2012, p. 32) points out, it mainly focuses on "whether the social entities can and should be considered objective entities that

have a reality external to social actors or, whether is it possible or should be considered that social constructions are based on social actor's perceptions and action".

Further, as Williams (2016, p. 37) mentions, ontology is another branch of philosophy, which basically focuses on "what we know" rather than "how we know". However, in simplest terms, when ontology focuses on the nature of reality, epistemology focuses on the way in which reality is examined and the combination of epistemology and ontology builds the research paradigms.

This study has mainly been based on interpretivism which comes under epistemology. It argues that the models use in the natural sciences are unable to explore the social world since people and institutions that are considered subject matters of social sciences are not similar to the objects of natural sciences. Thus, as mentioned in the study of Clark et al. (2021, p. 25) I have selected the most suitable research methods for this study so that I could study the relevant social actions, the meaning of those practices, the perceptions of others about those experiences, and the reasons for interpreting such practices in a particular way. For instance, the reasons for the clustering of immigrants in the lower segment of the labor market, cannot be merely numerically rationalized. In more specific terms, behind the numbers that I have depicted through charts in the first chapter, there are real human beings whose experiences in the Norwegian labor market cannot be expressed by numbers. Similarly, the decisions of people such as job seekers, employers, and policymakers are also influenced by their perceptions and experiences. However, social sciences have an important role in rendering realistic accounts of human experiences. Therefore I used an interpretive epistemological stance to understand the reasons for the selected research problem, analyzing experiences, stories, and conceptions.

Similarly, the study was influenced by constructionism which is an ontological position that argues, that social actors continuously, create social phenomenon and their meanings (Clark et al., 2021, p. 28). Further, as Clark et al. (2021, p. 29) point out constructionism suggests the researcher perceives social reality as the continuous creation of social actors rather than something external to them. This has been explained in the simplest terms by Jafar (2018, p. 323). As he mentions, according to constructionism "knowledge completely depends on subjective perceptions and knowledge is not a fixed entity."

In this study, constructionism with interpretivism allowed the researcher to study the clustering of immigrants in the lower segment of the labor market as a social phenomenon that is constructed by social actors involved such as immigrant workers, and employers. Thus, I presented the reality of the selected social phenomenon as a version built by the perceptions of the selected and relevant actors to the phenomenon.

This section focused on epistemological and ontological considerations of the study. The next section will discuss how my own position (experiences, perceptions, demographic characteristics) as the researcher of this study might affect the findings and conclusion of the study.

### 3.2.1 Positionality and Reflexivity

According to Jafar (2018, p. 323), the declaration and recognition of one's (researcher's) own position in an academic work refer to positionality. Further, positionality covers the context of the researcher and the research environment on which the study is based. Therefore, as Jafar (2018, p. 323) mentions, it is important to discuss the positionality when presenting the findings of a study to the readers since the meaning and validity of any research output can be lost without it.

When explaining the positionality related to this study, as mentioned in chapter 1, I am also an immigrant worker (part-time) in the hospitality field in Kristiansand. Therefore, as an Asian immigrant worker with poor Norwegian language skills, who has been doing a part-time restaurant job as a kitchen helper, I should be honest about the possible tendency I have for inclining toward the viewpoint of the employees in the industry when conducting this research study. Similarly, the respondents who joined this study, such as employers in the restaurant industry can also tend to change their responses when they were interviewed by me who is another immigrant restaurant worker.

Focusing on reflexivity, Jafar (2018, p. 324) explains it as "an act of self-reflection that considers how one's own opinions, values, and actions shape how data is generated, analyzed, and interpreted." According to Teh and Lek (2018), as cited in the study of Dodgson, 2019 "reflexivity is the gold standard for determining the quality and trustworthiness of a research."

In specific terms, reflexivity shows how the positionality of the researcher influenced the study. In this study, my personal experiences had an influence on developing the interview guides and selecting respondents. For instance, I had to interview the managers and employees who work at the restaurant where I currently work and worked before my current job.

Thus, I wanted to make aware the potential readers, that how this research study and its conclusions could be influenced by some of my own demographic characteristics, experiences, and subjective perceptions. At the same time, it should be noted, I provided a balanced perspective taking the best possible measures. For instance, I included both employers' and employees' perspectives on the study and built smooth interview guides to get spontaneous responses from the respondents. Similarly, I did not lead employee interviews toward the "right answer" that confirms my personal biases.

On the other hand, there were also several benefits associated with my positionality. Especially, the familiarity with the context gave me access to reach more respondents. By the same token, it was helpful to build trust with respondents. (Both with employees and employers)

To summarize, this section discussed the positionality of the researcher and the benefits, and disadvantages associated with it. The next section will discuss the research strategies. Especially, it will focus on Inductive and Deductive strategies while touching upon Retroductive and Abductive strategies as well.

### **3.3 Research Strategy**

As Blaikie (2009, p. 18) mentions, "The research strategy provides a logic, or a set of procedures, for answering research questions, particularly what and why questions." Similarly, Clark et al. (2021, p. 18) explain the research strategies, as approaches to use for identifying link between theories and research. According to Blaikie (2009, p. 18), selecting one appropriate research strategy or combining different strategies for a research study is critically important to enhance the social scientific knowledge. As he points out there are four, research strategies as Inductive, Deductive, Retroductive and Abductive. Under the inductive strategy, the researcher starts the study with some collected data and then derive

generalizations. Further, this strategy is more appropriate for addressing “what” research questions. In contrast, under the deductive strategy, the researcher first select a theory and then collects data to check whether, the collected data match with the hypothesis built from the selected theory(ies). This strategy is more appropriate for addressing “why” research questions (Ibid). Further, according to Blaikie (2009, p. 19), under the retroductive strategy, the researcher first starts with observing regularities. Then the reasons for causing observed regulatory is explained by mentioning real causations, mechanisms and identifying the context where it takes place. Under the abductive strategy, the researcher is supposed to interact with the social world and social actors who are being investigated. As Blaikie (2009) points out their language usually reflects the way they have constructed and interpreted their activities. Therefore, the researcher has to explore the motives and meanings that exist in that particular social context and then redescribe them using the technical language which is used in social science. Thus these motives and actions give an idea about rationale behind certain activities and they can be used as inputs for further systematic explanations (Blaikie, 2009, p. 19).

However, Clark et al. (2021, p. 18) describe these strategies in a more straightforward manner. In the deductive approach, the researcher starts the study by selecting a theory and tests its validity using hypotheses. In contrast, in the inductive approach, the researcher starts the study with observations or findings and a theory is developed at the end of the study to describe a certain research problem. In the abductive approach, the researcher starts the study with observations, and then both data and theory are taken into consideration by the researcher in order to provide the most likely explanation for his or her observations (Clark et al., 2021, pp. 19-23).

In this study, I had to follow both inductive and deductive approaches as research strategies. For instance, the existing theories related to the research problem were identified through the deductive approach. However, during the data collection and analyzing stages, the researcher realized the initially selected theories cannot grasp certain aspects of the data. Thus, the deductive approach was changed to the inductive approach and subsequently, the researcher was able to answer the research questions based on the findings of the study. This can be observed by referring to the initial conceptual framework depicted in chapter 2 and



the final conceptual framework depicted in chapter 6. The difference between the two conceptual frameworks evidence this explanation about using two research strategies.

As a quick summary, this section placed its attention on four research strategies. Mainly it discussed two strategies inductive and deductive while explaining the reasons for using both research strategies (Inductive and Deductive) in this study. The next section will cover the research design of the study.

### 3.4 Research Design

According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 39), the data collection and analysis of a research study are based on the framework which is provided by the research design. Therefore, the research design should be selected according to the priorities given to certain dimensions of the research process (Bryman, 2012, p. 39). The selection of research design has been discussed in the study of Blaikie (2009, p. 15) as well. As he explains, “research design is an integrated statement of, and justification for technical decisions involved in planning a research project.”

Further as Bryman (2012) point out, there are five types of research designs experimental design, cross-sectional design, longitudinal design, case study design, and comparative design. Among these five designs, the case study design appears to be the most appropriate research design for this study since Clark et al. (2021) mention case study design focuses on the complexity and the particular nature of the case which is in question.

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, the hospitality industry has become one of the most immigrant-clustered industries and many immigrants have been engaging in elementary jobs in the industry. Therefore, in this study, the clustering of immigrant workers in the lower segments of the Norwegian labor market was studied selecting the hospitality industry of Kristiansand as a case study and interviewing the employees and employers in the industry.

With the explanation regarding the research design, the next section will shed the light on sampling method of the study.

### 3.5 Sampling Method

The sample which is selected for the study represents the total population on which the whole study is based. Therefore, the sampling technique also vitally affects the quality of a study. According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 166), a sample is a “smaller but ideally representative part of a bigger, whole or population.” However, considering the nature and purpose of a qualitative research study, it should be able to understand the context and causes of the research problem rather than generalizing the findings (Bryman, 2012). In more specific terms, one of the most important goals of conducting a qualitative research study should be understanding the way how identified causes (factors) of a certain issue (research problem) affect the lives or experiences of people.

Accordingly, in this study, I decided to select a sampling method that helps to capture the most suitable sample that supports me to explore the factors that affect the clustering of immigrant workers in elementary occupations and understand how those factors affect people’s lives and experiences.

Therefore, in this study, the purposive sampling and snowball sampling methods that come under non-probability sampling were used as sampling techniques. As Clark et al. (2021) have mentioned, under the purposive sampling technique, I was able to select the participants in a strategic way (instead of a randomized basis) so that I can select the participants considering the information they can provide related to the study. Similarly, I selected snowball sampling to interview more participants who have similar experiences related to the study under the recommendations of the initial respondents. Thus, first I purposively selected the employees and employers who work in the hospitality industry in the Kristiansand area, and then, more respondents were selected for the interviews through the referrals got from initial respondents.

This has also been affirmed by Bryman (2012, p. 427) and as he points out, mixed methods such as purposive sampling and snowball sampling are commonly used in research studies since it helps the researcher to reach a broader group of respondents.

Under the sampling method section, the next subsection will explain the inclusion criteria of the participants.

### 3.5.1 Inclusion Criteria for Respondents

#### Immigrant employees

- Should be adults with the ability for doing a fulltime job.

There are two major reasons for this requirement. The first one is, it is unethical to get the involvement of minors in the study. On the other hand, if someone is not legally allowed to do a full-time job (due to reasons such as being an international student, or a minor) his Responses might not reflect the real situation prevailing in the labor market

- Should be living in Norway at least five years.

In reality, finding a proper job is a time taking process. This can be more challenging for immigrants. However, five years is an adequate time span for someone to find a job (Unless any other reasons exist). Similarly, it is an adequate amount of time for someone to build human and social capital as well.

- Should have been working in the hospitality industry.

As mentioned in the introduction chapter, based on the research problem, this study focuses on reasons for the gravitation of immigrants to the industries such as hospitality and the second one is the way they are positioned in different job roles within the industry. Therefore, it is important to get the thoughts of immigrant workers who work in the hospitality industry rather than in other industries.

#### Employers

- Should be an owner of a hospitality industry-related business or working as a managers executives who make hiring decisions.

The hiring decisions are made by either owners or employees who work in the top ranks of the firms. Since the topic is more related to recruitment. It is important to collect data from respondents who have the authority to make such decisions.

In summary, this section discussed the sampling methods of the study and reasons for selecting them (purposive and snowball sampling methods). Moreover, it mentioned the inclusion criteria for respondents and the rationale behind those criteria. The next section will discuss the data collection method.

### 3.6 Data Collection Method

Data is the most critical element of a research study which determines the validity of the findings. Therefore, the researcher should be able to select the most appropriate data collection method to keep the quality of the research. This has been discussed in the study of Bryman (2012), and as he mentions, all the stages of a research process are equally important to determine the quality of the research; but the data collection method is a critical concern that is taken into account when assessing the quality of a research study. Although there are several data collection instruments, as has been explained by Clark et al. (2021) semi-structured- interviews were used for data collection in this study since semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to be more open-minded about the data and they allow emerging concepts and theories from the data. This characteristic of semi-structured interviews is highly supportive of qualitative research since qualitative researchers derive theories and concepts from data. Thus, interview guides that have been annexed at the end of the study were developed rather than developing specific (structured) interview questions. Therefore, the interviewees were given some freedom to share their experiences, thoughts, and stories related to the study (Clark et al., 2021, p. 426).

Thus, as I have mentioned in the research strategy section, I used two research strategies, and the data collection method I used (semi-structured interviews) was the reason behind it. (see Section 3.3)

The employees and employers who work at restaurants, hotels, pubs, catering services, food huts, and fast food chains in Kristiansand were mainly selected as respondents for semi-structured interviews. The composition of the respondents in numbers was 13 employees and 8 employers from the hospitality industry.

Each interview was conducted for 20-30 minutes and all of them were conducted physically since there were not any Covid restrictions in place. The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder and they were uploaded to cloud based storage platform of the university deleting the audio files from the recorder.

As a summary, this section gave an idea about the data collection method used in the study, its suitability to the study, and how it goes hand in hand with research strategy and research design as well. Further, it discussed the nature of respondents joining the study, their participation in numbers, and how interviews were conducted, recorded, and stored. The next section will discuss the data analyzing method.

### 3.7 Data Analyzing Method

The study was conducted based on qualitative data collected through semi-structured interviews and data analysis was carried out using the thematic analysis technique. The thematic analysis is an important and foundational technique ideal for qualitative data analysis although it has received less recognition (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82). As its name implies, the themes extracted from the collected data are the core elements of this analysis method. As Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 79) define, thematic analysis is “a method which is used for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within data.” According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 537), themes can be built on codes identified from transcripts and filed notes. Further, a theme can be an interest category of the researcher which gives a basis for understanding collected data. Specially, themes should be able to capture something important from the data so as to address the research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82).

Thematic analysis is a widely used approach for qualitative data analysis in social sciences. Also in this study, the thematic analysis has been carried out following the steps of Braun and Clarke’s general method for thematic analysis (Clark et al., 2021, pp. 537-538).

#### **1. Familiarization with data :**

I used an audio recorder to record the interviews conducted and then I transcribed 21 interviews which had been saved to University’s cloud-based storage (Onedrive). At this stage, as it has been recommended by Clark et al. (2021) I read transcripts several times to

get an idea about the interviewees' conceptions and made some simple notes highlighting what appeared to be the most important and interesting for addressing research questions.

**2. Open or initial coding**

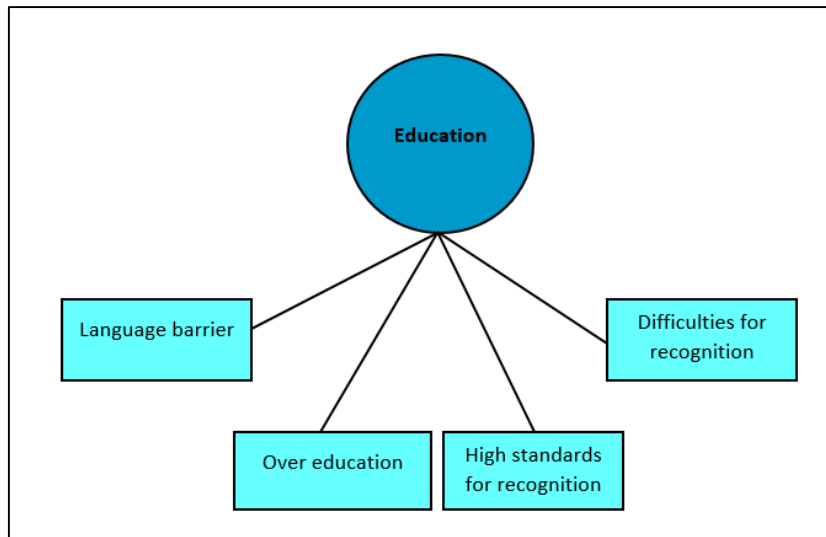
With the idea gotten from the previous stage and notes made, I gave some names (initial codes) to certain interview extracts picked up from the transcripts since they appeared to be related to the study and research questions. According to Tuckett (2005), as cited in the study of Braun and Clarke (2006), these initial codes help the researcher to organize data into meaningful groups. However, at the end of these stage, there were many codes and interview extracts related to different research questions. An example from the initial coding table is shown in figure 8.

Data extract	Code
I have seen many people, who were working as dishwashers just because of their lack of Norwegian fluency.	Language Barrier
There are not many opportunities for me since I'm overqualified.	Over education
I tried to find many jobs, but I couldn't get one because of the language barrier.	Language barrier
They have formulated very high standards to be able to recognize that studies here in Norway	High standards for recognition
Sometimes I would have to study a bit more to get the recognition of my studies.	Difficulties for recognition

**Figure 8:** Initial coding table

**3. Searching for themes**

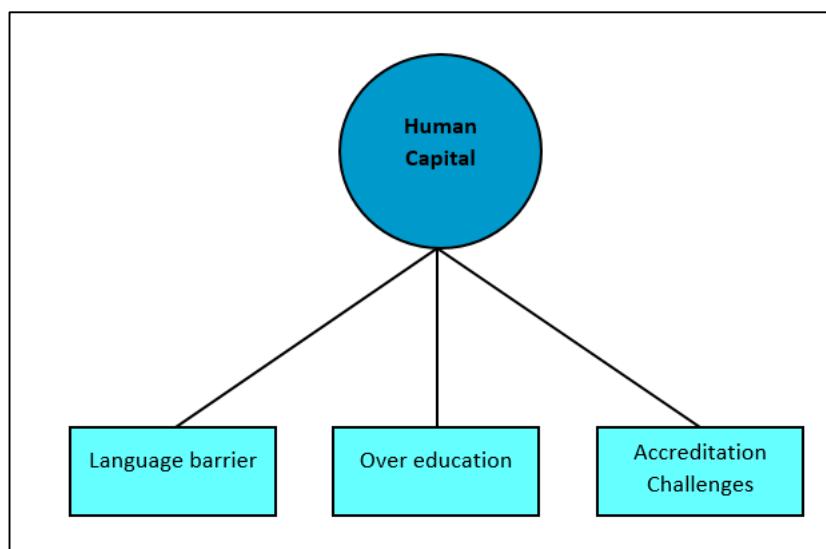
After getting a number of codes, I wanted to build themes that could cover the built codes in the previous level. Following the guidelines of Braun and Clarke (2006), I used a visual representation to transform codes into themes. Although they have mentioned several methods to sort the codes and build themes, I used a thematic map (As illustrates in figure.9) since it helped to clearly identify the relationship between main themes and subthemes.



**Figure 9:** Thematic map A

#### **4. Reviewing themes**

Braun and Clarke (2006), recommends to review the built themes in order to make sure, the themes that built, can clearly cover all the codes and collected data as a whole. As they point out, data that align under themes should be “cohere together meaningfully” and the themes should be able to clearly distinguish with each other. Following this recommendation, at this stage, I found several themes that can be combined. For instance, the major theme human capital was developed combining three subthemes, such as language barrier, over education, and accreditation challenges. Thus, this stage was ended having a good comprehension about the themes and how those themes can be used to analyze the data.



**Figure 10:** Thematic map B

### ***5. Defining themes***

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), at this stage, the researcher is supposed to refine themes further and clearly identify the ability each theme has to capture different facets of the data. In the study of Clark et al. (2021, p. 538) they mention, the analyst should develop a narrative at this stage to describe the relevance of each theme to the study. Similarly, Braun and Clarke (2006), suggest to review the data extracts considered for each theme and reorganize them keeping coherence. However, in this study, I used the thematic map method when searching for themes and Reviewing themes (Initial steps of the themes building process). Therefore, I was able to retrace the thematic mapping process and make sure about each theme's suitability to cover different aspects of data, and their relevance to the study.

### ***6. Evidencing themes***

After developing proper themes I started to write the analysis following the guidelines of Braun and Clarke (2006). In my data analysis I presented the story of clustering immigrants in the lower segment of Norwegian labor market in a comprehensible manner with sufficient evidences such as data extracts collected from the hospitality industry and relevant literature to the themes. Further, as Braun and Clarke (2006) recommends I made arguments being analytical without limiting to descriptive data (This is all presented in Chapters 4 and 5).

## **3.8 Ethical Considerations**

The research ethics cannot be taken for granted since ignorance of them might cause considerable ethical issues (Bryman, 2012, p. 130). According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 113), several ethical principles should be taken into account when conducting social research. Therefore, this study was conducted abiding by those ethical principles. For instance, I placed special attention on potential harm (both mental and physical) that could cause for participants. Diener and Crandall (1979) point out, as mentioned in the book of Clark et al. (2021, p. 113), the term "harm" covers not only physical harm but also, harm to the development of participants, , self-esteem loss, stress, and inducing respondents to engage in reprehensible acts. In this study, I had to interview employees who engage in the least noticed elementary jobs such as dishwashing, and in such situations, I managed to conduct those interviews without making them embarrassed and losing their self-esteem. One of the things I did was. I explained to them that I'm also a part-time kitchen helper and a dishwasher.



Similarly, I implied to them that, it is just another job in this industry which might be the first step to being a head chef, restaurant manager, or any other professional.

Further, as Clark et al. (2021, p. 117) point out, the researcher who conducts the research also should take measures to avoid any potential harms that can be occurred to him or herself. For instance, if a researcher who is representing a minority group conducting a research study related to a racist movement, the researcher should consider his safety when interacting with respondents who might have intolerant views. In this research, I had to interview employers in the hospitality industry and ask the reason for recruiting certain immigrant groups for back-of-house jobs. In such situations, I approached respondents in a careful manner not making them offended and avoiding any negative effect that might cause on the immigrant employees who were already engaging in such occupations in that organizations., the interviews were conducted under the full informed consent of the respondents and protecting their privacy which is accepted as highly important ethical practice according to Clark et al. (2021). Further, the respondents were allowed to withdraw from the interview at any stage during the interview.

Especially, since the Kristiansand region where I conducted my study is a small geographical area, I had to be extra careful when anonymizing the respondents because even a slight clue could lead to revealing the identity of the organization (restaurant/ hotel/pub/catering service). Further, I conducted this research study and presented its findings, without manipulating either respondents who joined the study or potential readers, taking heed of instructions to avoid *deceptions* when conducting an ethical research study given by Clark et al. (2021, p. 125).

Moreover, the study was conducted following the guidelines of NSD and university of Agder. Specially, the data collection was conducted under the approval of NSD since the study required some data which treated as personal data of the respondents. The audio recordings and transcripts were stored safely in the university's cloud based storage platform - OneDrive. The signed consent forms of the respondents were also safely kept at home so that a third party cannot reach them.

Briefly, I conducted the research study according to the guidelines of NSD and UIA. Further, the recommendations of Clark et al. (2021) were also taken into consideration when conducting the study to maintain the quality of proper social research and avoid any ethical

issues that might occur during and after the study. Especially, I paid special attention when making interview guides. For instance, I used innocuous words and polite phrases when interviewing respondents to avoid them feeling assailed, and offended.

After discussing the ethical considerations of the study, the next section will focus on the data validity of the study.

### 3.9 Data Validity

According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 40), Data validity discusses the integrity of the conclusions made at the end of a research study. In the study of Clark et al. (2021) they mentioned several facets of data validity such as Measurement Validity, Internal Validity, External Validity, Ecological Validity, and Inferential Validity. These facets of the data validity, are applied to research studies that have used different research methodologies.

As mentioned in previous sections, this study specifically used the qualitative approach which helps to explore and understand the factors affect the immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations. Thus, considering the qualitative approach of this study, the most relevant data validity aspect appears to be ecological validity. According to Clark et al. (2021, p. 41) ecological validity focuses on the extent to which the findings discussed in a social scientific study can reflect the natural, everyday life of people.

As Clark et al. (2021, p. 48) point out, if the findings of a social scientific research study do not reflect what practically happens on the ground, there is no or less ecological validity, although the findings are technically valid. Therefore, it is worth mentioning how and to what extent I managed to maintain the ecological data validity of this study.

As mentioned in chapter 3, I collected data both from employers and employees in the hospitality industry through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interview format allowed the respondents to express their ideas without limiting them to a specific number of questions. However, it is less likely that employers would be sincere about their attitudes toward immigrants and immigrants' positioning in the lower segment of the labor market.

Nevertheless, being a part-time kitchen worker in the restaurant field shaped the possibility to approach the respondents. Thus, despite the challenges, I managed to have an open conversation with some employers and capture mostly reliable thoughts and experiences of respondents to use as qualitative data in the study. Further, the thematic analysis also helped to keep the ecological validity of the findings.

To summarize the contents of the chapter. It mainly focused on the methodology of the study. Besides the subsection which briefly explained the inclusion criteria for respondents, it mainly focused on epistemological ontological considerations of the study, research strategy, design, sampling, data collection method, and data analyzing method as well. Finally, it discussed the ethical considerations and data validity as well.

The next chapter will discuss the findings of the study obtained using the methods mentioned in this chapter.

# Chapter 4: Major Findings

## 4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the introduction, this study mainly focuses on the reasons for the clustering of immigrant workers in the lower segment of the Norwegian labor market. As discussed in the first two chapters, the immigrants' gravitation toward the lower segment of labor markets in host countries has been discussed in many studies. Based on the review of the literature, I selected the most pronounced factors that appeared to be affecting the occupational choices of immigrants, and the following research questions were formulated accordingly. However, it should be noted that, although the research questions and interview guides were built referring to the literature, which is tantamount to the deductive approach I followed the inductive approach from the stage of data analysis (see Chapter 3).

- How does ethnicity affect the occupational choices of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway?
- What are the other specific factors lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in low-waged, physically exhausting elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway?

The hospitality industry is emblematic of the research problem discusses in this study. And it appeared to be a cross-section of the labor market which can be used to study the reasons for clustering immigrants in the lower segments of the labor market (see Chapters 1, 2).

The interview guides for the semi-structured interviews were developed so as to provide the data necessary for answering research questions. However, the respondents' stories, and ideas (in addition to the answers they gave to the main interview guide questions) were also taken into consideration when analyzing the data. All the interviews were conducted in English except one which was conducted in Norwegian. After transcribing the interviews in English, the data were analyzed using thematic analysis. In the thematic analysis, the empirical findings were organized under themes of ethnic discriminations, human capital,

social capital, segmented labor market, and dual frame of reference developed through initial data coding (see Chapter 3). Finally, the findings were presented highly securing the anonymity of the participants.

## 4.2 Ethnic Discriminations

Ethnicity is one of the main themes which was developed when analyzing the data under thematic analysis. Further, this theme directly addresses one of the research questions, “how does ethnicity affect the occupational choices of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway?”

In this chapter, the effect of ethnicity on determining the occupations of immigrants will be discussed mentioning findings captured from semi-structured interviews. The findings related to the theme, of ethnicity are discussed in this chapter under two subheadings as statistical discrimination and taste-based discrimination.

### 4.2.1 Statistical Discriminations

One explanatory factor raised in the literature regarding the clustering of immigrant workers in elementary occupations was ethnic discrimination which some authors termed “racism”. However, as I have explained in chapter 2, there are different forms of discrimination and statistical discrimination is one form of discrimination that prevails in the labor market. According to Guryan and Charles (2013, p. 418), Statistical discrimination refers to an attempt of economic actors to assess certain characteristics of people based on currently available limited information (This has been discussed deeper in Chapter 2). In this section, findings that appeared to be tantamount to the idea of statistical discrimination will be discussed.

The findings will start from one employer who joined the study,

Working in the kitchen is not a luxurious, easy job. It is difficult to stand in front of a stove for 10 -8 hours every day. So those who really needs a job comes to this field. Kitchen jobs are too hard for Norwegians, they need easy jobs (Interview, 01.04.22).

In a similar vein a restaurant manager who was interviewed mentioned,

As a manager I see foreign people have more drive compared to the natives. They don't take the opportunity for granted. They are committed to the job and they acknowledge the employers for giving them a chance. I don't say the Norwegians are lazy. But they are somewhat less active in the job compared to immigrants (Interview, 04.04.22).

Consistent with this statement, another restaurant manager mentioned,

Immigrant workers are much better than Norwegian employees. They need to do something, they need to show that they are good, and they try to show a good impression (Interview, 04.04.22).

However, the stereotyping of immigrants is not applied to every immigrant group in a similar manner. For instance, the stereotypes ascribed to immigrants coming from the global north, are slightly different from stereotypes ascribed to global south immigrants (Such as African immigrants). As one of the employers who was interviewed mentioned,

Somali people have a totally different way of working, we have to tell them everything slowly from the beginning to do certain things, and they are kind of slow. But people who come from countries like Chile are very efficient, they can face the pressure, but they need to talk with each other at work, hang out, smile, etc. Polish people are completely different and Norwegians really don't need to work hard. They just need to stay fancy and keep their appearance nicely at work." Norwegians, (except students) will never do inferior jobs in restaurants. Because they don't like to tell their friends that they are doing such jobs such as dish washing jobs (Interview, 06.04.22).

Similarly, when one restaurant manager was asked to reflect upon immigrant workers he mentioned.

As I have experienced, immigrant workers are more efficient and faster compared to Norwegian workers at work. But sometimes, although the Norwegian workers take a bit more time, the quality of their work is a bit higher compared to work done by immigrants (Interview, 02.04.22).

When scrutinizing the above interview extracts, it can be observed that immigrants have been stereotyped as hard-working, efficient, passionate, endurable workers who are good at

physically exhausting jobs. On the other hand, the natives are stereotyped as people who can handle less physically exhausting jobs and who are more concerned about appearance, and quality. The way such stereotypes affect occupational choices of immigrant workers' will be discussed in the analyzing chapter.

So far, these interview extracts showed how employers have stereotyped immigrant and native workers. The following interview extract is from an immigrant employee who has been working as a dishwasher for four years and he explains another way how employers perceive immigrants negatively in terms of working performance.

Some immigrants do not like to work, they just take money from NAV [Norwegian Labor and Welfare Administration]. Therefore, some Norwegian employers do not like immigrant employees, because they know some immigrants suddenly stop working to take money from NAV (Interview, 05.04.22).

However, such response (negative attitudes) about immigrant workers was not received from the employers' side in the study. In reality, it is less likely to receive such responses from employers when they are being interviewed by another immigrant. Therefore, it can be identified as a limitation of the study. This will be further discussed under the limitations of the study (Also see Section 3.2.1).

When studying how ethnicity affects the occupational choices of immigrants, it was found that employers have stereotyped both immigrants and natives. Subsequently, such ethnic stereotypes affect the hiring decisions. For instance, the employers explicitly mentioned that immigrants are generally hard-working, and physically strong to endure pressure. In contrast, they describe natives as less efficient and too soft for enduring the pressure. However, the positive stereotypes about immigrants as "hard workers" do not appear to be valid and effective in the upper segment of the labor market. In other words, they are hard workers or good workers for physically demanding jobs.

Thus, considering the hospitality industry, the natives are mostly appointed for front-stage jobs and, the immigrants are more likely to be appointed for backstage jobs such as kitchen helpers, cooks, and dishwashers which require more physical effort.

The following statement is also from another manager who was interviewed in this study. (However, it should be mentioned that, as she stated this is not how she sorts out the

applicants, but she stated that this is how one of her ex-bosses used to sort out the job applications)

When he gets many CVs, first he looks at the names of the applicants. If their names sound foreign, he discards those CVs because he doesn't know how fluent they are in Norwegian, and he doesn't know whether they are familiar with the system here. He didn't have time to sort out all the CVs, so he looks at the names, and qualifications and select someone (Interview, 06.04.22)

When scrutinizing statements mentioned in the section, it can be identified that the employers have explicitly stereotyped both immigrant and native employees. However, although they admit those stereotypes as a positive thing ultimately they constitute discrimination. This will be discussed a bit more deeply in the next chapter when analyzing the collected data.

#### 4.2.2 Taste-Based Discriminations

The latter findings of this study that come under the theme of ethnicity are in line with the idea of taste-based discrimination. Taste-based discriminations refer to an exclusion of a certain group as a result of hostility or dislike prevailing against that group (Guryan & Charles, 2013). However, taste-based discrimination when applied to people, is basically what people tend to think of as blatant racism, an explicit dislike for particular groups.

In this study, most of the immigrant employees who were interviewed mentioned how certain prejudices affect their occupational choices. More than half of the immigrant employees who were interviewed have completed their higher studies in other fields. As they claimed, it is their ethnicity and immigrant status that deprive them of opportunities in the upper segment of the labor market.

The following statement was given by an immigrant employee who has completed his education (Lower and upper secondary) in Norway. Now he works in a pub and he mentioned his experience explaining how immigrant job applicants have to face discrimination which is tantamount to taste-based discrimination.



Before getting this job, I sent my CV to many places, but I did not hear anything back from them. I think that is because my name sounds Muslim. I think employers read the names of the applicants and if it sounds foreign they reject them. Now I live and work with Norwegians, and not every Norwegian thinks about the ethnic background of the people they hang out with. But when it comes to work, they think about the names and appearances of the people they are going to work with. However, eventually, I changed my name to a common Norwegian name (Interview, 08.04.22)

Similarly, another respondent (Immigrant from an African country) who has completed a bachelor's degree in Pedagogy in Norway, and now running a small food hut stated.

I don't like to use that word, but the Norwegians are kind of racist when it comes to labor market. From the moment an immigrant seeks for jobs with a different, foreign sounding name it's hard for them to find jobs. And that's because of the racism (Interview, 12.04.22).

And if you have a Muslim name it is worse. If you have a Muslim name and you wear the Hijab, then it is even harder. God must help you to find a job. It was difficult for me to find a proper job too. The reason is my name. It sounds very foreign though my first name sounds Norwegian. Once, I got a chance to work in a shoe shop. After a few months, the boss told me that he thought I'm a native Norwegian because of my first name and that's why he called me for the interview (Interview, 12.04.22).

As I was able to find in the study, the immigrants are aware of how these prejudices about immigrants are engrained in the minds of employers. As they claim, most of the time, the immigrants become scapegoats in the Norwegian media reports regarding crimes, misdeeds, and violations of rules. Thus, every immigrant is likely to be categorized as a criminal.

The media highlights, something happened because of a black person, because of foreign person, because of a Muslim person. Some black people do some wrong things. But Norwegians also do such bad things. So, people should not be categorized, generalized based on such narratives. For instance, they always highlight the ethnicity of the convict (Interview, 14.04.22).

Consistent with this statement. Another respondent shared one of her experiences regarding job seeking in Kristiansand, Norway. She is originally coming from an African country. She has

completed her education in Norway and she also has a bachelor's degree in Pedagogy from a Norwegian University. However, now she is working as a waitress. As she stated

Once I made a phone call to a kindergarten to ask about available vacancies without mentioning my name which sounds foreign. Then they told me, that there are few vacancies. Then I visited the place to talk with them and after seeing me they suddenly told me that there is no vacancy. However, I wanted to know the reason for their effort to avoid me, and eventually, someone working there revealed that the parents of the kids are somewhat afraid of immigrant teachers and they have less chances to work (Interview, 07.04.22).

There are several similar statements from employees' side to point out. However, following statement is from a hiring manager of a hotel and she explained what they usually consider when making hiring decisions.

We really don't care about the names of applicants, if their application or the CV seems to be a good one with Norwegian fluency and relevant experiences we would hire them. In this industry, everyone should do all the jobs from housekeeping, dishwashing, if they have a plan to go up in the ranks. For instance, if someone needs to become a restaurant manager, that person should know everything from bottom to top. So in our hotel even directors do the housekeeping (Interview, 19.04.22).

Similarly, the following statement was given by an employer to the same interview guide question I asked from the previous respondent. And his response was,

That's a big question, but I also have noticed and seen it. Maybe that's how they are tested by employers. (How they are performing) it is more like a kitchen culture thing. Sometimes we have to put newcomers in those kinds of positions to observe them. If they perform well they can go for higher positions (Interview, 05.04.22).

The above-mentioned statements from the employees seem compatible with the idea of taste-based discrimination or even with "racism". It should admit that some of those statements are not judgments, but experiences. However, when employers were asked to reflect upon the positioning of immigrants mostly in elementary occupations, they pointed out several other reasons (which will be mentioned in next sections) and none of them expressed dislike for any immigrant group. Therefore, this could also be a limitation of the

study since it is impossible to comprehend who holds racist attitudes. However, these findings will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

### 4.3 Human Capital

According to OECD (2004), as cited in the study of Tan (2014, p. 412) “productive wealth embodied in labor, skills, and knowledge” can be defined as human capital. As discussed in the literature review chapter many field experiments related to immigrants’ labor market integration have mainly shed the light on immigrants’ human capital. In this section, the findings related to human capital will be discussed under three themes, language barrier, difficulties in the accreditation of Immigrants’ local education, and over-education of the immigrants.

#### 4.3.1 Language Barrier

As a finding related to the second research question of the study, the language barrier was identified as a major factor that affects the clustering of immigrant employees in low-wage, physically exhausting elementary occupations in Norway. The following statements exemplify how language fluency affects the occupational choices of immigrants in the hospitality industry and how language becomes a barrier to accessing more socially accepted and prestigious jobs which are located in the upper segment.

It is very important to be able to speak Norwegian fluently. Especially, when it comes to Hotels field. We get many older guests and they cannot speak in English and they don’t need to speak in English either. So it doesn’t make sense recruiting someone who cannot speak Norwegian fluently for a front office job. That’s the reason why many immigrants are engaged in backhouse jobs such as dishwashing, kitchen helping, cooking (Interview, 19.04.22).

The above statement was given by a native Norwegian hiring manager of a hotel in Kristiansand. In a similar vein, another restaurant manager stated.

I have seen many people, who were working as dishwashers just because of their lack of Norwegian fluency. Once, there was a guy who had a degree in biomedical or

something and he was working in the kitchen as a cook. But now it is improving. People who cannot speak any Norwegian can work at least as a waiter without being dishwashers, I was also a waiter in the beginning, but I learned the language (Interview, 05.04.22).

The following statement received from an Iraq restaurant employee who works as a pizza also confirms the importance of language.

If I can speak Norwegian well, I will work at some other place, I will do some other job. I will not be working here. Language is the main thing you should know. You cannot work here without language. And when you don't know the language, you are devalued (you cannot demand for better salaries, positions). I was working as a dishwasher for more than 4 years. Now I'm a pizza maker (Interview, 15.04.22).

In a similar vein, another employee who works at a catering service in Kristiansand mentioned.

My vocabulary mostly contains words related to the restaurant and food business. I have to practice the language more, if I'm going to do some other job in a different field (Interview, 16.04.22).

When scrutinizing the above statements it can be identified that language is a critical factor that determines the occupation of an immigrant. Considering the hospitality industry, the level of language fluency is not an issue to get a backhouse job such as kitchen help, dishwashing, and cooking. And the highest position someone who does not speak the language can possibly reach is the waiter. Language skills should be at a professional level, to reach the upper segment of the hospitality industry labor market. In other words, to get a higher position such as a manager, front office manager, or head chef in the hospitality industry, the language fluency of immigrants should be at a professional level. However, it is still possible to be promoted to such a position regardless of the initial position of that employee, if he or she learns the language and shows good performance at work.

The following statement is from a restaurant manager who has started his job as a waiter and he explained how he was able to become a manager by learning and improving the language.

I started as a waiter. I was mostly speaking English. But, I learned the language. I showed my bosses that I'm learning the language and adapting to the Norwegian culture while working hard. Then I was promoted as a manager (Interview, 17.04.22).

This is one response received from an immigrant owner of several restaurants in Kristiansand who has started his first job as a dishwasher in a restaurant.

Most of the immigrants do not try enough to improve their language skills and move up. They just do the same jobs such as cleaning, washing because they are easy to do. When I was starting as a dishwasher I had to work 7.5 hours every day and I was paid only 200 kroners per day from NAV (30 years ago). But I learned the language somehow and gradually moved up (Interview, 14.04.22).

Every respondent who joined the study pointed out the language barrier as one of the major reasons for immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations. Further, a closer inspection of the above statements reveals that language fluency is a factor that affects, career mobility as well. According to Hall (1996); Sullivan (1999), as cited in the study of Ng et al. (2007, p. 363) career mobility simply refers to intra and inter-organizational transitions of a person throughout his or her working life. The above-mentioned statements showed how immigrants are positioned in elementary occupations of the hospitality industry and how language becomes a barriers to reduce the immigrant's participation in upper segment of the labor market or better jobs in terms of working conditions and salaries in more specific words. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

#### 4.3.2 Difficulties in Accreditation of Immigrants' Local Education

The high quality of the Norwegian education system is being maintained, monitored by the government so that everyone who has obtained educational qualifications from Norway remains at an equal level in terms of validity and acceptability of their studies. However, the accreditation of immigrants' local educational qualifications in Norway does not appear to be an easy process. Due to several reasons, such as language differences, and administrative and documentation complexities, immigrant workers become unable to get accreditation for their local educational qualifications. This was discussed in several interviews had with immigrant

employees and one employee originally come from Czech Republic who works at a restaurant as a waiter in Kristiansand mentioned.

I have a master's degree in Sociology, a lot of people told me it is very hard to get the recognition for the education in Norway and then I did not even try. Sometimes I would have to study a bit more to get the recognition. But I couldn't spend more time for that, I wanted to find a job soon (Interview, 07.04.22).

In a similar vein, one respondent from an African country shared her husband's experience about getting the accreditation for his Engineering degree obtained from Burundi.

They have formulated very high standards to be able to recognize that studies here in Norway. My husband is a Civil Engineer. He has 10 years of experience in his field. But it has been hard for him. But he had to do something else to survive. They did not give him even a chance to recognize his abilities. If you have studied somewhere else it is hard to get into the job market (Interview, 13.04.22).

Further, another respondent mentioned about one of her friends who had to engage in an elementary occupation due to difficulties, and complexities prevailing for foreign education accreditation

I know a doctor who had to clean. He is a children's doctor, he had to do a cleaning job to feed his family. It was hard for him to get the registration as a doctor in Norway (Interview, 08.04.22).

However, considering the qualifications of immigrants in the field of culinary, immigrants can easily find jobs related to the field because the employers accept the qualifications they have obtained from their home countries and there is no requirement of accreditation for such jobs. For instance, some immigrants who work in the kitchen as cooks have completed their commercial cooking education in their home countries and they have entered the hospitality industry without struggling to get accreditation.

After completing school, I entered into chef school in Albania. I have 20 years of experience in the kitchen. Then I came to Norway with my family. It was not difficult to find this job. I think those who have such qualifications do not have to do other jobs such as cleaning (Interview, 02.04.22).

### 4.3.3 Over-Education of the Immigrants

The excessive educational qualifications someone holds refer to over-education (Hardoy & Schøne, 2014). Although this finding was not much pronounced in the study, it appeared to be important to discuss. As one Polish immigrant who has been living in Norway for nine years stated,

I have a master's degree in chemistry, and technology got from my country. But there are not many opportunities for me since I'm overqualified. Companies can find people who have fewer qualifications but still who can do the job. But in my case I have more qualifications, which means the companies have to pay me more according to the Norwegian law. So the companies tend to hire people who have less qualifications, because then they do not have to pay them higher salaries (Interview, 06.04.22).

She is working as a restaurant manager. Although her current job does not belong to the directly elementary occupations category, she has started her first job as a dishwasher after sending more than 100 CVs to the jobs related to her field. There could be other reasons for not getting a job in her field, but her overqualified profile is a distinct reason as she claimed.

However, this finding will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

## 4.4 Social Capital

The investments in social relationships refers to social capital(Lin, 2001). According to the findings, social capital is another critical factor affect the clustering of immigrant laborers in elementary occupations. As was discussed in the interviews, social capital affects the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations in two ways. The most common one was, that immigrant workers finds elementary occupations jobs through the contacts they have within their own ethnic groups. The other one is lacking contact with Norwegians who involve in the upper segment of the labor market. Thus, under the theme of social capital, two sub-themes, socialization with the same ethnic groups, and poor contact with Norwegians will be discussed.

#### 4.4.1 Socialization with the Same Immigrant Groups

As some respondents pointed out, it is not easy to find at least an elementary occupation, if someone does not have the right contacts. This statement is from a Polish immigrant employee who works at a catering service in Kristiansand.

I sent more than 100 CVs. But I did not receive any response. The most important thing to find a job in Kristiansand is contacts. Contacts are more important than language. Even to get a cleaning job there should be contacts. First I was a cleaning lady, I got that job through one of my Polish friends (Interview, 08.04.22).

In a similar vein, another immigrant worker from Iraq who works as a dishwasher mentioned,

I applied for around hundreds of jobs, mostly for cleaning jobs because I cannot speak Norwegian. But nobody called me for interviews. I got this job because of one of my relatives who was working in a restaurant. In Norway, finding jobs depends on relations. If someone has more contacts he has more chances (Interview, 17.04.22).

The importance of having social contacts to enter the labor market appears to be widely accepted and discussed. The following statement from an immigrant employee affirms how the possibilities in the labor market are leveraged by social capital.

The contacts you have is very important. There was a time when I was working in a shoe shop. They reduced people. I lost my job. Then I had to go to the NAV. The officer I was being followed asked how is your network? Because you will not get a job. If you don't have a network. The next job I got, was received through my contacts (Interview, 18.04.22).

To confirm how socialization with the same immigrant groups affects the immigrants' clustering in the elementary occupations, the following statement given by a Palestine immigrant who works as a waiter in a pub can be pointed out.

I was trying so hard to find a job. I sent many CVs to different places but nothing worked out. But then I got to know the boss of this place and he gave me this job. Many Immigrants don't try enough to improve their language, make contacts and adapt to Norwegian society. It is the fault of immigrants. Especially, people come from countries like Africa, Afghanistan, and other Arabic countries try to be with their



people without hanging out with Norwegians and adapting to their culture (Interview, 11.04.22).

When scrutinizing the above statements it can be observed that immigrants are mostly canalized to these elementary occupations through the contacts they have within the same ethnic group. Similarly, a close inspection of these statements reveals that the formal job application process which starts with sending CVs, and job applications have not been effective for those immigrants. Thus the contacts they have become the conduits of getting information about the potential opportunities that prevail in the labor market and approach the employers. However, on the flip side, the contacts that immigrants have mostly belong to the lower segment of the labor market, and consequently, those links gravitate more immigrants towards the same segment of the labor market. Similarly, their statements imply the importance of having contact with Norwegians who mostly involve in the upper segment of the labor market. The following subsection will cover the findings related to poor contact immigrants have with Norwegians.

#### 4.4.2 Poor Contacts with Norwegians

As discussed earlier, it is important to have contacts with Norwegians to enter the upper segment of the labor market since their participation in that segment is quite visible compared to immigrants (see Figures 2, 3, 4). However, I was able to find there are certain barriers that hinder building contact with natives. As one immigrant worker stated, it is hard to build those contacts with Norwegians since they enter Norwegian society as foreigners.

We are foreigners. We do not have broad networks. And Norwegians are not easy to contact. That network is not always easy to build. Unless you have studied here in Norway from secondary school, it is hard to make Norwegian friends. But, if you have good contacts with Norwegians it helps you to get better jobs (Interview, 20.04.22).

Consistent with this statement, another immigrant restaurant worker who comes from an Asian country mentioned about the importance of having contacts with Norwegians to approach the upper segment of the labor market.

Norwegian employers mostly accept the recommendations of other Norwegians. For example, if you have mentioned Norwegian names as references on your CV, it's very

helpful for you. But in the beginning, we do not have such references. Because we don't have such contacts. When I was new in Norway, all my friends were immigrants. I got a restaurant job through one of them. But you should have better contacts to get better jobs (Interview, 03.04.22).

The above statements are from, immigrant workers who work in the hospitality industry. However, the following statement, which was given by a native Norwegian hiring manager points out her experiences related to finding jobs and how social capital was helpful.

The contact people have is also an important factor to get jobs. If someone knows people, they can find jobs easier than those who do not have such contacts. I have experienced it myself. When I was younger and looking for jobs, there was always someone, who work at a certain place and I got their support to find a job in those places. But some immigrants don't have such contacts, and they tend to engage in jobs that can be easily found (Interview, 17.04.22).

According to the above statement having social capital is a privilege for getting better jobs. However, that privilege does not appear to be extended to immigrants. Thus, the limited social capital immigrants possess can also be another reason for their clustering in elementary occupations. .

#### 4.5 Labor Market Segmentation

According to Leontaridi (1998), there are two segments upper and lower in a segmented labor market which differ from each other in terms of working conditions, and these divisions are caused by institutional barriers (see Section 2.5).

The institutional barrier is a broad term that covers different aspects of the legal framework related to the labor market. However, in this study, a major finding which was able to find related to institutional barriers is rules imposed by immigration authorities that avoid immigrant workers' involvement in education, training, and entering the upper segment of the labor market. The following statement is from an Iraq immigrant who works as a dishwasher and it exemplifies how certain rules affect the clustering of immigrants in the lower segment of the labor market.

I'm a graduate of the Iraq military academy. I have been living in Norway for seven years. My resident permit does not allow me to go to school or study. It's a temporary resident permit allowed only for living and working. I do not receive any financial support from the state. Because of my previous job in Iraq military service I've been given a special resident permit. I can only live and work here (Interview, 05.04.22).

His poor language proficiency is one of the main reasons for propelling him to his current occupation as he claimed. Further, as he pointed out, his educational background related to military service is not helpful in Norway to get a better job. However, due to the limitations associated with his resident permit issued by UDI he is unable to study. Thus, he has been stuck in this job.

As discussed earlier, institutional rules affect the positioning of immigrant workers in elementary occupations in different ways. In the above statement, the effect of institutional rules on the clustering of immigrant employees in elementary occupations was quite explicit. However, as it was found during the study, there are some institutional rules imposed by the state that affect the positioning of immigrant workers in elementary occupations indirectly. The following statement was given by a Syrian refugee immigrant who works as a cook in a restaurant and he points out, how immigrants deprive of the opportunities in the upper segment of the labor market that can be achieved through training and education as a result of institutional rules.

In Norway, there is not lots of things to do if someone does not have the right qualifications. You should have paper qualifications. I was searching for a job for one year, I could not find anything. But in Norway, the immigrants have to find a job as soon as possible to settle. I wanted to bring my family here. For that, I should have a job and I should have a good income. I cannot spend time at a school for studies. I started as a cleaner and dishwasher, and now I'm a cook. This job is OK. But although I like to do something else, now I cannot quit from this job (Interview, 05.04.22).

The validity of the above statement was checked and confirmed by logging into the website of UDI. This will be further analyzed in the next chapter. However, the idea of the above statement can be further explained by the following statement which was given by a restaurant waitress who originally come from Burundi.

There is another reason for stagnate people in the lower segment. Because once people get into a job for example doing dishes they have to work more hours because these jobs are less paid jobs. They have to work maybe double to earn a sufficient amount of money to treat their family, to be able to pay the bills. Then you get tired. You do not have time to focus on your studies or seek better jobs (Interview, 07.04.22).

As the above statements indicated, in a segmented labor market, institutional laws also affect the occupational choices of immigrants. Especially, in such a labor market, immigrants are more likely to be propelled to the lower segment of the labor market and stuck in that segment. This will be further analyzed in the next chapter.

#### 4.6 Dual Frame of Reference

During the study, there was one commonly given response by more than half of the immigrant employees who were interviewed. Although the statements are not identical to each other, the essence of the idea was similar to each other. For instance, as they mentioned, thanks to the strong labor laws, welfare system, and economic prosperity they have a better life in Norway regardless of the jobs they do. For instance, considering the salaries they are paid, the amounts are significantly higher compared to the salaries they would be paid in their home countries. Consequently, they tend to find even elementary occupations and stick to the same positions they have been doing in Norway. The following statement given by a Palestinian immigrant who works as a waiter explains this situation clearly.

Some immigrants think they are making enough money, regardless of their position or job role. Even the cleaners think they are paid well, they are good with this and don't need any better positions. That is not the right thing to do, and they do not have plans, or dreams, so they keep doing the same job (Interview, 07.04.22).

In a similar vein, one Syrian immigrant who works as a cook, mentioned when I politely tried to know the reason for not trying to shift from the lower segment to the upper segment of the labor market,

I have a car, and house here, I have enough money to afford the things I want, what do you think I want more than that? Do you want me to be the president of Norway? (Interview, 08.04.22).

His response implies that he keeps his resolution to remain in the same occupation which appears to be OK for him in terms of financial benefits. Thus, I found that sometimes the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations is a choice of immigrants since the rewards they get from those jobs are still above the limits of their home country occupations.

This finding is a prime example from this study to affirm the nature of qualitative research studies. The findings I mentioned so far, (until Section 4.5) were reflected in my initial conceptual framework. But, this finding emerged from data that was not reflected in the initial conceptual framework. This has been emphasized when explaining the reason for using a combined research strategy (both inductive and deductive) and research design (qualitative case study) in chapter 3.

However, the challenge was to find a theory that fit the data and I was able to find the dual frame of reference theory which refers to the comparison of salaries and working conditions between host countries and home countries by immigrants. This will be discussed further in the analysis chapter.

# Chapter 5: Analysis and Discussion

This study sheds light on the research problem of immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway. Based on the literature, the research questions were developed and data was collected through semi-structured interviews with the participation of employers and employees working in the hospitality industry. In this chapter, the findings of the study will be analyzed using relevant theories and literature. The results will provide a theoretical explanation of the research problem explaining the study findings themed as ethnic discrimination, human capital, social capital, segmented labor market, and dual frame of reference. As the core focus of this chapter, it will address the research questions in a comprehensible way, based on the findings of the study.

To comprehend how ethnicity affects the occupational choices of immigrant workers the findings will be analyzed under two sub-themes taste-based discrimination and statistical discrimination.

## 5.1 Taste-Based Discriminations

According to Wozniak and MacNeill (2020, p. 1), the taste-based discrimination theory refers to discrimination that occurs as a result of dislike, or distaste about a certain ethnic group. In contrast, statistical discrimination occurs when employers make hiring decisions based on imperfect information about employees (see Chapter 2).

As it was found during the study, immigrants tend to enter the lower segment of labor market since they have less chances in the upper segment. According to the findings, the names of the immigrants which signal their ethnicity is a reason for not being invited for job interviews by the employers in the upper segment. Such findings imply that, there are ethnic discriminations in the Norwegian labor market. As Bursell (2007, p. 3) points out, most of times the labor market differences between natives and immigrants rationalized by certain productivity related variable such as language fluency or other skills. But, considering certain ethnic groups such as Muslims and Africans, they appeared to be particularly exposed to taste-based discrimination.

The findings of this study are in line with a previous study conducted by Larsen and Stasio (2019) on explanations of racial disadvantages in the Norwegian labor market conducted focusing on Pakistani immigrants. As they point out Somali and Pakistani immigrants have experienced more discrimination in the Norwegian labor market compared to Swedish and Polish immigrants who have similar qualifications. As they have pointed out, ethnic, and religious implications of job applicants such as names directly affect discrimination in the Norwegian labor markets. Especially, Muslims are more likely to experience discrimination in the labor market because of their names (Larsen & Stasio, 2019, p. 1211). Further, this finding coincides with previous research on explanations of racial disadvantages in the Norwegian labor market conducted by Midtbøen (2013). As they point out although the second generation immigrants are facing less difficulties when entering into the labor markets compared to their adult generations, still they face challenges compared to their native peers despite the similar language fluency and educational qualifications they have. Hence, Arnfinn and Midtbøen (2014) has used the term “ethnic penalties” to imply the ethnicity based discriminations prevail when immigrants entering into the European labor markets including Norway.

However, as respondents who joined the study pointed out, the media’s depictions of immigrants have a serious effect on natives’ attitudes about immigrants and a similar argument has been made in the study of Strabac et al. (2016). As they point out, the Norwegian media has been depicting Muslims negatively compared to other immigrant groups, and prejudices created by such depictions have affected to labor market integration of Muslim immigrants (Strabac et al., 2016, p. 2670). Further, such taste-based discrimination can be emerged due to several reasons. For instance, as described in the study of Stasio et al. (2021) natives of western countries including Norway where Christianity is firmly established can be less supportive of immigrants who come from completely different religious backgrounds. Similarly as some researchers such as Birkelund et al. (2019, p. 242) point out, the recent terrorist attacks caused by Islamic extremists can also be a reason for creating prejudices, hostility about Muslim immigrants and all immigrants in general. Similarly, the emergence of anti-Muslims organizations such as SIAN (Stop Islamiseringen Av Norge) and legal recognition given to such organizations can also create hostile attitudes toward Muslims (SIAN, 2022).

Same as Muslims, immigrants who come from African regions also appeared to be facing discrimination in the labor market that is tantamount to racial discrimination. (see Chapter 4). According to Kunst and Phillibert (2018, p. 13), the discrimination experienced by African immigrants in Norway, occurs because of their racial group membership. In more specific terms, Africans are likely to be treated differently because of not being white as the majority and their darker skin tone represents an ethnic group whose status is low compared to the majority. Thus, such perceptions about immigrants who have darker skin tones can also be a reason for their positions in elementary occupations. Especially, African and Asian immigrants' involvement in backhouse jobs such as dishwashing, kitchen help, and cleaning in the hospitality industry confirms the above argument. However, as Kunst and Phillibert (2018, p. 10) argue there is no pigmentocracy in Norway because the country has never been a colonial power against any country.

## 5.2 Statistical Discriminations Face by Immigrants

The statistical discrimination theory has been propounded by Edmund S. Phelps in 1972 (Fang & Moro, 2011, p. 135). According to Guryan and Charles (2013, p. 418), discriminations occur as a result of stereotyping referred to as statistical discrimination (see Section 2.2). To gain a better understanding of the theory, the term stereotypes also should be defined.

As Beeghly (2015, p. 676) mentions the generalization about social groups refers to stereotyping. Further, as he points out, the clearest examples of stereotyping are given by speech acts. For instance, "Black people are strong" is a stereotyped claim. However, this has been critically discussed in the study of Eriksen (2010). As Eriksen (2010, p. 29) mentions, "The concept of stereotyping refers to the creation and consistent application of standardized notions of the cultural distinctiveness of a group". Moreover, as Eriksen argues, stereotyping provides criteria to classify people, and justify the inequalities that prevail in society for accessing resources (ibid).

According to Dickinson and Oaxaca (2014, p. 1380), statistical discrimination occurs when actual or assumed statistical attributes, of a group, are applied to everyone who belongs to that group when making hiring decisions. However, the explanation of Guryan and Charles (2013, p. 418) about statistical discrimination appears to be more helpful to understand its application on the grounds. As they point out, when economic actors assess the



characteristics of individuals based on currently available limited information, it encourages statistical discrimination. When scrutinizing the findings of the study, it can be identified how employers tend to stereotype certain ethnic groups in terms of their performance and characteristics. For instance, generally, employers perceive immigrant workers as hard workers who are most suitable for physically demanding jobs. Moreover, some employers have stereotyped specific ethnic groups as less efficient, and ignorant while some ethnic groups are highly efficient and smart (see Section 4.2.1). Especially, the stereotypes employers have built about native employees were a surprising finding of the study. However, the way some employers have categorized immigrants and natives implies the positions they are likely to be received in the labor market. Considering the hospitality industry, the positioning of immigrants in elementary occupations can be rationalized through the statistical discrimination theory.

These findings are concordant with findings in the study of Friberg and Midtbøen (2017) who carried out their study focusing on the hotels and fish processing companies in Norway. In their study, they discussed how ethnicity is perceived by employers as a skill. As they point out, the employers' hiring decisions such as which workers are suitable for which job are influenced by traits of employees such as physical strength, appearance, style, and accents as well. Similarly, as they point out when employers do not have enough information about job applicants' credentials, and references, they tend to use categorical characteristics such as ethnicity, nationality, and race as proxies (Friberg & Midtbøen, 2017, p. 3). Thus, based on their observations, they mention, Scandinavians, Western Europeans, and natives are mostly appointed for front-stage positions while non-Europeans, Central and Eastern Europeans are mostly hired for kitchen work or housekeeping work by hotel employers.

In the findings chapter it was mentioned the way some employers tend to sort out the CVs of applicants considering their names. The rationale behind such practice is also seemingly consistent with the theory of statistical discrimination. As Bonoli and Hinrichs (2012, p. 338) explain, statistical discrimination occurs when screening applicants. As they have elucidated the theory, the employers have to bear a higher cost for recruitment and they have to spend a considerable time on application screening as well. Further, they are unable to precisely predict the performance, and efficiency level of applicants before recruiting them. Sometimes, the employees tend to quit their jobs even before paying off those initial

investments employers made in recruitment. Therefore, briefly, hiring is a risky process from the perspective of employers. Consequently, they tend to ignore the applicants whom they perceive as being likely to cause problems in the organizations and those who belong to certain groups whose average performance levels are assumed to be lower than the expected levels. These initial assessments of employers are carried out based on their previous experiences, and stereotypes about certain immigrant groups.

Considering the Norwegian labor market, employers have to abide by many labor rules and regulations imposed by the government. Especially, employers cannot dismiss an employee, (terminate the contract) without justifying the grounds for the decision. Further, they also might have to pay a severance pay depending on the case (Storeng & Lund, 2021, p. 3). Thus, employers take all the measures for making the best hiring decisions in order to avoid any sort of negative consequence. Especially, when they cannot obtain more information, about the applicants such as immigrants, they tend to consider the stereotypes about applicants who belong to certain groups when screening applications as a risk-averse measure. Thus, considering the stereotypes that have been already established regarding immigrants, (as discussed in Chapter 4), immigrants are more likely to be directed toward elementary occupations that require, more physical effort.

However, it is worth mentioning that above passage is not an attempt of the researcher to justify the statistical discrimination highlighting rigid labor rules as an excuse. This is only an explanation regarding another factor that might affect encouraging statistical discrimination.

Taking into account all the findings related to the main theme of ethnicity the next section will address the first research question of the study.

### **5.3 How does Ethnicity Affect the Occupational Choices of Immigrant Laborers in Kristiansand, Norway?**

Considering the labor market in Norway, employers tend to be extra careful when recruiting people because of strict labor rules that have been imposed by the government. Consequently, as the results of this study demonstrated, the ethnicity of immigrants also becomes an important factor that is taken into consideration by employers although every employer does not perceive the ethnicity of immigrant applicants in a similar way.

It is worth discussing the unique findings of the study that helps to address the research questions a bit more deeply. As one such finding, the differing perspectives between employees and employers on ethnic discrimination can be mentioned. As discussed in chapter 4, the employees claim that they experience taste-based discrimination or racism in the labor market while employers claim that they use only “positive stereotypes” to decide the suitability of employees for jobs. For instance, the stereotypes employers have built regarding immigrant workers such as hard workers sound positive. But eventually, such positive stereotypes propel immigrant employees to physically exhausting occupations. In more specific terms, the employers have positive sounding stereotypes which nevertheless constitute discrimination.

However, this is not the common idea of ethnic discrimination which is believed to be existing in the labor market or other studies reviewed in the literature review chapter had touched upon. According to my findings, it is not always the negative attitudes toward immigrants that cause discrimination but positive-sounding stereotypes also constitute discrimination.

Similarly, considering the native employees, employers have built stereotypes about them as well. Although those stereotypes sound negative, surprisingly, still they receive higher occupations in terms of working conditions and pay. For instance, as mentioned in the findings chapter, employers have built negative sounding stereotypes about native employees such as “native employees are less active.” nevertheless they receive better positions in the labor market.

After discussing how ethnicity affects determining the occupation of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway the next section will analyze the findings related to human capital to explain how the elements of human capital affect the occupational choices of immigrant workers.

## 5.4 Human Capital

Human capital is one of the major themes which was built based on the collected data of the study. According to OECD (2004), as cited in the study of Tan (2014, p. 412) “productive wealth embodied in labor, skills and knowledge” can be defined as human capital. Similarly, human

capital theory emphasizes how the productivity and efficiency of employees can be augmented through increasing investment in education (Olaniyan & kemakinde, 2008).

Considering the relevancy of human capital to the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations, the poor Norwegian language skills of immigrants were found as a critical obstacle that obstructs the immigrants' access to the upper segment of the labor market. Similarly, considering the difficulties of Immigrants' local education accreditation, immigrant workers tend to enter the lower segment of the labor market where education accreditations are not required. However, when scrutinizing the findings related to the over-qualifications of immigrants, except several studies, recently conducted research studies have not comprehensively discussed how over-education of immigrants affect the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations in the Norwegian labor market. However, the findings related to human capital in this study will be discussed in greater detail below.

#### 5.4.1 Language Barrier

The Norwegian language is unique compared to other languages except for its familiarity with Scandinavian languages. According to Statistics Norway (2022d), since the immigrants who move to Norway are mostly from Asia, Africa, Latin America, the Middle- East, and Oceania, they have to put extra effort into learning the Norwegian language. As it was found in the study, many of the immigrant workers who engage in elementary occupations do not have, a higher level of Norwegian fluency except a basic level which is not adequate for jobs in the upper segment of the labor market. Thus, the findings of this study demonstrated, there is a significant link between the level of Norwegian language skills and labor market segments where immigrants are likely to be positioned.

Briefly, according to findings, language fluency is the fundamental competence that should be improved by immigrants to enter the upper segment of the labor market and escape from the lower segment. Although much of the current literature on labor market integration has paid particular attention to language skill generally, researchers have not treated the importance of language proficiency level or degree to which language skill should be improved in much detail.

However, this has been discussed in the study of Botoon (2020, p. 6) and as he points out, the basic level of Norwegian skills is adequate for elementary occupations such as cleaning work. But someone should have a professional level of language fluency to find better jobs than elementary occupations. Also, this finding is in line with the study of Zwysen (2019) who has investigated about possibilities of having good employment to immigrants by increasing more investments on human capital.

After analyzing how the language barrier affects the occupational choices of immigrant laborers. The next subsections will focus on the difficulties in the accreditation of immigrants' local education, and over-education.

#### 5.4.2 Difficulties in Accreditation of Immigrants' Local Education

The immigrants move to Norway on different grounds. However, regardless of the basis on which immigrants move to Norway, they have some educational qualifications they have obtained from their home countries. According to the findings of this study, the accreditation of immigrants' local educational qualifications in Norway is considerably challenging. As respondents highlighted, the Norwegian educational authorities have imposed highly officious conditions for the accreditation process and such conditions discourage the immigrants' efforts to get accreditation for their studies. For instance, some immigrants have to take extra education in Norway to get the accreditation and some immigrants cannot get the accreditation since their qualifications are treated as lower compared to the standards of Norway. Thus, immigrants inevitably tend to engage in elementary occupations that do not require educational qualifications since they cannot survive without a job. This finding is in line with the study of Damelang et al. (2020) who conducted their study focusing on immigrants' credential recognition and their chances of being recruited for skilled occupations in Germany.

Much of recent studies have emphasized the importance of implementing a somewhat convenient accreditation process in Norway. For instance, according to Botoon (2020, p. 66), the accreditation process in Norway requires more documents that most immigrants are unable to submit due to certain practical challenges. Specially, such requirements are extra challenging for immigrants who have moved to Norway as refugees and sometimes the immigrants cannot get the accreditation for certain studies due to their less or no relevancy

to the Norwegian context. Thus, as the upshot of all these findings, it can be deduced that the difficulty and complexity prevail in the immigrant's credentials accreditation process in Norway, are also reasons for immigrants 'clustering in elementary occupations in the Norwegian labor market.

### 5.4.3 Over-Education of Immigrants

The term over qualification mostly use to imply the mismatch of education levels between job applicants and the jobs (Larsen et al., 2018, p. 78). However, here the term over education is used to mean the higher or excessive educational qualifications of immigrants. According to the findings of this study, the immigrant's over education also become a barrier accessing to the upper segment of the labor market due to certain labor rules, policies in Norway.

For instance, the pay scales for upper-segment jobs are also determined considering the level of educational qualifications the employee is supposed to have. According to the law, if the employer expects to recruit an employee who holds a Master's degree in a certain field, the employer has to pay more for the employee than for an employee who holds a bachelor's degree in the field (UDI, 2022b). Thus, employers in the private sector tend to select employees who have fewer paper qualifications but, still can do the job. Consequently, job applicants who have higher educational backgrounds are likely to engage in jobs that they are overqualified for. Unfortunately, sometimes these occupations can be even elementary occupations (see Chapter 4).

However, this has not been discussed in previous studies on explanations of immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations. Although studies such as Larsen et al. (2018) and Hardoy and Schøne (2014) have discussed overeducated immigrants in Norway and their careers below the qualifications, less attention has been placed on the effect of labor rules or pay rules to create such consequences. Someone can argue that the over education of job applicants is a common issue that prevails in the labor markets and it is not something specifically related to immigrants. But considering the findings of above studies, the overeducated immigrants have a high risk of ending up in the elementary occupations compared to the natives.

In a similar vein, as Brekke and Mastekaasa (2008) point out, sometimes, although immigrants have invested so much time in obtaining higher education qualifications such as postgraduate degrees, diploma they might not bring them the expected returns if they have selected subjects that are less demanding on the host country's labor market.

Taking everything into account, it can be deduced that, the over-education of immigrants can also be identified as another factor that might affect the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations. The next section will analyze the findings under social capital.

## 5.5 Social Capital

As Lin (2001) describes, all forms of social relations networks someone has built refer to as social capital (see Section 2.6). As findings of this study evidence, the social capital of immigrants is also a critical factor that affects for clustering of immigrant employees in low-wage, physically exhausting elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway. As pointed out in the findings chapter the relevance of social capital to the research problem can be analyzed under two sub-themes as below.

### 5.5.1 Socialization with the Same Immigrant Groups

The famous English proverb, "birds of a feather flock together" does not seem to be wrong considering the social capital of immigrants. Many immigrants naturally tend to socialize with immigrants who come from similar ethnic groups although it has certain negative consequences as well. For instance, as discussed under the research problem, the positioning of immigrants in elementary occupations is higher compared to natives. Especially, considering certain ethnic groups such as Asians and Africans their involvement in elementary jobs is highly visible compared to other ethnic groups and natives. Thus, when immigrants have to struggle with entering the upper segment of the labor market, the contacts, and relations they have in the lower segment inevitably become conduits to enter the lower segment. For instance, as discussed in the findings chapter even doctors, and engineers who come from such ethnic backgrounds tend to engage in elementary occupations through the contacts they already have. As the findings of this study demonstrated, elementary occupations such as dishwashing, kitchen helping, and cleaning in the hospitality industry are

mostly filled by the contacts of the current employees who have been doing such jobs. Few other researchers also have made similar arguments regarding the social capital of immigrants and how it affects their labor market integration. For instance, Strömgre et al. (2014) point out how neighborhood-based networks of immigrants in Norway affect channeling immigrants to the workplaces where other immigrants mostly work. Similarly, consistent with this finding, Kracke and Klug (2021) have discussed in their study, how immigrants' relations with similar ethnic groups deprive their opportunities to learn about host country-specific job-seeking and application procedures. Especially, in Norway, the application procedures are highly digitalized and applicants should have an awareness about applying for certain jobs in the upper segment of the labor market. Therefore, socializing with the same immigrant groups might not be effective to learn about such things, and subsequently, it can be affected to lose their chances in the upper segment of the labor market and move towards the lower segment of the labor market.

### 5.5.2 Poor Contacts with Norwegians

According to the findings of this study the immigrants' poor contact with natives is also a reason for their clustering in elementary occupations. As respondents who joined the study stated the natives hold the sway in the upper segment of the Norwegian labor market. This also can be identified by looking at the statistics about labor market participation between immigrants and natives (see Chapter 1). Therefore, contacts with natives help immigrants to find better jobs in the upper segment of the labor market. For instance, references, and recommendations from natives can be advantageous for immigrants to get into better jobs.

Further, the information about opportunities prevails in the upper segment also mostly circulates among the natives due to their higher participation in the segment. Consequently, the lack of contacts with natives can be unfavorable for immigrants to get into the upper segment of the labor market. This finding is consistent with Badwi et al. (2018) and they highlight how certain ethnic groups such as Africans have to engage in occupations they are overqualified for due to a lack of contact with natives. In a similar vein, Botoon (2020) argues when immigrants have contacts with native employers it helps to alleviate certain negative attitudes about immigrant job seekers (especially refugees) and setting foot into jobs demonstrating their skills and abilities. Thus, in general, the findings of this study and previous



studies demonstrate that Poor contact with Norwegians is also a reason for immigrants 'clustering in elementary occupations. With the end of the social capital theme, the next two sections will focus on labor market segmentation and dual frame of reference explaining how they lead to the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations.

## 5.6 Labor Market Segmentation

According to segmented labor market theory there are two segments in the labor market and institutional barriers avoid the chances available for all parts of the population to equally benefit from education and training. Subsequently, vulnerable groups such as immigrants, trap in the lower segment of the labor market losing the possibilities for upward career mobility. Consequently, the wage levels of the lower segment also remain low due to excess labor supply (Leontaridi, 1998, p. 64). As it was found in my study, the rules that have been imposed by immigration authorities can be identified as major institutional barriers that avoid benefits from education and training and propel immigrants toward the lower segment of the labor market. As respondents who joined the study stated, those rules have deprived the possibilities for improving immigrants' human capital and they have stuck in the elementary occupations they have been doing now (see Chapter 4). This finding is in accordance with the study of Tiller et al. (2015) which has been conducted focusing on the Norwegian Salmon industry's work segmentation. As they argue, the institutions impose certain barriers to keep wages low and retain enough labor supply to the firms. For instance, the salmon manufacturing companies have limited the opportunities available for immigrant workers to improve their language skills so that employers can retain the labors within the industry while keeping their salaries low. As another critical argument in their study, they mention Immigrants who move to Norway with the only purpose of working do not have rights for free Norwegian courses although such language courses are given free for refugees. Therefore, according to Tiller et al. (2015) such conditions imply that, Norwegian welfare state has lawfully excluded the working immigrants in terms of language training (Tiller et al., 2015, p. 571).

Similarly, when scrutinizing the findings of my study, regulations imposed by the institutions such as immigration authorities propel immigrants to the lower segment of the labor market. For instance, according to UDI (2022a), if someone has a resident permit received on the

grounds of humanitarian considerations or skill migration and if that person expects to bring his or her partner to Norway. The person in Norway should have worked or studied full-time for four years and should have an annual income of 300,988 NOK (pre-tax). Further, that person should not have received any financial assistance from NAV 12 months prior to applying. Thus, it is clear that to fulfill such requirements immigrants inevitably tend to start their first job despite its nature. Especially those who engage in elementary occupations have to work more to earn an adequate amount of money since their salaries are low. Thus, they stuck in the same elementary occupations since they have less chance and time to improve their human capital.

## 5.7 Dual Frame of Reference

According to Piore (1979), as cited in the study of McCollum and Findlay (2015, p. 430) Dual frame of reference theory argues, immigrants tend to accept the poor working conditions and wages of the host countries since they are still favorable compared to the wage levels and working conditions of their home countries. From the study findings, it is clear that some immigrant workers remain in their current elementary occupations, despite the poor working conditions and salaries.

For instance, considering the general wage levels between Norway and African, Asian countries, or even some European countries the difference is immoderate. Thus, immigrants come from the global south especially tend to engage even in elementary occupations, since they are paid better and given better working conditions compared to their home countries. This also has been discussed in the study of Friberg and Midtbøen (2017). As they point out, immigrants in Norway tend to engage in jobs that natives do not prefer to do because of the dual frame of reference, although it is mostly interpreted by employers as a skill or ethic particularly possess by immigrant workers.

These findings are in accordance with the study of Clibborn (2021), whose research question was about the reasons for tolerating underpayments by international student workers in Australia. Similarly, this phenomenon has also been investigated by McCollum and Findlay (2015) who conducted their study focusing on immigrant workers in the UK. They have explained how immigrant workers in the UK tend to accept precarious working conditions as a result of dual frame of reference. Following this line of reasoning the dual frame of

reference also appeared to be involved as an explanatory mechanism concerning sizable participation of immigrants in the elementary occupations in Norway as well. And it should be noted, this factor emerged from the data collected in the study as a result of its qualitative approach and research design (see Chapter 3).

## 5.8 What are the Other Specific Factors That Lead to the Clustering of Immigrant Employees in Low-Wage, Physically Exhausting Elementary Occupations in Kristiansand, Norway?

As my study findings demonstrated there are several factors such as social capital, human capital, dual frame of reference, and labor market segmentation that affect the clustering of immigrant employees in low-wage, physically exhausting elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway. Further, according to the findings of this study, less social capital and elements of human capital such as poor language proficiency (in addition to accreditation of immigrants' local educational credentials, and over-education of immigrants) were found as critical reasons for immigrants' positioning in elementary occupations. Especially, there is empirical evidence from this study and previous literature linking the level of language proficiency to the level of labor market hierarchy. In simplest terms, Norwegian proficiency should be at a higher level to enter the upper segment of the labor market and a poor level of Norwegian proficiency considerably affect the positioning of immigrants in elementary occupations.

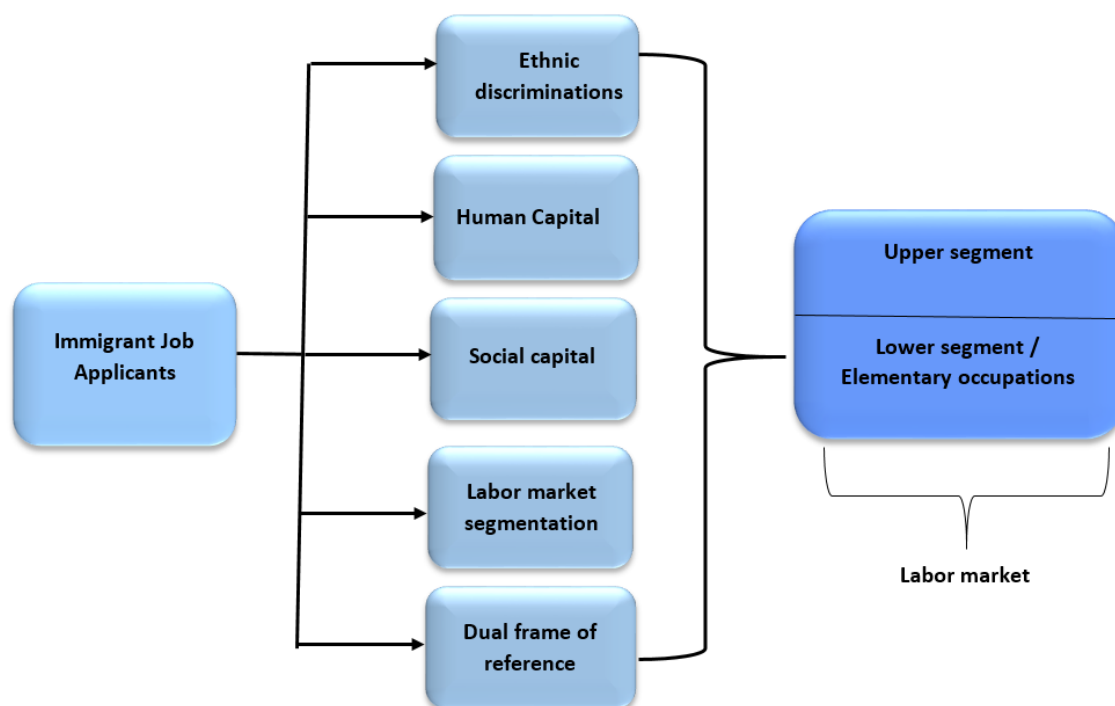
Considering, social capital, the immigrants' fewer contacts with natives and socialization with the same immigrant groups are also identified as reasons for immigrants' clustering in the lower segment of the labor market. Further, other factors such as labor market segmentation, and immigrants' dual frame of reference can also be identified as reasons for immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations although, there is a relatively small body of literature that is concerned with such factors prevailing in the Norwegian labor market.

Especially the finding about the dual frame of reference that emerged from the data is a unique factor identified from this study that had not been highlighted in previous studies discussed in chapter 1 and 2. The factors discussed in this chapter are brought together in a final framework illustrated and discussed in the conclusion.

# Chapter 6: Conclusion

## 6.1 Conclusion of the Discussion

In this study, reasons for the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations were studied focusing on the hospitality sector in Kristiansand, Norway. The findings of this study addressed two research questions which shedding the light on the effect of ethnicity to determine the occupation of immigrant laborers in Kristiansand, Norway, and other specific factors that lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in low-wage, physically exhausting elementary occupations. 21 respondents including employers and employees were selected for semi-structured interviews through purposive and snowball sampling methods. The collected data were transcribed and analyzed using the thematic technique. The findings were categorized under main themes, and sub-themes and deeply discussed exploring their consistency with previous literature. As the findings of this study indicated, the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations is a confluence of different factors. The following diagram was drawn to illustrate the causes behind the research problem.



**Figure 11:** Final Conceptual Framework

In spite of the fact that Norway is well-known for its egalitarian society, based on the findings of this study and previous literature, it can be deduced that ethnicity-based discrimination affects the clustering of immigrant workers in elementary occupations. These discriminations can occur either because of hostility or dislike employers have towards certain ethnic groups or stereotypes they have built about immigrant workers belonging to certain ethnic groups. As my findings demonstrated, there is a difference between employees and employers regarding the perceptions they have regarding discrimination prevailing in the labor market. In simplest terms, while employees perceive it as taste-based discrimination, employers perceive it as positive stereotypes they use to reduce the hiring risks and save time. The stereotypes built by employers regarding immigrants in general and certain ethnic groups have made notions that immigrants are better in physically demanding jobs compared to the natives who are too soft for such jobs. Thus, stereotypes about natives likely facilitate their access to better-paying jobs, but may also constrain their choices in undesirable ways, but more research would be required to explore this.

Considering other factors that lead to the clustering of immigrant employees in low-wage, physically exhausting elementary occupations the elements of human capital such as poor language proficiency, difficulties in getting accreditation for immigrants' home country credentials, and over-education of immigrants can be mentioned. Immigrants should have a high language proficiency so that they can enter the upper segment of the labor market. Thus, poor language proficiency was identified as a critical reason which propels immigrants towards elementary occupations. Similarly, the difficulties, and complexity of the accreditation process were also identified as reasons for discrimination prevail in the labor market. Under the existing accreditation process in Norway, some immigrants have to take extra education or completely new education and provide documents that some immigrant groups such as refugees are unable to provide. Therefore, many immigrants tend to engage in elementary occupations that do not require high educational qualifications. Further, according to the findings, due to certain pay rules and policies, the over-education of immigrants was also identified as another reason for the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations.

However, some immigrants improve their human capital which needs to shift to the upper segment of the labor market while engaging in elementary occupations, although some

immigrants are stuck in the same, lower segment due to reasons such as labor market segmentation. In a segmented labor market, institutional laws, sometimes constrain the opportunities available for all parts of the population to equally benefit from education and training. As my study findings demonstrated, the immigration laws in Norway considerably strengthen and maintain the segmented structure of the Norwegian labor market. Thus, the immigrants are more likely to enter the lower segment of the labor market stuck there due to limited chances available for human capital improvement.

The social capital of immigrants is also equally important as human capital to find employment in the Norwegian labor market. As my findings indicated, the immigrants should have the right contacts to find even an elementary occupation. Thus, considering jobs in the upper segment of the labor market, the contacts are even more important to access them. However, the immigrants mostly socialize with immigrants who come from similar ethnic backgrounds and they have fewer contacts with Natives. As respondents stated, it is hard to build contacts with Norwegians. Specially, in the early stages after migrating to Norway.

Considering the status quo of the Norwegian labor market, the natives' involvement in the upper segment is significantly high compared to the immigrants. In contrast, the lower segment of the labor market is led by immigrants. Consequently, immigrants have fewer chances to enter the upper segment although they can relatively easily enter the lower segment through their contacts. According to the findings of this study and previous literature, when information about career opportunities mostly flows through the contacts, the immigrants are less likely to receive information about such opportunities, and application procedures in the upper segment due to their fewer contacts with natives. Similarly, many immigrants do not have high recommendations from the natives which is also important when approaching the upper segment of the Norwegian labor market.

This study has also shown that sometimes immigrants tend to remain in elementary occupations since they are satisfied with their current payments and working conditions in Norway compared to their home countries (Dual frame of reference). Therefore, these immigrant workers do not try adequately to find better opportunities in the upper segment of the labor market. Instead, immigrants who represent the same ethnic group tend to cluster in those elementary occupations.

As mentioned in chapter 3, the research strategy used in the study was a combination of both inductive and deductive approaches. Consequently, the final conceptual framework which is depicted in this chapter was built with slight differences from the initial conceptual framework depicted in chapter 2.

Lastly, taking into account the findings of this study and relevant literature, it can be deduced that, the clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway cannot be merely explained as a consequence of one single factor which is commonly labeled as racism. It is an outcome of different factors that should be addressed through proper policies and attitudinal changes.

## 6.2 Summary Reflection on the Research

The main objectives of this research study which was conducted in the nature of a Master's thesis were to identify how ethnicity affects the occupational choices of immigrant laborers and identify the reasons for immigrants' clustering in elementary occupations in Kristiansand, Norway. The hospitality sector in Kristiansand, Norway was selected as a case study, and qualitative data were collected through semi-structured interviews conducted with the participation of employees and employers in the hospitality sector. The clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations is not an issue that prevails only in the hospitality sector. Therefore, the findings of this study can also be used to identify the overrepresentation of immigrants in elementary occupations in general which signals weaknesses in the current labor integration process, and policies.

The research questions were built referring to the previous literature and interview guides were also built accordingly. However, the study used both inductive and deductive approaches as the research strategy (see Chapter 3). Some findings of this study related to human capital, social capital, and ethnic discrimination are pronounced ones in previous literature related to labor market integration. Nevertheless, there were relatively new findings that have not received adequate attention from the previous researchers. For instance, findings related to the labor market segmentation, immigrants' dual frame of reference, and over-education are less highlighted in previous literature.

This study also has documented some of the challenges that immigrants have to face when attempting to integrate themselves into Norwegian society. Although there are policies in place to assist with this, they should be improved. At the same time, integration is two-sided, so the focus should also be placed on how the attitudes of the majority regarding immigrants can be shifted.

### 6.3 General Recommendations

As mentioned in the first chapter, the Norwegian government has been implementing policies to augment the effectiveness of immigrants' labor market integration process and promote the majority's attitudes about inclusiveness. However, issues that prevail in the labor market such as the over-representation of immigrants in elementary occupations reflect that the implemented policies are not broader or effective enough to address the ground-level causes that hinder the labor market integration process. Although there are some issues that can be addressed through properly improved policies, many reasons such as stereotyping that deprive the opportunities for immigrants in the upper segment of the labor market emerge as a result of attitudes prevailing about immigrants. Thus, based on the findings of my study the following recommendations can be suggested.

#### **Introducing an updated code of ethics to the media**

- The Norwegian media has a significant role to play when shaping the public's attitudes toward immigrants. Therefore, an updated code of ethics and standards for reporting should be introduced to Norwegian media to avoid any narratives or news that can directly or indirectly lead to hostility or cause any form of discrimination against immigrants. The IOM also has placed its attention on this kind of recommendation. They have introduced, a list of recommendations to journalists about the usage of words, showing respect, avoiding hate speech when reporting about immigrants IOM (2019).

#### **Increasing opportunities for improving language fluency**

- The opportunities available for immigrant workers to improve Norwegian fluency should be increased by providing Norwegian courses. Currently, the free Norwegian courses are only available for a limited number of immigrant groups. Mainly for refugees, persons



who have been granted residency based on humanitarian grounds, spouses of Norwegian or Nordic citizens, people who stay in Norway under collective protection, and their spouses. Similarly, the allocated number of teaching hours for these courses is not adequate to become proficient in the language. Therefore, language courses with more teaching hours should be opened up for all immigrant groups either for free or with concessions.

#### **Making the credentials accreditation process flexible**

- The immigrants' credentials accreditation process should be made flexible. The IOM (2013) introduced several ways to make the accreditation process efficient and less challenging for immigrants. As one suggestion, the host country can get the support of accredited specialized nonprofit or private organizations that can assess the validity of the immigrants' educational qualifications compared to the standards of the host country. Similarly, aptitude tests and practical tests can also be conducted in the host countries to assess the qualifications of the immigrants to precisely evaluate their level of knowledge, and experience in a certain field.

#### **Encouraging ethnic diversity in work places**

- The government should encourage public, and private firms to have more ethnic diversity in the workplace. Although the Norwegian government has already taken such measures, they should be implemented systematically and consistently. As the ILO (2014) also suggests, the government can assign public, and private employers to conduct "diversity audits" so that employers can analyze the current diversity profile, and practices of the firm, while trying to have a higher ethnic diversity.

#### **Immigration rules, policies should be immigrants friendly to some extent**

- The rules that have been imposed by immigration authorities appear to be less supportive of the immigrants' labor market integration. Therefore, immigration policy reforms (especially related to family immigration of the immigrants) are required so that immigrants tend to invest in human capital rather than devoting their time in elementary occupations which have a high risk of being stuck.

## 6.4 Limitations of the Study

As mentioned earlier, this study was conducted in the nature of a Master's thesis as partial fulfillment for a Master's degree in Development Management and Planning. Therefore, as a key limitation of the study, my less experience in scientific research studies and fieldwork could have an effect on the overall quality of the study. Further, although there are several other industries such as construction and cleaning which can be taken into account when conducting research focusing on the selected research problem I had to select only the hospitality industry as a case study due to the limited time span available and convenience for completing the study. Therefore, above mentioned industries can also be covered when conducting future studies on the same topic.

Considering the data collected from the side of employers in the hospitality sector, there is a possibility of receiving less reliable data since employers do not tend to reveal their true hiring procedures and real attitudes about immigrant workers. This has also been discussed in the positionality and reflexivity section in chapter 3. However, I managed to reduce the potential biased responses by including both employers and employees to the study.

Further, the number of employers who joined the study is relatively less than the number of employees who were interviewed (Thirteen employees and eight employers). A precisely equal number of employers and employees were not able to interview due to the challenge of meeting employers and finding a time for interviews during their tight schedules.

## 6.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings of this research, it is obvious the requirement of further research on ethnicity-based discrimination prevails in the Norwegian labor market and the causes of such discrimination. For instance, there is an inadequate number of research studies that demonstrate the effect of Norwegian media to shape the negative attitudes of the majority about immigrants. Similarly, there could be other obscure causes that could adversely affect the majority's attitudes toward immigrants. Therefore, that research gap should be filled by future research studies. Similarly, according to the findings related to ethnicity (see Chapter 4), it will be important and rather interesting to conduct more research on how stereotypes about natives affect their employment opportunities.

As my findings have pointed out, there is a number of reasons for clustering of immigrants in elementary occupations. However, further research is needed to identify the factors that affect the most among those factors for the research problem. In more specific terms, as mentioned in chapter 3, the qualitative approach used in this study deal with people's real experiences identifying how and which certain factors affect issues associated with the lives of people. But, on the flip side, the qualitative approach is not ideal for measuring what is factor more determinant to cause a certain issue. Therefore, future research including quantitative studies could further explore some factors identified in this study.

Similarly, the future studies should pay their attention on the benefits of having broad ethnic diversity in Norwegian firms that belong to upper segment of the labor market. Although, there are extensive body of research that evidence the overrepresentation of immigrants in elementary occupations, much academic attention is needed to confirm the benefits that can be obtained through having a wide ethnic diversity in firms so that, employers tend to welcome more immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds.

# References:

- Adler, R. H. (2005). ¡Oye Compadre! The Chef Needs A Dishwasher: Yucatecan Men In The Dallas Restaurant Economy. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 34(2/3), 217-246. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40553483>
- Alika, I. J., & Aibieyi, S. (2014). Human Capital: Definitions, Approaches and Management Dynamics. *Journal of Business Administration and Education*, 5(1), 55-78. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/229604938.pdf>
- Amnesty International. (2018). Amnesty International i Norge. Retrieved 24.11 from [https://amnesty.no/stott-oss?gclid=CjwKCAiA7IGcBhA8EiwAFfUDsS4F0Wy2dOFmMXFeiLuSK\\_g-X3Pa52Xb8n5yg9EyTtypg-4Ve3MsTxoCUuoQAvD\\_BwE](https://amnesty.no/stott-oss?gclid=CjwKCAiA7IGcBhA8EiwAFfUDsS4F0Wy2dOFmMXFeiLuSK_g-X3Pa52Xb8n5yg9EyTtypg-4Ve3MsTxoCUuoQAvD_BwE)
- Arnfinn, & Midtbøen. (2014). Discrimination of the Second Generation: Evidence from a Field Experiment in Norway. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17(1), 253-272. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0406-9>
- Badwi, R., Ablo, A. D., & Overå, R. (2018). The importance and limitations of social networks and social identities for labour market integration: The case of Ghanaian immigrants in Bergen, Norway. *Norsk Geografisk Tidsskrift - Norwegian Journal of Geography*, 72(1), 27-36. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00291951.2017.1406402>
- Becker, G. S. (1971). *The Economics of Discrimination* (2nd ed.). University of Chicago Press.
- Beeghly, E. (2015). What is a Stereotype? What is Stereotyping? *Hypatia*, 30(4), 675-691. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24541975>
- Bhandari, H., & Yasunobu, K. (2009). What is Social Capital? A Comprehensive Review of the Concept. *Asian Journal of Social Science*, 37(3), 480-510. <https://doi.org/10.1163/156853109x436847>
- Bhatt, R. (2022). *Doing the dishes was never fun abroad! Experiences of migrant dishwashers in tourism and hospitality sector*. [Master's Thesis, Mid Sweden University]. <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1635736/FULLTEXT01.pdf>
- Birkelund, G. E., Chan, T. W., Ugreninov, E., Midtboen, A. H., & Rogstad, J. (2019, Jan). Do terrorist attacks affect ethnic discrimination in the labour market? Evidence from two randomized field experiments. *Br J Sociol*, 70(1), 241-260. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-4446.12344>

- Blaikie, N. (2009). *Designing social research: The logic of anticipation* (Second ed.). Polity.
- Bonoli, G., & Hinrichs, K. (2012). Statistical Discrimination and Employers' Recruitment. *European Societies*, 14(3), 338-361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616696.2012.677050>
- Botoon, S. (2020). *Labor Integration in Rural Norway: What are the main barriers to refugees accessing employment in small Norwegian municipalities?* [Master's thesis, University of Agder]. <https://hdl.handle.net/11250/2727914>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
- Brekke, I., & Mastekaasa, A. (2008). Highly educated immigrants in the Norwegian labour market: permanent disadvantage? *Work, Employment and Society*, 22(3), 507-526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017008093483>
- Brochmann, G., & Kjeldstadli, K. (2008). *A history of immigration - the case of Norway 900-2000*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th Edition ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Bursell, M. (2007). *What's in a name? A field experiment test for the existence of ethnic discrimination in the hiring process.* <https://www.temaasyl.se/Documents/Forskning/Forskningsstudier/What%E2%80%99s%20in%20a%20name.pdf>
- Cappelen, Å., & Skjerpen, T. (2012). Immigration to Norway 1969-2010: Effects of policies and EEA membership.
- CEIC Data. (2022). *Norway Number of Hotels and Similar Establishments: Vest-Agder 1985 - 2018 | MONTHLY | UNIT | STATISTICS NORWAY.* <https://www.ceicdata.com/en/norway/hotel-statistics>
- Choi, J. G., Woods, R. H., & Murrmann, S. K. (2000). International labor markets and the migration of labor forces as an alternative solution for labor shortages in the hospitality industry. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 12(1), 61-66. <https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1108/09596110010305154/full/pdf>

- City population. (2022). *KRISTIANSAND Municipality in Agder (Norway)*. [https://www.citypopulation.de/en/norway/admin/agder/4204\\_kristiansand/](https://www.citypopulation.de/en/norway/admin/agder/4204_kristiansand/)
- Clark, T., Foster, L., Sloan, L., & Bryman, A. (2021). *Bryman's social research methods*. Oxford University Press.
- Clibborn, S. (2021). Multiple frames of reference: Why international student workers in Australia tolerate underpayment. *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 42(2), 336-354. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0143831x18765247>
- Cohen, R. (1978). Ethnicity: problem and focus in anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 7. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2155699>
- Damelang, A., Ebensperger, S., & Stumpf, F. (2020). Foreign Credential Recognition and Immigrants' Chances of Being Hired for Skilled Jobs—Evidence from a Survey Experiment Among Employers. *Social Forces*, 99(2), 648-671. <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soz154>
- Dankertsen, A., & Kristiansen, T. G. S. (2021). “Whiteness Isn’t about Skin Color.” Challenges to Analyzing Racial Practices in a Norwegian Context. *Societies*, 11(2). <https://doi.org/10.3390/soc11020046>
- Dickinson, D. L., & Oaxaca, R. L. (2014). Wages, Employment, and Statistical Discrimination: Evidence from the Laboratory. *Economic Inquiry*, 52(4), 1380-1391. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ecin.12103>
- Diener, E., & Crandall, R. (1979). Ethics in Social and Behavioral Research, . *Social Service Review*, 53(3), 486-488. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30015761>
- Dodgson, J. E. (2019). Reflexivity in Qualitative Research. *Journal of Human Lactation*, 35(2), 220-222. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0890334419830990>
- Eriksen, Immigration and national identity in Norway, Migration policy institute, retrieved. (2013). M. P. Institute.
- Eriksen, T. H. (1992). *Us and Them in Modern Societies*. Universitetsforlaget.
- Eriksen, T. H. (2010). *Anthropology, culture, and society) Thomas Hylland Eriksen - Ethnicity and Nationalism Anthropological Perspectives* (3rd ed.). Pluto Press.

- Eurofound. (2022, 31 July 2019). *Labour market segmentation*. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/observatories/eurwork/industrial-relations-dictionary/labour-market-segmentation>
- European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. (2017). *Second European Union Minorities and Discrimination Survey Main results*. European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. [https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra\\_uploads/fra-2017-eu-midis-ii-main-results\\_en.pdf](https://fra.europa.eu/sites/default/files/fra_uploads/fra-2017-eu-midis-ii-main-results_en.pdf)
- Fang, H., & Moro, A. (2011). Theories of Statistical Discrimination and Affirmative Action: A Survey. In J. Benhabib, A. Bisin, & M. O. Jackson (Eds.), *Handbook of Social Economics* (Vol. 1A, pp. 133-197). Elsevier B.V. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0169-7218\(11\)01005-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0169-7218(11)01005-7)
- Fish, J., & Syed, M. (2019). The Multiple Levels of Racism, Discrimination, and Prejudice. <https://doi.org/10.31234/osf.io/gh8kr>
- Flotskaya, T. (2011). *Factors influencing successful employment of foreign nationals with immigrant background into managerial positions within the hospitality industry in Norway. Analysis of experiences and challenges encountered*, [Master's thesis, University of Stavanger.].
- Fought, C. (2006). *Language and Ethnicity -Key Topics in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge University Press <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791215>
- Friberg, J. H., & Midtbøen, A. H. (2017). Ethnicity as skill: immigrant employment hierarchies in Norwegian low-wage labour markets. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(9), 1463-1478. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2017.1388160>
- Garibaldi, P. (2006). *Personnel economics in imperfect labour markets*. Oxford University Press.
- Goździak, E. M., & Main, I. (2021). "I am making good money, but ...": The precarious situation of Polish nurses in Norway. *International Migration*, 60(2), 238-251. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12874>
- Guryan, J., & Charles, K. K. (2013). Taste-based or statistical discrimination: the economics of discrimination returns to its roots. *The Economic Journal*, 123(572), F417-F432. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/42919257>
- Hall, D. T. (1996). Protean Careers of the 21st Century. *The Academy of Management Executive* (1993-2005), 10(4), 8-16. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4165349>

- Hardoy, I., & Schøne, P. (2014). Returns to pre-immigration education for non-western immigrants: why so low? *Education Economics*, 22(1), 48-72. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09645292.2010.511846>
- Hardoy, I., & Zhang, T. (2019). *The long and winding road – Labour market integration of refugees in Norway*. U. o. Oslo. <https://www.sv.uio.no/econ/english/research/Memoranda/working-papers/pdf-files/2019/memo-08-2019-rev.pdf>
- Hassanien, A., Dale, C., & Clarke, A. (2010). *Hospitality Business Development*. Elsevier Ltd. <https://library.atu.kz/files/10063.pdf>
- Hauf, E., & Vaglum, P. (1997). Establishing social contact in exile: a prospective community cohort study of Vietnamese refugees in Norway. *Soc Psychiatry Psychiatr Epidemiol* 32, 408-415. <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/BF00788181.pdf>
- International Society of Travel Medicine. (2019). Definitions matter: migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees. *Journal of Travel Medicine*, 1(3), 1-3. <https://doi.org/10.1093/jtm/taz005>
- IOM. (2013). *Recognition qualifications competences of migrants*. I. O. f. Migration. [https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/recognition\\_qualifications\\_competenc\\_esofmigrants.pdf](https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/recognition_qualifications_competenc_esofmigrants.pdf)
- IOM. (2019). *How to cover migration on media? 7 recommendations for journalists*. International Organization for Migration. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://rosanjose.iom.int/en/blogs/how-cover-migration-media-7-recommendations-journalists>
- IOM. (2022). *IOM Definition of "Migrant"*. IOM. <https://www.iom.int/who-migrant-0>
- Jafar, A. J. N. (2018). What is positionality and should it be expressed in quantitative studies? *Emerg Med J*, 35(5), 323-324. <https://doi.org/10.1136/emered-2017-207158>
- Jakobsen, S. E. (2022, 25. July). Many immigrants in Norway are overqualified for their jobs. *Science Norway*, . <https://sciencenorway.no/discrimination-education-immigrants/many-immigrants-in-norway-are-overqualified-for-their-jobs/2048436>
- Johnson, C. D. (2013). *Social capital: Theory, measurement and outcomes*. Nova Publishers.



- Kracke, N., & Klug, C. (2021). Social Capital and Its Effect on Labour Market (Mis)match: Migrants' Overqualification in Germany. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 22(4), 1573-1598. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-021-00817-1>
- Kunst, J. R., & Phillibert, E. N. (2018). Skin-tone discrimination by Whites and Africans is associated with the acculturation of African immigrants in Norway. *PLoS One*, 13(12), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0209084>
- Larsen, E. N., Rogne, A. F., & Birkelund, G. E. (2018). Perfect for the Job? Overqualification of Immigrants and their Descendants in the Norwegian Labor Market. *Social Inclusion*, 6(3), 78-103. <https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v6i3.1451>
- Larsen, E. N., & Stasio, V. (2019). Pakistani in the UK and Norway: different contexts, similar disadvantage. Results from a comparative field experiment on hiring discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(6), 1201-1221. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2019.1622777>
- Leontaridi, M. (1998). Segmented Labour Markets: Theory and Evidence. *Journal of economic surveys*, 12(1), 103-109. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6419.00048>
- Lin, N. (2001). *Social Capital A Theory of Social Structure and Action*. Cambridge University Press
- Lippens, L., Baert, S., & Deros, E. (2021). Loss Aversion in Taste-Based Employee Discrimination: Evidence from a Choice Experiment. <https://docs.iza.org/dp14438.pdf>
- Machi, L. A., & McEvoy, B. T. (2012). *The literature review: Six steps to success*. Sage publications.
- McCollum, D., & Findlay, A. (2015). 'Flexible' workers for 'flexible' jobs? The labour market function of A8 migrant labour in the UK. *Work, Employment and Society*, 29(3), 427-443. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017014568137>
- McLafferty, S. (2001). Spatial Mismatch. In N. J. Smelser & P. B. Baltes (Eds.), *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences* (pp. 14807-14811). Pergamon. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-043076-7/02560-2>
- Mentzoni, T. M., Egeland, C., Askvik, T., Drange, I., Støren, L. A., Røsdal, T., & Vabø, A. (2016). Being a foreigner is no advantage' Career paths and barriers for immigrants in Norwegian academia. [https://kifinfo.no/sites/default/files/r2016\\_12\\_beingforeigner.pdf](https://kifinfo.no/sites/default/files/r2016_12_beingforeigner.pdf)

- Midtbøen, A. H. (2013). The Invisible Second Generation? Statistical Discrimination and Immigrant Stereotypes in Employment Processes in Norway. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 40(10), 1657-1675. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2013.847784>
- Ng, T. W. H., Sorensen, K. L., Eby, L. T., & Feldman, D. C. (2007). Determinants of job mobility: A theoretical integration and extension. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 80(3), 363-386. <https://doi.org/10.1348/096317906x130582>
- Norwegian centre for research data. (2022). *Notification Form for personal data*. <https://www.nsd.no/en/data-protection-services/notification-form-for-personal-data>
- Norwegian Ministries. (2021). *Migration-and-integration-2020-2021-report-for-norway-to-the-OECD*. <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/3c0df107ab2b428a9f69c17c3730610f/migration-and-integration-2020-2021-report-for-norway-to-the-oecd.pdf>
- OECD. (2004). *Glossary of Statistical Terms*. <https://stats.oecd.org/glossary/glossary.pdf>
- Oh, H., Jacob, L., Anglin, D. M., & Koyanagi, A. (2021). Perceived skin tone discrimination and psychotic experiences among Black Americans: Findings from the National Survey of American Life. *Schizophr Res*, 228, 541-546. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.schres.2020.11.033>
- Olaniyan, D. A., & kemakinde, T. O. (2008). Human Capital Theory: Implications for Educational Development. *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 5(5), 479-483. <https://docsdrive.com/pdfs/medwelljournals/pjssci/2008/479-483.pdf>
- Orupabo, J., & Nadim, M. (2020). Men doing women's dirty work: Desegregation, immigrants and employer preferences in the cleaning industry in Norway. *Gender, Work & Organization*, 27(3), 347-361. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.12378>
- Piore, M. J. (1979). *Birds of passage*. Cambridge university press.
- Ravitch, S. M., Riggan, J. M., & (2017). *Reason & Rigor- How Conceptual Frameworks Guide Research* (2nd ed.). SAGE Publications.
- Reich, M., Gordon, D. M., & Edwards, R. C. (1973). A Theory of Labor Market Segmentation. *The American Economic Review*, 63(2), 359-365. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1817097>

- Robinson, R. N. S., Martins, A., Solnet, D., & Baum, T. (2019). Sustaining precarity: critically examining tourism and employment. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27(7), 1008-1025. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669582.2018.1538230>
- Rooth, D.O. (2002). Adopted children in the labour market—Discrimination or unobserved characteristics? *International Migration*, 40,(1), 71–98. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2435.00186>
- Schultz, T. W. (1979, October). Investment in Entrepreneurship and Agricultural Research, Kaldor Memorial Lecture. Iowa State University.
- SIAN. (2022). SIAN (Stop Islamiseringen Av Norge). Retrieved 15.11 from <https://www.sian.no/>
- Sørensen, R. (2020). *Fostering Intercultural Competence through Picturebooks: Exploring Narratives of Migration, Identity and Power Relations* [Master's thesis, Western Norway University of Applied Sciences]. <https://hvlopen.brage.unit.no/hvlopen-xmloi/handle/11250/2687654>
- Stasio, V., Di, Lancee, B., Veit, S., & Yemane, R. (2021). Muslim by default or religious discrimination? Results from a cross-national field experiment on hiring discrimination. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 47(6), 1305-1326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2019.1622826>
- Statistics Norway. (2015). *The population with an immigrant background in 13 municipalities in Norway*. Statistics Norway. <https://www.ssb.no/en/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/attachment/216607?ts=14b34d59eb0>
- Statistics Norway. (2021). *13055: Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, by immigration category, contents, year and country background*. Statistics Norway. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/table/09817/tableViewLayout1/>
- Statistics Norway. (2022a). *12554: Employed persons. 4th quarter, by age, occupation, country background, contents, year and sex*. Statistics Norway,. Retrieved 11.20 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/table/12554/tableViewLayout1/>
- Statistics Norway. (2022b). *13055:Immigrants and Norwegian-born to immigrant parents, by age, country background, contents, year and sex*. Statistics Norway,. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/table/13055/tableViewLayout1/>

- Statistics Norway. (2022c, 03.03.22). *Employment among immigrants, register-based*. Statistics Norway,. <https://www.ssb.no/en/arbeid-og-lonn/sysselsetting/statistikk/sysselsetting-blant-innvandrere-registerbasert>
- Statistics Norway. (2022d). *Facts about immigration*. Statistics Norway,. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/innvandring-og-innvandrere/faktaside/innvandring>
- Statistics Norway. (2022e). *Monthly earnings, by measuring method, occupation, immigration category, contents, year and contractual working hours*. Statistics Norway,. Retrieved 20.11 from <https://www.ssb.no/en/statbank/table/12525/tableViewLayout1/>
- Storeng, B., & Lund, D. (2021). *Employment law overview Norway 2021-2022*. [https://issuu.com/leglobal/docs/leglobal memo norway](https://issuu.com/leglobal/docs/leglobal_memo_norway)
- Strabac, Z., Aalberg, T., Jenssen, A. T., & Valenta, M. (2016). Wearing the veil: hijab, Islam and job qualifications as determinants of social attitudes towards immigrant women in Norway. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(15), 2665-2682. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2016.1164878>
- Strömgre , M., Tammaru, T., Danzer, A. M., van Ham, M., Marcinczak, S., Stjernstrom, O., & Lindgren, U. (2014, Apr). Factors shaping workplace segregation between natives and immigrants. *Demography*, 51(2), 645-671. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s13524-013-0271-8>
- Sullivan, S. (1999, 06/01). The Changing Nature of Careers: A Review and Research Agenda. *Journal of Management - J MANAGE*, 25, 457-484. <https://doi.org/10.1177/014920639902500308>
- Tan, E. (2014). Human Capital Theory. *Review of Educational Research*, 84(3), 411-445. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654314532696>
- Teh, Y. Y., & Lek, E. (2018). Culture and reflexivity: systemic journeys with a British Chinese family. *Journal of Family Therapy*, 40(4), 520-536. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-6427.12205>
- Thomas, A., & Gupta, V. (2021). Social Capital Theory, Social Exchange Theory, Social Cognitive Theory, Financial Literacy, and the Role of Knowledge Sharing as a Moderator in Enhancing Financial Well-Being: From Bibliometric Analysis to a Conceptual Framework Model. *Front Psychol*, 12, 664638. <https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2021.664638>

- Tiller, R. G., Hansen, L., Richards, R., & Strand, H. (2015). Work segmentation in the Norwegian salmon industry: The application of segmented labor market theory to work migrants on the island community of Frøya, Norway. *Marine Policy*, 51, 563-572. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.marpol.2014.10.001>
- Tuckett, A. G. (2005). Applying thematic analysis theory to practice: A researcher's experience. *Contemporary nurse*, 19(1-2), 75-87.
- UDI. (2022a). *Family immigration with a citizen of a country outside the EU/EEA*. UDI. Retrieved 02.11 from <https://www.udi.no/en/want-to-apply/family-immigration/family-immigration-with-a-citizen-of-a-country-outside-the-eueea/?i=b&o=a&f=syr&c=syr#link-4225>
- UDI. (2022b). *Pay and working conditions in Norway*. Retrieved 20.11.2022 from <https://www.udi.no/en/word-definitions/pay-and-working-conditions-in-norway/>
- UNDP. (2022a). *DECENT WORK AND ECONOMIC GROWTH*. <https://www.undp.org/sustainable-development-goals#decent-work-and-economic-growth>
- UNDP. (2022b). *HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INSIGHTS*. UNDP. <https://hdr.undp.org/data-center/country-insights#/ranks>
- United Nations. (2015). *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. U. Nations. [https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr\\_booklet\\_en\\_web.pdf](https://www.un.org/en/udhrbook/pdf/udhr_booklet_en_web.pdf)
- Williams, M. (2016). *Key Concepts in the Philosophy of Social Research* (Chris Rojek, Ed.). SAGE. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781473982758>
- Wood, R. C. (1992). Deviants and misfits: hotel and catering labour and the marginal worker thesis. *International Journal of Hospitality Management* 11(3), 179-182. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4319\(92\)90016-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/0278-4319(92)90016-0)
- World Economic Forum. (2020). *Global Social Mobility Index 2020: why economies benefit from fixing inequality*. [https://www3.weforum.org/docs/Global\\_Social\\_Mobility\\_Report.pdf](https://www3.weforum.org/docs/Global_Social_Mobility_Report.pdf)
- Wozniak, D., & MacNeill, T. (2020). Racial discrimination in the lab: Evidence of statistical and taste-based discrimination. *Journal of Behavioral and Experimental Economics*, 85. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socec.2020.101512>

Wright, T., & Pollert, A. (2006). The Experience of Ethnic Minority Workers in the Hotel and Catering Industry: Routes to Support and Advice on Workplace Problems. <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/241516376> The Experience of Ethnic Minority Workers in the Hotel and Catering Industry Routes to Support and Advice on Workplace Problems

Zwysen, W. (2019). Different Patterns of Labor Market Integration by Migration Motivation in Europe: The Role of Host Country Human Capital. *International Migration Review*, 53(1), 59-89. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0197918318767929>

# Annexures

## Semi structured interview for employers

1. How long have you been running this business? Is there a specific reason to select restaurant industry to set up a business?

.....  
.....

2. What is the most challenging part when running this business? For example tax policy of the government, cost of ingredients, finding good workers, retaining workers etc.

.....  
.....

3. What do you think about finding workers to the business, is it difficult? How do you recruit them? For instance, posting on websites, through the referrals of your current workers or friends?

.....

4. Generally this industry has created many job opportunities and that is really good. How many employees do work in your hotel/ restaurant?

.....  
.....

5. Generally lots of immigrants work in this industry so, how many immigrant employees do work in your restaurant?

.....  
.....

6. Do you think that it is more beneficial to recruit immigrant employees than native Norwegians? If so, Why?

.....  
.....

7. What kind of general things do you consider when offering a job to someone? (For example, Education, experience, references) is there anything else that you consider? For example, previous personal experiences you have about workers who come from certain countries?

.....  
.....

8. What do you generally think of immigrant employees if you compare them with native Norwegian employees?

.....  
.....

9. What do you consider when hiring someone for an elementary job such as cleaning, dish washing of your organization?

.....  
.....

10. What do you consider when hiring someone for higher positions such as managers in your organization?

.....  
.....

11. What kind of jobs are performed by immigrant employees of your organization? For instance, who perform the jobs such as dish washing, kitchen helping, cleaning mostly? (Immigrant employees or Norwegian employees?)

.....  
.....



12. If those jobs are mostly done by immigrant employees, what is the reason for recruiting immigrants for such jobs? Do you think they are better at those jobs than native Norwegian employees?

.....  
.....

13. What do you think about chances available for immigrant workers who perform elementary reach to reach higher positions in your organization?

.....  
.....

14. There is a trend among immigrant laborers to change their names since they think it helps  
To find better jobs in Norway. What do you think about it?

.....  
.....

15. Assume you have to recruit an employee for a manager position and you have two applicants who have similar qualifications, and level of Norwegian fluency. But one is from Asia and other one from Norway or Sweden, Who will be your choice? and why?

.....  
.....

## Semi structured interview for immigrant employees

1. How long have you been living in Norway?

.....

2. Do you speak Norwegian fluently?

.....

3. Current occupation/ Job role?

.....

4. Are you an immigrant or are you coming from an immigrant family?

.....

5. What is the job you were doing before the current job?

.....

6. Can you tell me a bit about your educational background?

.....

7. So why are you in this job? What made you to select this job? Do you think that you have adequate job opportunities in Norway that match with your educational qualifications and experiences?

.....

8. Do you think that there are other job opportunities you are happy to do, relevant to your experiences and qualifications? And what makes those jobs unattainable for you as you think?

.....

9. How long were you trying to get the current job?

.....

10. To what kind of jobs did you apply before starting this job?

.....

11. To how many jobs did you apply before starting current job?

.....

12. How many job interviews were you called among them?

.....

13. What kind of jobs/ occupations were they?

.....

14. Do you think that you were equally treated in job interviews you faced as other native Norwegian job applicants?

.....

15. Do you think that you are equally treated at work as other native Norwegian employees? In terms of providing promotions, leaves, salary increments, working hours, other benefits.

.....

.....