



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

AFGHAN WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE SWEDISH LABOUR MARKET

Mohammad Anil Rasah

Master's Thesis: 30 Credits
Program/course: MaPS – Master's programme in Political Science
Semester/year: Autumn 2021
Supervisor: Birgitta Niklasson
Words: 19978

Abstract

Discrimination matters; this study addresses an old yet existing social problem in the Swedish labour market. Most refugees who came to Sweden are highly educated but face many challenges that problematized their employability, as well as facing employer's prejudice, especially those who are Muslim. Today, some around 60 858 Afghan immigrants live in Sweden, of whom 21 024 are women and studying Afghan women's experiences of discrimination from the Swedish labour market formulated this study's primary concern. This was studied through 13 qualitative semi-structured interviews with Afghan immigrant women between 20-65 years old, e.g., in Stockholm, Gothenburg, Borås, Kalmar, and Trollhättan cities of Sweden. This study's result by applying subtle discrimination and intersectionality theory revealed that different forms of discrimination, e.g., formal (job promotion, work assignment) and interpersonal (e.g., hostile attitude, insulting jokes, and verbal/non-verbal harassment) are perceived to be in the Swedish labour market. Moreover, these kinds of discrimination are associated with an intersection of Afghan women's different identities (e.g., ethnicity, gender, religion, hijab, age, and immigrant).

Key words: Afghan women, immigrants, subtle discrimination, intersecting identities, and Swedish labour market.

Acknowledgement

First, I want to express my profound gratitude to the Afghan Cultural Organizations in Borås and Trollhättan for introducing the participants. Further, I appreciate all participants for providing their warm responses and showing eagerness in participating in this master thesis; I value our dialogues greatly!

Second, I want to thank my supervisor Birgitta Niklasson for providing excellent mentorship, inputs, constructive reviews, and vital aspects throughout this research. I earnestly value her contribution and the time invested in this master thesis!

Lastly, I am personally grateful to my beloved wife, Shogofa Rasah, for accompanying me through the ups and downs of this research, providing guidance, and being so patient and tolerating me. I would have never gone so far without your endless help!

Table of Contents

1. Introduction and General Aim.....	1
2. Literature Review	3
2.1 Formal discrimination	4
2.1.1 Salary raises and income-based discrimination	4
2.1.2 Employability (hiring) based discriminations	6
2.2 Interpersonal discrimination.....	8
3. Theoretical Approach.....	12
3.1 Subtle discrimination theory	12
3.2 Intersectionality theory	13
3.3 Analytical framework	15
3.3.1 Subtle discrimination	15
3.3.2 Intersectionality	17
4. Specified Aim and Research Question	19
5. Methodological Framework and Research Design	20
5.1 Research design	20
5.1.1 Sampling	21
5.1.2 Respondent's brief introduction	22
5.2 Method of data collection	23
5.3 Method of analysing data	24
5.4 Ethical Consideration	24
5.5 Validity and Reliability	25
5.6 Limitations and Delimitation	25
6. Result/Analysis	27
6.1 Formal discrimination	27
6.1.1 Job promotion	27
6.1.2 Salary raises	28
6.1.3 Work assignments	30
6.2. Interpersonal discrimination	32
6.2.1 Verbal harassment	33
6.2.2 Non-verbal harassment	34
6.2.3 Disrespectful behaviour	36
6.2.4 Insulting jokes	39
6.3. Intersectionality and subtle discrimination	40
6. Conclusion.....	47
7. Bibliography	49
APPENDIX 1 (Interview Guide in English)	55
APPENDIX 2 (Interview Guide in Dari)	57
APPENDIX 3 (Respondents original texts)	59

1. Introduction and General Aim

“I am not a burden on Swedish society; I also pay tax like others, I am an educated labour, and so will be my children.” (R6).

Discrimination matters; this study addresses an old yet existing social problem in the Swedish labour market. According to Kaas & Manger (2012), discrimination affects immigrants’ labour market opportunities (e.g., their income, opportunities for promotion). Besides, another limited number of factors such as human/social capital and language skills often lead to discrimination and create barriers that affect labour market outcomes (Mesfin & Mamuye, 2020). Thus, developing our understanding of discrimination is important, and it is also this study’s primary concern. Therefore, this study explores the Afghan female experiences of discrimination in the Swedish labour market.

However, immigrants are overrepresented and framed by Islamophobic groups/individuals as a threat to “Swedish exceptionalism”, democracy, gender equality and a concern to the Swedish welfare state (Bursell, 2021: 1164-5). On the other hand, the terrorist attacks in Europe and Sweden influenced public opinion, made Muslim immigrants vulnerable, exposed them to discrimination and lowered their employability (Lundborg, 2013: 230; Bursell, 2021). According to Abrashi et al. (2015: 501-3), this matter also affects Muslim immigrants’ employability as employers’ prejudice targeted more and more Muslim immigrants in Sweden.

Framing Muslim immigrants can affect their mental health, especially women’s psychological health. Research shows that women are more vulnerable to depression, posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), distress, and anxiety disorder that affects their lives and employability (Bhui et al., 2003; Nimrod Grisar et al., 2003), and Afghan female immigrants are no exception from this condition (Stempel & Alemi, 2020).

Previous literature centres their research on immigrant’s discrimination based on income (e.g., Adsera & Chiswick, 2007), structural barriers/discrimination (e.g., Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019), and employer-based discrimination (e.g., Agerström & Rooth, 2009) from a macro-level perspective. However, their study quantitatively measures and includes several populations of immigrants, e.g., from Somali, Syria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, and Iraq. Also, they measure discrimination through experiments from employers’ perspectives rather than employees’ perspectives on an individual level (studying one nation at a time).

Nevertheless, some research conducted a study on refugees' experiences of labour market integration at an individual level, e.g., US, Canada, and Sweden. Still, none of them individually explore Afghan women's employment experiences in the Swedish labour market. Hence, this study seeks to answer the main research question addressed in this study; what are Afghan women's experiences of discrimination to their economic and social integration in the Swedish labour market?

The reasons for conducting this study on the Afghan population in Sweden is manifold. First, there is a very limited study on the Afghan population in Sweden that centres on an individual level, especially Afghan women. Second, I am also an Afghan immigrant living in Sweden and share the same language (Dari), culture, norms, and values, which helped me understand them well and deeply. Third, Afghan immigrants are one of the biggest refugee groups in Sweden, with a population of over 60 858 whom females formulate 21 024 of them (Statistiska centralbyrån, 2020; Bevalander & Pendakur, 2014: 697). According to a report from Swedish Migration Agency (2018), Afghan immigrants are among those who have received the highest rate of granted asylum status.

Lastly, conducting a study on the discrimination experiences of Afghan women could benefit this population in many ways. For instance, it can provide a ground where Afghan women can express themselves, make their voices heard, spread knowledge in Swedish society; Swedish people become aware of their condition and become more familiar with them. Thus, this study will contribute qualitatively to the literature by studying the perception of both kinds of a subtle form of discrimination, including formal (salary raises, job promotion, and work assignment) and interpersonal (verbal/non-verbal harassment, insulting jokes, and disrespectful behaviours).

2. Literature Review

This study addresses different aspects of discrimination, including formal and interpersonal discrimination. According to Jones et al. (2017), a formal form of discrimination focuses on individuals that have been discriminated against in the workplace and associated with job-related discrimination. For instance, it happens when an employer or recruiter do not hire someone based on, e.g., ethnicity, race or do not raise wages, work assignment (differentiating someone by assigning them to different task due to stigmatizing characteristic that an individual carries), or not promote someone based on the mentioned factors. In contrast, interpersonal forms of discrimination can happen in social interaction and the workplace. Moreover, it can occur in many ways aiming at racial/ethnic minorities or individuals who belong to a particular group subjected to stigmatized features, e.g., verbal, and nonverbal harassing, disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes (ibid).

Most of the previous studies discussed formal forms of discrimination for immigrants who receive low income and work with low-skill jobs, including (Franz, 2003; Grenier & Xue, 2011; Hou & Frank, 2013; Sirkeci et al., 2018). Besides, some other researchers also focused on gender differences and receiving low-income, e.g., (Adsera & Chiswick, 2007; Anthias et al., 2013; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017; Andersson, 2020; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2021). Further, researchers also studied underemployment (Premji et al., 2010; Premji & Shakya 2017) and the challenge to the economic integration of less/high educated immigrants (Stempel & Alemi 2020).

Moreover, scholars also stress that discrimination at the formal level results from the interaction between/of different layers of immigrants' identities in the hiring process at the labour market. Hence, lots of research through experimental methods centre their study on discrimination based on, e.g., age (Carlsson & Eriksson, 2019; Gustafsson et al., 2017), ethnic discrimination (Agerström & Rooth, 2009; Nordin & Rooth, 2009; Carlsson et al., 2018), prejudice and stereotypes (Bursell, 2007; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Carlsson, 2011; Lundborg, 2013), appearance (Arai et al., 2021), and identity (Maxwell, 2017), and barriers (Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019; Senthanaar et al., 2021) in the Swedish labour market.

In addition, previous studies also address discrimination at the interpersonal level preventing female immigrants to integrate into the labour market, e.g., the existence of sexual harassment (Waugh, 2010; Murphy et al., 2015), harassment and prejudice (Lee & Fiske 2006; Cortina, 2008; Behouti & Neergaard, 2009; Krings et al., 2014), and bullying (Fox &

Stallworth, 2005; Lewis & Gunn, 2007; Rosander & Bloomberg, 2021) have been researched in the workplace.

Most previous studies assessed immigrants' economic integration by studying formal discrimination (salary raises/income and hiring). Nevertheless, few studies generally shed light on discrimination at the interpersonal level by studying immigrants' experiences of, e.g., sexual harassment, bullying, harassment and prejudice in the workplace. Also, previous research has dominantly applied theories on (e.g., human/social capital, assimilation, segmented assimilation, and ethnic boundary making). Furthermore, they do not distinguish between different immigrant groups, as well as; they have primarily used quantitative methods. Therefore, this study will contribute qualitatively to the literature by studying the perception of both kinds of discrimination, including formal (salary raises, job promotion, work assignment) and interpersonal (verbal/non-verbal harassment, insulting jokes, and disrespectful behaviours).

Therefore, this chapter provides a review of the major literature centring on the general aspect of migrants/refugees' economic integration, reviewing the main challenges/obstacles and factors influencing their economic integration into the host country's labour market. In addition, this section presents two themes (formal/interpersonal discrimination).

2.1 Formal discrimination

A significant number of early studies pointed towards the experiences of female refugees' formal discrimination based on income and underemployment from the host countries labour market. These studies mainly focused on immigrants' salary raises and employability (hiring) discriminations in the labour market. However, no studies are found on formal forms of discrimination related to immigrants' promotion and work assignments.

2.1.1 Salary raises and income-based discrimination

Discrimination in occupational matter exists in all European countries with prevalent ethnic employment and salary gaps, and Sweden is no exception. However, Sweden is popular with its egalitarian principles, which provides people equal rights and opportunities (Nordin & Rooth, 2009; Carlsson et al., 2018). According to Carlsson et al. (2018), the employment gap in labour increases during recessions and decreases during economic booms; at least partially, this gap can be associated with ethnic discrimination.

Many studies point toward formal discrimination that has been subjected to immigrant women, particularly when it comes to income; female workers often work low-skilled jobs and have lower incomes than their male counterparts (Grenier & Xue, 2011). Other scholars such as Hou & Frank (2013), and Franz (2003) suggest that female refugees tend to work with low-skilled jobs and with low income due to the gender roles and mindsets at home or either lack of multiple choices or needs (e.g., women who cannot pay for childcare) that push immigrant women to accepted lower-skilled jobs.

When it comes to the experiences of immigrants from the labour market in respect to their integration, immigrant women are subjected to lower-income even if they have a higher education level. Through including 15 European countries, Adsera & Chiswick (2007), in their study regarding gender differences in immigrants labour market integration, found that immigrant women earn an average of 38% lower than native-born women. The difference between wages of native-born women income earners and immigrant women is lower in, e.g., Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands. At the same time, Ireland and Sweden hold the greatest differences (see Anthias et al., 2013: 43). According to Irastorza & Bevelander (2021), migrants, even those with higher education, both male and female, face prejudice and language barriers and obtain lower wages in Sweden than native Swedes (see also Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017: 270-277; Andersson, 2020).

Immigrant women deal with a similar situation in other European countries. For instance, Sirkeci et al. (2018), in their study on obstacles for highly qualified immigrants in the U.K. through quantitative measures, find that immigrant women from ethnic minorities (e.g., African people or non-European labour) faces penalties prejudice by employers and obtain lower salary than migrants from European countries.

Furthermore, previous studies also point out income-based discrimination in other countries apart from Europe. For example, a study offered by Stempel & Alemi (2020), through quantitative measures on Afghan immigrants' income earnings in the U.S., finds that Afghan female immigrants are among the lowest income earners compared to other immigrant groups. However, most of them hold a university degree from their country of origin. Still, patterns of discrimination based on Muslim religious identity and the negative "Afghan images" the negative Afghan image means that Afghans come from a country that has been involved with terrorist activities in the past few decades. This negative Afghan image that associates afghans with terrorist activities affects their employability and income (Ibid. 16-9).

Similarly, through the qualitative method, Premji & Shakya (2017) interviewed 30 racialized immigrant women in Canada regarding the pathways among under/unemployed and its impact on their mental health. Their study reveals that racialized immigrant women face negative mental issues due to underemployment not having stable work reflecting upon their education. Due to this matter, they receive lower- salaries than their male counterparts, creating an economic barrier and pressurising their position in the job market (See also Premji et al., 2010).

2.1.2 Employability (hiring) based discriminations

Immigrants with a Middle Eastern profile are often exposed to Labour market discrimination based on ethnic biases. This ethnic bias is driven by “gut-feeling” prejudice and stereotypes that exerts a considerable effect on employers thinking when they decide to hire staff. For example, employment case officers usually interview Swedish sounding names. However, scholars such as Carlsson & Rooth (2007), and Bursell (2007), through experimental field measures on male Middle Eastern and Swedish sounding name holders, find that Swedish sounding name holders have a 50 per cent more chance of receiving a call-back for possible interview from employers than Arabic sounding male name holders. They find this matter by testing statistical discrimination and distance theory (see also Lundborg, 2013).

Correspondingly, according to Agerström & Rooth (2009), ethnic minorities such as Arab-Muslims faces significant discrimination, prejudices and stereotypes associated with the lower-work output (e.g., lazy, unproductive, and dull) by Swedish employers than native Swedes in the Swedish labour market. They conducted their experiment on 158 (80 male and 78 female) Swedish employers in Gothenburg and Stockholm. Their study reveals that employers have a more negative approach toward Arab-Muslim males than native Swedes. In contrast, Carlsson’s (2011) study shows that females are not discriminated against in general when hiring female-dominated works in the Swedish labour market. He tested Beckerian employer, co-worker, and customer discrimination theory in his study and found that females have a high call-back rate for interviews.

Besides, profiling immigrants by name, Swedish look, foreign look, and not having Swedish appearance also affect immigrants’ employability and problematize their foothold into the Swedish labour market. For example, a recent study also shows the significance of having a Swedish appearance have been considered by the Swedish labour market. Arai et al. (2021) examine ethnic biases in public recruiters’ assessment when participating in the labour market

programs. They find through experiments that female job recruiters do not consider applicants' appearance, while male caseworkers favour applicants who tend to have Swedish appearance (e.g., white, blue eyes and blond).

Similarly, applicants' entry has been discriminated against in the Swedish labour market when employers reflect upon the age of individuals who seek a job. In their experimental study, Carlsson & Eriksson (2019) sent 6000 randomly fabricated resumes with age (35-70 years) to Swedish employers two both low and medium-skilled jobs. They find that the more age increases, the more call-back rate for interviews decreases, and it starts from the early 40s and significantly drops for job seekers closer to retirement age. This issue is steeper for females than males regarding call-back rates. A plausible justification for age discrimination is that the capacity to learn, flexibility/adaptability, and ambition formulate some employers' stereotypes (see also Gustafsson et al., 2017).

Besides, the factors mentioned earlier that immigrants have been discriminated against immigrants' identity also matter. Therefore, immigrants' national identity might also affect immigrants' employability in the host countries by employers. For instance, Maxwell (2017) examines the connection between occupation and immigrants' identity by online surveying participants from Germany, France, and the United States to explore to what extent immigrant integration depends on the context of the country of origin. His finding shows that employers in Germany and France consider national identity when they hire people to a higher degree than in the U.S., where ethnocentricity of national identity is less reflective upon immigrants' employment.

In Sweden, the labour market shifted towards more neo-liberal strategies because of the centre-right government that increased deregulation in the labour market, constrained social insurance and introduced other settings and restrictions. To exemplify this, a qualitative study conducted by Bucken-Knapp et al. (2019) on Syrian refugees' labour market integration in Sweden. Their study reveals that due to the 2010 reforms (transferring the immigrant's integration responsibilities from municipalities to public employment service) by the centre-right government in Sweden. As a result, it creates barriers (e.g., creating a complex process for immigrant credential qualification, lengthy administrative methods, and quality of language courses) preventing immigrants from accessing the Swedish labour market (see also Senthana et al., 2021).

2.2 Interpersonal discrimination

Concerning interpersonal discrimination, a limited number of studies focus on studying immigrants facing discrimination at the interpersonal level in their workplace, specifically in Sweden. For example, a recent quantitative study conducted in Sweden by Rosander & Blomberg (2021) on the bullying of immigrants at the workplace. Their study reveals that foreign-born immigrants are more exposed to bullying, which results at the interpersonal level, and they have been excluded and not welcomed in the same way as native Swedes in the work environment. Furthermore, since some employers/co-workers perceive these immigrants that do not fit their group and are seen as a threat to the group, they have been subjected to prejudice, bullying behaviour, and exclusion. Similarly, Behtoui & Neergaard (2009) explored the immigrants' perceptions of discrimination in recruitment and the workplace using quantitative measures on already gathered survey data from Malmö municipality, Sweden. They find that both natives and immigrants have the same views regarding abstract attitudes (natives and immigrants' perception of discrimination based on having foreign-sounding names, dark-colour skin, dark-colour hair, and immigrant background as an indicator of racialized perception, attitude, and stigma) against immigrants. However, these studies conducted in Sweden find out that immigrants' experience discrimination at an interpersonal level in the Swedish labour market, but these studies did not cover all the aspects of interpersonal discrimination (e.g., verbal/non-verbal harassment, disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes).

Furthermore, a few researchers also focus on interpersonal discrimination in other countries, e.g., Switzerland, US, and the United Kingdom. For instance, Krings et al. (2014), through qualitative measures on immigrant employees' perception of subtle interpersonal discrimination in Switzerland by testing intergroup competition and stereotype content theories, find that immigrants are generally more likely to experience incivility in their workplaces than locals. However, Cortina (2008) argued that incivilities are general, but if it aims towards a minority group with an intention to spread antiminority stances, stereotypes, disrespectful interpersonal behaviour, and feeling, it turns into subtle interpersonal form discrimination. Other scholars such as Lee & Fiske (2006), using quantitative method, find that immigrant employees in the US are not only facing stereotypes and prejudice by their employers based on their nationality, race, or ethnicity but also, they have been the target of subtle prejudice due to low socio-economic status.

Moreover, a qualitative study conducted by Murphy et al. (2015) on Mexican immigrant women working in Farms in the US found that they were subjected to sexual harassment by their employer, which affected their employability and mental health. Their study also reveals that these women avoided registering a report against their employers as they were afraid of losing their job, making them more vulnerable to sexual harassment (see also Waugh, 2010).

While some other scholars Fox & Stallworth (2005), through quantitative measures on different ethnic minority groups (e.g., Asians, African Americans, and Latinos) in the US, find that these ethnic groups are subjected to bullying overtly based on their race and ethnicity in their workplaces by their co-worker/peers. Furthermore, they illustrate that racial/ethnic bullying at workplaces targets individuals who belong to certain races or ethnicities. They contain negative behaviours and derogatory comments that exclude them from the social interaction in the work environments (see also Lewis & Gunn, 2007).

2.3 Contribution

Most of the mentioned studies have relied on quantitative methods for studying immigrant economic integration in the labour market and generalize their findings to all categories of refugees' barriers (e.g., language skills, accreditation of merits from the home country) using theoretical lenses, e.g., human/social capital (Sirkeci et al., 2018), assimilation (Gustafsson et al., 2017), segmented assimilation & ethnic boundary making (Stempel & Alemi, 2020). Furthermore, most of these literature generally studied different groups of ethnicities together (e.g., from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran, Iraq, Somali, Syria, Egypt, and Yugoslavia), and it is not obvious that the experience of all those groups is the same. However, a few studies concentrate on studying one population of refugees concerning experiences of labour market integration (e.g., Bucken-Knapp et al., 2019, Stempel & Alemi, 2020; Senthanar et al., 2021).

In addition, most of the mentioned studies have focused on the employer's perspective on immigrants' labour market discrimination regarding discrimination. So, they have tried to understand how the employer thinks and evaluate different types of applicants. Nevertheless, none of the above studies focused on the employment experiences of Afghan women from an individual-level perspective in Sweden. Moreover, in the case of Afghan women's labour market experiences, few studies centred their study on Afghan refugees, e.g., in Canada and

the U.S. Instead, a vast majority of them studied refugees' labour market experiences generally through quantitative measures in other countries, including Sweden.

Additionally, Afghans come from an Islamic country that has been related to many terrorist activities. Still, Afghanistan is the centre of many debates framed by mainstream media. This issue increases the vulnerability of Afghan immigrants falling into the trap of discrimination and affect their employability. According to Bevelander & Irastorza (2016), Sweden faced many challenges regarding immigrants' economic and social integration, especially after 2015 the migration crisis. Although the number of immigrants with the granted residency permit increased significantly and created major challenges in the Swedish labour market, 22 per cent of male immigrants had employment after one or two years of preparatory programmes. In the case of women, only 8 per cent of female immigrants are employed in the Swedish labour market, including Afghan women. Correspondingly, Afghan immigrants are a unique case as Stempel & Alemi (2020) state that afghan's migrants have the experiences of 40 years of war that has had tremendous effects on them physically, psychologically, and mentally. Besides, Afghans deal with pre-migration trauma, depression, PTSD, distress, and anxiety disorder that affect their lives and employability.

Furthermore, every nation has its own distinct culture, which significantly varies from one another in terms of, for instance, identity, way of living, adopting new cultures, norms, and values of the host countries and their real-life experiences shapes distinctively. Bucken-Knapp et al. (2019) state that every category of migrants should be studied separately since their labour market integration experiences differ. Hence, there is a need for a deep understanding of the barriers that each refugees group experiences distinctly based on their labour market integration. Therefore, this study sheds light on Afghan women experience of labour market discrimination which was also suggested by Stempel & Alemi s' (2020) study.

Since most of the early research discusses the refugees' experiences of labour market integration through theoretical lenses of, e.g., human/social capital, institutional, acculturation, and assimilation, this study used subtle discrimination and intersectionality theory to explore the employment experiences of Afghan women. Also, these theories enabled this study to go beyond the theoretical lenses that have been used in previous studies and explore factors, e.g., work assignment and job promotion formal and interpersonal discrimination, that might lead to barriers since these aspects have not been studied concerning Afghan women before.

However, previous studies focused only on salary raises by collectively researching immigrants, not deeply one population at a time.

So, this study fills the gap by studying individual Afghan women's experiences of discrimination in the Swedish labour market. In doing so, this paper contributes qualitatively with an additional academic dimension to the existing literature centring on immigrant women's economic and social integration, bringing Afghan women's subjective understanding of labour market integration to the academic discourses by analysing their personal experiences from an individual-level perspective.

Specifically, this study contributes using subtle discrimination theory first by addressing Afghan women's formal discrimination indicators such as job promotion and work assignment, which previous literature has not addressed. However, previous studies mostly addressed immigrants' formal discrimination based on salary raises (e.g., Nordin & Rooth, 2009; Carlsson et al., 2018) and hiring (e.g., Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Lundborg, 2013). Second, through the interpersonal form of discrimination using indicators such as verbal/non-verbal harassment, disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes, these indicators have not been addressed by previous studies. Previous studies only focused on immigrants' sexual harassment (e.g., Murphy et al., 2015) and bullying (e.g., Rosander & Blomberg 2021).

Besides, this study also contributes an additional insight to literature through using intersectionality theory by providing knowledge on Afghan women's different layers of identities intersect with each other, which perceived by employers/co-workers and understood in such a way that leads to the experience of discrimination and pressurises their already disadvantaged position in the Swedish labour market. And this is done deductively through using categories, e.g., race, gender, and ethnicity, as well as inductively through attributes, e.g., language, appearance, and foreign name which is attached to the Afghan women's ethnicity as identity, as well as some additional attributes, e.g., Muslim, Hijab, nationality (Afghan), age, immigrant, and education.

The necessity to conduct such a study is manifold; first, it increases awareness among other Afghan immigrants to gain knowledge from the employment experiences of Afghan females in the Swedish labour market. Second, other Afghan immigrants can learn, improve, and build their prospects on efficiently accessing the labour market. Third, other Afghan immigrants can benefit from study participants' employment experiences (e.g., subtle discrimination) in the Swedish labour market.

Lastly, this study will recommend that employers consider Afghan female immigrants as a sample among the other female immigrants and reflect upon their employment experiences when making inclusive job opportunities. As Anthias et al. (2013: 2) state, drawing and charting on female experiences is central and something neither assumptions nor male bias persists when it comes to the consideration in the formation of the integration schemes.

3. Theoretical Approach

In this study, I applied subtle discrimination and intersectionality theory. Applying the mentioned theories means that this qualitative study adopts a deductive approach, meaning that it departs from a general theoretical perspective to specific observation and confirmation (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 31). First, I define each of the above theories with its concepts. Second, an analytical framework is presented that clarify how these theories are aimed to apply to the employment experiences of Afghan women from the Swedish labour market.

3.1 Subtle discrimination theory

Subtle or covert discrimination is less obvious, unintentional, associated with spiteful intent, and often practised on an interpersonal and formal level, making it the most dominant and widespread form of discrimination in today's workplaces (Rosette et al., 2016). According to Jones et al. (2016), subtle discrimination happens in social contacts and the workplace at the individual level (e.g., verbal/non-verbal behaviour, work assignment) and is not considered unlawful or forbidden. Instead, these behaviours are considered inoffensive, unintentional, normal, natural, and acceptable. Such behaviours contain avoidance, joke, and ill-mannered treatment toward a particular group or individuals (Ibid. 1591). However, these forms of discriminatory conduct are formed subtly and endorsed unconsciously and unintentionally, making it hard to track (van Laer & Jansense, 2011, 1205). According to Jones et al. (2016: 1591), subtle discrimination is unconscious negative behaviour and contradiction toward a particular social minority based on the minority's affiliation status and carry unclear intent. As Rosette et al. (2016) further exemplified, racial or ethnic minorities are purposefully positioned in jobs to expose them to failure in subtle or covert discrimination.

According to Jones et al. (2017), interpersonal forms of discrimination can happen in both social interaction and the workplace in a general way. It can occur in many ways aiming at racial/ethnic minorities or individuals who belong to a particular group subjected to stigmatized features through, e.g., hostile attitude, verbal and nonverbal harassing,

disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes. In contrast, formal form discrimination focuses on individuals that have been discriminated against in the workplace and associated with job-related discrimination. For instance, it happens when an employer or recruiter do not hire someone based on, e.g., ethnicity, race or do not raise wages, work assignment (differentiating someone by assigning them to different task due to stigmatizing characteristic that an individual carries), or not promote someone based on the mentioned factors. This form of discrimination often associates and abide itself with organizational regulation, laws, and rules (Ibid. 54).

Still, it is essential to understand that discrimination as a phenomenon does not always take place in either strictly formal or interpersonal forms of discrimination. But that it should rather be seen as a spectrum of continuous events affecting the individual that should be understood from the basis of their collective impact on their opportunities in society. There can be instances where an individual may experience subtle elements of formal discrimination. For example, when a female project manager is assigned a less lucrative project while her male colleague, who has the same qualifications and similar success rate in the past, is instead given a highly lucrative task, without any specific reason for this decision being stated. Whereas, dismissing a black employee's opinion during a meeting in a not visible discriminatory way is considered an interpersonal form of subtle discrimination (Jones et al., 2017). In addition, it can also be visible; for instance, someone says something aggressively unconsciously without intending to harm someone, subtle discrimination is still more damaging than old fashion (overt) form of discrimination (see also Hebl et al., 2002).

However, the differentiation in the discriminatory instances among the old fashion (overt) and subtle discrimination is hard to distinguish. Still, as Jones et al. (2017: 53) state, "*discrimination varies on a continuum of subtlety rather than existing as two discrete categories of purely subtle discrimination and purely overt discrimination.*" They further clarify that both formal and interpersonal forms of discrimination exist within a second continuum where subtle discrimination holds the formal form of discrimination at one end while the interpersonal form of discrimination at the other end of the continuum.

3.2 Intersectionality theory

According to Walby et al. (2012), Crenshaw developed the theory of intersectionality to understand the patterns that interact with gender and race and limit black women's labour market activity in the US. This theory also shows how insufficient understanding of intersection leads this group to experience marginalization. This theory emphasises the

importance of more than one category. Categories (e.g., race, gender, class, and ethnicity) matter equally. The relation among the categories is not fixed and stable. Instead, the relation is fluid, open, mutually interact and constitute with each other (Hancock, 2007). According to Pearson (2010), what is unique and interesting about this theory is that it reflects upon identities that interact with each other; instead of considering separate identities do not interact with each other, the most oppressed one is the most silent. The oppression that the women of colour are subjected to is not a reaction to their identity based on race and gender. However, it is the interaction of both gender and race as an identity caused by the experience of oppression.

It is a theory that centres around the experience of individuals with different identities. This theory suggests that the experience of individuals that has many oppressed identities differ entirely from the experience of those who have one or a few of those subjugated identities (Saxe, 2017). One identity group is considered dominant social power to disregard, marginalize and exclude others who are different.

Crenshaw (1991) studies the employment experiences of women of colour and how various discrimination intersects with, e.g., race and gender and ethnicity. Women of colour encounter many problems, e.g., economic, taking care of children, lack of occupational skills. The problem that women of colour cope with resulted from the outcome of gender oppression, racial discrimination in employment and housing, and the high rate of unemployment decrease the likelihood of receiving support from family and friends (Ibid. 1244-6). This theory is developed to gain a more profound knowledge of barriers women of colour face from an individual perspective (Saxe, 2017).

The intersectional theory is useful in describing multi-layer gender and race issues affected by discrimination and oppression. It also explains female immigrants' disadvantaged position in the labour market, and through intersectional theory, we can better understand the labour market, something that was also insisted on by Crenshaw (1991). As Cho et al. (2013) explain, female immigrants experience manifold oppressions based on socioeconomic injustice while integrating into the labour market, e.g., being a female immigrant, race, ethnicity, gender, and identity. Immigrants' experiences of discrimination qualities differ based on the factors mentioned above. For instance, a female immigrant might experience discrimination due to one, several or all the above factors.

According to Browne & Misra (2003), intersectional oppression affects three components: wages, immigration and domestic work, and discrimination/stereotyping in the

labour market. As female immigrants are always subjected to lower-income, they experience discrimination/stereotyping based on, e.g., race, ethnicity, and gender, and they tend to work with domestic jobs in an exploitive way (Ibid. 495-506).

3.3 Analytical framework

In this section, two analytical frameworks have used the intersectionality and the subtle discrimination theory. Further, this study operationalized through two leading theoretical indicators. First, subtle discrimination theory is conceptualized through two main forms: formal categories (e.g., promotion, salary rise, and work assignment) and interpersonal categories, e.g., verbal & nonverbal harassment, disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes). Second, intersectionality categories (e.g., race, gender, and ethnicity).

3.3.1 Subtle discrimination

Subtle discrimination theory was used in this study to understand better the employment experiences of Afghan women from the labour market in Sweden. Since intersectionality theory is limited to, e.g., race, gender, ethnicity. To understand what form of discrimination Afghan women may experience during their employment in the labour market in Sweden. Moreover, to see what trace of formal and interpersonal subtle discrimination can be found in their experiences.

Applying these factors to the employment experiences of Afghan women allowed me to see if they perceive that they are exposed to a subtle form of discrimination. For example, some studies point toward the negative attitude of employers toward those immigrants that have Arabic-sounding names, subjecting them to stereotypes such as less productiveness, dullness, and laziness and exposing them to discrimination in the labour market in Sweden (Bursell, 2007; Carlsson & Rooth, 2007; Agerström & Rooth, 2009; Arai et al., 2021). Furthermore, these negative attitudes are associated with verbal and insulting jokes, indicating interpersonal discrimination. Moreover, the theoretical concepts of a subtle form of discrimination are operationalized and conceptualized as follow:

Factors associated with the formal form of subtle discrimination

Promotion at job

According to Jones et al. (2016, 2017), sometimes employers discriminate against individuals and do not promote them based on stigmatized characteristics (e.g., belonging to a

specific ethnicity, race, religion, and gender) that individual carries. For instance, the promotion of a female employee is delayed (for being a Muslim woman practising her prayer at work) over a male or female employee that do not have the same characteristic.

Salary rises

The salary increase should be done fairly and impartially; otherwise, it is a formal form of discrimination (Jones et al., 2017). For instance, two colleagues with an equal capability under the same department assigned in a similar task receive a salary that differentiates from one another. This might be because they belong to a certain group or carry certain stigmatized characteristics.

Work assignment

According to Jones et al. (2017), if a task is given to an employee resulting based on a partial decision of an employer in an unfair manner is considered as a formal form of discrimination. For instance, giving more or unrelated tasks to an immigrant employee, not to his/her Swedish co-worker, or not giving a task to an immigrant employee instead gives it to his/her Swedish co-worker even though both have similar qualifications and experience.

Interpersonal factors of subtle discrimination

Hostile attitude

It is an unfriendly, antagonistic, harsh, negative, and unfavourable feeling, idea, or opinion it could be towards anything, e.g., people, norms/values, religion, and men/women. However, this study did not observe hostile attitude because it happens in the other person's mind, making it explicit how they behave. So, it is integrated and expressed through verbal/non-verbal harassment or disrespectful behaviour. Therefore, this study did not use it as a separate category.

Verbal & non-verbal harassment

It is an oral, sounded language or speech aiming to physically, psychologically, and emotionally harm someone, also known as workplace violence. In most situations, verbal harassment does not contain sexuality, and it is not prohibited by law due to its subtlety (Jones et al., 2016). For instance, slurs, name-calling, negative comments, using swear words to someone, threatening or using demeaning words at work toward an employee, and it does not

contain jokes. However, jokes are also a form of verbal harassment, but it is studied as a separate category. While non-verbal harassment does not contain sound language, it includes body language, gestures, signs, facial expressions, e.g., looking at someone with elevator eyes up and down (eye-rolling).

Disrespectful behaviour

It includes anything that lacks respect; it could be actions, general rudeness, ignoring someone, and not listening to someone (Jones et al., 2016). These are acts that are neither related to verbal (words) nor non-verbal harassment (body language) but to other kinds of acts. Moreover, not responding to someone, not thanking, not replying to an employee's greeting by just looking or treating in an inferior way.

Insulting jokes

Insulting jokes are laughing at someone and making fun of someone through insulting comments on someone's, e.g., ethnicity, appearance, and religious beliefs (Jones et al., 2016). For instance, "what is under your hijab" to say a Muslim woman with a funny tone, or "I wonder how you eat spaghetti when you wear your Burka." or to treat someone in an inferior way through jokes.

3.4.2 Intersectionality

In addition, in this study, the theory of intersectionality is used to analyse whether Afghan immigrant women experience discrimination when integrating into the Swedish labour market and how different identities may intersect and impact their experiences. According to Browne & Misra (2003), intersectional discrimination occurs as an outcome of oppression that promotes obstacles and hinders immigrants, especially females, from reaching opportunities. Also, disturb their labour market activity. As female immigrants are continuously subjected to lower-income, they experience discrimination/stereotyping based on, e.g., race, ethnicity, and gender, as well as they, tend to work with domestic jobs in an exploitive way (Ibid. 495-506). To exemplify this situation, Afghan female immigrants also belong to an ethnic minority group easy to distinguish and expose to discrimination by being a Muslim female, poor, low/high educated or old.

So, the employment experiences of Afghan women are addressed to estimate how their different identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, and gender) intersect and create different experiences of barriers exposing them to disadvantaged positions and discrimination in the Swedish labour

market. Thus, the intersectionality theory will be operationalized deductively through the indicators such as race, ethnicity, and gender. As well as inductively using attributes such as language, appearance, and foreign name which is attached to the Afghan women's ethnicity as identity, also some additional attributes have been inductively found in this study's result, e.g., Religion, Hijab, nationality (Afghan), age, immigrant, and education. Besides, these attributes are not attached to either race or gender. Farther, these tributes are discussed together with attributes related to ethnicity. It was hard to discuss the participants' responses in separate categories defined by each attribute because if the attributes were discussed separately, the responses regarding these attributes would lose their meaning and become repetitive.

Factors associated with intersectionality

Race

We do not have a single notion of race; rather, it is a sophisticated issue that is subjectively socially constructed (Council et al., 2004: 2). For instance, race includes skin colour (black and white) characteristics.

Ethnicity

In contrast, the concept of ethnicity is appealing, complex and characterized by more subtle aspects or distinctive qualities. However, both race and ethnicity are socially contracted and problematic, but ethnicity has feasibility (Corlett, 2011). An example of ethnicity is the commonalities that an individual or a group of individuals carries, religious (Jewish, Christian, Muslim, or Hindu), tribal (Celts, Latin, Pashtun), language, religion, food, and customs.

Gender

Gender is a socially constructed word that uses to express men and women's characteristics, which means both two sexes (male and female), articulated by cultural and social differences rather than biological ones (OED, 2021). For example, people born male or female, later we refer as boy and girl, and when growing up, we call them men or women.

4. Specified Aim and Research Question

This study's central aim is to gain in-depth knowledge and explore Afghan women's employment experiences from the labour market regarding subtle discrimination and their economic and social integration from an individual-level standpoint. This study will give Afghan women a chance to have their voices heard in Swedish society and the academic debate on this issue. Furthermore, this study highlighted the diversity in the challenges of labour market discrimination that Afghan women faced while seeking labour market opportunities in Sweden.

What are Afghan women experiences of discrimination to their economic and social integration in the Swedish labour market?

- 1) In what ways do they experience subtle (formal/interpersonal) discrimination during their employment?
- 2) What characteristics of different identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, and gender) of Afghan women intersect and create different experiences of subtle discrimination?

5. Methodological Framework and Research Design

A qualitative research approach is used in this study to understand better and explore Afghan women's employment experiences concerning their economic and social integration from the Swedish labour market. According to Bryman (2016: 374-5) qualitative research is the practice that allows researchers to interpretively explore, describe, and explain in an in-depth way a real-world phenomenon through words rather than quantification in the gathering and analysing of the material (see also Naderifar et al., 2017: 1). Also, it helps scholars understand people's experiences, thoughts, and concepts from an individual perspective. This method allows the researchers to make sense of real-world phenomena, e.g., recorded in an interview, depicted in photographs or what lays under the surface a text, interpret and represented it a visible and understandable way to the world (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 41-4).

Consequently, this study adopts a qualitative approach to explore the employment experiences of Afghan women in the Swedish labour market and in what ways do they experience subtle discrimination. It is a sensitive topic that explores the barriers, both formal and interpersonal kinds of discrimination and the oppression that Afghan women face. According to Bryman (2016: 403-5), the qualitative approach, for various reasons, fit well the studies that their population of the study is female. For instance, it represents women's voice, reduces exploitation through providing knowledge, and avoids women being controlled and treated as objects by scholars through technical measures. Also, it is an excellent choice to explore sensitive topics, especially concerning individual experiences of women, through the qualitative method, and the reason perhaps most feminist scholars use this method (Ibid).

5.1 Research design

This study adopts a case study design to explore the Afghan immigrant women's perception of discrimination, whether they have experienced discrimination or not. Since their experiences from the Swedish labour market increases our understanding of how these women perceive their situation how they think about themselves and the surrounding society. A case study design is suitable for exploring and describing a "*real-world*" phenomenon related to a current and present event. When the phenomena and context have multiple explanations, this design enables the researchers to empirically investigate a case and conduct an in-depth study by gathering detailed information to analyse the phenomena intensively. In short, a qualitative case study is a rich, thorough, and robust methodological framework that generates more details

and enables the researchers to examine the phenomena intensively and the settings (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 92, 156, 214; Bryman, 2016: 60-1; Creswell, 2013: 97).

5.1.1 Sampling

Afghan women formulate this study's target group who are either currently employed or had previous employment experiences from the Swedish labour market. The reasons behind the selection of Afghan women as this study's target group for studying their perceptions of discrimination in the Swedish labour market have been already explained in the introduction chapter.

Therefore, the choice of sampling by a researcher is based on the sample's adequation to answer the research questions (Creswell, 2003). Since immigrants, mainly Afghans, live in different parts of Sweden, snowball sampling is used as an adequate sampling technique for contacting and reaching participants. To quickly access participants, I contacted Afghan women through the Afghan Cultural Organization in Borås and Trollhättan, which also helped decrease the risk of knowing and influencing them. Furthermore, this sampling helped this study gather more participants from other cities (e.g., Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Kalmar). In this study, snowball sampling is used to increase the number of relevant participants. This strategy is also known for its convenience and consecutive sampling (Naderifar et al., 2017: 2). According to Bryman (2016: 415), snowball sampling is a practice that allows the researcher to initially sample a small group of people important to the research question. This technique enables the researcher to be introduced and trusted by selected study participants who recommend to other participants who have relevant experience and save time.

The reason behind using such a strategy was; first, it was hard to randomly find appropriate participants that led to the adoption of such an approach (Bryman, 2016: 415; Naderifar et al., 2017: 2). Second, due to this study's sensitive nature (dealing with barriers, e.g., discrimination and oppression), there was a risk that participants may choose to prevent joining the study. Therefore, this risk was eliminated by introducing a trusted social linkage among the Afghan female population.

According to Bryman (2016: 416-7), different factors (e.g., time, resources, population size, and cost) are involved in affecting the sample size of a study, and there is no consensus among scholars around a concrete sample size, so it varies study to study and depend on the context of the study. Likewise, Creswell (2013) suggested 4-5 participants for case study research. Hence, this study is consisted of 13 adults (20-65) years old due to the in-depth nature

of the interview, namely Afghan females living in Sweden. The mentioned age range selected due to the research question's nature and the participants' higher employability opportunities.

5.1.2 Respondent's brief introduction

Afghan females who participated in this study lived in different cities in Sweden, e.g., Stockholm, Gothenburg, Kalmar, Borås, Trollhättan, and one more small city that I cannot include due to protection of the respondent's identities. These respondents had experiences of working within different areas, e.g., Elderly care, warehouses, social work, schools, coffee shops, restaurants, and constructions. Furthermore, most of the participants have motioned that their religiosity level was "moderate" while one mentioned that "*my religion is humanity*", and the other stated that "*I do not have any interest in religions.*" By moderate means, they followed Islamic rules neither in an exceeding nor inferior, but in balance away. Besides, Table 1. also provides some additional relevant information about the participants. Most of them worked temporarily within the mentioned organisation and changed several jobs until they got their permanent contract. Furthermore, R1 and R13 worked before, and they are unemployed now. While the rest is employed except R10, she studies now.

<i>Tale 1. Respondent's Demographic Information</i>						
<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Marital status</i>	<i>Level of education</i>	<i>Employment status</i>	<i>Years of living in Sweden</i>	<i>Years of working in Sweden</i>
<i>1</i>	56	Single	University	Worked	10	2
<i>2</i>	28	Married	Primary School	Substitute	6	2
<i>3</i>	42	Married	Vocational school	Employed	9	5
<i>4</i>	26	Married	University	Employed	21	9
<i>5</i>	35	Married	Master's degree	Worked	6	2.6
<i>6</i>	40	Divorced	University	Employed	10	6
<i>7</i>	32	Married	Vocational School	Employed	10	6
<i>8</i>	27	Married	High School	Employed	4	2
<i>9</i>	34	Single	Vocational school	Employed	11	4
<i>10</i>	24	Single	University	Substitute	2	0.6
<i>11</i>	23	Married	High School	Employed	5	3.5
<i>12</i>	25	Divorced	University	Employed	8	5
<i>13</i>	63	Married	Primary School	Worked	9	3

5.2 Method of data collection

This study conducted an interviews method for collecting data. In qualitative studies, this method has been widely used by scholars. This method will enable researchers to not only gather better information to understand the complex nature of the real-world problems, but by conducting interviews with individuals or groups, they can produce knowledge (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015, 3-5, 149; Halperin & Heath, 2017, 285-6; Bryman, 2016: 466). In this study, the interview method was further narrowed down to an in-depth interview form that enables researchers to interview a few participants and collect detailed and intensive data for analysis. Also, it allows researchers to investigate the interviewees' experiences, thoughts, opinions, views profoundly regarding the research problem and explore the concern, causes, and reasons behind shaping their experiences (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015). The selection of in-depth interviews was because this study deals with the participants' life experiences (Afghan women's experiences of discrimination in Sweden's labour market).

Besides, this study used a semi-structured in-depth interview. It allows the researcher to formulate *open-ended* and *probing questions* that require an answer that goes beyond the boundaries of "Yes" or "No" responses. Farther, open-ended questions are much more flexible using it enabled me to gather more detail to cover all angles of the study topic and facilitate the detailed answers to the research question (Bryman, 2016: 468-9; Halperin & Heath, 2017: 289).

This method is selected first to gain rich, intensive, better, and thorough information (data) regarding the discrimination experiences of Afghan women from the labour market in Sweden. Second, it allows me to explore and describe the interviewees' thoughts and opinions regarding the research problem and gain a profound understanding of integration as a complex process. Third, semi-structured interviews were conducted because this study adopts a qualitative method to gain in-depth knowledge about the social realities through the interviewee's eyes by listening to their thoughts and experiences, which is also argued by Bryman (2016: 466-7) as the rationality behind the selection of such a method for collecting the data.

Moreover, the interviews were conducted online (e.g., Zoom and messenger) and by telephone; due to Covid-19 and participants' preferences, the interviews were not held physically. Moreover, in this study, the recorded data were first transcribed into the Dari language (Persian), then those parts that were theoretically relevant to the study were quoted to English for further analysis.

5.3 Method of analysing data

The textual data generated from the qualitative interviews are often unclear and large. Therefore, I printed all the transcribed data and read it carefully, highlighting each section with different colours based on already defined categories (a formal and interpersonal form of discrimination). Similarly, I wrote notes with the name of the themes in the margins of the papers. Then, I went through them again and moved everything they talked about into the defined categories already discussed in the analytical framework.

Moreover, some other new sub-categories emerged while I read the data, such as, e.g., immigrant, Hijab, language, and right illustrated in Table 2. Then I looked through all respondent's answers to see whether they all shared a similar pattern or not. Once I found similar categories in the data, I repeated the above procedure on these mentioned newly emerged sub-categories. Furthermore, these new sub-categories emerged while respondents reflected upon the questions (19-21) related to the intersectionality theory in the interview guide (Appendix 1).

5.4 Ethical Consideration

Considering ethical principles is an essential part of every study as it helps the researchers distinguish between right and wrong to reduce harm and raise beneficence. Thus, the consideration of ethical principles is needed while designing and conducting, analysing, and publishing the research results (Babbie, 2008: 66-67; 2012: 64; Bryman, 2016: 120-6). Hence, in this study, I considered the ethical principles checklists of Babbie (2008: 74) and Midgley et al. (2013).

First, an informed consent took place verbally due to Covid-19 as I informed the interviewees in detail about their roles as a participant, the probable time duration of their participation, possible risks, recording, and transcription of the interviews, publication of the research findings, and their withdrawal rights at any point during the study. Second, as Babbie (2008: 67-8) states, voluntary participation is the subject's right, so I informed them that they have the right to participate voluntarily. Third, I also informed them about their personal information's confidentiality by avoiding publishing it publicly (Midgley et al., 2013: 71-2; Babbie, 2008: 69-72). Thus, I informed the participants that their identities would be confidential to inspire them to share their answers openly. Finally, recognizing that any harm as physical, social, legal, developmental, and political harms towards the participants of this study throughout and after the research process is considered an ethical concern (Babbie, 2008:

68; Halperin & Heath, 2017: 162). So, I avoided harming interviewees throughout my research process by considering the above issues.

Before the interview, the participants requested if it was possible to interview them in the Dari language as they were more confident and comfortable explaining and motivating their responses in their mother tongue than Swedish and English languages. Moreover, questions regarding sexual harassment were avoided to ask since it was a sensitive matter, and I was a male.

5.5 Validity and Reliability

In this study, all interviews were recorded and transcribed to increase the validity (which is about the relevance of the tools used in a study, e.g., process and data) of the interview materials and avoid the author's interpretation of the information. This study is limited from "external validity," which is about the generalizability of the study's outcome to different settings. (Halperin & Heath, 2017: 149; Bryman, 2016: 383-4). Still, this study's finding is generalizable on what form and kind of discrimination do Afghan women experiences from their employment in the Swedish labour market. This study will produce new knowledge and information that all Afghan populations who live in Sweden can benefit from—for instance, learning from their employment experiences, e.g., prejudice and discrimination. Similarly, they are employed if they face any.

Moreover, reliability is how a researcher performs his/her study. It refers to a researcher finding's "repeatability" and "consistency," meaning that if anyone pursues the same line of the method, path, and steps, would get the same outcomes repeatedly (Halperin and Heath, 2017: 354-355; Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015: 281-2). Also, a theoretically relevant interview guide was presented in this study for further instruction in collecting applicable data (Appendix 1.). By doing so, this study's detailed information will raise other students' capability to conduct and investigate a parallel study with similar settings/theories to gain a comparable outcome.

5.6 Limitations and Delimitation

This study has some limitations, like every other study; first, this study is conducted on the Afghan population living in Sweden since I am also from Afghanistan and an immigrant living in Sweden, which might make this study biased, but it also gives this study some strengths. For instance, the participants expressed and expanded themselves freely without encountering language barriers, and I understood them well. So, the risk of misunderstanding

phrases within the Afghan culture, tradition, and way of thinking was reduced. Besides, the participants realized that I am also an Afghan immigrant; As during the interviews, respondents repeatedly referred “*you know this or that*”, meaning that they assumed that I understood their situation better than a non-immigrant researcher. Therefore, it helped me deliver their voices accurately by understanding them deeply and ensuring that their voices are heard.

Second, all participants agreed to record their voices except one respondent that denied voice recording. Third, the whole recorded interview was transcribed for more accuracy in the Dari language. Then, I did not translate the whole transcript into English. Instead, I translated those theoretically relevant quotations to the topic and used them in the result/analysis.

Lastly, the questionnaire guide was developed to easily catch the experiences of discrimination from Afghan female immigrants in the Swedish labour market. Besides, it was expected to find discrimination among the mentioned population of immigrants. Therefore, the questionnaire guide was developed to catch discrimination cases easily. However, perhaps some of the questions in the questionnaire guide considered leading to discrimination. But follow up and probing questions were used during the interviews, where I tried to make sure that the questions in the questionnaire guide did not introduce bias.

6. Result/Analysis

This chapter presents the result of data gathered from 13 semi-structured interviews, divided into two main themes, followed by its sub-themes following this study's research questions and the theories operationalised in the analytical framework. Moreover, some new sub-themes have also emerged while coding and analysing data which will be discussed. Furthermore, in the upcoming result/analysis, the interviewees are referred to as (R), with the corresponding number presented in Table 1.

6.1 Formal discrimination

6.1.1 Job promotion

According to Jones et al. (2016, 2017), this form of discrimination happens at social interaction in workplaces and targets individuals who carry stigmatised characteristics, which this study also reveals. Regarding job promotion, the empirical data shows that respondents somehow experienced formal discrimination in their workplaces either by their employers or their co-workers and did not receive any promotion at all. Moreover, there were high traces of formal discrimination in their experiences from their working places by their employer/co-workers. For example, R1 illustrated that since she was an Afghan, she did not receive any promotion or other job-related merits in her workplace since her boss gave all merits to employees who came from Arabic countries, as she stated that:

I did not receive job-related promotion since my employer or the woman in charge of the organisation was an Arab immigrant living in Sweden for many years. This is a clear matter that she tried to hire Arab people in the organisation and gave more job-related merits to them than me (R1).

In the same way, R5 explained that her boss valued her Swedish co-workers promoted them than her as an immigrant employee. She also stressed upon her employer's treating Swedish employees in a different way than immigrants and explained how her employer created differences among employees, as she said:

I did not receive any promotion since most of my co-workers were immigrants, but my Swedish co-workers got the promotion. For example, one of them was an ordinary worker. He was promoted to team leader, and later, he became in charge of all staff. The things that I have experienced here until now that my employer values their

Swedish people than me, an immigrant, and the employer create differences between Swedish employees and us (R5).

Furthermore, other respondents strongly felt that since they were immigrants and had Hijab, they did not receive any promotional or other work-related merits from their employers. For example, R11 expressed a difference among the Swedish and non-Swedish employees in receiving promotion/working merits. She even quit her job as her employer forced her not to wear Hijab due to work conditions, as she declared:

I did not receive any promotion because there was a clear difference between my Swedish co-workers and us. This is not good; once I had almost got a job in an organisation, I lost it due to my Hijab. They told me you do not wear Hijab during work; otherwise, you will lose your job. So, I quit that job because I do not like to work without Hijab since it was a big part of my belief (R11).

One can interpret that being an immigrant, wearing Hijab, and having language problems might be perceived as "*stigmatised characteristics*" that these respondents carried, negatively impacting their promotion, which is defined as a formal form of subtle discrimination by Jones et al. (2016, 2017). However, R2 and R10 also did not receive any promotion, as shown in Table 2. This is because they worked as substitutes, something they mentioned several times during the interview. They referred that "*I worked as a substitute*"; therefore, they did not receive any promotion/job merits from their employer. However, optimistically, R4, R7, and R9 received a promotion in their workplaces due to their talent, education, and performance. For example, R9 said, "*Yes, to some extent I have received, I participated in some workshops and in a very short time, I got my permanent work.*" (R9), which means that they did not experience formal discrimination regarding job promotion.

6.1.2 Salary raises

To some extent, respondents did not receive any salary increase and experienced formal discrimination in their workplaces regarding salary raises. Except, R6 and R9, they have received an increase in their salary. When I asked the question regarding the salary increase from the respondents R3, she said, "*No, I did not receive any increase*" she strongly believed that there is a difference in the income of a Swedish employee than an immigrant employee in the Swedish labour market even if you have similar education parallel to your Swedish co-worker. She clarified that for not knowing the language or something else, she received a lower salary than her Swedish co-workers, as she explained:

Although my education level was low in Afghanistan, I tried a lot to increase my education level in Sweden by studying and finishing a vocational school. Still, there is a huge difference in the Swedish people's salary than immigrants even if you have similar education. Immigrants receive a lower salary for various reasons, not knowing the language or something else. Even though immigrant women do the hard works/tasks, still they receive low salaries and no merit. For example, there is a difference of 2000 to 3000 Swedish Krona in our salary between Swedish and immigrant employees (R3).

Likewise, R11 pointed out a difference in receiving salary among Swedish and immigrant employees. She illustrated that despite she worked double shifts in her workplace, she still received a salary equivalent of her Swedish co-workers that they only work one shift:

I did not receive any increase in my salary. However, I worked double shifts from 12 PM to 4 PM and 4 PM to 8 PM. Nevertheless, my Swedish co-workers were younger than me as well; they worked one shift, either 12 PM to 4 PM or 4 PM to 8 PM. Still, they have received a higher salary than me (R11).

Correspondingly, R5 asserted that she did not receive any increase in her salary, even R5 believed that she was exploited in her work due to lack of knowing her rights, for example, R5 misunderstood the "vabb"-system, which makes her feel like she has been treated unfairly. However, it is unclear if she has the experience of discrimination, but her confusion reminds us of how important it is that rules are conveyed clearly and repeatedly. Otherwise, a feeling of unfairness might spread.

No, they did not increase my salary. In fact, they did not even pay what I was entitled to receive. For example, when you have kids under eight years old, and your children become sick and unable to come to the job for some days, the employer should pay 80% of your salary. I was unaware of this issue; therefore, they paid nothing to me. When I think about my work, I realise that they exploited me because I was unaware of my rights (R5).

The above respondent's clarifications are examples that indicate participants experienced a formal form of subtle discrimination in the Swedish labour market when it comes to salary raises. Still, the degree to which the respondents motivated their responses varies. For instance, R2 and R10 described that their employers did not increase their salary since they worked as substitutes, and R1, R4, R7, R8, R12, and 13 have temporary job contracts. Except, R6 and R9, they have received an increase in their salary. However, R6 believed there is a

difference in the salary of a Swedish teacher than a mother tongue teacher. As she stated, "Yes, we have an annual meeting regarding the salary and based on that meeting we receive a slightly equal increase in our salary. However, I receive a lower salary as a mother tongue teacher even though a Swedish teacher does a similar job with similar hours. But our salary differs." (R6). When I asked her about the reason, she replied, "I do not know why and what the reason is" In addition, R3, R5, and R11 also did not receive any salary raise as exemplified above, but for obvious reasons. The respondents perceived that they did not receive a fair and impartial salary. They described and exemplified that their employers discriminate between immigrant employees and their Swedish co-workers regarding salary as their Swedish co-workers received higher salaries than them.

6.1.3 Work assignments

This study's result shows that the respondents somehow felt that were received unfair assignments/tasks from their employers/co-workers. They have experienced unequal distribution of the tasks between themselves and their co-workers. For example, R1 explained that her boss did not treat her fairly and equally in her workplace, and she received unrelated tasks even though her boss was also an immigrant. She further illustrated that since she was not an Arab, her boss dismissed her, as she stated that:

The woman who was the boss of this organisation never treated me fairly or equally. She gave me unrelated tasks such as cooking as extra, which was not part of my job. I accepted that without questioning her, but she did not pay me for the extra hours that I was in charge of cooking whenever I cooked. She was an obsessed Arab woman who always tried to dismiss non-Arab workers from their job as she dismissed me, but I had a Swedish team leader who was very nice toward me; she always solved my problems(R1).

Similarly, R11 and R 2 expressed that they did not receive equal and fair tasks in their workplace. Even their Swedish co-workers dumped their task on them since they were immigrants, as they further exemplified:

I worked many hours in a day; we (the immigrant employees) had a tough schedule, while our Swedish co-workers had a simple schedule. I received tasks such as cleaning the floor, kitchen, and ovens several times that burned my hand several times. My boss never told a Swedish employee to clean the kitchen, ovens, or the floor. It was all on immigrant employees. Even if they received a hard task, they dumped on us (immigrant) (R11).

They said that work assignments were fairly and equally distributed, but I do not think so; sometimes, it is not fair. For example, I feel that I had more workloads in my schedule than my Swedish co-workers (R2).

Besides, R5 and R7 not only experienced unfair and unequal workloads but also, they feel that their employer/Swedish co-workers exploited them:

They overexploited us because they knew that immigrants are not well aware of their rights; since I am an immigrant and I was afraid of losing my job, I accepted and did any task that I received from my employer without bargaining, and I had lots of workloads than Swedish co-worker. But if my Swedish co-worker finishes half-hour earlier, they do not receive 2 hours of extra work. Because they know the rights, and they will bargain for it (R5).

I have received unrelated tasks at the beginning, as the employer sent me for shopping things for the patients that were not in my schedule." (R7).

When I asked R7 what the reason in your opinion would be that you have received unrelated tasks in your workplaces, so she clarified that: *"Swedish are the priority in lots of things in this country not we the immigrants and exploiting immigrants for various reasons is not something hard for them."*

Likewise, R4 experienced that a difference has been put between her and her Swedish male co-worker as she declared that the task had been given to her Swedish male co-worker instead her as she stated, *"Yes once I felt that I did not receive an assignment. The task was between a Swedish boy and me, they select the Swedish boy."* (R4). When I asked her about the reason, she mentioned not having enough experience and further illustrated:

The reason might be that he had more experience than me or something else that I do not have since I was recently graduated. I also felt that they put a difference between him and me by giving the task to him, but not to me. I do not know the reason, but it would be useless even if you talk about it with them (R4).

On the other hand, R10 stated that she received equal tasks. Regarding R4, she did not believe that the tasks were unfairly distributed in her work in general, except for one case that she exemplified and explained above. Moreover, some other respondents were satisfied with the given work assignments:

No, I do not think that the assignments are distributed unfairly, and I work alone in my branch, so I do not feel the assignment varies from person to person (R4).

We all start at one time and finish our work at an exact time, and the tasks are equally and fairly distributed among us (R9).

Relatedly, R3 pointed out that she has received equal and fair work tasks. However, she was not sure and broadly summarised that:

No, I do not feel that the assignments are unfairly distributed among us; the task distributes equally. However, I feel more alienated because immigrant women handle more workloads, but our working hours are equally distributed (R3).

In the same way, R8 stressed that she was satisfied with the distribution of the work tasks in her new job. However, she did not experience such a thing in her previous work:

Yes, I have similar work assignments with my co-workers in my new job, but in my previous job, the easy tasks were always given to my co-workers who were close to the boss (R8).

Regarding work assignment, the result indicates that respondents experienced they have received unfair, unequal, and sometimes unrelated tasks in their workplace by their employers/co-workers, something that was stressed by Jones et al. (2016, 2017) as formal discrimination. These unsatisfied respondents, namely R1, R2, R5, R6, R7, R11, R13, and R13, strongly believed that they experienced discrimination in their workplaces for various reasons. For instance, R5 and R7 felt exploited since they were immigrants, not Swedish. However, R4 felt that she did not receive the assignment due to her lack of experience. Still, she believed her employer put a difference between her and his male Swedish co-worker over the specific case, but not in general. In general, she and my respondents, R9 and R10, did not experience formal discrimination regarding work assignments.

6.2. Interpersonal discrimination

When it comes to interpersonal discrimination, the result of this section has been analysed based on the categories that previously motioned in the analytical framework. For distinguishing and drawing a clear line between each category, this study used indicators as follow: For instance, negative comments, swear/demeaning words, slurs, name-calling, or threatening and employee operationalized as verbal harassment. In contrast, non-verbal harassment contains body language (e, g., gestures, signs, facial expressions and looking at

someone with elevator eyes up and down or eye-rolling). Moreover, not listening/ignoring someone, rudeness, actions, not words, not thanking, not replying and employees greeting by just looking or treating someone in an inferior way are some indicators of disrespectful behaviour. Whereas laughing and making fun of someone based on their ethnicity and appearance are some of the indicators of insulting jokes.

6.2.1 Verbal harassment

When it comes to verbal harassment, this study's result shows that respondents have experienced traces of verbal harassment in the Swedish labour market. For example, R8 and R11 felt that they were verbally harassed in their workplaces based on their appearance, and through using swear/demeaning words, R11 even experienced that she was humiliated by her Swedish male co-workers, as these respondents further exemplified this matter:

When new employees come and ask me, you are from Afghanistan, aren't you? And it could be because of my appearance. But then, when I say yes to them, they speak with me in a way that I feel they humiliate me. For example, they say to me that we know from your face that you are from Afghanistan. This matter bothers me and gives me an unpleasant feeling (R8).

Some of my male Swedish co-workers learned some very bad swearwords in Persian, and they loudly used that to me every day, that you are this and that. And I said to them repeatedly; please do not say it to me; these are bad words. We also have Afghan male co-workers, and I am a girl, and I have honour. So, they did not listen to me, and I even complained to the boss, but nothing happened (R11).

Another respondent declared that her Thai and Swedish co-workers framed, criticized, and demeaned her. They say to their friend customers to complain against her, to her boss as she further described:

Yes, I have experienced such a matter to some extent. For example, some of my co-workers, who were also immigrants and my Swedish co-workers, framed me by saying to the customers to complain against me to the boss. I heard them while they were talking behind my back to some customers, addressing me, and the next day my boss told me that some customers complained against me (R5).

Likewise, R3 felt that she was somehow verbally harassed by her Swedish co-workers. They blamed and criticized her over the mistakes that she did not even commit using

demeaning terms such as “you do not know the language” or “you are an immigrant” as she asserted that:

Sometimes my Swedish co-workers make a mistake during work, but they start blaming and criticising me because you are an immigrant or do not know the language fluently, even though someone else made a mistake. For example, a Swedish employee does not give the medicine on time or forget it, but they blame immigrant employees (R3).

However, R13 stated, "*I do not know whether they verbally harassed me or not because I do not know Swedish well, most of the time I do not understand what they are talking about.*" (R13). But it is not clear if she experienced verbal harassment because when you do not know the language well, you cannot realise whether you are verbally harassed or not.

Moreover, the result of this study indicates that when it comes to verbal harassment, other respondents, e.g., R1, R2, R4, R6, R7, R9, R10, and R12, did not feel that they were verbally harassed in their workplaces. However, the above examples indicate that R3, R8, R11, and R5 felt verbally harassed by their employer/co-workers in their workplaces. According to Jones et al. (2016), making remarks toward a certain employee through using, e.g., slurs, name-calling, threat, or using demeaning words at work is considered verbal harassment, making it an interpersonal form of discrimination. For instance, R8 believed that she was verbally harassed based on her appearance, R11 through swear words and demeaning words, R5 by framing and demeaning words talking against her behind her back, and R3 was harassed through blaming criticising by her Swedish co-workers. Except, R13 that she was uncertain since she did not know the Swedish language well. Therefore, she did not realise whether she was verbally harassed or not.

6.2.2 Non-verbal harassment

The result of this study shows that respondents experienced non-verbal harassment in the Swedish labour market as they felt that they were somehow non-verbally harassed by their employers/co-workers in their workplaces. Rosette et al. (2016) state that what makes this form of discrimination more dominant and widespread in today's workplaces is its subtlety that happens interpersonal level. According to Jones et al. (2016), this type of harassment does not contain sound language. It could be, e.g., facial reactions and gestures. They have been non-verbally harassed based due to, e.g., pronunciation of Swedish words, greeting, and Hijab. For

example, two of the respondents had experiences of non-verbally harassment in their workplaces over the pronunciation of the Swedish words, as they declared:

Perhaps this happened to me; whenever I mispronounced some Swedish words or when I sometimes incorrectly used subject pronoun, they changed their facial reaction. And this awkward matter bothers me a lot (R3).

Sometimes when I make a mistake in the Swedish language, some of my co-workers react strangely and make a facial reaction. I immediately asked them why you did so; they said it was the wrong word. (R7).

Additionally, R6 experienced that their co-workers non-verbally harassed her continually. For example, some of her co-workers changed their position to avoid greeting and eye contact with her. When I asked the question regarding this matter, she replied,

Yes, I experienced this matter repeatedly. There are some employees the way they tread, approach, and look at me is different. For example, they changed their way and walked in a different direction when they saw me not exchanging a greeting, and they tried to avoid eye contact with me. (R6).

Similarly, R2, R5, R9, R11 experienced non-verbal harassment when they greeted some of their co-workers, sat down beside them at lunch breaks, or asked questions about the work. Their co-workers did not reply to their greeting and looked at them with rolled eyes and pursed their lips (looking at them with facial reactions). For example, R5 stated that This matter only happened among her immigrant's co-workers, not her Swedish co-workers, as she explained:

Yes, this happened among my immigrant co-worker; for some days, I said "hi", but they did not reply to my greeting; they just looked while their face was changed. Then, I stopped greeting them. But this issue did not happen with my Swedish co-workers. On the contrary, they always replied to my greeting with a smile (R5).

Moreover, R2 even quit her job due to a dispute over this matter, as she demonstrated that:

In my previous job, several days, I said hi to one of my Swedish co-workers; although she did not reply to my greeting, she also made an unpleasant facial reaction too. She also acts like she is the boss. Because of this matter, we had a dispute, and I quit my job (R2).

In contrast, R1, R4, R8, R10 did not feel they were non-verbally harassed in their workplaces, neither by their employers nor co-workers. For example, when I asked them, have you ever experienced non-verbal harassment in your workplace? They simply responded “No” without further clarifications.

6.2.3 Disrespectful behaviour

This study’s result indicates respondents felt that they were somehow faced with the disrespectful behaviour of their employers and their co-workers in their workplaces and shows that such behaviour exists in the Swedish labour market. When I asked one of my respondents, did you face any disrespectful or rude type of behaviour during your job in your workplace? She said, "Yes" due to matter she felt alienated and gave her a sense of strangeness, as she further clarified that:

Yes, this matter happens a lot to me. For instance, they did not listen to me or respect me when I talked with my colleague; they did not care or were not interested in your speech and kept themselves busy with the computer. And most immigrants have this feeling and can understand this situation well; at that moment, I felt that I was alienated. And I think a lot about what mistake I have made that they ignore me. This matter gives me a sense of strangeness(R3).

Another respondent said that she experienced being inferior to her Swedish co-workers. Her boss did not treat her in a friendly manner instead treated her harshly while he was treated her Swedish co-workers in a friendly way and valued them, as she demonstrated:

My boss was a very racist person. He had a rude, negative, unfriendly behaviour toward me. When he talked with my Swedish co-workers, he was laughing and kidding with them. However, when he saw me, first he did not want to talk with me when he did, he ordered me, you must do this, and do that (R11).

In the same way, R3 felt that her Swedish co-workers and her boss treated her in an inferior manner to themselves and pretended that they were better than her:

In my workplace, most of the time, I feel that my employer and my Swedish co-workers treat me unfriendly, negatively, and unfavourably. For example, my boss values my Swedish co-workers' opinions more and asks after their opinions than me. This matter gives me a sense of strangeness. In some situations, this matter occurs when my co-worker pretend that they are better than me (R3).

Correspondingly, R7 stated that she experienced that her co-workers/boss treated her in an inferior manner by not valuing her and pretending that they were better than her as she explained that “yes, all my immigrant co-workers experienced such a thing, including me. For example, some of our Swedish co-workers think they are better than us by not valuing us. When I asked her the probing question, how do you realize that your Swedish co-workers treated you inferior to themselves? She replied, “[Silence] they have a close relationship with the boss, and the boss always listens to them and value their words than us.” (R7).

Similarly, R1 and R8 illustrated that their employers had ignored them by not listening to them, as they further clarified:

In my job, I faced disrespectful behaviour from my boss ignoring and not listening to me several times, but I always tolerated it because I needed the job. For example, I cooked the food on women's day, and all Afghan women brought me flowers but not to my boss. Because of this matter, she behaved badly with me; my boss was an obsessed and jealous woman and had problems with her job. Therefore, she treated me negatively, and I think this was part of her habits (R1).

In my previous work, whenever I had a problem, I asked for help from my boss while he was among the other girls. He simply looked at me, continued talking and laughing with them, and ignored my presence (R8).

Furthermore, R11 even experienced that such behaviour had a negative impact on her life, and she quit her job. She indirectly referred to it as an unfair matter:

Yes, I experienced such behaviour. For example, one day, while I was cleaning the floor, one of my Swedish co-workers threw the food tray toward me right in front of the boss and the customers, no one said anything to her, and I cried a lot. (R11).

Relatedly, R13 also experienced this when she previously referred to the moment, she sat down in lunch breaks with her co-workers and changed their place. Also, this matter could be a disrespectful behaviour that she experienced from her co-workers. As she further described:

I had some co-workers who strangely looked at my Hijab. When I sat beside them in lunch breaks, they looked at each other, pursed their lips, and changed their place, even saying a single word to me (R13).

Besides, R12 experienced such matters from her co-workers quite often in her workplace, as she explicated that:

"I have some co-workers who do not reply to my greeting sometimes; when we are going in one direction towards an entry, they know that I am coming after them; they just forcedly close the door and do not keep it open for me. But when I enter the door before someone else does, I will keep the door open for the person behind me. It is a rude, disrespectful action; they think I am an immigrant and do not deserve such a thing, and I often experience it in my workplace (R12).

The above examples show that the respondents experience disrespectful behaviour, including anything that lacks respect, e.g., general rudeness, negative comments towards someone in the workplace (Jones et al., 2016). To further exemplify this, the result of this study provides evidence that shows some Afghan female employees have experienced disrespectful treatment in their workplaces. For example, R1, R3, and R8 felt their co-workers did not listen to them, disrespected their ideas, and ignored them. According to Hebl et al. (2002), subtle discrimination is more damaging than the old-fashioned one, which R11 also brought up. Therefore, her life was affected negatively due to repeatedly experiencing disrespectful behaviour from her boss and co-workers in a harsh way. For example, her co-worker threw a food tray at her and insulted her in front of customers. Her boss also ignored her while she burnt her hand. Likewise, R12 experienced their co-workers disregarding her greeting and closing the door forcedly.

Similarly, R13 experienced when she sat down beside her co-workers in lunch breaks, they changed their place and sat down somewhere else. Moreover, respondents also felt they had been treated as inferior, unfriendly, and negatively by their employers/co-workers, referred to as interpersonal form discrimination (Jones et al., 2016). For instance, R3 and R7 experienced that their employers treated them inferior to their Swedish co-workers. Besides, their Swedish co-workers acted to show themselves better than them. Likewise, R1 and R11 felt that their employers/co-workers had negative, unfriendly, and rude behaviour toward them.

Although, R2, R4, R5, R6, R9, and R10 did not experience such matters from their employers and co-workers in their workplaces. For instance, R6 stated: *"[mm] no, I did not experience any disrespectful behaviour. The place that I work is quite different from other places because most of them are well educated."* (R6). However, when I asked them for further clarification, they simply said "No" to the question without further details.

6.2.4 Insulting jokes

This study shows that Afghan employees (R1, R5, R6, R7, R9, and R12) have experienced being insulted through jokes in their workplaces by their employers and co-workers in the Swedish labour market. For example, R5 and R7 were insulted for their appearance by wearing Hijab. Also, R6 and R9 through their identity as immigrants and Afghans. As well as R1, through language and residential status. For instance, when I asked R7 the question regarding this matter, she replied, "Yes" she even felt humiliated, and she became very angry over this matter while she further explained:

I have experienced such a thing, and it was during the Easter holiday. I had a red headscarf (Hijab). When I went to the workplace, my Swedish co-workers said to each other, here comes the Easter witch while laughing together. And at that moment, I felt humiliated (R7).

Likewise, R12 expressed that she experienced such matter, as she felt that a Swedish co-worker insulted her and tried to show her inferiority to Swedish people by delivering a message indirectly to her that since you are an immigrant, you cannot achieve this, as she further exemplified:

One of my Swedish co-workers asked me what I am studying now? The moment I told her that I was soon going to graduate from the economy. She told me that it would be better for you to study elderly care. When I asked her why you said that? she simply smiled and said to me, I was just kidding with you. I thought to myself that if I were not an immigrant, she would never express herself in this way. However, since I am an immigrant, it does not mean that I cannot study at a high level and work in a better place (R12).

Moreover, R1 also felt that her boss made fun of her in an insulting way by addressing her Swedish language and her resident status. Indirectly delivering a message to her that you stayed in Sweden is because of me (showing inferiority). Even though her boss was also a female Arab woman, as she explained:

I faced insulting jokes several times by my boss. She always told me; you do not know the Swedish language; you do not have a resident permit. Even when I got my resident permit, she told me in an insulting and joking manner that you got your resident permit because I gave you the job, and this matter annoyed me a lot (R1).

Moreover, when I asked R6, have you ever been told insulting jokes such as comments on your appearance in an insulting way or made fun of your name, religion, or anything else? First, she replied, "No, not directly," but when I asked her the probing question, have you ever felt indirectly? She said, "Yes", and further illustrated that *"sometimes they make fun of the Taliban government, saying things on Hijab and women's way of clothing. Somehow they try to deliver a message that Afghan women are weak."* (R6). Her co-workers tried to make fun of the existing situation of Afghanistan, relating it masculine way of the Taliban's governing Afghanistan and the pressurized role of women in Afghan society. Addressing their way of clothing and assuming them as "weak women" is also referred to by Jones et al. (2016) as an interpersonal form of discrimination that targets individuals who carry stigmatized characteristics.

In contrast, R2, R3, R4, R8, R10, R11, and R13 did not experience jokes in an insulting way from their employers/co-workers. For instance, R4 said, *"No, I never experience such things"* without further clarification. However, R13 previously described that *"I do not know the language well"* she could have heard things but could not realise it as insulting jokes as she only understood their behaviour through how they approached her or their facial reaction. She referred to the phrase "could have happened" throughout the interview as she was unsure due to the lack of basic Swedish knowledge. So, it does not mean that she did not receive jokes in an insulting way since she previously clarified how her co-workers behaved with her.

6.3. Intersectionality and subtle discrimination

When I interviewed the respondents and asked questions related to the theme of intersectionality, namely questions (19-21) in the appendix1, some attributes emerged within the main theme of identity in which some relate to the ethnicity (e.g., appearance, foreign name, and language) while the rest of these attributes (e.g., immigrant, hijab, religion, Afghan, education, and age) mentioned as a separate category.

The upcoming analysis of this section will not separately present each emerged such-themes since the respondents sometimes clarified most of the mentioned emerged attributes while they expressed themselves in a single paragraph. Meaning that if I took only some part of the texts related to specific emerged attributes, the whole context might lose its meaning and cannot deliver its message. Hence, I presented the whole context in the result throughout the upcoming section. In addition, a table will be provided giving an overview over which forms of discrimination are perceived to intersect with which identities and its attributes.

Respondents clarified that their identities are somehow perceived as a stigmatise characteristic by their employers and co-workers in the Swedish labour market when it comes to identity. As R5, R8 and 13 exemplified that since they were immigrants, wearing hijab, having language problems, they have experienced being subjected to a subtle form of discrimination, as they further demonstrated that:

Maybe it was because I was an immigrant and had Hijab that they treated me like this. If it were a Swedish employee instead of me, they would have never treated him/her the way they have treated me. I feel that my employer exploited me because I was not aware of my rights at that time (R5).

I am a Muslim immigrant who wears Hijab, I am old, and I have a problem with the Swedish language. Therefore, these things happened to me. (R13).

In my previous work, I did not hang out with them; I was busy with my own business and kept a distance from them. So maybe it was because of this. And of course, wearing Hijab also matters a lot; if you wear it, they insult and humiliate you; they think it is meaningless. So, I did not want to work at the beginning because I wore Hijab (R8).

Similarly, another respondent stressed that she faced discrimination due to her identity as an immigrant and having language problems. However, she believed that if she knew the language, she could defend herself and not be subjected to discrimination:

One of the reasons I feel that I am discriminated against in my workplace is that I am an immigrant; I cannot fluently speak Swedish as my Swedish co-workers do. However, they know the language, and they can make from a small thing a big scene. Unfortunately, our Swedish vocabulary is limited. Therefore, we cannot defend our rights and become the target of discrimination (R9).

Moreover, R7 and R3 also stressed upon language, being a Muslim woman and wearing Hijab as part of their religious beliefs create a barrier that gave their employer/co-workers an idea about them and eventually led to discriminate them subtly, for example R7 stated that:

Being Muslim, wearing Hijab, and being an immigrant is a reason in itself. If a bad thing happens in the city, like crimes, they see it from our eyes and hold us accountable. Furthermore, language, having a foreign name, and lack of knowing the rights are some of the reasons that create ideas and lead to either misunderstanding or exploiting of us." (R7).

Correspondingly, R12 acknowledged that besides being an immigrant, having a foreign name also as an identity leads to the experience of discrimination in the Swedish labour market. As she further illustrated, *"We are immigrants, what else it could be? They always blame us. Some of my friends even changed their names to avoid problems and misunderstandings based on having foreign names."* (R12). It shows how their different layers of identities are perceived by employers/co-workers and understood in such a way that leads to the experience of discrimination and pressurises their already disadvantaged position in the Swedish labour market.

Furthermore, R1, R6, and R11 described that being an Afghan woman somehow created meaning in their employer/co-worker's mind, and they could see Afghan women as carriers of some stigmatised characteristic, e.g., weak, poor, and oppressed. As they further exemplified this matter:

Because I was an Afghan, not an Arab, as my boss was an Arab woman, she not only badly treated me in such a way but also treated poorly my non-Arab co-workers from Somali and other countries (R1).

These things happen because we are immigrants; they also created a weak image of Afghan women in their minds. They think that Afghan women are oppressed, under constant beating and poor. Therefore, when Afghan women wear Hijab, they see Hijab as a symbol of oppression and negatively understand us as an immigrant and a burden to Swedish society (R6).

The first day when I got my job, my co-workers asked me where I come from. The moment I told them that I was from Afghanistan, they stopped talking with me. I think they might see my country's misery in me. These things happened to me because I could not defend myself as my Swedish co-workers do. They know their rights and language better than I do. Immigrants usually admit that they are immigrants, especially if they wear Hijab like me (R11).

On the other hand, R2 and R10 stated that they worked as a substitute, as also clarified in Table 1. Therefore, they did not feel discriminated against by their employers/co-workers in their workplaces. Except once that R2 felt discriminated over the distribution of tasks, but not within all emerged sub-themes. As R2 and R10 stated:

The reason can also be that I am an immigrant, and it could also be that in my previous job, I worked as a substitute (R2).

No, I do not feel discriminated; maybe it depends where you work, your personality, adaptability, and the way you practice your religion, and because I do not wear Hijab (R10).

Similarly, R4 believed that she was not discriminated against in her work since she grew up in Sweden adopted the Swedish way of living as she described "I grew up here, I do not wear Hijab, I adopt Swedish norms/appearance, I work in an international company in Sweden most of my co-workers are not from Sweden, I am educated and know the language fluently. Therefore, I do not experience such things even if I face such behaviours, I will react against it immediately without any hesitation, but I have friends who have experienced such things because of hijab and language skills in other companies in Sweden." (R4). Except, once over the distribution of the tasks that I have already mentioned in the work assignment theme, she experienced discrimination.

Identity	Formal			Interpersonal			
	Job promotion	Salary raises	Work assignment	Verbal harassment	Non-verbal harassment	Disrespectful behaviour	Insulting jokes
Race							
Ethnicity (e.g., language, appearance, foreign name)	R8	R3		R8	R3, R7		R1, R6
Gender			R4			R1	R6
Religion (e.g., Muslim, Hijab)	R11			R5		R8	R7
Nationality (e.g., Afghan)	R1		R1	R8		R1	R6
Age					R13	R13	
Immigrant	R3, R5, R6, R8	R3, R6, R11	R2, R3, R5, R7, R11	R3, R11		R3, R11, R12, R7	R1, R12
Education		R5				R11	

To briefly illustrate, Table 2 indicates the emerged attributes within the main theme of identity. I also give an overview of which forms of discrimination are perceived to intersect with which respondent's identity. As I previously mentioned, I did not separate the respondents' answers into other sub-themes under the main identity theme of intersectionality. Because sometimes respondents mentioned all these emerged attributes in a single paragraph, the entire paragraph might lose its meaning to separate it. So, I discussed it under a single main theme of identity; therefore, some of the respondents repeatedly appears in other emerged attributes.

Furthermore, the data also indicates traces of nationality and education that had been perceived by their employers/co-workers in a way that created barriers for them and experienced discrimination. Education (lack of knowledge about Swedish justice) means that respondents can also be discriminated against. However, the result of this study shows no trace of discrimination based on race.

As illustrated in Table 2, other new attributes also emerged within the main theme of identity. These emerged attributes are the layers that appeared within the main theme of identity and perhaps understood by others (e.g., employers and co-workers) in a way that makes them discriminate against others (e.g., Afghan women employees) since Afghan women's employers/co-workers had ideas about them and displaced them within mentioned layers that are appeared within the main theme of identity. Also referred to as intersectionality by Crenshaw (1991). Table 2 further demonstrates that the result of this study reveals that relationships among the relevant identities/attributes are not fixed and stable. For example, each one of the respondents did not specifically experience being discriminated against based on one identity. It could be that each of the respondents might have experienced discrimination based on having several identities. Instead, the relationship is fluid, open, mutually interactive, and constitutes with each other so that their employers/co-workers understand them in a way that leads to the experience of discrimination by employees (Hancock, 2007; Pearson, 2010).

To further illustrate the fluidity of interaction among the layers of identities, Table 2 shows how some respondents repeatedly appear and interact with different layers/attributes of identity, showing which forms of discrimination are perceived and intersect with respondents' identities. Also, it shows the extent of the fluidity of interaction among layers/attributes of identities and forms of discrimination. For instance, R3 had experiences of both forms of discrimination; formal form (job promotion, salary raises, and work assignment). All these forms are intersected with her identity for being an immigrant. Likewise, interpersonal (verbal

harassment, and disrespectful behaviour) intersected with identity as an immigrant, and non-verbal harassment intersected with her ethnicity, except R10 that she did not experience any forms of subtle discrimination at all.

Meanwhile, R3, R7, and R11 mentioned most layers of emerged attributes combinedly (not within a specific form of discrimination), while R12 (foreign name holders) and R13 (e.g., Muslim, Hijab, old, immigrant and language) as the reason that they have been discriminated against. While the rest of the respondents somehow experienced one kind or both kinds of subtle discrimination intersecting with one or several attributes of their identities, above all, it shows that both kinds of discrimination are perceived to be in the Swedish labour market. These new emerged layers of identity perhaps created barriers that problematise Afghan women's condition in the Swedish labour market, which was also addressed by Crenshaw (1991: 1248-50).

Though (R4) believed that since she did not wear Hijab, adapted Swedish norms, grew up in Sweden, and spoke the Swedish language fluently, she has not been discriminated against in her workplace. Except over the distribution of a particular task, she felt discriminated against due to gender and lack of experience. She stated that "*the reason might be that he had more experience than me.*" She brought up gender "he" that she did not receive it. Therefore, she felt that her employer differed between her and her male co-worker.

The result of this study also supports the Cho et al. (2013) argument on female immigrants that experience manifold oppressions based on socioeconomic injustice while integrating into the labour market, e.g., being a female immigrant and having different identities. According to Cho et al., 2013 immigrants' experiences of discrimination qualities differ based on various kinds of identities mentioned above. For instance, a female immigrant might experience discrimination due to one (R4), several (R6) or most of her attributes of identities (R8), as can be seen in Table 2.

Additionally, the result of this study support Browne & Misra (2003) argument that intersectional oppression affects three components: wages, immigration, domestic work, and discrimination/stereotyping in the labour market. As female immigrants are always subjected to lower-income as brought up by R3, R5, R6, and R11, and they experience discrimination/stereotyping based on attributes of their identity, and ethnicity (R1, R6, and R11), as well as, they tend to work with domestic jobs in an exploitive way (Ibid. 495-506). Nevertheless, the respondents in this study did not work with a domestic job, but they perceived

that they had received unrelated tasks which were not part of their daily schedules (e.g., R1, R2, R5, and R6), and some of them (R5, R7, R11, and R12) even believed they had been exploited in their workplaces by their co-workers.

Regarding ethnicity/nationality, R1, R3, R6, R7, and R8 believed they had been discriminated against based on their ethnicity and nationality. However, as Crenshaw (1991) clarified, it is not the ethnicity itself that they experienced discrimination. However, perhaps other people (their employers/co-workers) had ideas about their (Afghan female employees) ethnicity as R6 mentioned "*a weak image of Afghan women*" or R11 stated that "*I think they might see my country's misery in me.*" Furthermore, R1 stressed that "*I was an Afghan, not an Arab.*" made them (e.g., employers/co-workers) discriminate against others (e.g., Afghan female employees). According to Cho et al. (2013), immigrant women might experience several different oppressions (e.g., weak, poor) at the same time while they integrate into the labour market, which also brought up the issue by R1, R6. Moreover, the relation between identities with attributes are not fixed or stable instead, it is fluid and interact with each other (Hancock, 2007; Pearson, 2010). Therefore, R1, R6, R8, and R11's responses appears in other emerged attributes, as shown in Table 2.

Lastly, when it comes to the formal form of discrimination, this study's empirical result shows that the common experience of subtle discrimination among Afghan women immigrants in the Swedish labour market was related to the attribute of "immigrant". Whereas other attributes such as language, appearance, foreign name, Hijab, being Muslim, and Afghan did not seem to be commonly experienced by the respondents. However, these attributes are experienced more or less by the respondents, as illustrated in Table 2. Both formal and interpersonal forms of discrimination have been found that has been experienced by Afghan female immigrants in this study as expected. Still, the experiences of discrimination among Afghan female immigrants were commonly related to the attribute of being an "immigrant".

6. Conclusion

This study's main research question and sub-questions concern the Afghan women's experiences of discrimination to their economic and social integration in the Swedish labour market, their experiences of subtle discrimination, and the intersection of their identities that make them perceive discrimination. This study's findings are straightforward to summarize. First, the respondents perceived that all forms of formal (job promotion, salary raises, and work assignment) and interpersonal (verbal/non-verbal harassment, disrespectful behaviours, and insulting jokes) discrimination exist in the Swedish labour market. All respondents experienced some forms of discrimination except R10, who did not experience discrimination. But all forms of discrimination are perceived to be in the Swedish labour market if one considers the whole group of the respondents. Second, this study shows that respondents believed that the above different types of discriminations are triggered by their different forms of identities, as illustrated in Table 2. For example, non-verbal harassment is related to ethnicity, and being an "immigrant" is related to most forms of subtle discrimination.

This study's finding reveals that Afghan female employees experienced formal and interpersonal discrimination in the Swedish labour market. As previous studies primarily focus on formal forms of discrimination, generally studying income-based discrimination existing in the labour market, e.g., Adsera & Chiswick, (2007), Premji et al. (2010), and Hou & Frank (2013), something that also brought up this study's respondents, e.g., R3, R5, R6, and R11. Moreover, discrimination based on having a foreign name when it comes to hiring individuals in the Swedish labour market discussed by, e.g., Carlsson et al. (2007), Bursell (2007), Lundborg (2013), and Arai et al. (2021) also brought up by R7 and R12 in this study. However, a few previous studies focused only on immigrants', e.g., sexual harassment Murphy et al., (2015), harassment and prejudice Krings et al., (2014), and Bullying Rosander & Bloomberg, (2021) in the workplace at an interpersonal level.

Thus, this study contributes qualitatively to the literature by studying one population of immigrants, namely Afghan women, in several ways. First, theoretically by studying subtle discrimination, formal and interpersonal forms. Second, by providing empirically convincing and clear findings to the extent that different kinds of discrimination experienced by Afghan women in the Swedish labour market. Besides, this study also indicates how respondents relate different forms of discrimination to their specific identity and how their identity is understood by their employers/co-workers in a way that triggered the experience of various kinds of

discrimination by respondents in the Swedish labour market. For instance, R3 experienced all kinds of formal (job promotion, salary raises, and work assignment), some interpersonal (verbal harassment and disrespectful behaviour) discrimination based on her identity as an immigrant, and non-verbal harassment based on her ethnicity. While R4 only experienced formal discrimination regarding work assignments on her identity (gender) illustrated in Table 2.

Moreover, like any other study, this study also has limitations that I have previously mentioned in chapter 5 (methodological framework and research design). Besides, a limitation that needs to be mentioned is that different forms of discrimination might be associated with more identities/attributes if the sample is expanded. Furthermore, this study's results cannot be generalized to other immigrants' populations locally or nationally when it comes to generalising. The sampling method used in this study is not probable; instead, purposive snowball sampling is used to ensure that only those Afghan women who are working or have worked before are sampled. Therefore, it cannot be generalized to all Afghan populations living in Sweden. However, it is likely that Afghan immigrant women experience all these types of discrimination in the Swedish labour market, but this study cannot claim how common these different types of discrimination are among Afghan immigrant women.

Furthermore, this study's result shows the complexity that the Afghan women experienced discrimination depending on the combination of different identities/attributes, making it hard to generalize to other immigrants. Although, it can only be generalized to immigrants with the same identity, e.g., nationality, gender, ethnicity, and religion.

In addition, a challenge that I faced during applying subtle discrimination theory, particularly categories of the interpersonal form of discrimination (e.g., verbal/non-verbal, disrespectful behaviour, and insulting jokes), was hard to apply in the empirical analysis. However, I tried to create boundaries among these categories, but one category (hostile attitude) was still excluded, making it easier to distinguish among the mentioned categories.

Consequently, this study suggests a comparative case study comparing Afghan immigrants with another immigrant group living in Sweden. To find out whether the above discrimination forms differ among different groups of immigrants and impact the existence of these forms in the Swedish labour market.

7. Bibliography

- Abrashi, A., Sander, Å., Larsson, G., 2015. *Islamophobia in Sweden: National Report 2015*. In: Enes Bayraklı & Farid Hafez, ed. 2015. European Islamophobia Report 2015. [pdf] Istanbul: SETA, pp. 493–526. Available at: <http://file.setav.org/Files/Pdf/20160324132020_eir_2015.pdf>. [Accessed 12 Oct. 2021].
- Adsera, A. and Chiswick, B.R., 2007. Are there gender and country of origin differences in immigrant labour market outcomes across European destinations? *Journal of Population Economics*, [online] 20(3), pp.495–526. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00148-006-0082-y>.
- Agerström, J. and Rooth, D., 2009. Implicit prejudice and ethnic minorities: Arab-Muslims in Sweden. *International Journal of Manpower*, [online] 30(1/2), pp.43–55. <https://doi.org/10.1108/01437720910948384>.
- Andersson, P., 2020. Recognition of Prior Learning for Highly Skilled Refugees' Labour Market Integration. *International Migration*, [online] 59(4), pp.13–25. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12781>.
- Anthias, F., Kontos, M. and Morokvasic-Müller, M. eds., 2013. *Paradoxes of Integration: Female Migrants in Europe*. [online] Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-4842-2>.
- Arai, M., Gartell, M., Rödin, M. and Özcan, G., 2021. Ethnic Stereotypes and Entry into Labor Market Programs. *ILR Review*, [online] 74(2), pp.293–320. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0019793919899937>.
- Babbie, E.R., 2008. *The basics of social research*. 4th ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson/Wadsworth.
- Behtoui, A. and Neergaard, A., 2009. Perceptions of Discrimination in Recruitment and the Workplace. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies*, [online] 7(4), pp.347–369. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15562940903378813>.
- Bevelander, P. and Pendakur, R., 2014. The labour market integration of refugee and family reunion immigrants: a comparison of outcomes in Canada and Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, [online] 40(5), pp.689–709. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2013.849569>.
- Bevelander, P. and Irastorza, N., 2016. The labour market integration of refugees in Sweden. *Nordregio News*, [online] 16(3), pp.12–13. Available at: <https://nordregio.org/nordregio-magazine/issues/migration-and-integration/the-labour-market-integration-of-refugees-in-sweden/?fbclid=IwAR1_8nqPNF_Iuf9x-ykcauic426pm_EAXsglS_c1JRHOGjF6YNrdn__RBxM>. [Accessed 17 Jan. 2022].
- Bhui, K., Abdi, A., Abdi, M., Pereira, S., Dualeh, M., Robertson, D., Sathyamoorthy, G. and Ismail, H., 2003. Traumatic events, migration characteristics and psychiatric symptoms among Somali refugees. *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology*, [online] 38(1), pp.35–43. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s00127-003-0596-5>.

- Brinkmann, S., and Kvale, S., 2015. *Interviews: learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing*. Third edition ed. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.
- Browne, I. and Misra, J., 2003. The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market. *Annual Review of Sociology*, [online] 29(1), pp.487–513. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.29.010202.100016>.
- Bryman, A., 2016. *Social research methods*. Fifth Edition ed. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bucken-Knapp, G., Fakh, Z. and Spehar, A., 2019. Talking about Integration: The Voices of Syrian Refugees Taking Part in Introduction Programmes for Integration into Swedish Society. *International Migration*, [online] 57(2), pp.221–234. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12440>.
- Bursell, M., 2007. *What is in a name? - A field experiment test for the existence of ethnic discrimination in the hiring process*. [online] Available at: <<http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:su:diva-118231>> [Accessed 4 Oct. 2021].
- Bursell, M., 2021. Perceptions of discrimination against Muslims. A study of formal complaints against public institutions in Sweden. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, [online] 47(5), pp.1162–1179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2018.1561250>.
- Carlsson, M. and Rooth, D.-O., 2007. Evidence of ethnic discrimination in the Swedish labor market using experimental data. *Labour Economics*, [online] 14(4), pp.716–729. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2007.05.001>.
- Carlsson, M., Fumarco, L. and Rooth, D.-O., 2018. Ethnic discrimination in hiring, labour market tightness and the business cycle - evidence from field experiments. *Applied Economics*, [online] 50(24), pp.2652–2663. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00036846.2017.1406653>.
- Carlsson, M. and Eriksson, S., 2019. Age discrimination in hiring decisions: Evidence from a field experiment in the labour market. *Labour Economics*, [online] 59, pp.173–183. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.labeco.2019.03.002>.
- Carlsson, M., 2011. Does Hiring Discrimination Cause Gender Segregation in the Swedish Labor Market? *Feminist Economics*, [online] 17(3), pp.71–102. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2011.580700>.
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K.W. and McCall, L., 2013. Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, [online] 38(4), pp.785–810. <https://doi.org/10.1086/669608>.
- Corlett, A., 2011. *Race*. Oxford bibliographies online. Philosophy. [online] *Race*. New York]: Oxford University Press. Available at: <<http://ezproxy.ub.gu.se/login?url=http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780195396577/obo-9780195396577-0097.xml>> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2021].

- Cortina, L.M., 2008. Unseen Injustice: Incivility as Modern Discrimination in Organizations. *Academy of Management Review*, [online] 33(1), pp.55–75. <https://doi.org/10.5465/amr.2008.27745097>.
- Council, N.R., Education, D. of B. and S.S. and, Statistics, C. on N. and Discrimination, P. on M. for A., 2004. *Measuring Racial Discrimination*. [online] National Academies Press. [Accessed 10 Oct. 2021].
- Crenshaw, K., 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*, [online] 43(6), pp.1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
- Creswell, J.W., 2003. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approach*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage
- Creswell, J.W., and Creswell, J.W., 2013. *Qualitative inquiry and research design: choosing among five approaches*. 3rd ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Fox, S. and Stallworth, L.E., 2005. Racial/ethnic bullying: Exploring links between bullying and racism in the US workplace. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, [online] 66(3), pp.438–456. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jvb.2004.01.002>.
- Franz, B., 2003. Bosnian Refugee Women in (Re)settlement: Gender Relations and Social Mobility. *Feminist Review*, [online] 73(1), pp.86–103. <https://doi.org/10.1057/palgrave.fr.9400077>.
- Gustafsson, B.A., Mac Innes, H. and Österberg, T., 2017. Age at immigration matters for labor market integration—the Swedish example. *IZA Journal of Development and Migration*, [online] 7(1), p.1. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40176-017-0087-1>.
- Grenier, G. and Xue, L., 2011. Canadian Immigrants’ Access to a First Job in Their Intended Occupation. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, [online] 12(3), pp.275–303. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-010-0159-z>.
- Hancock, A.-M., 2007. When Multiplication Does Not Equal Quick Addition: Examining intersectionality as a Research Paradigm. *Perspectives on Politics*, [online] 5(1), pp.63–79. Available at: <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20446350>> [Accessed 9 Oct. 2021].
- Halperin, S., and Heath, O., 2017. *Political research: methods and practical skills*. Second edition ed. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Hebl, M.R., Foster, J.B., Mannix, L.M. and Dovidio, J.F., 2002. Formal and Interpersonal Discrimination: A Field Study of Bias Toward Homosexual Applicants. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, [online] 28(6), pp.815–825. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167202289010>.
- Hou, F. and Frank, K., 2013. *Cultural Influences Across Time and Space: Do Source-country Gender Roles Affect Immigrant Women’s Paid and Unpaid Labour Activity?* Analytical Studies Branch Research Paper Series. [online] *Analytical Studies Branch*

Research Paper Series. Statistics Canada, Analytical Studies Branch. Available at: <<https://ideas.repec.org/p/stc/stcp3e/2013349e.html>> [Accessed 10 Sep. 2021].

- Irastorza, N., and Bevelander, P., 2017. The Labour Market Participation of Humanitarian Migrants in Sweden: An Overview. *Intereconomics*, [online] 52(5), pp.270–277. Available at: <<http://link.springer.com/10.1007/s10272-017-0689-0>> [Accessed 13 Sep. 2021].
- Irastorza, N. and Bevelander, P., 2021. Skilled Migrants in the Swedish Labour Market: An Analysis of Employment, Income and Occupational Status. *Sustainability*, [online] 13(6), p.3428. <https://doi.org/10.3390/su13063428>.
- Jones, K.P., Peddie, C.I., Gilrane, V.L., King, E.B. and Gray, A.L., 2016. Not So Subtle: A Meta-Analytic Investigation of the Correlates of Subtle and Overt Discrimination. *Journal of Management*, [online] 42(6), pp.1588–1613. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0149206313506466>.
- Jones, K.P., Arena, D.F., Nittrouer, C.L., Alonso, N.M., and Lindsey, A.P., 2017. Subtle Discrimination in the Workplace: A Vicious Cycle. *Industrial and Organizational Psychology*, [online] 10(1), pp.51–76. <https://doi.org/10.1017/iop.2016.91>.
- Kaas, L. and Manger, C., 2012. Ethnic Discrimination in Germany’s Labour Market: A Field Experiment. *German Economic Review*, [online] 13(1), pp.1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0475.2011.00538.x>.
- Krings, F., Johnston, C., Binggeli, S. and Maggiori, C., 2014. Selective incivility: Immigrant groups experience subtle workplace discrimination at different rates. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, [online] 20(4), pp.491–498. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035436>.
- Lee, T.L. and Fiske, S.T., 2006. Not an outgroup, not yet an ingroup: Immigrants in the Stereotype Content Model. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, [online] 30(6), pp.751–768. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.06.005>.
- Lewis, D. and Gunn, R., 2007. WORKPLACE BULLYING IN THE PUBLIC SECTOR: UNDERSTANDING THE RACIAL DIMENSION. *Public Administration*, [online] 85(3), pp.641–665. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9299.2007.00665.x>.
- Lundborg, P., 2013. Refugees’ Employment Integration in Sweden: Cultural Distance and Labor Market Performance: Refugees’ Employment Integration. *Review of International Economics*, [online] 21(2), pp.219–232. <https://doi.org/10.1111/roie.12032>.
- Maxwell, R., 2017. Occupations, National Identity, and Immigrant Integration. *Comparative Political Studies*, [online] 50(2), pp.232–263. Available at: <<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0010414016655535>> [Accessed 13 Sep. 2021].
- Mesfin, Y.Z. and Mamuye, A.L., 2020. Barriers of Labour Market Integration of Humanitarian Immigrants in Sweden. 9(1), p.16.

- Midgley, E.W., Danaher, P.A., and Baguley, M., 2013. *The Role of Participants in Education Research*. p.272.
- Murphy, J., Samples, J., Morales, M. and Shadbeh, N., 2015. “They Talk Like That, But We Keep Working”: Sexual Harassment and Sexual Assault Experiences Among Mexican Indigenous Farmworker Women in Oregon. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health*, [online] 17(6), pp.1834–1839. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10903-014-9992-z>.
- Naderifar, M., Goli, H. and Ghaljaie, F., 2017. Snowball Sampling: A Purposeful Method of Sampling in Qualitative Research. *Strides in Development of Medical Education*, [online] 14(3). <https://doi.org/10.5812/sdme.67670>.
- Nimrod Grisar, Martin Irwin, and Zeev Kaplan, 2003. Acute psychotic episodes as a reaction to severe trauma in a population of Ethiopian immigrants to Israel. *Stress & Health: Journal of the International Society for the Investigation of Stress*, [online] 19(4), p.241. Available at: <<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=s3h&AN=10968551&site=ehost-live>> [Accessed 7 Oct. 2021].
- Nordin, M. and Rooth, D.-O., 2009. The Ethnic Employment and Income Gap in Sweden: Is Skill or Labor Market Discrimination the Explanation? *Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, [online] 111(3), pp.487–510. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9442.2009.01573.x>.
- OED, 2021. *gender, n.: Oxford English Dictionary*. [online] Available at: <<https://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/77468>> [Accessed 15 Oct. 2021].
- Pearson, H., 2010. Complicating Intersectionality Through the Identities of a Hard of Hearing Korean Adoptee: An Autoethnography. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, [online] 43(3), pp.341–356. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2010.496642>.
- Premji, S. and Shakya, Y., 2017. Pathways between under/unemployment and health among racialized immigrant women in Toronto. *Ethnicity & Health*, [online] 22(1), pp.17–35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13557858.2016.1180347>.
- Premji, S., Duguay, P., Messing, K. and Lippel, K., 2010. Are immigrants, ethnic and linguistic minorities over-represented in jobs with a high level of compensated risk? Results from a Montréal, Canada study using census and workers’ compensation data. *American Journal of Industrial Medicine*, [online] p.n/a-n/a. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajim.20845>.
- Rosette, A.S., Akinola, M. and Ma, A., 2016. *Subtle Discrimination in the Workplace*. [online] Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199363643.013.2>.
- Rosander, M. and Blomberg, S., 2021. Workplace bullying of immigrants working in Sweden. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, [online] pp.1–25. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09585192.2021.1891113>.

- Saxe, A., 2017. The Theory of Intersectionality: A New Lens for Understanding the Barriers Faced by Autistic Women. *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies*, [online] 6(4), pp.153–178. <https://doi.org/10.15353/cjds.v6i4.386>.
- Senthanar, S., MacEachen, E., Premji, S. and Bigelow, P., 2021. Employment integration experiences of Syrian refugee women arriving through Canada's varied refugee protection programmes. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, [online] 47(3), pp.575–595. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1733945>.
- Sirkeci, I., Acik, N., Saunders, B. and Přívara, A., 2018. Barriers for Highly Qualified A8 Immigrants in the U.K. Labour Market. *Work, Employment and Society*, [online] 32(5), pp.906–924. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0950017017726912>.
- Statistiska centralbyrån, 2020. *Sweden: immigration 2020*. [online] Statista. Available at: <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/523293/immigration-to-sweden/>> [Accessed 4 Oct. 2021].
- Stempel, C. and Alemi, Q., 2020. Challenges to the economic integration of Afghan refugees in the U.S. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, [online] pp.1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.2020.1724420>.
- Swedish Migration Agency, 2018. *Beviljade uppehållstillstånd 2018*. [pdf] Migrationsverket. Available at: <https://www.migrationsverket.se/download/18.4cb46070161462db113174/1593687880162/Beviljade_uppehållstillstånd_2018.pdf> [Accessed 7 Oct. 2021].
- Waugh, I.M., 2010. Examining the Sexual Harassment Experiences of Mexican Immigrant Farm Working Women. *Violence Against Women*, [online] 16(3), pp.237–261. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801209360857>.
- Walby, S., Armstrong, J. and Strid, S., 2012. Intersectionality: Multiple Inequalities in Social Theory. *Sociology*, [online] 46(2), pp.224–240. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038038511416164>.
- van Laer, K. and Janssens, M., 2011. Ethnic minority professionals' experiences with subtle discrimination in the workplace. *Human Relations*, [online] 64(9), pp.1203–1227. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0018726711409263>.

APPENDIX 1 (Interview Guide in English)

Semi-structured interview

Your anonymity will be the priority of this study, and it is okay not to answer any of these questions. However, if you feel uncomfortable, say so, and we will move on to another question.

Background information

Name:

Marital status:

How long have you been in Sweden?

Job-status: permanent, temporary, or extra

Religion:

Religiosity level: Low, Medium, or High

How long have you been working in Sweden?

Age:

Kind of job:

Education level:

City of living:

Subtle discrimination

The formal form of subtle discrimination

1. Have you got a promotion during your carrier in this organization? For instance, increase in your salary, participating in workshops/programs, receiving bonuses, travel tickets or anything else.
If yes, what was that, and how did you get the promotion? If no, why, and what would be the reason in your opinion? Do you think that anything related to your identity (e.g., appearance, religion, education, language, gender, or hijab) affected your chances?
2. Do you have any colleagues? If yes, are they all women or men? If not, why, and what do you think?
3. Have your co-workers got a promotion, salary increase, bonus and any other work merits? If yes, what would be the reason in your opinion that they got a promotion and you did not?
4. Have you ever had the opportunity to apply or run for a higher position offered by your employer?
 - If yes, what was that? If not, why would you please explain it?
5. Do you feel that your employer gives you fair, equal tasks as the others? If yes, please give an example? If not, why is only you that experienced such a situation?
6. Have you ever experienced that you have got more workload than your co-workers? For example, working longer than others. If yes, how? If not, why?
7. Have you received any additional tasks unrelated to your work?
8. Have you been refused a task/job assignment that you feel might be because of your, e.g., religion, identity, education, gender, or any other reasons?

Interpersonal form of subtle discrimination

9. Do you feel comfortable in your workplace? If yes, how? If not, why?
10. Have you ever experienced that your colleagues/employer unfairly treated you?
 - For example, hostile attitude (unfriendly, antagonistic, harsh, negative, and unfavourable feeling) for any reason, based on, e.g., gender, religion, education, name? If yes, would you please explain it? If not, why?
11. Have you ever asked for help from your colleagues, and they denied it? If yes, why?
12. Have you ever experienced that your Swedish co-worker reacted as they were afraid of you based on your appearance, religion, hijab?

13. Have you ever been harassed in your workplace, for instance, name-calling, comments on your appearance, private life, marital status, or anything else?
14. Have you ever experienced none verbally harassment? For instance, unpleasant attitudes in your workplace like using obscene gestures, sounds while talking with you, sending personal messages to you, facial reactions, or using elevator eyes (eye-rolling) when your Swedish co-workers/employer see you?
15. Have you ever experienced that someone in your workplace did not reply to your greetings intentionally based on your, e.g., appearance, hijab?
16. Did you face any disrespectful or rude type of behaviour during your job in your workplace, like not listening to you or hurting your feeling?
17. Have you ever been told insulting jokes such as comments on your appearance in an insulting way or made fun of your name, religion, or anything else?
18. How did you cope with these problems? What was your strategy dealing in dealing with these problems?
19. Why do you think this happens to you?
20. Why do you think your co-workers/employer are treated this way?
21. Do you think that it could have something with how they perceived your identity who you or your, e.g., religion, appearance, wearing hijab, not shaking hand, or something else?
22. Is there anything you want to add that we did not discuss so far?

APPENDIX 2 (Interview Guide in Dari)

مصاحبه نیمه ساختار یافته

ناشناس بودن شما در اولویت این مطالعه است، فرق نمی کند به هیچ یک از این سوالات پاسخ ندهید. اگر احساس ناراحتی می کنید، این را بگویید، و ما به سؤال دیگری می رویم.

اطلاعات پس زمینه/شخصی

اسم:
حالت معدنی:
چه مدت در سوئد بودید؟
وظیفه: دائمی، موقت یا هر چیز دیگری
دین:
سطح دینداری: کم، متوسط یا زیاد
چه مدت در سوئد کار می کنید؟

تبعیض نامحسوس

شکل رسمی تبعیض نامحسوس

1. آیا در این موسسه ترفیع شغلی دریافت کرده اید؟ به عنوان مثال، افزایش حقوق، اشتراک در ورکشاپ ها/برنامه ها، دریافت پاداش، بلیط سفر یا هر چیز دیگری.
• اگر بلی، آن چه بود، و چگونه ترفیع را دریافت کردید؟ اگر نه، چرا و به نظر شما دلیل آن چیست؟ آیا فکر می کنید هر چیزی که به هویت شما مربوط می شود (به عنوان مثال، ظاهر، مذهب، تحصیلات، زبان، جنسیت یا حجاب) بر شانس شما تأثیر می گذارد؟
2. آیا شما همکار دارید؟ اگر بلی، همه زن هستند یا مرد؟ اگر نه، چرا و نظر شما چیست؟
3. آیا همکاران شما ترفیع، افزایش حقوق، پاداش و سایر شایستگی های کاری دریافت کرده اند؟ اگر بلی، به نظر شما دلیل اینکه آنها ترفیع گرفتند و شما نگرفتید چه بود؟
4. آیا تا به حال این فرصت را داشته اید که برای یک موقعیت بالاتر که توسط کارفرمای تان پیشنهاد شده باشد شما درخواست دهید یا نامزد شوید؟
• اگر بلی، آن چه بود؟ اگر نه، لطفاً چرا توضیح می دهید؟
5. آیا احساس می کنید که کارفرمای شما وظایف منصفانه و برابر با دیگران به شما می دهد؟ اگر بلی لطفاً مثال بزنید؟ اگر نه، چرا فقط شما چنین شرایطی را تجربه کرده اید؟
6. آیا تا به حال تجربه کرده اید که حجم کاری شما بیشتر از همکاران تان است؟ به عنوان مثال، اوقات کاری طولانی تر از دیگران و غیره. اگر بلی، چگونه؟ اگر نه، چرا؟
7. آیا کارهای اضافی دیگری دریافت کرده اید که به کار شما مربوط نمی شود؟
8. آیا از انجام یک وظیفه یا کاری که فکر می کنید ممکن است به دلیل مذهب، هویت، تحصیلات، جنسیت یا هر دلیل دیگری باشد، رد شده اید؟

شکل بین فردی تبعیض نامحسوس

9. آیا در محل کار خود احساس راحتی می کنید؟ اگر بله، چگونه؟ اگر نه، چرا؟
10. آیا تا به حال تجربه کرده اید که همکاران/کارفرمایان تان با شما ناعادلانه رفتار کنند؟
• به عنوان مثال، نگرش خصمانه (غیر دوستانه، متخاصم، خشن، منفی، و احساس نامطلوب) به هر دلیل، بر اساس جنسیت، مذهب، تحصیلات، نام؟ اگر بلی، لطفاً در مورد آن توضیح دهید؟ اگر نه، چرا؟
11. آیا تا به حال از همکاران خود درخواست کمک کرده اید و آنها آنرا رد کرده اند؟ اگر بلی، چرا؟
12. آیا تا به حال تجربه کرده اید که همکار سوئدی تان بر اساس ظاهر، مذهب و حجاب شما، از شما ترسیده باشد؟
13. آیا تا به حال در محل کار خود مورد آزار و اذیت قرار گرفته اید، به عنوان مثال، نامگذاری، نام بردن، اظهار نظر در مورد ظاهر، زندگی خصوصی، حالت معدنی یا هر چیز دیگری؟
14. آیا تا به حال مورد آزار و اذیت غیرکلامی قرار گرفته اید؟ به عنوان مثال، نگرش ناخوشایند در محل کارتان مانند استفاده از حرکات زشت، صداها در حین صحبت کردن با شما، ارسال پیام های شخصی برای شما،

- واکنش های صورت، تغیر دادن قواره/صورت یا استفاده از چشم های متحرک زمانی که همکاران سوئدی/کارفرما شما را می بینند؟
15. آیا تا به حال تجربه کرده اید که همکاران سوئدی/کارفرما در محل کار شما عمداً بر اساس ظاهر، حجاب و غیره شما به احوالپرسی شما پاسخ ندهند؟
16. آیا در طول کار خود در محل کار تان با رفتارهای بی احترامی یا بی ادبی مانند گوش ندادن به شما یا جریحه دار کردن احساسات و غیره مواجه شده اید؟
17. آیا تا به حال برای شما مزاح های توهین آمیز مانند اظهار نظر در مورد ظاهر شما به شکل توهین آمیز یا مسخره کردن نام، مذهب یا هر چیز دیگری به شما گفته شده است؟
18. چگونه با این مشکلات کنار آمدید؟ استراتژی شما برای مقابله با این مشکلات چه بود؟
19. چرا فکر می کنید این اتفاق برای شما می افتد؟
20. چرا فکر می کنید با همکاران/کارفرمای شما این گونه رفتار می شود؟
21. آیا فکر می کنید که این موضوع می تواند با نحوه درک از هویت شما مرتبط باشد، مثلاً دین، ظاهر، حجاب، دست ندادن یا چیز دیگری؟
22. آیا چیزی هست که بخواهید اضافه کنید که تا به حال در مورد آن صحبت نکردیم؟

APPENDIX 3 (Respondents original texts)

R1

ترفیع شغلی دریافت نکرده مم چون کارفرمایم یا کسیکه مسئول همین انجمن بود یک زن مهاجر عرب بود که سال ها در سویدن زندگی کرده بود. این یک موضوع میباشد که در انجمن از اعراب کار میگرفت و کوشش میکرد کار بگیرد و بیشتر پاداش های کاری را به آنها میداد تا من

زن که رئیس این انجمن بود بامن هیچ گاهی منصفانه رفتار ننموده بود. او وظایف اضافی برایم میداد که جز وظایف کاری من نبود بطو مثال آشپزی. من هم بدون اینکه ازش سوالی میکردم قبول میکردم، اما هرگاهیکه اضافه کاری من آشپزی میکردم برایم پول آن ساعت های که اضافه کاری کردم را نمی پرداخت. او یک خانم عقده ای عرب بود که که کوشش میکرد کارگران غیر عرب را اخراج نماید قسم که من را اخراج کرد. اما من تیم لیدری سویدی داشتم که با من خیلی خوب رفتار میکرد و مشکلات ام را همیشه حل میکرد

رئیس من یک خانم حسود، عقده ای بود و مشکلات کاری نیز در وظیفه خود داشت. و به همین خاطر رفتار منفی بامن داشت و من فکر میکنم که جز از عادت اش بود

در وظیفه ام من چندین بار با رفتار های بی احترامی از طرف رئیس مقابل شدم که حرف من را نادیده گرفته و گوش نکرده. و من همیشه گذشت کردیم زیرا من کارم را نیاز داشتم. بطور مثال در روز زن من آشپزی نمودن و تمام خانم های افغان برایم گل آوردند و به رئیسم نیاوردند. بخاطر این موضوع من با عکس العمل های نادرست این خانم روبرو شدمو با رفتار

من چندین باری با مزاح های توهین آمیز رئیس روبرو شدم. او همیشه بریم میگفت که تو زبان سویدی را نمیدانی، تو اقامه نداری. حتا من که اقامه گرفتم او برایم بطور تمسخر آمیز و توهین آمیز میگفت که بخاطر وظیفه من است که برای تو دادم تو قبولی گرفتی و این موضوع مرا بسیار آزار میداد

بخاطر که من یک افغان بودم نه عرب قسم که رئیس من هم یک خانم عرب بود. او نتنها ما من رفتار نادرست داشت بلکه با آنعده از همکارانم که عرب نبودند مثال از سومالی و دیگر کشور ها بودند چنین رفتار نادرست می نمود

R2

آنها میگفتند که وظایف برابر و منصفانه تقسیم شده ولی من چنین فکر نمیکنم، بعضی اوقات منصفانه نبود. بطور مثال حجم کاری من در تقسیم اوقاتم زیاد بود نسبت به همکاران سویدی ام و رابطه خوبی با آنها که کار دایمی داشت داشتند تا من و من بعضی اوقات این احساس را میکردم

در وظیفه قبلی امبه یکی از همکاران سویدی ام من برای چند روز سلام دادم او نتنها که جواب سلامم را نداد و شکل چهره اش را هم تغییر میداد. همچنان قسم رفتار میکرد که رئیس باشد. این مسائل باعث شد تا دعوا بکنیم و من وظیفه ام را ترک بکنم

دلایلش میتواند مهاجر بودن من هم باشد و همچنان میتواند باشد که من کار جانشین میکردم در کار قبلی ام

R3

اگر چه سویده درسی من بلند نبوده در افغانستان ولی در اینجا خیلی کوشش نمودم تا سویده درسی هم را در سطح خوب برسانم. و زمانیکه مکتب مسلکی را تمام نمودم. نظر به اینکه این مردم معاش دریافت میکنند خیلی ها فرق دارد با یک مهاجر حتی اگر تحصیل یکسان هم داشته باشید. بدلیل اینکه شما زبان بلدیت ندارین و یا به هر دلیلی دیگری. چون من درک نمودم که فرق در میان مردم در اینجا خیلی زیاد میباشد. در حالیکه سختترین وظایف را خانوم های مهاجر انجام میدهند. ولی حقوق (پاداش) خیلی کم دریافت می نمایند. مثلا در معاشات مان فرق میان خانوم مهاجر و سویدی دو تا سه هزار کرون تفاوت بود

امم) نخیر. از این نگاه فرق میان مان نبوده. و کارها بصورت منصفانه تقسیم میشود. ولی من بیشتر احساس می کنم. احساس بیگانگی می نمایم و همچنان خانوم های مهاجر بیشتر کار می نمایند. ولی تایم کاری مان برابر با دیگر می باشد

در محل کارم من فکر میکنم رئیس و همکاران سویدی ام با من رفتار غیر دوستانه، نامطلوب و منفی دارند. بطور مثال، رئیس بیشتر به نظریات همکاران سویدی ام اهمیت داده از آنها نظر می گیرد تا من. و این موضوع باعث میشود که احساس بیگانه گی نمایم. خوب بعضی موارد درباره اینکه همکارم بخواد خود را از من بالاتر جلوه بدهد میباشد

بعضی اوقات در موقع کار بعضی از همکارانم اگر اشتباه می نماید ولی انگشت انتقاد به طرف ما گرفته میشود. بدلیل اینکه شما مهاجر هستید. و یا بخاطر ندانستن زبان بصورت کامل. در حالیکه اشتباه از کسی دیگری سر زده باشد، ولی انتقاد بالای ما صورت میگیرد. بیشتر مواقع بلی اینگونه اتفاقات می افتد. مثلا ندادن دارو در مواقع درست آن یا فراموش نمودن دارو ها توسط یک شخص سویدی ولی مقصر دانستن در این موضوع ما می شویم

امم) شاید این برایم اتفاق افتاده باشد هر گاهی که من یک بعضی از لغات سویدی را غلط تلفظ بکنم یا ضمائر مفعولی را غلط استفاده نمایم آنها بالایم می خندند و شکل چهره ای شان را تغییر می دهند. و این موضوع برایم خوشایند نبوده و مرا آزار میدهد

سکوت، خنده) بلی. از این اتفاقات خیلی زیاد رخ داده است. مثلا: حرف ات را گوش نکنند و یا بی احترامی نمایند. از این مورد خیلی زیاد میباشد بنظر من. وقتی با آن اشخاص صحبت می نمایم، آن ها با تو علاقه صحبت و یا توجه ندارند. و آن شخص خود را مصروف کمپیوتر و یا چیزی دیگری می نماید. و این احساس را خیلی از مهاجرین میداشته باشند و این موضوع را مهاجرین بهتر میتوانند درک نمایند. و برای من احساس غریبی و بیگانه گی رخ میدهد. و من خیلی نزد خود فکر می نمایم که بداینم چی اشتباهی از من سر زده است که آنها مرا پسند نمی کردند. و این موضوع باعث میشود که احساس بیگانه گی نمایم. خوب بعضی موارد درباره اینکه همکارم بخواد خود را از من بالاتر جلوه بدهد میباشد

R4

بلی، وقتی مه میخواستم یک وظیفه را دریافت کنم ولی من این گونه احساس برایم رخ داد اگر انتریو هم در این بخش بدهی بی فایده خواهد بود. و نمی دانم در مورد دلیل آن. وظیفه که بین من و یک بچه سویدی بود آنها آن بچه سویدی را انتخاب کرد. چون میشود گفت که شاید آن شخص مثلا تجربه و یا چیزی را داشته باشد که من نداشتیم. و از من نو تحصیلم را به پایین رسانیده بودم. و من نیز احساس نمودم که آنها تفاوتی را میان من و آن شخص ایجاد نمودند

نخیر، من هرگز چنین چیزی را تجربه نکردم. من در سویدن بزرگ شدم، حجاب نمی پوشم، رسوم سویدی را پذیرفتم/ظاهر، من در یک شرکت بین المللی در سویدن کار میکنم و اکثر همکارانم سویدی نیستند، و من زبان را بشکل روان میدانم و تحصیل کرده هستم. برای همین خاطر من چنین چیز هارا تجربه نکرده ام. حتی اگر بکنم بدون کدام درنگی عکس العمل نشان می دهم، اما من دوستان دارم که آنها چنین تجربیات از کار کردن با دیگر شرکت ها در سویدن دارن بخاطر زبان و حجاب

R5

امم) نخیر، من کدام ارتقای دریافت نکردم چونکه اکثریت همکارانم مهاجر هستند. اما همکاران سویدی ام ارتقا کردند. مثال، یکی از آنها یک کارگر معمولی بود ارتقا کرد به تیم لیدری و بعدا به مسئول تمام کارمندان شد. چیزیکه من تا بحال در اینجا تجربه کرده ام اینها برای سویدی خود بیشتر ارزش قائل هستند تا من مهاجر و کار فرما یک فرق بین کارگران سویدی و ما ایجاد میکند

نخیر، من اضافه حقوقی دریافت نکردم. در حقیقت آنها همان پول که حقم بود را هم بمن ندادند. بطور مثال، اگر طفل زیر سن ۸ سال داشته باشی و او مریض شود و تو نتانی که بکار خود بروی در این حالت صاحب کار باید ۸۰ درصد معاش تورا بدهد. من از همین موضوع باخبر نبودم آنها برایم هیچ چیزی ندادند. من که حالا در باره کارم فکر میکنم من میفهمم که آنها از من سوءاستفاده میکردند بخاطر که من قانون را نمی‌دانستیم

آنها سوئی استفاده از ما میکنند زیرا میدانند که مهاجر قانون را درست بلد نیست چونکه من یک مهاجر هستم و ترس از دست دادن وظیفه ام را دارم من هر نوع کار را که صاحب کارم بدهد قبول میکنم و انجام می‌دهم بدون کدام جنجالی و من حجم کاری من هم از همکاران سویدی ام کرده زیاد بود. اما اگر یک همکار سویدی ام نیم ساعت پیش خلاص کند آنها ۲ ساعت کار اضافه دریافت نمیکنند. بخاطر که آنها قانون را می‌دانند و بخاطرش جنجال میکنند

نخیر، من احساس راحتی در جای کارم نداشتم بنا به اوضاع خصومت آمیز و غیر دوستانه که ما داشتیم. کار یگران به گروه ها تقسیم شده بودند سویدی، مهاجر مسلمان و غیر مسلمان و هرکس ب گروه خود بود. بطور مثال، گروه سویدی دوستانه بودند همراهی خود شان و ریس هم همراهی آنها در وقفه‌های بود و عادت غیبت کردن را داشتند که در پشتت حرف می‌زدند. همین دلایل بود که من کارم را ترک کردم چون من هم حجاب میکردم

امم(بلی، تا حدی من با چنین موضوعی روبرو شدیم. بطور مثال، بعضی همکاران مهاجر من با بعضی از همکاران سویدی من، من فرم نموده به مشتری یاد دادن تا از نزد من برای رئیس شکایت بکنند. و من هم شنیدم که آنها در پشتم با بعضی از مشتریان صحبت میکردن و من را مخاطب قرار داده بودند. روز بعدش رئیس گفت بعضی مشتری ها از تو شکایت کرده

بلی، این اتفاق افتاده در میان همکاران مهاجرم افتاده که من برای چند روزی به آنها سلام دادیم و آنها جواب سوالم را نداده چهره خوده تغییر داده بطرف من دیده. اما این موضوع در بین همکاران سویدی ام اتفاق نه افتاده آنها همیشه به سلامم با لبخند جواب داده

آنها که بامن چنین رفتار کردند شاید بخاطر این بود که من مهاجر بودم و حجاب داشتم. اگر بعوض من اگر یک سویدی میبود آنها نخواهد با او چنین رفتاری میکردند ک با من کرده بودند. و فکر میکنم که صاحب کارم سوی استفاده از من کرده در آن وقت زیرا من قوانین را نمی‌دانستم

R6

بلی، مایک جلسه سالانه در باره افزایش حقوق داریم و بنا به همان جلسه معاش همه تاحدی بگونه یکسان بلند میشود. من منحصیث معلم زبان مادری معاش کمی دارم در حال که یک معلم سویدی هم مثل من ساعت کاری دارد و یک وظیفه را دارین. اما معاش ما فرق می‌کند. و دلیلش را من نیز نمیدانم چرا

بلی، این موضوع را من مکرراً تجربه کرده ام. بعضی از همکارانم هستند قسم که آنها بطرف من می‌آیند، نگاه میکنند، رفتار می‌کنند فرق می‌کند. بطور مثال، راه خود را تغییر میدهند هنگامی که من را ببینند که مبادا احوالپرسی بکنیم و چشم به چشم شویم

امم(نخیر، من حرکات بی ادبی یا بی احترامی را تجربه نکردم. جای که من کار میکنم بسیاری آنان خوب تحصیل کرده هستند و از دیگر جاها فرق دارد

امم(بعضی اوقات دولت طالبان را مسخره می‌کنند چیز های درباره حجاب و شکل لباس زنان میگن. آنها به یک نحوی میخوانند که زنان افغان را ضعیف نشان بدهند

این اتفاقات بیشتر بدلیل مهاجر بودن مان رخ داده است. و همچنان آنها در ذهن خود یک تصویری ضعیف از خانم های افغان ساخته اند. آنها فکر میکنند که زنان افغان تحت فشار است، زیر لب و کوب، و بیچاره است. هنگامی که یک زن افغان حجاب میپوشد آنها حجاب را نماد از فشار می‌دانند و درک منفی از ما منحصیث یک مهاجر دارند و فکر میکنند که ما بار دوش جامعه سویدن هستیم

R7

نخیر، منصفانه و برابر نیست و همیشه همینطور است. در این کشور سویدن ها در اولویت است نه ما مهاجرین، و بنا به هر دلیل سوئی استفاده از مهاجرین کاری سختی برای آنها نیست من کار های اضافی در شروع کارم در یافت کردم مثل خریداری برای مریضان که در تقسیم اوقاتم نبوده

بعضی اوقات که من یک حرف اشتباه در زبان سویدی میکنم، بعضی از همکارانم عکس العمل عجیب از خود نشان داده چهره خود را یک رقم تغییر میدهند. بلافاصله من از شان میپرس که چرا اینطور کردین میگه که تو این لغت غلط است

بلی، تمام همکاران مهاجر ام چنین تجربه را کردند بشمول خودم. بعضی همکاران سویدی ما خود را از میکرده بهتر دانسته مارا نادیده میگیرند. (خاموشی) آنها روابط خوبی با رئیس دارند و رئیس هم همیشه به حرف های آنها اهمیت می دهد تا ما

بلی، چنین تجربه را کردم و آن هم در جریان عید پاک سویدی ها بود. من با یک رو سری سرخ یا حجاب سرخ رنگ سر کارم رفتم همکاران سویدی ام به یک دیگر بشکل مزاح گفتند که اینه پیر زن جادوگر آمد. و در آن لحظه من احساس تحقیر کردم

مسلمان بودن، حجاب پوشیدن و یک مهاجر بودن خودش یک دلیل بری خودش است. اگر در شهر اتفاقی بدی یا جرم رخ بدهد، اینها مارا مسؤل دانسته از چشم ما میداند. بیشتر از این زبان، ندانستن حق و حقوق خود چیز های است که یک ایده ساخته یا باعث غلط فهمی میشود و یا هم سوئی استفاده از ما

R8

بلی، وظایف کاری ام با همکارانم در وظیفه فعلی ام یکسان است، اما در وظیفه قبلی ام کار های آسان به نزدیکان رئیس داده میشود

رئیس قبلی ام بامن رفتار غیر دوستانه داشت. همیشه با دختر های مجرد بود و آنها را خوش داشت. بخاطر این حالت از بستر خواب خبیستن برایم خیلی سخن بود. فکر می کردم که دارم جان میکنم بخاطر رفتن در آنجا و روبرو شدن با شخص که دارای چنین اتیتوت شرم آور بود

کارگران جدیدی که تازه وارد میباشند از من میپرسند، که شما افغانی هستید. و این مورد شاید بخاطری ظاهر من باشد. و وقتی من میگویم بلی، آنها طوری با من صحبت میکنند. که احساس میکنم که آنها دارند مرا تحقیر میکنند. مثلاً: میگویند که ما از چهره خودت فهمیدیم که افغانی هستین. و این مورد برایم آزار دهنده میباشد. و یک احساس ناخوشایند نیز برای من رخ میدهد

در کار قبلی ام مشکلی که می داشتم میرفتم از رئیس کمک میخواستم هنگامی که او با دیگر دختران بود. او بطرف من فقط نگاه میکرد حضور من در آنجا را نا دیده میگرفت و به خندیدن و حرف زدن خود با آنها ادامه می داد

امم) در کار قبلی هم از جمع آنها نسبتاً دور بودم. و با آنها بیشتر صحبت نمی نمودم. بیشتر سرم در کار خودم بود. (شاید این موارد بخاطری همین موضوعات باشد البته که حجاب هم نقش خود را زیاد دارد، اگر تو بپوشی تو همین و تحقیر ات میکنند، فکر میکنند که بی معنی است. در اوایل من نمیواستم کار بکنم بخاطر که حجاب میپوشیدم

R9

یکی از دلایل که من احساس میکنم که در جای کارم مورد تبعیض نژاد قرار گرفتم این است که من یک مهاجر هستم و زبان را مثل همکاران سویدی ام بشکل روان حرف نمیزنم. آنها زبان را می دانند و از یک چیز کوچک یک

چیز بزرگ جور میکنند. بدبختانه ذخیره لغات ما محدود است از حق خور دفاع کرده نمیتوانیم و حذف تبعیض نژاد قرار می‌گیریم

بلی، تا حدی دریافت نمودیم. من در یک سری از ورکشاپ‌ها اشتراک نمودم. و در مدت زمان خیلی کوتاه توانستم وظیفه دایمی بدست بیارم

R10

نخیر، و اصلاً افزایش حقوق این چیزها نبود. چون و کاریه بودم و وقتی کارمند اصلی شان آمد، برایم گفتند که وقتی لازم شد با شما تماس می‌گیرم

نخیر، من مورد تبعیض نژاد قرار نگرفته‌ام، بستگی به این دارد که کجا کار میکنید، شخصیت شما، انعطاف پذیری شما، و چی رقم دین خود را عملی میکنید، و بخاطر که من حجاب نمیپوشم

R11

معاش من اضافه نشده. اگرچه من دو شفت کار میکردم از ۱۲ بعد از ظهر تا ۴ بعد از ظهر. ولی باز هم معاش همکاران سویدی ام که از من کرده هم جوانتر بودن و یک شفت هم کار میکردن یا از ۱۲ بعد از ظهر ۴ بعد از ظهر یا هم از ۴ تا ۸ بعد از ظهر هنوز معاش آنها بلندتر از معاش من بود

من کدام ارتقای دریافت نکردم بخاطر که یک فرق آشکار در بین ما و همکاران سویدی ام بود این خوب نیست، یکبار در یک سازمان من قریب بود استخدام شوم و من بخاطر حجاب آن وظیفه را از دست دادم. آنها برایم گفتند که در هنگام کار در اینجا حجاب ات را بپوش اگر نه کارت را از دست خواهی داد. و من آن کار را ترک کردن چون بخاطر کار خوش نداشتم که حجابم را دور کنم چون بخش بزرگ از عقیده ام است

من خیلی ساعت در روز کار میکردم ما (مهاجرین) تقسیم اوقات سختی داشتیم در حال که همکاران سویدی ما تقسیم اوقات آسان داشتند. رئیس هیچگاه به یک همکاری سویدی ام که بیا کف آشپزخانه یا خود آشپزخانه و یا هم اجاج هارا پاک کو این همه بالای کارگران مهاجر بود. حتی اگر کاری سخت هم دریافت میکردم باز هم نگران ما مهاجرین می‌انداختند

رئیس یک شخص بسیار نژاد پرست بود ما مه رفتار زشت، غیر دوستانه و منفی داشت. هنگامی که با همکاران سویدی ام گپ میزد میخندید و مزاح مزاح میکند با اونها. و وقتی که مرا می‌دید بامه ابتدا گپ نمیزد و وقتی که هم میزد برایم دستور میداد که این کار را بکن آن کار را بکن

بعضی از همکاران مرد سویدی ام بعضی از فحش‌های بد فارسی را یاد گرفته بودند آنها ب صدای بلند به آن فحش‌های رکیک را همه روز استفاده میکردند. و من بار بار برای شان میگفتم که لطفا این حرف‌های بد را استفاده نکنید ما همکاران افغان هم داریم من یک دختر هستم و از خود عزت دارم. آنها به حرفهای من گوش نمی‌کردند حتی من به ریس شکایت کردم اما اتفاقی نه افتاد

بلی، تجربه چنین رفتاری را دارم ام از رئیس و هم از همکارانم. یک روز در حالیکه من زمین را پاک میکردم یکی از همکاران سویدی ام سرم داد زد دشنام داد مره و سینی غذا را بطرفم انداخت دقیق آنجا رئیس و مشتریان هم بودند، هیچکس او دختر را چیزی نگفت و من بسیار گریه کردم. یکبار من دست خود را شدیداً در اوجاغ سوختانده بودم دستم آبله زده بود من نزد رئیس رفتم برای رخصتی مریمی او رد کرده زخم دستم را پاک کرده مجبورم کرد تا سرهای میز را پاک کنم. روزی بعدش یکی از همکاران سویدی من دست خود را با سوزن کوچک افکار کرد و او رخصتی گرفت بخاطر چنین رفتارها من وظیفه ام را ترک کردم که در زندگی ام تاثیر منفی گذاشته بود

روزی اول که من کار را گرفتم همکارانم از من پرسیدند که از کدام کشور هستی لحظه که من گفتم از افغانستان هستم آنها دیگر ما من حرف نزدند. من فکر میکنم که آنها حس بد بختی کشورم را در من دیدن. این اتفاقات بخاطر بامن رخ داده مه از حق خود مثل همکاران سویدی ام که قانون و زبان را درست میدانند دفاع کرده نمیتوانم. مهاجر این را پیش خود قبول نموده که من یک مهاجر هستم بخصوص آنهای که مثل من حجاب می پوشند

R12

در کار قبلی از من همکارانم سوئی استفاده میکردند. اگرچه ما هر روز بالای وظایف تصمیم می گرفتیم که کی چی وقت کدام کاری را انجام بدهد. وظیفه من در آشپزخانه بود ولی آنها مرا هزارجات روان میکردند. بلاخره من از آن کار خسته شده ترکش کردم

من بعضی از همکاران دارم که به سلام جواب نمیدهند. بعضی اوقات ما به یک سو بسوی دروازه روان هستیم، اونها میدانند که من هم در پشت سر شان درحال آمدن هستم در راست میزنند و به باز نمیگیرن. اما اگر مه پیش از کسی دیگه وارد دروازه شوم برای کسیکه در پشت سرم است در وازه را باز میگیرم. این یک عمل زشت و فاقد احترام است. ومن فکر میکنم که آنها فکر میکنند که من مهاجر هستم و ارزش چنین کاری را ندارم، و مه معمولا چنین چیزی را در سر کارم تجربه میکنم

یکی از همکاران سویدی ام از من پرسید که من فعلا چی میخوانم. لحظه که من پریش گفتم من زود اقتصاد را خلاص میکنم. او بریم گفت که مراقبت از سالمندان بهتر خواهد بری تو بود که بخوانی. هنگامی که من ازش پرسیدم چرا آنطور گفتی. او لبخند زد و گفت که همراهیت شوخی کردم. من پیش خودم گفتم اگر من مهاجر نبودم او هرگز به این نوع خود را بیان نمیکرد. این به این معنی نیست چون من مهاجر هستم در یک سطح بالا درس خوانده و در یک جای بهتر کار کنم

ما مهاجر هستیم چی چیز دیگر بوده می تواند، ملامتی همیشه بالای ما مهاجرین است

بعضی از دوستانم حتی نام خود را تغییر دادن تا جلوگیری از غلط فهمی و مشکلات ناشی از داشتن نام خارجی بکنند

مهاجرین است

R13

من یک زن مهاجر مسلمان هستم، پیر هستم و به زبان سویدی مشکل دارم. ازین خاطر ای چیز ها با من رخ داده. و هرگاهیکه که این اتفاقات برایم می افتاد من یک احساس بیگانگی میداد و من با خود فکر میکردم که اینها چرا اینطور با من رفتار می کنند

من بخاطر نمی آورم، ولی بیشتر اوقات فکر میکردم که من زیاد کار داشتم تا همکارانم. و من دلیلش را میدانم

من میدانم که آنها با الفاظ آزار و اذیت کردند یانی، بخاطر که مه زبان را درست نمیدانم و اکثر اوقات نمیدانم که آنها در باره چی حرف میزنن

من چند دانه همکار داشتم آنا بطرف حجاب ام به یک شکل عجیب نگاه می کردند. هنگامی که من در وقفه های غذا پلوی آنها می نشستم آنها به طرف یک دیگر خود نگاه میکردن، شکل لبه ی خود را تغییر داده وبدون اینکه یک کلمه به من بگویند جای خود را تغییر میدادند

من یک زن مهاجر مسلمان هستم، پیر هستم و به زبان سویدی مشکل دارم. ازین خاطر ای چیز ها با من رخ داده. و هرگاهیکه که این اتفاقات برایم می افتاد من یک احساس بیگانگی میداد و من با خود فکر میکردم که اینها چرا اینطور با من رفتار می کنند