



DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Name changers' experience in the Swedish labor market

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Abstract

Ethnicity, race, name, and several other factors can determine whether an individual enters the labor market or not. Ethnic minorities and immigrants are discriminated in the employment process and therefore immigrants in some Western countries change their names to Western-sounding names in order to tackle labor market discrimination. This name change strategy, for instance, has worked for immigrants in Sweden and they have been successful to enter the labor market after changing their name to a Swedish-sounding name. This study aims to examine the perceptions of discrimination of name changers in their workplace after their name change; how name changers perceive that they are treated in their workplace after changing their names to Swedish-sounding names. Whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Us, Swedes) or out-group (Other/Them, Immigrants) in their workplace.

Orientalism, Unconscious bias theory, and Subtle discrimination theory are used throughout the study, along with a case study research design. The research is done descriptively, and data is gathered through qualitative semi-structured interviews. The results suggest that name changers perceive that; 1) name change does not have any positive effect at all and it is competence and work experience which counts, 2) name change has a positive effect on tackling subtle forms of discrimination, 3) name changers did not experience subtle forms of discrimination but they do not know if name changing was the reason and had a positive effect and, 4) name change does not have any positive effect and it is ethnicity, skin color, one's background and language that determines which group one belongs to.

Keywords: Afghan name changers, Labor market discrimination, Swedish-sounding names, Us and Them

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1 Introduction

Ethnic discrimination and immigrants' exclusion from the labor market have been widely studied. Ethnicity, race, name, and several other factors can determine whether you enter the labor market or not. Immigrants in Sweden change their names from Middle Eastern and African names to Swedish-sounding names to enter the labor market (Bursell, 2012: 33-35). Previous studies on name change have focused on how name change helps to enter the labor market. Although this study focuses on how the name changers are treated after changing their names, whether they think that they are treated as in-group (Swedes) or out-group (Immigrants).

Employers discriminate job seekers during the recruiting process based on their names. Individuals possessing Middle Eastern and African names receive fewer callbacks for job interviews compared to job seekers maintaining Western-sounding names (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004:10-12). Experimental studies also indicate that employers subtly discriminate individuals possessing Middle Eastern and African names. The name effect depends also on which gender one possesses, as women having Middle Eastern or African names are less discriminated compared to men who maintain Middle Eastern or African names (Arai, Bursell, and Nekby, 2016:393-394; Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004:10-12).

Ethnic minorities and immigrants are discriminated in their workplace after achieving employment. They are discriminated in attaining management positions in government, wage rates, getting promotions, and receiving executive positions in businesses (Banerjee, 2008). So, minorities and immigrants from the Middle East and African countries, choose to change their names to Western-sounding names in order to tackle name-based discrimination. There are different reasons why they have chosen to change their names and among those reasons, achieving employment, tackling discrimination, and being treated as equal human beings are the main ones (Bursell, 2012).

In Sweden, immigrants from the Middle East and Africa change their names to Swedish-sounding names in order to enter to the Swedish labor market. Changing names from Middle Eastern or African names to Western or Western-sounding names help to increase chances of achieving employment and decrease discrimination. So, immigrants use name change as a strategy to cope with discrimination and being treated as equal human beings (Coulmont, 2014; Reisæter, 2012; Bursell, 2012).

This study focuses on immigrants living in Sweden and who have changed their names to Swedish-sounding names to achieve employment. This research extends and builds upon Bursell's study on the Name change and Destigmatization among Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden. Bursell's study focuses on the motivations of name changers for their name change and she concludes that name changers change their names to achieve employment and also to be treated as equal as Swedes. However, this study focuses on and examines the perception of discrimination of name changers in their workplace; how they are perceived in their workplace after changing their name to a Swedish-sounding name. Whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Us, Swedes) or out-group (Other/Them, Immigrants) in their workplace. In Bursell's study, the interviewees motivate their name change as a strategy to be recognized as equal human beings by Swedes. Therefore, it is interesting to see whether the name changers' strategy to be recognized as equal human beings as Swedes have worked or not after changing their names. It is also interesting to see whether name change leads to the pragmatic assimilation of immigrants.

This study is approached qualitatively, along with a case study research design. The research is done descriptively. I use Orientalism, Unconscious bias theory, and Subtle discrimination theory to guide me throughout this study. A qualitative content analysis is used to see how name changers perceive that they are treated and whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Us, Swedes) or out-group (Other/Them, Immigrants).

The second part of this study focuses on previous literatures on discrimination in Western countries, labor market discrimination, ethnic and name-based discrimination, discrimination in the workplace, and lastly the research gap is presented. The third chapter describes theories such as Orientalism, Unconscious bias theory, and Subtle discrimination theory. The analytical framework is derived from the described theories in order to guide us through the analysis. Following that, in the fourth chapter the research aims, and research questions are discussed. Chapter five describes the methodology and chapter six is the analysis of the data, which follows with results of the analysis, and the last chapter is a conclusion of the study.

2 Literature review

In this part, the previous literatures about discrimination, labor market discrimination, and the role of name and changing names in the labor market are reviewed. The review starts with the broader ethnic discrimination in Western countries and how ethnic minorities are discriminated. Following that, labor market discrimination literatures in general and in Sweden are reviewed.

Literatures on labor market discrimination have focused on how employers discriminate ethnic minorities and immigrants during the hiring process and how possessing Middle Eastern and African name among minorities and immigrants affects entering the labor market. Immigrants maintaining Middle Eastern and African names are discriminated compared to natives when applying for a job. In Sweden, immigrants change either their first name or last name to enter the labor market and achieve employment. As in some research, the findings show that changing name has been a successful strategy to enter the labor market. Although, to the best of my knowledge there is no research on how changing name affects the treatment of immigrants at the workplace and therefore I want to build upon previous literature on name changers in Sweden and see how the name changers are treated in their workplace. Whether they are treated as ingroup (Swedes) or outgroup (Immigrants) after changing their names.

2.1 Ethnic discrimination in Western countries

Research on discrimination is mostly focused on three -isms, which are ageism, sexism, and racism. Age, gender, and ethnicity are factors that have been consistently seen in reports of discrimination. Ethnic discrimination compared to age and gender discrimination is widely studied and it is due to the history of Europe and Western countries. As Europe consists of ethnic minorities and the flow of immigration to Europe and discrimination against immigrants have paved the way for several studies about ethnic discrimination (Ayalon, 2014).

Previous literatures findings point out that the native population perceives immigrants' and minorities' culture and socio-economic status as a threat to their culture and socio-economic status. As some of the literatures focus on the native population who perceive immigrants as a threat to their job market. As the jobs that native people should have, are taken from the natives by immigrants and therefore they are perceived as a threat (Klink and Wagner, 1999; Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner, 2008). Although, after the Second World War, North and West European countries recruited labor immigrants from East Europe and countries such as Turkey. These labor immigrants were called "guest workers" and after the economic recession in 1970, the recruitment was stopped but still immigrants were coming (Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner,

2008). The findings of literatures indicate that immigrants and minorities are facing different kinds of discrimination in the labor market and at times are attacked by natives. For instance, in 1991, the immigrants were attacked several times by natives and there was a rise in hostile attitudes toward foreigners (Klink and Wagner, 1999, Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner, 2008, Ayalon, 2014).

Moreover, previous literatures also focus on cultural discrimination, as the native population perceives immigrants' culture as a threat to their culture and tradition. The findings of literatures indicate that immigrants are discriminated based on their cultural practices and these practices have been seen as a threat to the traditional values and culture of natives (Wren, 2001). For instance, Africans who lived in Portugal were exposed to cultural racism and their culture is deemed as inferior to Portuguese culture. This kind of discrimination is seen in several European countries, but the severity differs from country to country. As in a European survey regarding racism, Belgium shows a high level of racism against minorities and immigrants compared to its neighbor the Netherlands (Zick, Pettigrew and Wagner, 2008).

However, immigrants are not just discriminated based on their culture or their presence on the labor market, as they are also discriminated when it comes to housing, education, healthcare, etc. Klink and Wagner (1999) researched how one's ethnicity affects finding a flat in Germany. Their findings indicate that landlords agree to appointments to a greater extent with native Germans than non-Germans. The difference is high as 81% of landlords agreed to appointments with native Germans compared to 43% agreed to appointments with Non-Germans (Klink and Wagner, 1999).

So, immigrants and minorities experience discrimination in Europe in different parts of their life whether it is education, healthcare, or the labor market. The focus of this study is ethnic discrimination in the labor market and the name changers' experience in their workplace and whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes) or out-group (Immigrants) by their Swedish colleagues. In the next part, I review literatures on ethnic discrimination in the labor market.

2.2 Ethnic discrimination in the labor market

Previous literatures on ethnic discrimination in the labor market mostly focus on two themes. First, there are literatures and research on how employers discriminate job seekers based on their ethnicity and the names they possess. Name is a determinant factor in getting employment

or interview callbacks. The second bunch of literature focus is on ethnic discrimination in the workplace.

2.2.1 Ethnic and name-based discrimination

The first theme of studies is experimental research on how callbacks for interviews differ between natives and ethnic minorities or immigrants. For instance, Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004), carried out an experimental study on how the callbacks for interview differs between individuals who possess white-sounding names and African American-sounding names. They sent near to 5000 CVs to jobs such as sales, administrative support, customer services, and clerical types of jobs. The CVs were assigned equally to white-sounding names and African American-sounding names. They sent four CVs for every job vacancy, as one higher and one lower quality CV were assigned to white-sounding names and one higher and one lower quality CV were assigned to African sounding names (Bertrand and Mullainathan,2004). The result shows that individuals with white-sounding names receive 50 percent more interview callbacks compared to individuals possessing African American names. African American-sounding names should send 15 CVs to receive one interview callback while Applicants with white-sounding names should send 10 resumes to receive one interview callback (ibid).

Similar research to Bertrand and Mullainathan, (2004) another research was conducted in the Netherlands by Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, and Faulk (2012). They studied the discrimination rate between native Dutch and immigrants and the immigrant group consists of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean. They sent 2680 applications to 1340 job vacancies and for every job vacancy, two equivalent applications were sent with different ethnic origins. The results were different, and four conclusions were made after the analysis of the data. First, both applicants were invited to a job interview. Second, none of the applicants were invited to a job interview. Third, the native Dutch was invited to a job interview. Fourth, the immigrant was invited to a job interview. In 665 cases, neither of the applicants were called back, while in 463 both applicants were invited. In 148 cases, just Dutch applicants were invited while in 64 cases migrant applicants were invited. The conclusion of the study shows that ethnic minorities face discrimination in the Dutch labor market compared to Dutch natives. Ethnic minorities have a smaller chance of receiving a callback for an interview than Dutch natives. However, the results are different among the minority groups, as the Turkish minority receives more callbacks compared to other ethnic minorities. And Moroccan applicants receive fewer

callbacks compared to the other three ethnic minorities applicants (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, and Faulk, 2012).

Another research focusing on this theme has compared the Asian and non-Asian job seekers in Australia. Where Asian job seekers are referred to individuals from South Asia (Indian subcontinent), the Middle East and North Africa, East and South-East Asia while, non-Asian job seekers are referred to as all migrants from Europe, North and South America, and Africa (excluding those from North Africa). The research focuses on the unemployment rate between Asian and non-Asian job seekers and the effect of ethnic discrimination by employees on the unemployment rate. The result of the study shows that the unemployment rate in Asian jobseekers is higher compared to non-Asian job seekers. However, the unemployment rate for Asians falls in long run and after approximately 30 months of stay in Australia. Male Asian job seekers are facing discrimination in the Australian labor market compared to the non-Asian job seekers. Although, female Asian migrants face less discrimination in the labor market compared to male Asian counterparts (Junankar, Paul, Yasmeen, 2010).

2.2.2 Ethnic discrimination in the workplace

The second body of literatures focuses on ethnic discrimination in the workplace. Ethnic minorities are discriminated in obtaining a job, attaining management positions in government, wage rates, getting promotions, and receiving executive positions in businesses (Banerjee, 2008). Hellerstein and Neumark (2005) investigated the sources of workplace discrimination and whether the employees are segregated into groups based on their education, skills, race, ethnicity, or language in the United States. Their findings indicate that white workers are segregated based on their education compared to other ethnicities whereas Hispanics are segregated based on their language skills and ethnicity. So, ethnicity and race have a crucial role in workplace discrimination by employers.

Hammond, Gillen, and Yen (2010) also studied workplace discrimination among hospital employees and the relation of self-reported workplace discrimination with depressive symptoms among those workers. They found that African Americans are facing more racial/ethnic workplace discrimination compared to other ethnic workers. Although the discrimination African Americans face is not in hiring, work assignment, promotion rather they experience discrimination in day-to-day workplace interactions. Also, their research findings

indicated a positive relationship between workplace discrimination and poor mental health status among the employees (Hammond, Gillen, and Yen, 2010).

So, ethnic minorities in Western countries face discrimination whether it is achieving a job interview or discrimination after achieving employment. These kinds of labor market discrimination have led immigrants to use strategies to cope with labor market discrimination. One of such kinds is changing names from non-European names to European and Western-sounding names (Bursell, 2012).

2.3 Name changing as a strategy against labor market discrimination

There have been some studies on how changing name from a Middle Eastern or African to Western or Western-sounding names help to increase chances of achieving employment and decrease discrimination. There are several reasons for changing names from Middle Eastern or African to Western or Western-sounding names, but among them, all, coping discrimination has been the most prominent reason for changing name (Coulmont, 2014; Reisæter, 2012).

Coulmont (2014) investigated name change in France and he found that individuals change their names due to various reasons, among them immigrants change their names in order to assimilate into French society. The most common reasons stated in the application of name changers are assimilation and achieving successful career development. Also, Reisæter, (2012) in Norway has found that immigrants change their names to achieve employment and adapt to Norwegian society. And even, when it comes to naming their newborn children, some immigrants choose neutral or Norwegian-sounding names for their newborn children. Although the majority of immigrants tend to name their children based on the tradition and culture of their origin country.

Name changing besides having effects in achieving employment, also has effects on the yearly earnings of name changers. Arai and Thoursie (2007) studied the effects of changing names on yearly earnings. Their study focused on the labor market offering equal opportunities to applicants regardless of their name and ethnicity. And whether the earnings of individuals who change their surnames from a Middle Eastern, African, and Slavic name to a Swedish sounding or neutral names, are affected by name change or not. Arai and Thoursie (2007) analyzed the yearly earnings of 12 years of individuals who changed their surname, in which one year was

before the name change. Their findings indicated that name changing has a substantial effect on the yearly earnings of immigrants. The Swedish labor market does not offer the same and equal opportunity for natives and immigrants. However, changing a surname similar to the original surname does not have any effect on earnings, or those individuals who have already a Swedish-sounding surname, changing their surname to another Swedish-sounding name won't have effects on their earnings. For instance, Finnish immigrants' name changes do not have any effects on their earnings, as their names already comply with Swedish-sounding names or are perceived as neutral names. Additionally, the changing name has a bigger effect on the earnings of immigrant women from the Middle East, Africa, or Slavic countries than immigrant men. So, immigrant men suffer to a larger extent from labor market discrimination than immigrant women (Arai and Thoursie, 2007).¹

Another research that is built upon Arai and Thoursie's study, is the study of Bursell (2012) on name changers in Sweden. She has done several studies on how name changing would have effects on decreasing labor market discrimination and destigmatization. She focused on the motives of changing names and the reason behind the changing names from a Middle Eastern or African name. She argues that changing name is a strategy for cultural assimilation and is used to cope with labor market discrimination. Changing name as a destigmatization strategy paves the way for pragmatic assimilation, where you keep your original identity in private life and change your name to be recognized as an equal human being to natives (Bursell, 2012:471-473). She interviewed 45 individuals and the findings of the study indicated that the main motive behind changing names was the social recognition of name changers. As they experienced discrimination and stigmatization against themselves and wanted to be considered as equal human beings as natives. Another motive was the labor market discrimination, and they changed their names in order to achieve employment. Also, she mentions that Swedish institutions enable immigrants to change their names and assimilate into Swedish culture. So, these institutions enable and pave the way for immigrants to cope with discrimination by changing their names and as Bursell put it, to perceive it as a destigmatization strategy and a way to pragmatic assimilation (Bursell, 2012).²

¹ Some paragraphs of this part are taken out of the proposal of this study which is written by the same author in method course.

² Some paragraphs of this part are taken out of the proposal of this study which is written by the same author in method course.

2.4 Contribution

This study extends Bursell's study on the Name change and Destigmatization among Middle Eastern immigrants in Sweden. Although, the focus of this study is Afghans as an ethnic minority in Sweden. This study focuses on and examines the perception of discrimination of name changers in their workplace; how they perceive that they are treated in their workplace. Whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Us, Swedes) or out-group (Other/Them, Immigrants). As in Bursell's study, the interviewees motivate their name change as a strategy to be recognized as equal human beings by others. In this study, I see if they think that they are perceived as equal human beings and if they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes Us) or out-group (Immigrants- Other /Them).

3 Theory

In this study, I apply three theories: 1) Edward Said's orientalism theory, 2) Unconscious Bias theory and 3) Subtle discrimination theory. The study is conducted in a descriptive manner and is based on a qualitative case study. Additionally, this research is done deductively, which refers to moving from broader theory to specific observation (Halperin and Heath, 2017).

I use orientalism, unconscious bias theory, and Subtle discrimination theory to examine whether name changers perceive that they are treated as "Us -Swedes" or "Them-Immigrants". In this paper, orientalism is used as an overarching theory to see whether name changers perceive that they are treated as "Us -Swedes" or "Them-Immigrants" in their workplace. In addition to orientalism, Unconscious Bias theory is applied to see whether the name changers are targeted by stereotypes about them or not. And lastly, the Subtle discrimination theory is applied to see in what ways those stereotypes about name changers are manifested, whether through formal or interpersonal forms of discrimination. First, the three above-mentioned theories are described and then the analytical framework and the operationalizations of central concepts are presented.

3.1 Orientalism

Orientalism refers to the West's representation of the Orient and how the Orient is understood by the West. The literatures of powerful nations portray the less powerful people's history and present it as backward, inferior, and childish. These less powerful people are presented as the Other. Orientalism is a perspective that people of the Occident (West) are superior to people of the Orient or the Other (Lary, 2007:3-4). The West is considered a place of development and progress while the Orient is trapped in time and is considered as backward and primitive. So,

the Orient is static and changeless and cut off from the development and enlightenment of the West. The West is considered as normal, rational, and familiar whereas Orient is considered as inferior, irrational, and bizarre. Occident has derogatory stereotypes about the people of the Orient. Stereotypes such as violent Arabs, sexually obsessed African, and lazy Indians. So, people of the Orient are generalized and homogenized. The Oriental people are considered as individuals who are untrustworthy, lazy, violent, and ready to engage in criminal behavior (MacLeod, 2010:45-60).³

It is interesting to apply the orientalism theory of Edward Said to see how name changers perceive that they are treated in their workplace, whether they perceive that they are treated as “Us- Swedes” or “Other- Immigrants” by their native Swedish colleagues. Perdue et al. Argue that individuals who are perceived as “Us/We” (in-group) are favorable whereas individuals who are perceived as “Other, them” (out-group) are perceived as unfavorable and negative (Perdue et al.,1990:1-2). However, in this era, the framing of the Oriental people has changed, and discrimination is more subtle than it was before. Therefore, in this paper, I will use theories such as Unconscious Bias theory and Subtle Discrimination theory to see whether the name changers are discriminated and are treated as out-group or are treated as in-group Swedes. The name changers’ experiences are examined through using Subtle forms of discrimination and see whether they are discriminated and being treated as an out-group based on stereotypes (Unconscious bias theory) about them or they experience being treated as in-group (Swedes) and are not discriminated. This is a reasonable way to capture the perception of discrimination of name changers in the workplace, as they perceive that they are treated as equal as Swedes based on factors such as receiving the same pay raise as a Swede or receiving the same opportunities as a Swede or not. If the name changers perceive being treated as out-group, so can we conclude that name changers perceive that they are discriminated and if treated in equal terms as a Swede, then can we conclude that the name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group and are not discriminated.

³ This part is taken out of the proposal of this study which is written by the same author in the method course.

3.2 Unconscious Bias theory

In recent decades, individuals are not just excluded and discriminated openly based on their race, gender or ethnicity but they are also exposed to subtle discrimination. The manner of exclusion has changed, and non-dominant groups are excluded in a subtle manner. The non-dominant groups are excluded over time and through depriving them to participate in decision-making regarding work assignments, leadership, promotions, or pay increase. Although, this kind of discrimination may not be intentional and therefore is difficult to trace it as it is structural and situational (Sturm, 2001:459-461). Based on Unconscious Bias theory, this kind of subtle and unconscious bias exists and is tied to the human cognitive process for receiving and storing information. Scholars argue that individuals process the received information based on stored information and cognitive shortcuts such as stereotypes about a certain group (Lee, 2005:482-484). So, individuals classify other people based on the stored information (stereotypes) into two groups: in-group or out-group. These kinds of classifications are based on stereotypes about certain individuals (Banerjee, 2008:4-5). In short, according to Unconscious Bias theory, unconscious bias occurs based on stored information about a certain group of individuals that are labeled as in-group or out-group based on stereotypes maintained by the individual.

3.3 Subtle Discrimination theory

Racism and discrimination have changed during the last decades and have emerged in other forms. It has changed from the blatant and old-fashioned forms of racism to subtle and covert forms of racism (Sjöberg and Sarwar, 2020). Overt or blatant discrimination happens when someone is treated unfairly, and the outcome of such discrimination is visible. The older forms of racism which focused on the racial superiority of whites or unfair treatment of non-whites are considered illegal and intolerable. And therefore, prejudiced individuals turn to subtle forms of discrimination that do not directly violate societal norms, rules, and regulations (Jones et al., 2017).

Discriminatory behavior exists on a continuum of subtlety, with formal discrimination at one end and interpersonal discrimination at the other. The subtlety of discrimination is related to the obviousness of the discriminatory behaviors, as interpersonal forms of discrimination occur in an obscured and nuanced way compared to the formal forms of discrimination which is discernible and more apparent. Discrimination varies on a continuum of subtlety, as more

obvious and detectable discriminatory behaviors are associated with the formal forms of discrimination, and more obscured and indiscernible discriminatory behaviors are associated with the interpersonal forms of discrimination (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57).

Interpersonal discrimination occurs in social interactions among individuals and involves nonverbal or verbal behaviors that are not considered unlawful. Such verbal or nonverbal behaviors are perceived as natural, normal, harmless, acceptable, unintentional, and compatible with laws. These kinds of behaviors take shape of harassment, avoidance, jokes, and disrespectful treatment of certain individuals (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). Although these types of discriminatory behaviors are nuanced and enacted in unconscious and unintentional ways, which make it difficult to trace (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:4). However, discriminatory behaviors are always not unintentional and in instances, people intend to harm the target and the discriminatory behaviors are intentional (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:56). In some literatures, interpersonal discrimination and subtle discrimination are used interchangeably, and it refers to “negative or ambivalent demeanor or treatment enacted toward social minorities on the basis of their minority status membership that is not necessarily conscious and likely conveys ambiguous intent” (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). The subtlety of discrimination differs with regards to the forms that subtle discrimination takes. Whether it is interpersonal or formal forms of subtle discrimination (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57).

Formal forms of discrimination occur in the workplace and individuals are discriminated in their workplace. Examples of formal discrimination are that an employer does not hire, promote, raise the salary, or differentiate in work assignments to an employee due to stigmatizing characteristics that the employee possesses. However, this kind of discrimination is unlawful and there are laws, rules, and regulations to prevent such types of discrimination and pave the way to respond to such incidents of discrimination (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57). On the other hand, Interpersonal forms of discrimination occurs both in the workplace and in social interactions. Interpersonal discrimination target minorities and individuals who possess stigmatized characteristics through verbal and nonverbal harassment, hostile attitudes towards them, general rudeness, disrespectful treatment, and excluding them from networks (ibid).

3.4 Analytical framework

In order to capture how the name changers perceive that they are treated by their colleagues, the theories and concepts are operationalized through two groups of indicators. The first group incorporates formal forms of subtle discrimination theory indicators, such as promotion, work assignments, pay raises, active participation, and name changers perceived as having less competence than their counterparts. The second group of indicators are incorporated under interpersonal forms of subtle discrimination theory and are hostile attitude, verbal harassment, nonverbal harassment, derogatory jokes, and disrespectful treatment of name changers.

After the application of the theories, if the name changers perceive the formal and interpersonal forms of discrimination, it proposes that name changers perceive that they are treated as out-group (Immigrants), even after changing their name to Western or Swedish-sounding name. And if they do not experience formal and interpersonal forms of discrimination, it will depict that the name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes).

3.4.1 Formal forms of discrimination indicators:

In this part, I would shed light on indicators based on Subtle discrimination theory which is used through analysis and facilitates the analysis process.

Promotion:

When an individual is deprived of promotion due to maintaining stigmatizing characteristics such as belonging to a specific ethnicity, gender, or age (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57; Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). However, in this study, my focus is on being deprived of promotion due to belonging to a specific ethnicity.

Pay raise:

When your white colleague (in this study: native Swede) who maintains equal or less competence than you and is employed in the same capacity receives higher salary raises than you (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592).

Work assignments:

A non-white individual (in this study: immigrant name changers) is not assigned on an important project even maintaining more qualification and competence than their white colleagues (in this study: native Swede) (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592).

Active participation and less competence:

The non-whites are perceived as lacking competence and lacking the ability to actively participate in decision-making work-related issues. As they are employed to maintain diversity in the organization but lack competence. This is reinforced by colleagues not giving you the relevant information in order to complete the task (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592; (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:14-25).

3.4.2 Interpersonal forms of discrimination indicators:

In this part, I will shed light on indicators based on Subtle discrimination theory which is used through analysis and facilitates the analysis process.

Hostile attitude:

The non-whites are being treated as inferior and individuals act in a manner to be better than non-white individuals in one way or another. Or act in a way that they are intimidated by you or are afraid of you (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591)

Verbal and nonverbal harassment:

Harassing one through making remarks to the entire group, questions, and complaints about a certain group of people. And not respecting a non-white individual when shopping from a white business, for instance, not saying hello or thanks as they do with others (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591; Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:14-25).

Derogatory jokes:

Making derogatory comments and jokes in a subtle way about one's ethnicity and using ethnic slurs to describe you or making jokes in a way to present you as inferior to them (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591-2).

Disrespectful treatment:

Using demeaning terms and making negative comments to indicate that you belong to a low societal status group (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:18; Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591-2).

4 Specified aim and research questions:

Name changing is used as a strategy by immigrants to enter the labor market. Immigrants change either their first or last name from a Middle Eastern or African name to Swedish sounding or neutral names in order to decrease labor market discrimination. Bursell (2012), Arai, and Thoursie (2007) argue that name changing has effects both in achieving employment and earning increase. The earnings of those immigrants who have changed their names have increased after changing their name while there is no increase in earnings of immigrants who have kept their original names (Bursell, 2012, Arai and Thoursie, 2007).

This study aims to examine the perception of discrimination of the name changers in their workplace. As in Bursell (2012) study, among other reasons for changing name, one of name changers aim was to be treated as an equal human being as swedes and therefore it is interesting to see if the name changers think that they are perceived as equal human beings and in-group (Swedes) or even after changing the name, they are treated as out-group (Immigrants) in their workplace. Immigrants will be the subject of this study and I see their perception after changing their name, whether they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Us, Swedes) or out-group (Immigrants, Other/ Them).

4.1 Research questions:

The overall aim of this research is to address the question; What are the perception of discrimination of the “name changers” in their workplace? it is done through the following questions:

1. Are the name changers perceiving that they are being treated as in-group (Swedes) or out-group (Immigrants) in their workplace by their colleagues?
 1. a Do the name changers perceive that they are facing formal forms of discrimination (e.g., related to promotion, pay raise, etc.) in their workplace?
 1. b Do the name changers perceive that they are facing interpersonal forms of discrimination (e.g., hostile attitude, verbal and nonverbal harassment, etc.) in their workplace?

5 Method and research design

This study is a qualitative case study that is done deductively, and deduction refers to a study that starts from a general theory and moves towards specific observation (Halperin and Heath, 2017). Data for this study is gathered through semi-structured interviews and qualitative content analysis is used to analyze the gathered data and see how the name changers think they are treated in their workplace. The next parts of this chapter describe the research design, method of data collection, and method of data analysis.

5.1 Research design

This research is based on a case study design. Choosing a suitable design helps the researcher to draw valid and logical inferences (Halperin and Heath, 2017). In this study, I use case study design and focus on a single immigrant group which is Afghans. This type of design is suitable for this research due to several reasons. First, case studies are suitable for in-depth investigation of an issue (Levy, 2008) and this study aims to carry out an in-depth investigation of name changers perception of their treatment in their workplace and to see whether they perceive that they are treated as “Swede, Us” or “Immigrants, Other/Them”. Second, cases studies are suitable to use different sources such as interviews, reports, observation, and documents, and therefore researcher is not limited to one source of the material (Creswell and Poth, 2018). Although, in this study interview is the only source that is used as material to investigate the treatment of name changers in their workplace. Third, case studies are suitable to carry out a detailed investigation of a political phenomenon (ibid).

However, there are some limitations with case studies as well. For instance, case studies are weak in external validity and external validity refers to the generalizability of the study. Due to few numbers of cases and in-depth investigations of a social issue, case studies are weak in making generalizations (Halperin and Heath, 2017).

Afghans who live in Sweden are chosen as the case of this study, and it is due to their integration into labor market, as it takes 12 years that 2/5 of Afghan immigrants receives their first employment (Stadin och Videnord, 2017:22-23). The reason that Afghan name changers are chosen is to see if they perceive that they are treated as equal as Swedes after the name change and whether this name change has helped them to integrate at workplace. Sweden is a unique case as the Swedish institutions facilitate and enable immigrants to change their names and

assimilate into Swedish culture. As the Swedish Name Act's criteria is that the meaning of name has to be acceptable in Swedish and the name should be compatible with Swedish language (Bursel, 2012:477). However, in other countries, the name change process is a complicated process. For instance, in France, an individual should go to court and should have a valid reason to get to change his/her name (Coulmont, 2014). Therefore, Sweden makes an interesting case to see if this facilitation of name change has helped the name changers to assimilate and perceive that they are treated as Swedes.

5.2 Data collection

In this part, I describe my choice of data collection method and the reason behind it. Data for this study is gathered through qualitative semi-structured respondent interviews. A purposive and snowball sampling is used to select the interviewees. The data is gathered through respondent interviews, as the interviewees are the subject of this study and respondent interviews are suitable to achieve insights about the interviewees' perception, experiences, perspectives, feelings and thoughts (Allen 2017).

5.2.1 Qualitative semi-structured interviews

In this research, the qualitative approach is considered a suitable approach to answer the research question of the study and it is due to the two reasons. First, this study aims to understand the perception of name changers, specifically, Afghan name changers in their workplace. And it is best understood through qualitative research as it provides me with an epistemological position to understand the perception and treatment of Afghan name changers in their workplace (Bryman 2018: 375). Second, a qualitative approach is a plausible approach to investigate complicated issues of social sciences through an in-depth examination of research issues (Baxter and Jack, 2015). It is therefore a suitable approach to see whether Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group "Swedes, Us" or out-group "Immigrants, other/them" in their workplace. As it is difficult to capture the name changers' perception via numbers and quantitative approaches (Halperin and Heath, 2017:6).

A semi-structured qualitative interview is the most suitable method for this research as it is concerned with the participant's own experience and perspective. Semi-structured interviews are considered the most plausible approach to understanding people's perceptions, experiences, opinions, feelings, values, and beliefs (Halperin and Heath, 2017:290). Moreover, the semi-structured interviews, as it is a combination of structured and unstructured questions ensure that

respondents provide important and relevant answers and meanwhile, have the flexibility and freedom express to their perception and experience in relation to the study's research question (Halperin and Heath, 2017:289-290; Bryman 2017: 469).

In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer leads the interview, but the flexibility and the freedom exist for interviewees to express in any order related to the research question. And therefore, an interview guide is prepared prior to the interview (Halperin and Heath, 2017:290). The interview guide of this study consists of three parts, introduction, research issue-related questions, and concluding part. The introduction part consists of the study aim, ethical considerations, and warm-up questions that are related to the demographic information of respondents. The second part moves from the warm-up phase to questions related to the research question and is structured in a way to answer the research question of the study. This part is divided into two sections with one section focusing on questions related to the formal forms of discrimination and the other section focusing on questions related to the interpersonal forms of discrimination. The last part is the concluding part of the interview guide (Appendix 1).

The number of interviewees depends on the point of reaching data saturation. Data saturation is achieved when no new data or themes can be found in the data, so even if the researcher continues to gather more data, nothing new will be achieved. In focus group interviews, it is recommended to interview 6 to 12 participants in order to achieve data saturation (Fusch, and Ness, 2015). So, in this study, I supposed that that data saturation is achieved by interviewing at least 6 to 9 participants, and therefore I interviewed 9 individuals to be sure to have achieved the data saturation. Meanwhile, it was challenging to find more people with the study's criteria to interview, although I think that I have achieved data saturation and even with more interviews, I wouldn't have found anything new.

It would have been optimal to interview equal numbers of respondents of different categories such as individuals with high education, low education, women, and men. I tried to maintain variation when it came to gender, education, and duration of their stay in Sweden. However, it was difficult to have equal respondents of men and women or equal respondents of high and low educated and it was due to difficulties in finding specific respondents. The tax agency is the responsible administration for changing the name. As I contacted them, firstly they did not have the right to give personal information of individuals to anyone, and secondly, they said that it will be difficult to find specifically Afghan name changers of those all data, as they do

not specify the nationality of name changers during changing name. Therefore, the gender variation and other aspects are affected (Appendix 3).

Participants of this study were chosen through purposive and snowball sampling. Purposive sampling is a nonrandom approach that is used in qualitative research and the aim is to choose data based on the quality the data possess (Etikan, Musa, and Alkassim, 2016). And therefore, it was important to choose respondents based on the research question of the study. I chose Afghan immigrants who have changed their names to Swedish or Western-sounding names. I received help from immigrant associations such as Afghan cultural associations, posting announcements on Facebook groups connected to immigrant communities (Appendix 2). I further used snowball sampling to find relevant respondents and it helped me to find many respondents related to my case. Snowball sampling refers to participants who we have already accessed, and they have contact with similar participants and suggest participants with relevant characteristics to the research question of the study (Bryman, 2017:415).

Respondents' age ranged between 20 to 35 years old and two of which were Afghan women, and the rest was Afghan men. Among them, two of them were highly educated and the others were working as a nurse, suppliers, or warehouse workers. One of the highly educated respondents worked as a teacher in a school and the other worked in a chemical company as a lab assistant. They lived in different parts of Sweden such as Gothenburg, Malmö, Borås, Kalmar and Alingsås. They have lived in Sweden for at least 5 years. Three of them changed their name while studying at the high school level (Komvux). Others have worked with their old and new names.

The interviews were conducted as one-on-one semi-structured qualitative interviews. It was conducted through Zoom, WhatsApp, direct calls, and in place. Some of the interviews took place in the city library and Chalmers university library. The interview length differed between 25 to 50 minutes. It is important to mention that just two of the length of the interviews was between 25 to 30 minutes, others ranged between 45-50 minutes.

5.2.2 Ethical consideration

The interviewees were informed about the voluntary nature of their participation, and they can withdraw at any time in the interview process. They were also informed that their identity will remain anonymous, and their consent was taken when recording their sounds. The transcription

of the interviews was done right after the interview process, to ensure the quality of the study. After the transcription of the interviews, data was analyzed based on the analytical framework which was derived from the suggested theories (Halperin and Heath, 2017).

6 Method of analyzing data

There are different methods of analyzing data and it differs in types of question one addresses. In this study, qualitative content analysis is used to analyze data in this research. The content analysis method is mostly used to analyze documents, manuscripts, oral texts such as radio programs, audio transcripts, and visual materials such as public speeches and TV programs. Qualitative content analysis is used to explore the meanings, purposes, and motives of a specific political action that is embedded in texts (Halperin and Heath, 2017). As the aim of this study is to see how name changers, specifically Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated by their colleagues, qualitative content analysis is a suitable method in order to see how the action of their colleagues are perceived and the meanings and motives they conveyed to name changers.

7 Analysis

The subject of the analysis for this study is Afghan name changers who have changed their names to Swedish-sounding names. Their reasons to change their names are consistent with Bursell's (2012) interviewees' reasons which are getting employment, being treated as equal human beings and their names should not attach them to a specific religion. Almost all of respondents in this study said one of the reasons were getting employment and then for example being known as equal as a Swede and not attached to a specific religion. They indicated that name change has helped them to reach their goals and their first and foremost goal was getting an employment and then being considered as equal as a Swede. They are contented with their name change and do not have any regrets regarding their name change.

I will further elaborate the name changers perceptions of discrimination after changing their names in the following parts by dividing the analysis section into two parts. The first part is the analysis of questions related to the formal forms of discrimination and see if the name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes-Us, We) or out-group (Immigrants-Them, Other). The second part is the analysis of questions related to the interpersonal forms of discrimination and see if the name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes-Us, We) or out-group (Immigrants-Them, Other).

7.1 Formal forms of discrimination

Based on our theoretical approach, specifically formal forms of discrimination, an individual is discriminated in their workplace, and it appears in form of not hiring, not promoting, not raising salary, or differentiating in task distribution. This kind of discrimination aims at individuals who belong to a minority group or maintain any kind of characteristic which is deemed to be stigmatizing such as belonging to a specific gender or ethnic group (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57). This section explores the extent to which name changers, specifically Afghan name changers perceive that they have faced formal forms of discrimination and whether they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) or out-group (Immigrants, Them). It is done through using indicators derived from the formal form of discrimination such as Promotion, Pay raise, Competence-based work assignments, and Active participation, and having competence.

7.1.1 Promotion

Based on the formal forms of discrimination theory, an individual is discriminated and deprived of promotion due to stigmatizing characteristics individuals possess and it is due to belonging to a specific gender or ethnicity (Jones, Nittrouer, et al., 2017:53-57; Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). And based on those stigmatizing characteristics an individual is classified as in-group or out-group (Lee, 2005:482-484). When interviewing the name changers, I found two types of answers on whether name change affects receiving promotion or not; 1) name change has effects on receiving promotion, and 2) name change does not have any effect on receiving promotion. First, name changers perceived that having Swedish-sounding names have effects on achieving promotion and it plays an important role.

Name has effects, even if I want to receive a loan or start a company, they will first see what the name is. Or if you apply for a position and my name is Mohammad, they will 100 percent throw me out [from the process] and those having Swedish names are prioritized (Respondent 6).⁴

Second, name changers perceived that name change did not have any effects on receiving promotion and name changers did not experience discrimination in attaining promotion and their Swedish-sounding name did not play any role in attaining promotion. They emphasized that competence and job experience play a major role in receiving promotions. And it conveys

⁴ نام چرا تاثیر میمانه، حتی اگر مه بخوام یک شرکت را راه بندازم و میخوام یک قرضه بگیرم و طرف اول در اسم ات نگاه میکنه و یا در یک پستی است که کسی را شناختی نداره و مه نام محمد میرم پیش و نام مه صد در صد مره عقب میندازه. کس های که اسم سویدنی دراه اوناره در اولویت قرار میدن.

that even individuals maintaining a Middle Eastern name have the same opportunity if they have the right competence and job experience.

I do not think so, name changing just helps when they have not met you and they think you are Swedish and call you for an interview. But when you work somewhere, they consider your capabilities and other things, and based on your capabilities they will promote or help you (Respondent 7).⁵

And respondent 2 emphasizes the same issue and says:

Name does not play role in the company that I work, because this company sees to your work accomplishment and experiences. For example, I started from dishwashing and then worked as distributor of food to hospitals. Then I started to work as cashier of the restaurant and after Corona, so I got to work as supplier. I, personally think that name does not play role and the work and being responsible is more emphasized than the name.⁶

Generally, the emphasis of the name changers are on competence and experience and as respondent 9 says “Not at all, it is about competence, not name”.⁷ So, maintaining Swedish-sounding names do not have effects on receiving promotion and it is mostly work experience and competence that plays role. And therefore, respondents in this study, regarding promotion think that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than being treated as out-group (Immigrants, Them). However, this equal treatment as in-group (Swedes, Us) is not associated with changing their names to Swedish-sounding names but competence and job experience.

7.1.2 Pay raise

According to the theory, your white colleague (in this study: native Swede) who maintains equal or less quality and competence than you and is employed in the same capacity receives higher salary than you (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592). Respondents expressed themselves in four ways; first, they do not know other colleagues' salary and therefore they do not know if name change has had effects or not.

⁵ نی، فکر نمیکنم، تبدیل نام و اینا در صورت کمک میتانه بکنه که اونا تو ره نبینن و وقتی اونا تو ره نبینن، میگن خب ای سویدنی است و انترویو بگیرم. ولی وقتی در یک جای کار میکنم اونا از توانایی هایت و از چییزی های که داری متوجه میشن و خواه ناخواه بر اساس توانایی هایت تو ره ارتقا میتن یا کمک میکنن. و یکی از شعار های ما ای است که تبعیض ایجاد نکنیم و به او خاطر تاثیر نداره.

⁶ در ای شرکت که مه هستم فکر نکنم به اسم کار داشته باشه، چون که ای شرکت که مه کار میکنم به تجربیات و کار که طرف انجام مته، مه مثلا خودم از ظرفشویی شروع کردم و توضیح مواد غذایی به بخش های بیمارستان شروع کردم. کم کم رفتم مثلا پشت خزانه رستورانته ره گرفتم و بعد از کرونا کار راننده گی ره به مه دادن. شرکت مه شخصا دارم میگم به اسم زیاد کار نداره و کار شخص و مسولیت شخص که انجام مته خیلی تاکید داره تا اسم.

⁷ نخیر اصلا، چون اونجه بحث کمپتنس است نی نام.

When you do not see [other colleagues pay raise] then how you should know, our boss does not discriminate between immigrants and Swedes (Respondent 1).⁸

Second, name changers perceived that they have more salary than those immigrants who maintain Middle Eastern names in their workplace. For instance, respondent 4 said that he had more salary compared to his other immigrant colleagues who have Middle Eastern names.

My salary is higher than those with Arabic names. High probability that it is because of my name. For example, my classmates worked there and when I went there for the first time and applied for the job then I received more in salary than the others, I do not know why.⁹

So, having Swedish-sounding name may have effects compared to immigrants with Middle Eastern names. Third, name changers expressed that name change does not have any effect on pay raise, receiving more or less pay raise. They experience that they are treated as equal as their Swedish colleagues and do not think that their names have any effect on receiving more or less pay raise. As respondent 9 states her answer regarding pay raise “No, again I think it differs in every branch but in this branch, it is competence and experience which is important”. So, it is more about competence and experience rather than having a Swedish-sounding name.

Lastly, the name changers expressed that race and where you belong has more importance than having Swedish sounding name and race has rather more effects than maintaining a Swedish-sounding name.

Names do not have much effect, but race has effects. It is not just the name; it is your background and therefore we who have come from other places cannot expect to receive the same thing as a Swede expects (Respondent 3).¹⁰

If you change your name and even if you change several other things, still it is obvious [the difference] between immigrants and Swedes. Even if it is salary or work issue, Swedes are one step higher than immigrants. It is their country, and they take it easier for themselves and it is the reality even if someone wants to say it or no, but I say it. Although, I do not think that name has a relation to salary (Respondent 2).¹¹

⁸ و دیگره نمیبینی و وقتی نمیبینی چطور متوجه شوی. ریس هیچ تبعیضی قابل نشدن بین مهاجر و سویدنی.

⁹ معاش م از کس های بالاتر است که اسم های عربی دارن. احتمال زیاد بخاطر اسمم بوده. مثلا همصنفی هایم بود که اونجه کار میکنه و بعد مه اولین بار بود که رفته بودم درخواست کار داده بودم و معاش مه نسبت به دیگرها بلندتر بود، نمیدانم چرا.

¹⁰ نام اوقه تاثیر نداره ولی نژاد آدم تاثیر داره. تنها نام تاثیر نداره، پس زمینه هم تاثیر داره و بخاطر ازی که همیشه وقت ما های که از دیگره جا آمدیم و به او چیزی که سویدنی میگیره و او انتظار که سویدنی داره، ما نمیتانیم داشته باشیم.

¹¹ اگر اسم خود ره که هیچی که هر چیزی دیگره ره هم که تغییر بته به ای کشور، باز هم فهمیده میشه بین مهاجر و خود سویدنی. سویدنی ها معلومه که هر رقم که باشه بازم قضیه معاش باشه یا قضیه کاری باشه یک پله بالاتر از مهاجر است. چی از نظر درجه باشه چون کشور

To conclude from four types of name changers' answers, the name changers think that they are treated as equal as their Swedish colleagues but according to them in this equal treatment and being treated as in-group, has no relation to changing their names to a Swedish-sounding name. however, they also point out that race and background have more effects on receiving more or less pay raise than maintaining Swedish-sounding name.

7.1.3 Competence-based work assignments

Based on the formal discrimination theory, a non-white individual with more competence and qualification than their white colleagues may not receive a project or work assignment, but their white colleagues receive it even lacking competence and qualification (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592). When it comes to receiving work assignments based on competence, name changers answered in two ways; 1) that changing name does not have any effect and they receive the same work assignment as before changing their names. 2) that name change has an effect on receiving work assignments based on competence.

The first types of answers were focused on the perception that name changers are given work assignments based on their competence and sometimes works that have required more experience and name changers see it as a positive issue. As respondent 8 indicates that some work assignments require more experience and other colleagues cannot carry out and then he receives it.

Usually, the work assignments they could not carry out, they gave it to me and high-status works (Respondent 8).¹²

No, we sit together, plan and divide the responsibilities. Everyone is there and it [Swedish-sounding name] does not have effects (Respondent 3).¹³

They may give me a work assignment based on my abilities. I am not as Swedish language teacher and for example if they pick me as Swedish teacher, I do not want, and they won't give me either. If I have the ability of a work, I do not think it would be a problem (Respondent 7).¹⁴

خودشان است و همیشه هم برخوردشان کمی راحت تر میگیره و ای حقیقت گب است، شاید بگن یا نگن ولی مه میگم. ولی از نظر اسم فکر نکنم به معاش و اینا کار داشته باشه.

¹² معمولاً کارهای که از پس اش برنمیادن به مه میدادن و کارهای که استاتوس بالاتر هم دارن .

¹³ نی، از مه کارهای را خودما میشنیم و برنامه ریزی میکنیم و همراهی یکی دیگه تقسیم میکنیم. و همه گی است و هیچ تاثیری نداره.

¹⁴ نسبت به توانایی هم شاید یک کار ره به مه نتن و مه خودم به عنوان معلم سویدنی نیستم و ای که مثلاً بیاین مره به عنوان معلم سویدنی بگیرن، خودم هم نمیخواهم و ازی لحاظ نمیتن. و کاری که توانایی شه داشته باشم، فکر نکنم مشکلی داشته باشه.

The second type of answer indicated that having Swedish-sounding name has effects on receiving work assignments and according to respondent 6, maintaining Middle Eastern names specify you as out-group and you receive a difficult work assignment.

Name has its effects and when you first go to a working group, in the beginning, it would be difficult to get to know you because of your name and you are felt out of the group. A group carries out a work together and then you can say that you get a harder work. Because that group tries to divide the work assignments and the work that Mohammad receives is harder (Respondent 6).¹⁵

The name changers perceived that they are treated as their Swedish colleagues and are treated as in-group (Us) rather than out-group (Immigrants). However, some of the name changers perceive that changing their names have had effects on receiving competence-based work assignments, whereas some other think that changing name did not have any effects on receiving competence-based work assignments and they received the same work assignments as before changing their names.

7.1.4 Active participation and having competence

The non-whites are perceived as lacking competence and lacking the ability to actively participate in decision-making work-related issues. As they are employed to maintain diversity in the organization but lack competence. This is reinforced by colleagues not giving you relevant information to you in order to complete a task (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1592; Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:14-25). Name changers described their response into two types regarding questions of whether they were perceived as having competence and the ability to actively participate in decision-making work-related issues or not.

First, name changers indicated that changing name did not have any effect on being perceived as individuals who have competence or do not have competence or being involved actively in decision-making work-related issues or not. They described that they are perceived by Swedish colleagues as individuals who maintain competence and have the ability to actively participate in decision makings work-related issues. Even after changing their name the treatment of name changers was the same as before changing their name.

¹⁵ نام تاثیر میمانه و وقتی میرن در یک گروپ کاری در اول کار بخاطر نام ات شاید یک خورده سخت باشه که تو ره بشناسه و بیرون ازو احساس میشه. یک گروپ همیشه یک کار را یکجا انجام میده و ازو دلیل میشه که بگی ها یک کار سختتر ره میده، چون او گروپ سعی میکنه که کار را تقسیم کنن و کار که محمد و اینا میکنه سخت تر است.

It depends to once intelligence and smartness. For example, when you have a meeting, everyone talks, and decisions are made, and some have been for just 2 or 3 years and give a proposition and it does not matter whether you're a Swede or an immigrant. For example, I have given propositions to the company that has made difference. For example, last year with one of my propositions the company benefited between 3 to 4 hundred thousand and I received bonus because of this. It depends to once intelligence and smartness rather than once name or race (Respondent 2).¹⁶

The second types of answers were indicating that it is race/ethnicity, background, and language proficiency of someone who determines whether to be perceived as having competence and having the ability to actively participate in decision-making work-related issues not maintaining Swedish-sounding name.

No, again it is not just name that determines, it is your look, ethnicity and it depends on one behavior to defend once rights and not let anyone behave in a way with you that is not right. They cannot do anything blatantly to you because the law does not let them do so. And if you have the ability to defend yourself then they cannot do anything and for this reason, I say that it is not just name. Being involved or not involved [decision making] depends on us being as immigrants and having the fear in terms of language deficiencies. Otherwise, immigrants who are born in Sweden and have grown up here count also as immigrants, tackle them very easily. And very easily do works that they [Swedes] do and it is due to language proficiency (Respondent 1).¹⁷

So, the name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) and had the equal opportunity to affect the decisions in their workplace and at times it is their appearance and language deficiency that affect their perception as in-group. Although, the role of name is not considered important in this process and the name changers indicate that changing name did not have any impact on their involvement in decision making or being treated as having equal competence as their Swedish colleagues.

¹⁶ ای به هوش و زکاوت طرف بسته گی داره، مثلا بعضی وقتها میشینن سر جلسه و خیلی حرفها زده میشه و خیلی تصمیم ها گرفته میشه و کس های هستن که دو یا سه سال میشه آمده باشن در سویدن ولی یک پیشنهاد میتن و فکر نکنم به سویدنی بودن یا مهاجر بودن تاثیر بگذاره. مه خودم مثلا خیلی پیشنهادی های به شرکت دادم که خیلی فرق کرده، مثلا پارسال با یک پیشنهاد خود تنها 3 صد هزار تا 4 صد هزار به شرکت سود دادم، یعنی یکی از تاثیرات خیلی عالی بوده و تشویقی هم گرفتم از طرف شرکت. به هوش و زکاوت طرف ربط داره تا اسم یا نژاد یک نفر.

¹⁷ نه، باز میگم که فقط اسم نیست که تعیین کننده است، بیشتر چهره و ملیت است و به رفتار خود آدم مرتبطه که بتانی چقدر از حقوق دفاع کنی تا نزاری که اونا اونجوری که مثلا حق نیستن همراهت رفتار کنن. چون اینا بصورت علنی هیچ وقت نمیتانه در حق ات کاری بکنه، چون قانون برش اجازه نمیده. بخاطر همون هم اگر تو مثلا ایقه زبان داشته باشی که از خودت دفاع کنی او هیچ کاری کده نمیتانه. بخاطر همی میگم که فقط در مورد اسم نیست. سهم داشتن و نداشتن اش بخاطر ازی است که ما هم مهاجریم و هم خودمان یک ذره دلهره و ترس داریم، زیاد شرکت نمیکنیم بخاطر که میگیم که شاید از نظر زبان نتانیم از پس اش برابیم. وگرنه مهاجرهای که در سوئد بدنیا آمده و بزرگ شده ولی باز هم مهاجر گفته میشه، اونا خیلی راحت با همونا دارن مقابله میکنن. و خیلی راحت همو کار که اونا انجام میده، ای هم انجام میده. فقط بخاطر که از نظر زبان هیچ مشکلی نداره.

7.2 Interpersonal forms of discrimination

According to the theoretical approach in this study subtle discrimination occurs in social interactions among individuals and involves nonverbal or verbal behavior that is not considered unlawful. Such verbal or nonverbal behavior is perceived as natural, normal, harmless, acceptable, unintentional, and compatible with laws. These kinds of behaviors take shape of harassment, avoidance, jokes, and disrespectful treatment of certain individuals (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). This section explores the extent to which name changers, specifically Afghan name changers perceive that they have faced interpersonal discrimination and whether they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) or out-group (Immigrant, them). It is done through using indicators derived from the interpersonal form of discrimination such as hostile attitude, verbal and nonverbal harassment, derogatory jokes, and disrespectful treatment.

7.2.1 Hostile attitude

Based on the interpersonal forms of discrimination native individuals of a country treat non-white individuals as inferior to them and they act in a manner that they are better than you in one way or another. Or act in a way that they are intimidated by you or are afraid of you (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591). This part is mostly regarding the treatment of Swedish colleagues of name changers and whether name changers perceive that their Swedish colleagues treat them the same as other Swedish colleagues or if there is dual treatment between name changers and other Swedish colleagues. Also, whether name changers perceive that they are treated in a manner that they are inferior to their Swedish colleagues and do not belong to their group or it is the other way around.

When analyzing interview materials, I found that name changers describe their answers into two ways. First, that name changers perceive that name changing has effects in being treated as equal as their Swedish colleagues and their new names have played a role in this equal treatment. They think that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than out-group (Immigrants, Them). One of the reasons, they indicate is that their new names make their Swedish colleagues feel comfortable and form a close relationship with them.

Relations become closer and friendly. For example, if your name is Mohammad and one wants to go play paddle with you on the weekend, they won't. Isak is easier (Respondent 8).¹⁸

Their behavior changes after name change because they can easily remember your name. it is familiar (Respondent 9).¹⁹

And respondents further elaborate and say that having Swedish-sounding name paves the way for being treated equally to a Swedish colleague and you are not seen as inferior to them. According to name changers, name change decreases the difference between a Swede and an immigrant.

One of my colleagues is also immigrant but my colleagues are more friendly and close with me, despite our belief in no racism. I feel that they are close to me and share more with me than the other colleague [Immigrant]. And that colleague is segregating himself and is much with himself than being with the group. Name changing is the beginning of a conversation and that people know you more. For example, someone whose name is Musa changes his name to Musee or Axel, then "aha why his name is Axel? He is surly adopted", and Swedes become curious. When you talk to someone much you will know much about them, and this will cause to have more relation with her/him. That border is crossed that one says that I have not talked to him/her then why should I talk to him/her or how he or she is. When you have a Swedish name, they say that he/she belongs to us, he has been here and he has worked here and at least we are culturally similar. For example, he is from some other country but still, his name is Christian or Alex, one feels culturally close. But when you have a foreign name, it is difficult to learn, and therefore he/she will not talk to you. One will say I forgot the name and prefer to talk to someone who is named Carl (Respondent 7).

20

However, the second type of answer indicates that name changer perceives that the behavior of their colleagues may not have any relation to their names, and it is related to their appearance. These name changers think that even after changing names they are treated based on their

18 رفتارها نزدیک تر میشه و صمیمی تر میشه. مثلا اگر نامت محمد باشه و نفر نخواه که در آخر هفته همراهت بره پدل بازی کنه. کیوین باشه راحتتر است.

19 . رفتارشان بعد از تغییر نام تغییر میکنه، چون میتانن نام ته راحت تر بخاطر بیارن. برشان آشنا است خیلی.

20 خب یکی از همکارهای دیگر من هم مهاجر است و همکارهایم خواه نا خواه با مه صمیمیتر گب میزنه و با وجود که همه ای ما باور داریم که تبعیض و اپنا نباشه. ولی مه احساس میکنم که اونا نسبت به مه نزدیک تر هستن و با مه بیشتر شریک میکنن گبهایشانه نسبت به او همکارم. و او همکار م هم بیشتر گوشگیری میکنه و خودش بر خودش است تا ای که با گروپ باشه. تبدیل نام خودش آغازگر یک مکالمه است که مردم تو ره بیشتر بشناسه و که حالی نامش مثلا موسی است، نامش شه بگذاره موسه یا اکئل، اها ای چی را اکسل است نام اش، ای حتما به فرزندی گرفته شده و سویدنی ها کنجکاو میشه. وقتی با یک نفر بیشتر گب بزنی باز نسبت به او نفر بیشتر میفهمی و ای باعث میشه بیشتر ارتباط داشته باشی. او حریم شکسته میشه که خب مه با ای صحبت نکردم چرا بخوایم صحبت کنم. معلوم نیست ای چی قسم باشه ولی وقتی که یک نام سویدنی باشه خب ای مربوط خودمان میشه، ای حتما در اینجه بوده و ای که حتما یک کاری قبلا کرده و حداقل از لحاظ کلتوری شبیه هستیم. مثلا از فلان کشور آمده ولی باز هم نام اش مثلا کریستین است یا الکس است. احساس نزدیکی کلتوری میکنن و وقتی نام خارجی باشه سخت است که آدم یاد بگیره و به همو خاطر هم تیر شانه میاره که همراهت صحبت کنه. میگه نام ای یادم رفت، مه چی بگم بری الان و بد است که دو سه بار بگم و به همو خاطر ترجیح میده با یک نفر دیگه صحبت کنه که نام اش ... است.

ethnicity and appearance as out-group (Immigrants, Them). As respondent 5 says “It may not have any relation to name because of our Asian appearance”.²¹

When a Swede comes so he/she [The Swedish colleague] feels comfortable to talk to his/her colleague [Swedish] and when I meet an immigrant colleague, I feel comfortable, and it is a norm in the society (Respondent 6).²²

So, even after changing name to a Swedish-sounding name, in some cases, the appearance and background of an individual effect to what extent one is to be treated as a Swede or an immigrant. As in the case of respondents 5 and 6, they experience that their appearance has a role in how they are treated in their workplace.

7.2.2 Verbal and nonverbal harassment

According to the theory, verbal and non-verbal harassment refers to harassing one through making remarks to an entire group, questions, and complaints about a certain group of people. And not appreciating and respecting a non-white individual when shopping from a white business, for instance, not saying hello or thanks as they do with others (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591; Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:14-25). When it comes to verbal and nonverbal harassment, respondents perceived that name changing has effects on verbal harassment, but they did not know if name changing had effects on nonverbal harassment. Although they perceived that they were not harassed after changing their names, neither verbally nor nonverbally.

Respondents have experienced verbal harassment before changing their names to Swedish-sounding names. They say that they were perceived by their old names as extreme believers and therefore were not invited to parties, or their name was mocked and questioned by colleagues. However, after changing their names, all of the respondents perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) and are less or not at all harassed. The problems and judgments that they faced before are not valid anymore and they indicate that after changing their names to Swedish-sounding names they have been less questioned compared to before changing their names. They are not being asked frequently about their name meanings or why they have such names.

21 به اسم فکر نکنم ربط داشته باشه و هر چی نباشه ظاهر ما آسیایی است.
22 طرف سویدنی که میایه مثلا وقتی اولین بار همکار خود ره میبینه خو خیلی راحت تر است با او حرف بزنه و مه هم وقتی یک همکار مهاجر ره میبینیم خیلی راحتتر است و ای یک نورم است در جامعه.

The name that I had was very controversial. It was controversial because they [Swedish colleagues] said that your name is the name of a religion. Why you have this name and such questions, and I was later very tired of it. Because when I met someone, so I had to give one hour presentation about my name, it was boring, really boring. And then I decided to change my name (Respondent 3).²³

And he continues:

They usually said how to pronounce and how to say but after the name change, I am relaxed, and no one asks how to pronounce your name (Respondent 3).²⁴

Respondent 8 also says that:

My girlfriend [sambo] is Swedish. She and her family do not have any problems. But when we meet friends at parties and dinners and when you enter the party everyone introduces themselves and you say your name is Mohammad. When you say Mohammad, I do not know why everyone gets surprised? For example, one of her friends bought an apartment in Majorna and we were invited to housewarming party. We went to the party and there were several mutual friends, and everyone talked to each other. Everyone was with their partners, and we went, and handshake and I introduced myself that I am Mohammad, the situation was changed. Everyone is blond there and just you are immigrant. I was the only immigrant with a guy from Mexico. It does not matter with Mexicans and they are [Swede] are comfortable with them but when you say Mohammad, the situation changes [Swedes are uncomfortable].²⁵

Or:

With name [foreign name] that you have, it is felt that you do not belong to them [Swedes], they may not tell you directly, but you feel that it is because of your name that you are ignored. For example, at a party they invited everyone, and they tried not to invite me because they felt that yeah he is Muslim and may not drink alcohol and is not like us. The music that we love, he may not like and perceive it Haram [forbidden] (Respondent 6).²⁶

²³ ای نام که فعلا داشتم بر اینا بسیار جنجال برانگیز بود، یعنی بخاطر از ی جنجال برانگیز بود، بخاطر که میگفتن نام تو نام یک دین است. چرا ای نام ره ماندی و همیشه وقت سوال ها بود و بعدا کاملا خسته شده بودم. چون هر وقت، هر کسی ره میدیدم باید یک ساعت در مورد نام خود پرزنتیشن بتم، خسته کن است واقعبیت خسته کن است. و تصمیم گرفتم که نام خوده تبدیل کنم.
²⁴ معمولا میگفتن که چی قسم تلفظ کنم و چی قسم بگویم و بعد از تغییر نام دیگه راحت هستم و دیگه کسی از مه پرسان نمیکنه که نام ته چی قسم تلفظ کنم.

²⁵ . سمیوی مه هیچ مشکلی نداره ولی خانواده اش هم مشکل نداره ولی وقتی ما دوستهای ای ره ملاقات میکنیم، در فیست و مهمانی میریم و وقتی وارد فیست میشیم و کلگی خودشه معرفی میکنه و میگه که نام م محمد است. و وقتی نام محمد را میگه نمیدانم چشم مردم چرا گرد میشه. مثلا در مهمانی است، یکی از دوستهایش در مایورنا یک اپارتمان خریده بود و باز رفتیم اونجه و فیست خریدن اپارتمان را داشت. باز در فیست رفتیم و هم گب و سخن میزدن و کس های دگه زیاد است و دوستهای مشترک اش زیاد است. و هر کی با پارتنر هایشان است، خلاصه باز ما که میریم اونجه و دستم میدیم و خوده معرفی میکنیم که محمد هستم، یک رقم هم وضعییت فرق میکنه. و در اونجه هم بلوند هستن و کلگی سویدنی است. تنها یک مه مهاجر بودم و یک بچه دیگه از میکسیکو. میکسیکویی ها فرق میکنه و اونا راحت تر هستن وقتی محمد میگه، یک رقم وضعییت تغییر میکنه.

²⁶ نامی که داری احساس میشه که تو از ونا نیستی و شاید اونا مستقیم برت نگوین ولی احساس میشه بخاطر نام که داری بعضی جاها کنار گذاشته میشی. مثلا در یک مهمانی کسی ره دعوت کنن، مثلا کوشش میکنن که مه دعوت نشم، چون احساس میکرد که ها ای مسلمان است، ای شاید مشروب نخوره، شاید مثل که ما هستیم او نباشه، او موزیک ره که ما دوست داریم شاید او دوست نداشته باشه. شاید ای حرام بدانه.

Another respondent said that having a Middle Eastern name labels you as being an extremist even if you are not a believer. Name changers perceive that they were frequently judged by their old names and changing their names has influenced the perception of Swedes and now Swedes do not treat them as out-group (Immigrants, Them) and do not associate them to a religion or see them as extremist.

For example, when you say Mohammad, it introduces an extremist believer, it is the prophet's name and a religious person. A person who believes in religion and a religion of massacring (Respondent 6).²⁷

So, the name changers perceive that they are less harassed or not at all after changing their names to Swedish-sounding names. They perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than out-group (Immigrants, Them). Moreover, almost all of the name changers perceive that they did not experience nonverbal harassment. I should note that nonverbal harassment in this study refers to lack of appreciation and respect in terms of receiving negative feedback regarding their work assignments (As derived from theory). And therefore, all of the respondents have expressed that they have been appreciated and always got positive feedbacks in terms of doing their work assignments, but they do not know whether it is due to their Swedish-sounding names or not.

Compliments have always been the same and sometimes it differs, and it is due to the intelligence of the person (Respondent 3).²⁸

To conclude, name changers perceived that changing their names to Swedish-sounding names has effects on not being harassed verbally and they were not harassed nonverbally either, but they did not know if name changing had effects on not being harassed nonverbally. Name changers were harassed based on their old name and they think that they were perceived as extremists, their old names were mocked and questioned, and in cases, the recruiter did not realize their gender. However, now after changing names, they perceive that they are not harassed as they were with their old names. They are appreciated by their colleagues and have received positive feedback from their Swedish colleagues.

²⁷ مثلا وقی میگی محمد، یک فرد را معرفی میکنه که معتقد افراطی است، اسم پیامبر است و آدم دین دار است. آدمی است که اعتقاد به دین داره و یک دینی معرفی شده بنام دین کشتار.
²⁸ همیشه وقت تشویق و اینا یک قسم بوده و در بعضی جا ها گاهی فرق داره و بیشتر به استعداد خود شخص مربوط است. و جای بوده که خیلی تشویق شدم و همه گی شوک شدن و گفته خود شان همیشه فید بک میگیره.

7.2.3 Derogatory jokes

Based on interpersonal discrimination theory, derogatory jokes refer to making derogatory comments and jokes in a subtle way about one's ethnicity and using ethnic slurs to describe you. Or making jokes in a way to present you as inferior to them (Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591-2). Respondents answer in two ways; 1) that name changing has effects on not being joked about their names, and 2) that name changing does not have effects on being joked about your ethnicity.

According to the name changers, their colleagues especially, Swedish colleagues have not joked about their names before or after name changing. Name changers perceive that name changing has effects compared to having Middle eastern or African names, as their colleagues make jokes about immigrant colleagues' names. They perceive that their colleagues have made jokes about their immigrant colleagues' names and resemble their names to food etc.

I did not see mine, but I have seen others, for example, one of our colleagues' names resemble food and when we are at the kitchen and ask what you have cooked, then they say the name of the colleague (Respondent 2).²⁹

For example, one of our colleagues' names is Mushtaq but our colleagues call him Mustache. Where is Mustache? I do not know Mustache and I repeat many times Mushtaq. Or at some places work many individuals whose name is Ali and then they say that all immigrants' names Ali and then say Ali 1, Ali 2... and they do it to make a joke of it. They may think it as a joke, but we are not used to such things (Respondent 3).³⁰

Name changers said that sometimes colleagues make jokes about their ethnicity and refer Afghan nationals to being suicide bombers, rapists, and drug dealers and name changing does not have any effects.

They make jokes, for example, they say suicide bombers, I do not know if it is friendly (Respondent 8).³¹

²⁹ از خودم ره ندیدم ولی از دیگران را دیدم که مثلاً یک از همکارهایم اسم اش شبیه یک غذایی است و ما که در آشپزخانه هستیم و میپرسیم که چی درست کردن، باز اسم او نفر ره میگن. سویدنی نی ولی همکارها میگین.

³⁰ مثلاً یکی از همکارهای ما مشتاق نام داره ولی همکارهایم او ره مستاش میگن. مساش کجاست؟ مستاش ره مه نمیشناستم، مشتاق، و چندین بار تکرار میکنم. مثلاً بعضی جاها چند نفر علی نام میداشته باشه، باز میگن که مهاجرین همه ای شان علی نام داره و میگن علی 1، علی 2، و بر تمسخر ای کار ره میکنن. اینا شاید منظورشان شوخی باشه ولی ما عادت نداریم با عادت های اینا.

³¹ شوخی میکنن مثلاً، یگان بار میگن انتحاری، و فکر میکنم رفاقت باشه مه نمیدانم.

They mostly make jokes and when you say that you are from Afghanistan then they that you are a rapist. Their behavior shows and sometimes they say it (Respondent 6).³²

So, when it comes to names, name changers perceive that their colleagues do not make jokes about their names which are Swedish-sounding names, but they have perceived that their colleagues have made jokes about immigrant colleagues who are having Middle Eastern or African names. However, name changers perceive that changing a name does not have any effects on being joked about one's ethnicity.

7.2.4 Disrespectful treatment

According to interpersonal discrimination theory, disrespectful treatment refers to using demeaning terms and making negative comments to indicate that you belong to low societal status group (Van Laer and Janssens, 2011:18; Jones, Peddie, et al., 2016:1591-2). Name changers answer questions regarding respectful treatment in four types. First, they think that they are not being treated respectfully by some colleagues when they introduce themselves with their new names, and changing name have had a negative effect. Second, name changing has had a negative effect when it comes to their relationship with their immigrant colleagues or families and friends, and they are not respected as they were before changing their name. Third, name changing does not have an effect when it comes to appreciation in the accomplishment of a work assignment with a Swedish colleague, as a Swedish colleague is more appreciated than a name changer. Fourth, name changers perceive that changing name to Swedish-sounding name does not affect and determines whether one belongs to in-group (Swedes) or not, rather it is their background as being an immigrant and skin color that determines to which group, they belong.

Name changers perceive that they are treated sometimes in a manner that they do not belong to Swedes even they maintain a Swedish-sounding name. As when they meet an immigrant who possesses a Swedish-sounding name, they act in a way that conveys a sense of not belonging to a specific group, in our case Swedes. Name changers indicate that sometimes by introducing yourself by your Swedish-sounding names create questions about their new names and the reason for not complying their names with their appearance. As their Swedish-sounding names do not comply with their immigrant appearance. Name changers perceive such treatments unpleasant and disrespectful.

³² اکثریت شوخی میکنند و اکثرا که بگی از افغانستان هستی میگویند که اکثرا تجاوز گر است. و رفتارشان نشان میدهد و حتی بعضی ها حتی حرف میزنند.

When someone with Asian appearance names Axel, it is a surprise for them and you are out of that category that they think and they struggle and ask themselves why it is like that. It crosses the norms of the society, and you feel it from their face mimics, and they may do not mean anything special. For example, our school had a common project with another school, and I introduced myself and then he looked at me and said with a special mimic on his face, Aha Axel? I said yes and he did not continue more. But you could understand from his face mimics that he is surprised. Although, I just said my name and did not say anything more than that, which he knows which country I am from. It could have been someone else who is born here or is adopted. Or born here with either her/his mother or father is Swedish, and the other parent is foreign and therefore is dark-haired (Respondent 7).³³

They ask whether Afghanistan has Isak? And I say yes, it has. It has happened two, three times and they are surprised by this, that how my name is Isak (Respondent 2).³⁴

And respondent 3 also mentions:

They say and ask that we did not know that Asian countries also names Abraham. Their information is very little and does not know that Abraham does not associate just with Christianity, Judaism, or Islam and everyone can select this name.³⁵

In addition, this reaction has often happened by immigrants than Swedes and immigrants question the name changers that why they have changed their name? Is it to become more Swedish and show that they are Swedes? Most of the name changers have been exposed to such things from either their immigrant colleagues or families and friends. Name changers perceive that immigrants treat them in a way that they do not belong any longer to their group and are perceived as out-group. Immigrants perceive name changers as those who want to leave their identity and become more Swedish and relate name changers to a lower societal status.

It happens often from migrants that why you have changed your name? and they behave in a way that what? You want to be more Swede than us? Their reactions make you tired, both Swedes and immigrants but immigrants more (Respondent 7).³⁶

³³ و وقتی یک نفر با قیافه آسیایی نامش یونس است، خب برشان جای تعجب است و ازو کتگوری خارج میشه و باخودشان کلنجار میره که چرا اینو است یا اوتو است. ازو نورم های جامعه بیرون میشه و حتی از میمیک چهره شان احساس میشه و شاید منظور خاصی نباشه. مثلا چند وقت پیش مکتب مان با یک مکتب دیگه یک کار مشترک داشت و مه خودم مه معرفی کردم، بعد طرفم نگاه کرد و با یک میمیک خاص خودش گفت اها یونس؟ مه گفتم ها باز چیزی نگفت. ولی از همی میمیک چهره شان فهمیده میشه که ای خیلی تعجب کرده، با ای که مه فقط نام ره معرفی کردم و بیشتر ازو صحبت هم نکردم که حتی او بفهمه که مه از دیگه کشور آمدم. میتانست در جای مه یک نفر باشه که در همینجه تولد شده یا به فرزندی گرفته شده. تولد شده باشه یا مادرش یا پدرش سویدنی باشه و یکی از والدین خارجی بوده باشه و از همو خاطر کله سیاه باشه.
³⁴ میپرسن که بنیامین در افغانستان هم وجود داره؟ و مه میگم بله وجود داره. تا حالی دو سه بار ای اتفاق افتیده و بر اینا عجیب بوده که چرا اسم من مثلا بنیامین است.

³⁵ و ای سوال میشه که ما نمیفهمیدم که طرفهای کشور های آسیایی هم ... میمانن، در حالته که معلومات شان بسیار کم و نمیفانم که یک ... مربوط مسیحیت، یهودیت یا اسلام نمیشه و کلگی میتانه هر نام ره انتخاب کنه.

³⁶ ای بیشتر از طریق خود خارجی ها شده که تو چرا نام ته تبدیل کنی و ایتو بر خورد میکنن که چی میخایی نشان بتی که سویدنی تر هستی از ما کرده. سویدنی هم است. ولی عکس العمل های مردم آدم ره خسته میسازه، هم مهاجرین و هم سویدنی ولی مهاجرین بیشتر.

Those who are curious and ask that does Afghanistan have Carolina? And then I have to explain that yes it has. However, it is not just Swedes, but it is mostly from our Afghan fellows and ask that why you are Carolina, and we do not have Carolina (Respondent 1).³⁷

The first reaction of my family was that you changed your name to be more Swedish, although it is not like that. One should do several things to become a swede. For example, you should change your appearance and have their behavior and be a bit freer (Respondent 9).³⁸

Moreover, name changers say that even after changing their names there is still some kind of sense of unbelonging to Swedes and they refer this sense to their background as being an immigrant. According to them, they perceive that their skin color and Asian look persist as a point of difference in different situations. And at times, maintaining Swedish-sounding name does not help you to be accepted as a Swede and in-group rather it is the color of your skin and your background that determines which category you fit. For instance, respondent 1 thinks that sometimes it is not name that changes your colleague's behavior and it is you being as an immigrant and your nationality that shapes your colleague's behavior.

For example, they ask where you are from? You work as normal and then I ask, what is your guess that which country I am from? The first guess is that I am from Spain or Latina America for example, Mexico. Then I say no, I am from Afghanistan. Then directly they ask, aha how is it there? Is there war? How you come here? Why you come here? However, I feel that If I was really from the countries that they guessed, then they would not have asked such questions and why I came to Sweden. Or ask how is the situation? Is there too much war? Or how is discrimination against women? And it does not have to be always bad and say bad about it but it is a picture that they have. And this is why I say that it has no relation to name, I feel it is more about my nationality (Respondent 1).³⁹

Or when doing a work assignment with a Swede, name changers perceive that they are not being treated the same as a Swede, and their bosses talk and thank Swedes more than what they do with them. Those name changers who perceive that they are treated in such a manner, they relate this to them being immigrants and they do not think that name will help such behaviors.

³⁷ همونای که خیلی فضول و کنجکاو هستن، سریع میگن که مگی افغانستان ... هم داره؟ و مجبور هستم توضیح بدم که بله داره. البته خواد فقط از طرف سویدنی ها هم نیست بلکه از طرف خوده ما افغان ها هم خیلی بیشتر بوده که تو چرا صوفیا هستی و ... نداریم.
³⁸ اولین عکس العمل فامیل هایم است که نام تو تبدیل کنی که سویدنی تر باشی در حالیکه ای رقمی نیست. آدم خیلی کارهای دیگه اول باید انجام بده بر ای که سویدنی باشه. مثلاً ظاهراً خیلی تغییر کنه یا که رفتارهای خودشانه داشته باشه، آزادتر باشه یک کم.
³⁹ وقتی سوال میکنند که مال کجایی، قبل اش خیلی خوبه، بعد که میگم مه مال افغانستان هستم، اون موقع تفاوت ره احساس میکنی. مثلاً سوال میکنه که مال کجایی؟ خیلی عادی کار میکنی؟ بعد میگم خب تو چی حدسی میزنی که مال کدام کشور هستم؟ اولین حدسی که میزنه، اسپانیا، امریکای لاتین یا مثلاً میکزی یک. بعد میگم نه، مه مال افغانستان هستم، بعد دایرکت میگه که ها چطوره، جنگه، فلانه، اینجوریه، چطور شد آمدی؟ برای چی آمدی؟ در صورت که مه احساس میکنم که اگر مه واقعا مال همان کشور های که اونا حدس میزنن بودم، هیچ وقت اونا ای سوال ها ره از مه نمیکد که بر چی سوئد آمدی. یا اونچه مثلاً شرایط چطوریه؟ خیلی جنگه؟ خیلی خطرناکه؟ نمیدانم تبعیض در مورد زنان چی قسم است؟ اصلاً قرار نیست همیشه بد باشه، قرار نیست همیشه بد بگی راجع بهش. ولی یک تصویری هست که دارن. برای همین میگم که او ربطی به اسم نداره، احساس میکنم او بیشتر بخاطر ملیت منه.

When some mistake happens, especially when it is related to lack of knowledge about the language, immigrants are accused first. Because they say they have not understood the description of medicine and therefore have made mistake, although it is done 100 percent by a Swede. It was proven and gave the tablets wrong. First of all, the nurse said that she will hold a class for you. I asked why you hold a separate class? Then she said, do not you have problem to know the time of the medicine, that which medicine should be given at which time? I said no, absolutely not. It is ok that I am not perfect, but I do not have problem reading one page (Respondent 1).⁴⁰

So, still, at times after changing name to a Swedish-sounding name, the looks and skin color matter, and name changers express that you are treated based on your background and ethnicity.

8 The results of the analysis

The analysis is divided into two parts: the formal forms of discrimination and the interpersonal forms of discrimination. I first present the findings on the formal forms of discrimination and then interpersonal forms of discrimination on how name changers, specifically Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated. Whether they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) or out-group (Immigrants, Them). While analyzing the data, I found that name changers, in general, have answered the questions in four ways; 1) name change does not have any positive effect at all and it is competence and work experience which counts, 2) name change has a positive effect on tackling formal forms of discrimination, 3) name changers did not experience formal forms discrimination but they do not know if name changing was the reason and had a positive effect, 4) name change does not have any positive effect and it is ethnicity, skin color, one's background and language that determines which group one belongs.

The findings in the first section point out that the first type of answers is common in all indicators of the formal forms of discrimination theory such as promotion, pay raise, competence-based work assignments, active participation, and having competence. Afghan name changers emphasize that maintaining Swedish-sounding names does not have an impact on receiving promotion, receiving high pay raise, receiving competence-based work assignments, or being known as an individual who has competence and the ability to actively

⁴⁰ وقتی یک اشتباه اتفاق می‌فته، اول همه مهاجر ره، مخصوصا اگر احساس که یک کمبود بوده از لحاظ زبانی، اول از همه مظنون مهاجر ها است. چون می‌گه که ای نفهمید و چون که توضیح ای دارو ره نفهمیده به او خاطر ای اشتباه انجام داده ولی اشتباه در صورت‌که صد در صد از طرف یک سویدنی انجام شده. و ای مسئله ثابت شد، بخاطر که همه اتفاق برای ما افتاد. دوا ها اشتباه شده بود، یا که یاد شان رفته بود یا که جابه جا داده شده بود. اول از همه خوکنتر پیشکه آمد که برای شما کلاس جدا گانه می‌گذاریم. برای چی کلاس جداگانه می‌گذاریم؟ گفت تو احساس نمیکنی که مشکلی داری در فهم از ای که بفهمی ساعت دارو ره، که چی داروی را چی ساعتی بدی؟ مه گفتم نه مه اصلا چنین مشکلی برایم پیش نیامده، درسته که مه کامل نیستم ولی اونقد هم مشکل ندارم که یک صفحه نفهمم.

participate in decision-making work-related issues. They perceive that it is work experience and competence that paves the way for receiving promotion, receiving high pay raise, etc.

The second type of answers is common in indicators such as promotion, pay raise, competence-based work assignments but not in active participation, and having competence. Name changers perceived that name change has a positive effect on tackling the first three types of formal forms of discrimination. They perceive that having Swedish-sounding name has effects and plays an important role in receiving promotion, receiving high pay raise, and receiving competence-based work assignments. Although name changing does not have effect on the active participation and having competence indicator of formal forms of discrimination. It does not mean that name changers think that they are perceived as an individual who lack competence and the ability to actively participate in decision making issues, but they perceive that name change per se does not have any effect on this process.

The third type of answer is seen in pay raise and name changers have not experienced discrimination in pay raise, but they do not know if the changing name has had effects or not.

Lastly, the fourth types of answers are common in pay raise, active participation, and having competence indicators of the formal forms of discrimination. The name changers perceive that it is not just changing name but also ethnicity/race, one's background, language, and where you belong that affect receiving higher pay raise or being perceived as an individual who maintains competence and the ability to actively participate in decision-making issues.

To conclude the first section, the first three types of answers are not in line with the formal forms of discrimination and Afghan name changers in this study perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than being treated as out-group (Immigrants, Them). So, name changing may or may not have effects and name changers do not know if it has effects but still, they perceive that they are not discriminated. However, at times, name changers also perceive that it is not just name but also their ethnicity/race, background, language proficiency, and where they belong that affects their perception as in-group or out-group.

The second part of the analysis was regarding the perception of Afghan name changers in terms of interpersonal discrimination theory. I present the result of interpersonal forms of discrimination based on the three types of answers; 1) name change has a positive effect on tackling interpersonal forms of discrimination, 2) name changers did not experience interpersonal forms discrimination but they do not know if name changing was the reason and

had a positive effect and 3) name change does not have any positive effect and it is ethnicity, skin color, one's background and language that determines which group one belongs.

The first types of answers are found in three indicators of interpersonal forms of discrimination such as hostile attitude, verbal harassment, and derogatory jokes. Name changers perceive that name changing has a positive effect and they are treated as equal as their Swedish colleagues and they are not seen as inferior to them, and their new names have played a role in this equal treatment. Afghan name changers have experienced verbal harassment before changing their names to Swedish-sounding names. They say that they were perceived by their old names as extreme believers and therefore were not invited to parties, or their name was mocked and questioned by colleagues. Or in some cases, they could not even realize their gender. However, after changing their names, they perceive that changing their name has had a positive effect and they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) and are less or not at all harassed. When it comes to derogatory jokes, findings indicate that name changers perceive that name changing has had a positive effect and their colleagues do not make jokes about their names, but they have experienced that their colleagues have made jokes about immigrant colleagues who are having Middle Eastern or African names. Therefore, when it comes to making jokes about name changers, they perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than being treated as out-group (Immigrant, them).

The second types of answers are found in nonverbal harassment indicator of interpersonal forms of discrimination. The name changers did not experience nonverbal harassment and therefore, all of the Afghan name changers have expressed that they have been appreciated and always received positive feedback in terms of doing their work assignments, but they do not know whether it is due to their Swedish-sounding names or not.

The third types of answers are found in hostile attitude, derogatory jokes, and disrespectful treatment indicators of interpersonal forms of discrimination. Name changers perceive that the behavior of their colleagues may not have any relation to their names, and it is related to their appearance. Name changers think that even after changing names they are treated based on their ethnicity and appearance. Also, they perceive that name change does not have any effect on being joked about their ethnicity, and name changers said that sometimes colleagues make jokes about their ethnicity and refer Afghan nationals to being suicide bombers, rapists, and drug dealers.

When it comes to disrespectful treatment, name changers perceive that at times name change has had no effects on their treatment by their Swedish colleagues. Afghan name changers experience that they are treated by Swedish colleagues sometimes in a manner that they do not belong to Swedes even they maintain a Swedish-sounding name. Name changers indicate that sometimes introducing themselves with their Swedish-sounding names creates questions about their new names and the reason for not complying their names with their appearance. Name changers say that even after changing their names there is still some kind of sense of unbelonging to Swedes and they refer this due to their background as being an immigrant. According to them, they perceive that their skin color and Asian look persist as a point of difference in different situations. They also perceive that name changing has had negative effects on their relationship with their immigrant colleagues or families. Afghan name changers perceive that after name changing, they are not respected as they should be by their fellow immigrant colleagues or families.

To conclude the second section, the first two types of answers are not in line with interpersonal forms of discrimination. And therefore, Afghan name changers in this study perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than being treated as out-group (Immigrants, Them). So, according to name changers, name changing may have effects they do not know if it has effects but still, they perceive that they are not discriminated and are perceived as in-group. Although, the third types of answers are in line with interpersonal forms of discrimination, and name changers perceive that they are discriminated and indicate that it is not just name but also their ethnicity/race, background, and where they belong that affects their perception as in-group or out-group.

Generally, changing name to a Swedish-sounding name has both positive effects and no effect at all on tackling formal and interpersonal forms of Subtle discrimination theory. Name changers perceive that name change has positive effects and they are treated as in-group (Swedes, US) due to their Swedish-sounding names. They have also expressed that name change per se does not have any effect on being discriminated or not, as competence, work experience, ethnicity/race, one's background, and appearance also play an important role in their perception as in-group or out-group. We can conclude that to a large extent name changers perceive that they are treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) but we cannot conclude that they do not experience Subtle forms of discrimination at all. As at times, name changers perceive that maintaining Swedish-sounding name does not help one to be accepted as a Swede and in-group rather it is the color of your skin and your background that determines which category you fit.

Different respondent answers to questions regarding their experiences of different forms of discrimination:	Formal forms of discrimination				Interpersonal forms of discrimination			
	Promotion	Pay raise	Competence based-Work assignment	Active participation & competence	Hostile attitude	Verbal & Nonverbal harassment	Derogatory jokes	Disrespectful treatment
Does not experience discrimination, since it is competence and skills that matter (Name change does not have effect).	X	X	X	X				
No experience of discrimination thanks to name change (Name change has a positive effect).	X	X	X		X	X	X	
Does not experience discrimination but does not know if the name change has made a difference.		X				X		
The name change has made no difference. Experiences discrimination based on other things, eg. Ethnicity/race, religion, background etc.		X		X	X		X	X

9 Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to study the perceptions of Afghan name changers regarding discrimination after changing names and whether they perceive that they are treated as equal human beings and in-group (Swedes, US) or out-group (Immigrant, Them). This was done through using formal and interpersonal forms of discrimination. As explained in the analysis section, Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated as equal as their Swedish colleagues in their workplace when it comes to the formal form of discrimination. The findings are not in line with the formal form of discrimination, but it is important to note the Afghan name changers perceive that it is not just name change that affects their perception as in-group or out-group, factors such as competence, work experience, ethnicity/race, one's background, and appearance also affect their perception as in-group or out-group.

Furthermore, in terms of interpersonal discrimination theory, Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated to a large extent as equal as their Swede colleagues and treated as in-group (Swedes, Us) rather than out-group (Immigrant, Them). However, at the same time, they perceive that this treatment is not persistent and at times they are being treated based on their skin color, Asian look, and stereotypes about their ethnicity and therefore, based on the results

one cannot conclude that they perceive they are not at all discriminated. The results also indicate that changing name to a Swedish-sounding name has a vital role in not being discriminated subtly. As Afghan name changers argue that they perceive that their immigrant colleagues maintaining Middle Eastern and African names are harassed and subtly discriminated.

One more thing that came out of the analysis was the extent that Afghan name changers perceive that they are discriminated by their immigrant colleague, friends, and families. They perceive that they are treated in a manner that they no longer belong to them, and they have tried to become more Swede than keeping their identity.

Referring back to Bursell's study, as she argued, name changers motivated their name change reason to be treated as equal human beings as Swedes and this study contribute to previous literatures by adding that changing name to Swedish sounding names pave the way to a large extent to be treated as an equal as a Swede at the workplace. However, one could argue that name changers may exaggerate the positive effects of the name change since they do not want to admit that they have made a mistake. But the above argument may not be valid due to; first, that name changers can change their name to their old names any time they want and there is no legal hindrance to prevent them from doing this. Second, Afghan name changers in this study expressed that they are happy with their name change and do not have any regrets in terms of changing their names.

We did know from Bursell's study that name change helps immigrants to achieve employment, but we did not know what happens after the name change and now, we can conclude that name changers, specifically Afghan name changers perceive that they are less exposed to discrimination after changing their name. And they perceive that they are to a large extent accepted by their Swedish colleagues as in-group and are not judged based on the stereotypes about their ethnic groups. Although, it is worth mentioning that at times name changers perceive that they are treated based on their color of skin and their look.

9.1 Further research

There are factors that may have affected the conclusion of the study and therefore this study does not claim generalization and application of the results on other social contexts, and it is due to limitations regarding the number of interviewees and variation of the case of the research. Regarding interviewees, it would have been optimal to include an equal number of respondents from men and women, an equal number of high and low educated respondents. And when it comes to case variation, I have chosen one ethnic group (Afghans) of immigrants, and it would

have been ideal to include several other ethnic groups of immigrants which in turn would have increased the external validity of this study.

It would be interesting that further research would be done on a larger group of immigrants consisting of other ethnic groups and see if how these kinds of strategies can affect segregation and help the integration of immigrants who are isolated from the Swedish society. It is also interesting to incorporate equal numbers of both genders, considering the level of education in further research to draw stronger conclusions.

Another limitation is regarding the connection between theories used in this study and methodology. The theories in this study are suitable to capture the experience of discrimination, not perception of discrimination and this per se affect the case selected in this study. As the aim of this study is to investigate the perception of the name changers and it is best captured through relevant theories about perception of individuals. Further research should take this limitation into account and use theories that captures best the perception of discrimination, such as social categorization theory.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Interview date:

Length of the interview:

Introduced by:

Study aims and information

Ethical consideration

Introduction

1. Name:
2. Duration of stay in Sweden:
3. Age:
4. Occupation:
5. Education
6. How long has it been from the new name?
7. When has the name change occurred? In current job or previous jobs?

Warm-up questions:

8. What was the reason/reasons behind changing your name? Do you think those reasons are still valid for you?
9. Do you think that changing your name has helped you to reach those achievements? If yes, in what ways? If no, in what ways?
10. What changes occurred after changing name? what is it in line with your expectations or was is it the other way around?

Questions on formal discrimination

11. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your employment conditions? How? Can you offer examples of this?
 - 11a. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your possibilities to carry out your job? How? Can you offer examples of this?
 - 11b. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your possibilities of being promoted? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

11c. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your salary development? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

11d. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your possibilities of getting the work assignments that you want? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

11e. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed your involvement in decision-making processes at your workplace? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

11f. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has made your superiors recognize your accomplishments to a greater extent, e.g. when you and a Swedish colleague have carried out a work assignment together? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

Questions on interpersonal discrimination

12. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed how your colleagues treat you? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

12a. Do you perceive that having a Swedish-sounding name has changed to what extent your colleagues treat you as an equal? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

12b. Do you experience any kind of harassment by your colleagues? Do you perceive that this has changed at all after you changed your name? If yes/no, can you offer examples of this?

12c. Do you experience that your colleagues make jokes about your name/ethnicity? If yes, what kind of jokes?

12d. Do you experience that your colleagues offer negative feedback on your work even when you perform well? If yes, why do you think they do that?

Concluding questions:

1. Do you ever regret changing your name? If yes, why? If not, why? How do you feel now about the reasons for changing your name after changing name?
2. Do you know of others I could contact to interview?
3. Do you have any questions for me, or do you want to add anything?

Appendix 2: Facebook announcement

Hello!

My name is Sayed, and I am writing my master's thesis on labor market discrimination and name change. I am looking for Afghan immigrants who have changed their names to Swedish or western sounding names.

This study aims to examine the experiences of the Afghan name changers in their workplace. The aim is to see if Afghan name changers are perceived as Swedes or as immigrants in their workplace even after changing their names. Also, the aim is to see whether the Afghan name changers perceive that they are treated as equal human beings or they still are discriminated. The study material will be gathered through interviews and the interview takes about an hour. I have prepared some questions, but there is also room for follow-up questions. You can also highlight other things that you think are relevant to the purpose of the study. Besides, during the interview, you can choose to speak Swedish, English, or Persian/Dari.

The interview will be recorded if you give consent. The reason for this is that I should be able to analyze the interview afterward. The interview recording will be deleted as soon as I finish analyzing it. I guarantee confidentiality and that no information about your background such as name will be mentioned in the study.

The results of the study will be written and published to the public. If you wish, you will have access to the study when it is completed.

It is voluntary to participate in the study which means you can cancel the interview at any time or choose not to answer specific questions.

If you want to participate in the study or want to know more about it, contact me please via Facebook or e-mail: gussayeah@student.gu.se

Sayed

Political science student, Gothenburg university.

Appendix 3: List of respondents

Respondents	Duration of stay in Sweden	Age	Occupation	Education	New name length
Respondent 1	6 years	24	Nurse	High school	4 years
Respondent 2	12 years	31	Supplier	High school	10 years
Respondent 3	10 years	23	Nurse	High school	4 years
Respondent 4	6 years	23	Nurse	High school	2 years
Respondent 5	12 years	30	Warehouse worker	High school	8 years
Respondent 6	6 years	23	Nurse	High school	4 years
Respondent 7	12 years	30	Teacher	Bachelor's degree	10 years
Respondent 8	10 years	25	Assembler	High school	3 years
Respondent 9	8 years	23	Lab assistant	Bachelor's degree	2 years