

Refugees' perspectives toward the Extra Service jobs:

**A case study about how refugees view their participation within the
Extra Service jobs.**

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Abstract:

This thesis aims to investigate the refugees' experiences when it comes to their participation within the Extra Service job; which is the subsidized job that the Public Employment Service offers to the refugees as part of their integration process. This thesis investigates the thoughts, perspectives, and experiences of the refugees involved in the Extra Service jobs based on conducting fifteen semi-structured interviews. The research findings indicate that the Extra Service job had a positive impact on many refugees, as they used their refugees' agency to gain new human capital, however, the thesis suggests that being involved in such a subsidized job could lead to the imprisoning the refugees within the low ranked jobs in the labor market. Throughout this thesis, Human Capital Theory, Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory, and the refugees' agency were used as the theoretical background of the thesis. The thesis contributes to understanding the subjective side of the integration, in addition to enriching the literature of the subsidized jobs when they are to be used for the sake of refugees' integration.

Keywords: Extra Service job, subsidized, refugee agency, human capital, dual labor market, secondary segment.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Immigration to Sweden has been increasing since the 1970s, which lead to a large number of immigrants and refugees residing in Sweden (Dahlstedt & Bevelander, 2010, p. 158). This led Sweden to integrate the newcomers into the Swedish society as well as the Swedish labor market; mainly through creating different integration programs that consisted of some language training and social classes (Qi et al, 2019, p.2). However, these programs proved to be unsuccessful when it comes to integrating the newly arrived immigrants into the Labor market. As a result, the integration reform 2010 was initiated and introduced new concepts which aimed to enhance the newcomers' integration. In addition, to accelerate the newcomers' entry into the Swedish labor market by providing Swedish courses (SFI), educational opportunities, and housing support. Moreover, some independent agents were employed by the Public Employment Service to help the newcomers find a job in an organized way (Andersson & Weinar, 2014, pp.10-11; Brännström, 2018, p. 25, 29).

Therefore, the Public Employment Service began to apply one of the labor market's policy interventions represented by subsidized jobs (Fredriksson, 2021, p.2). Initially, subsidized jobs were established to help the individuals who left the labor market a long time ago, especially individuals who have disabilities and might face some barriers when trying to find jobs (Gustafsson et al, 2018, p.26). Nevertheless, based on the new assumption that claims that the early entry of immigrants into the labor market would lead to permanent employment in the long haul; leading to better integration (Dahlberg et al, 2020, p.2). These subsidized jobs started to be used to integrate the immigrants into the Swedish labor market. Accordingly, several types of subsidized jobs were introduced for immigrants in Sweden. However, this research will be dedicated to only one of these subsidized jobs, which is called Extra Service Job (*Extra tjänst jobb*) (Brännström, 2018, p. 25,29).

Extra Service job was introduced in 2015, and like any other subsidized job, it encourages employers to hire individuals who belong to any disadvantaged group, or who are at risk to face long-term unemployment (*Arbetsförmedlingen*, 2020). According to Kluve (2020), refugees were added to the previously mentioned disadvantaged groups, due to the urgent need of integrating them within the Swedish labor market. Consequently, the Extra Service job became quite prominent among the refugee community in the past few years, as this subsidized job became the

new tool that the Public Employment Service is using to help the refugees to integrate themselves into the labor market based on the integration reform 2010 recommendations (*Arbestförmedlingen,2020*).

Hence, when the Extra Service job is given such importance by the Public Employment Service, I had this idea to investigate the refugees' participation in the Extra Service job and whether this job could lead to any further improvement in terms of refugees' integration. Therefore, an investigation about the refugees' experiences when it comes to their involvement within this subsidized job was implemented. Accordingly, this thesis will study the experiences of fifteen refugees working within the Extra Service jobs, such jobs are kindergartens, schools as teacher assistants, social association, elderly homes, and forest work using the method of semi-structured interviews. This investigation aims to study how the refugees experience their participation within these jobs and how they perceive their development while working in these jobs. In addition, throughout this research, I will look into the refugees' experiences concerning their jobs, and whether the refugees' experiences are positive or negative, and in what sense, in addition to more explanations regarding refugees participation in the Extra Service jobs, will be formed depending on the refugees' narratives. Respectively, for the thesis' subject and aim, I will be using the theory of Human Capital Theory connected to the perspective of the refugees' agency in addition to the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory to explain the experiences of the refugees properly when it comes to this subsidized job.

1.1 Aim and Research Question:

This research focuses on the Extra Service jobs that are offered by the Public Employment Service to the refugees as a part of their integration process. This aim is to investigate the refugees' ideas, perceptions, and experiences when it comes to these Extra Service jobs, and the role they can play in their integration process.

This research will be led by one research question.

How do the refugees experience their participation in Extra Service jobs?

1.2 Motivation

Foremost, the first motivation for implementing this research was my engagement within a social association during my eight months of internship. I noticed during this internship that most employees that work there are refugees, however, they were doing a good job, speaking good Swedish, and working even on weekends, at first I thought that they were permanent employees but then it turned out that they were doing an Extra Service job. That fact made me curious about the refugees' experiences within such a job and whether this participation could lead to further integration.

However, initially, I was against this Extra Service job because I had an idea in my mind that this job won't lead to any integration. But after being involved with this internship, I noticed how the refugees were doing a great job, and how much these refugees improved in terms of language and work experience. Therefore, I was motivated to study the refugees' involvement within this subsidized job.

The second motivation for implementing this research is because I wanted to study the refugees' experiences when it comes to their lived experiences, in addition to their opinion regarding their integration. Many researchers studied integration and the possible ways to improve it, but not many researchers studied the integration based on the refugees' shared experiences. Therefore, I believe that there is no better way than to ask individuals about their own experiences. Thus, I will be able to get the chance to dive into refugees' views regarding this job and their integration.

The third motivation for this research is that I became interested in integration studies ever since I started studying IMER studies. Despite that, the previous studies showed that integration has always been slow and even failed sometimes, but I believe that it is important to not lose hope when it comes to refugees' integration. Just because the integration failed once or twice, it doesn't mean that it is going to fail again. As the integration reforms are always upgrading, which means that one day, we might encounter a successful reform. Therefore, until that day to come, it is important to discuss the strengths and the weaknesses of the presented programs such as the Extra Service job.

1.3 Contribution and societal relevance:

This research will study the refugees' involvement within the Extra Service job as part of their integration program. Therefore, the overall contribution is offering good insights and a deeper understanding of the subjective side of the integration, which has to do with immigrants' sense of agency and willingness to enhance their human capital.

In addition, this thesis will offer a better understanding of the subsidized jobs when these jobs are to be used in integrating the refugees. However, as Extra Service job is a new subsidized job that has applied for the sake of refugees' integration, and because few scholars investigated the subsidized jobs and their impact on the integration, hence, investigating such a program would add some valuable information and some newness to the existing literature about subsidized jobs and the refugees' integration.

Regarding the societal relevance of this research, in the budget bill for 2021, the Swedish government decided to propose 1 billion Swedish Crowns to increase the job matching services, 1.5 billion Crowns in 2022 & 2 billion in 2023. However, 500 million Crowns were set for the introductory jobs and the Extra Service jobs in 2021, and 600 million Crowns were set for these previous two jobs in 2022 (Government Office of Sweden, 2021). The important point here, is that when the Swedish government is investing a lot of money for such kinds of jobs/integration reforms, therefore, it will be essential to investigate whether these integration reforms of subsidized jobs are working toward enhancing the integration in Sweden, or it is just a waste of time, money and efforts? Therefore, investigating the refugees' experiences within the Extra Service job would give us some inputs toward such a program.

1.4 Delimitation

As stated in the introduction, this research will study the refugees' experiences when it comes to their participation in the Extra Service jobs. Therefore, the first delimit of this research is the refugees involved within an Extra Service job, and those refugees are the newly arrived immigrants who came to Sweden in 2015, as this study will delimit its focus on those newcomers. However, the second delimit is that this research will investigate the refugees who have been involved within this subsidized job for at least six months, as it is important to investigate the individuals who have already experienced some time within this job. Thirdly, this research will delimit its focus on the

refugees' experiences and narratives. Therefore, evaluating this Extra Service job is beyond our research, and there is no chance of doing so because we don't own the materials or the ability to do so. In addition, this research is of importance to integration, especially when this thesis will be categorized under the integration field studies.

1.5 Thesis outline

This thesis will consist of eight chapters, chapter one is the introductory chapter in which discusses the research question, the motivations, contribution, and the societal relevance of this research. However, chapter two will discuss the contextual background of the integration reforms that were initiated in Sweden in the last decades, in addition, to discuss some of the subsidized jobs in Sweden. Chapter three will discuss the literature review about integration, subsidized jobs, and some literature about the refugees' lived experiences regarding the integration in Sweden. Chapter four will be dedicated to the theoretical background that this thesis will be built upon which are the Human Capital Theory, Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory, and refugees agency perspective. Chapter five will discuss the methodology of this research, and the author's position. Chapter six will discuss the results and the findings of the interviews. While chapter seven will analyze the results relating to the theories and the literature review. Finally, chapter eight will consist of the conclusion of this research and further studies.

2. CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND

This chapter will introduce the contextual background of integration in Sweden, in addition to discussing some subsidized jobs in Sweden. Giving this contextual background will form an explanation about the integration reform and subsidized jobs in Sweden.

2.1 Initiation of the integration reforms in Sweden

Sweden was historically not an immigration country, but during the second world war, Sweden received workers from Nordic and other European countries, as the Swedish economy was flourishing. Therefore, there has been a demand for labor workers to work in the manufacturing and textile industries (Lemaitre, 2007, p.12). However, in 1970 the need for workers declined, and a new form of migration started to form which was the asylum-seeking migration; to ask for the status of a refugee (McBrien, 2017), that started with the Greeks and the Yugoslavians' who were

trying to escape the bad situations that they were facing in their home countries (Lemaitre, 2007, pp.12-13).

When the type of immigrants in Sweden has changed from workers into refugees (Dustmann, 2017, p.529), the Swedish immigration board was established in 1969 and took the responsibility of integration from the Swedish labor market board. In 1970, the government introduced free language training, and later on, the integration policy continued to develop, which led to granting some rights for immigrants. In 1979, an emphasis on minority rights came to the surface, as different backgrounds of immigrants resided in Sweden. Thus, the government took some measures to integrate these immigrants in Sweden e.g., encouraging the refugees to maintain and develop a social and cultural life (Lemaitre, 2007, pp.14-15).

In 1985, the municipalities took over the responsibility of providing housing for the immigrants who were supposed to participate in an introduction plan for 18 months within the municipality that hosted them. In 1998, the integration responsibility was moved to the Swedish integration board that was established during the same year, in which this board was giving the guidelines and the allowances of the integration for the municipalities to implement (Lemaitre, 2007, pp.14-15; Svantesson, 2006, pp. 4-5). However, the introduction program was supposed to facilitate and prepare the immigrants to enter the Swedish labor market. It consisted of an action plan that the immigrant has to go through which included language training (SFI school), introduction to society, and some vocational training, that would last for two years or even for three and a half years, in case the immigrant couldn't learn the Swedish language. Moreover, the immigrants were offered a social allowance during this period of the introduction program (Lemaitre, 2007, pp.16-17; Svantesson, 2006, pp.4-5). The target group of the introduction program was the refugees and their families, or persons who need protection with their families.

2.2 Integration reform 2010

Despite the attempts of the old introduction programs, and the Public Employment Service to engage the immigrants within the labor market. The previous integration policy proved to be slow and unsuccessful. Therefore, the reform 2010 was established (Qi et al, 2021, p.2). However, the old and the new integration reform got some resemblance but with one important difference which is to strengthen the focus on the refugees' labor market entry (ibid, p.14), and the responsibility of

integration moved from municipalities to the Public Employment Service (Bucken-Knapp, 2018, p. 18).

Therefore, the individuals should be registered at the Public Employment Service in which this agency will offer establishment talks to identify the needs of the individuals to draw an establishment plan during the two months of achieving the residence permit. This establishment plan shall cover 24 months of Swedish for immigrants (SFI), social orientation, and preparation for the immigrant to work. The municipalities will be responsible for the SFI classes and the Social orientation whereas the Public Employment Service will be responsible for the work activities (Joonas et al, 2006, pp. 5-6). In addition to some independent agents that would help in facilitating the immigrants' entry into the labor market e.g., county administrative boards and additional organizations offering job qualification and portfolio training (Brännström, 2018, p.26). Thus, the establishment reform started to promote integration in the marketplace, in addition to encouraging the immigrants to work instead of studying (ibid, p. 27), to faster the immigrants' entry into the labor market.

2.3 Subsidized jobs

Subsidized jobs are a form of the labor market initiative that was introduced in early 1980, where employers could receive compensation for hiring some specific individuals who need help to find jobs. These individuals can be persons who got disabilities or risking long-term unemployment (Arbetsförmedlingen, 2021; Engdahl & Forslund, 2019). Many forms of subsidized employment were established but then changed or removed. However, some of these jobs are still found until now, e.g., New Start job (*Nystartsjobb*), Vocational Introduction employment (*Yrkesintroduktionsanställning*), and Extra Service job (*Extratjänster*).

2.3.1 New Start job

This job was introduced in 2007, and the target group is the individuals who have been without work for a long time and got no connections to find work. There are criteria that the participants should meet to be eligible for this job e.g., individuals need to be registered at the Public Employment Service, reached 25 years old, should be unemployed, and have received financial help from the municipality. If the person is not registered at the Public Employment Service, then, the individual needs to belong to those who received a sickness benefit, or rehabilitation benefit.

Moreover, the individual should be below 20 years old and needs to have a residence permit (ibid, p.103). In addition, the individual can be sentenced to prison in case of giving misinformation. On the other hand, the employer needs to meet certain criteria as well e.g, to be registered at the tax agency and shouldn't have a business ban or a tax debt. Moreover, the salary should follow the collective agreement in the work industry.

The reason behind establishing this job is to stimulate employers to hire people who belong to the previous target groups. However, the New Start job is not a labor market policy but is a tax subsidy. The subsidy will be paid for the employee while the employer needs to contribute by paying part of the salary to the employee.

The total number of individuals who participated in the New Start job was 63, 146 in 2019 while 50, 839 participants participated in 2020, while the foreign-born who participated in this job was 51, 987 in 2019, and 42, 605 participants in 2020. The total expenses were 3, 733 million in 2020 (ibid, p.106, 108)

2.3.2 Vocational Introduction employment

This job aims to stimulate the young people of the newcomers and the long term unemployed between the ages 15-24 years to start working. This job offers an opportunity for young people to learn a profession and to get money at the same time. The employee will get 75% of the salary, but it entitles a condition; the employee needs to get supervision and training during working hours. The employee should be supervised for 15% of the working hours. On the other hand, the employer will get 31.42% of the salary as compensation for supervising the employee, in addition to 115 Crowns for each working day. The contract should last for 6 months (ibid, p.110). In 2019 the total number of participants who participated in this job was 1, 221 participants while 821 people participated in 2020. The total expenses were 39 million Crowns during 2020.

2.3.3 Extra Service job

This job was introduced on the second of November 2015, and it is an initiative for the individuals who participated in 450 compensation days, in addition to the newcomers. The idea of this job is to help the participants to be closer to the labor market (ibid, p.73). In addition, to improve the participants' skills and circumstances which will lead them to find unsubsidized jobs in the future or to incent those participants to start studying after the Extra Service jobs end. Hence, this job

aims to encourage the participants to think about new alternatives to enhance their future as stated earlier.

The target group of this job is the jobseekers registered at the Public Employment Service, those who completed the establishment program within 12 months or 36 months. The individuals shall have a residence permit as well. The newcomers were added to the target groups in 2016. However, there is a basic principle for the Extra Service job is to be directed toward the non-profit association or organizations that belong to the public sector e.g, medical care jobs, elderly home, teaching field, and taking care of the children. In 2017, Extra Service started to be granted to cultural, sport, religious associations (ibid, p.74).

Regarding the financial support, “the salary” will be provided during the whole period of employment. However, the length of the employment period can be 12 months each time and can be renewed three times. The whole period must not reach more than 36 months and the salary equals 20000 Crowns. However, the individuals who participate in this job have no rights to unemployment benefits (*Arbetsförmedlingen*). In addition, the employer can get compensation for hiring these individuals. Therefore, the employer will be paid for employing those individuals and will get a separate compensation for supervising the employees by receiving 3250 Crowns each month during the first three months, and then 2500 Crowns for the rest of the months (*Arbetsförmedlingen, 2021*). However, the employer needs to meet certain criteria to be legible to participate in this job such as certifying that the salary should be equivalent to the collective agreement in the industry. In addition, the employer must not have an economic ban or tax debt and should prove that to the Public Employment Service (ibid).

The total number of participants in the Extra Service jobs was 20, 806 in 2019 and 13, 033 participated in 2020, while the total number of foreign-born participants in this job was 16, 726 in 2019. The participants of women were 9, 157 while the participants of men were 7 569. Whereas, the total number of foreign participants was 11, 640 in 2020. The participants of women were 7, 336 while the participants of men are 4, 304. The expenses of the Extra Service jobs are 1, 980 million Crowns in 2020 (ibid, p.73).

2.4 Summary:

In sum, this chapter gave a contextual background regarding integration in Sweden represented by the previous integration reforms in addition to introducing some of the subsidized jobs in Sweden. The reason behind giving an overview about the different subsidized jobs is to show that there are many subsidized jobs that the Swedish government uses to encourage individuals and lately the refugees to enter the labor market. Accordingly, the previous information will help in clarifying and explaining some essential issues when it comes to the thesis' subject while presenting some facts regarding the thesis' topic.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will be dedicated to the previous literature that has been done about my research topic, and since the literature regarding this thesis is quite diverse, this chapter will therefore be divided into three parts, the first part will include the literature about the successful integration, the second part will include literature about the subsidized jobs and the third part will include literature about the refugees' experiences during their integration process. This literature would give general insights for my research in which would help in explaining some prominent parts of my thesis, however, different scholars had different ideas regarding my thesis topic, and in the following section, a presentation of this literature will take place, in addition, to show how this literature will be used within the thesis.

3.1 What is successful integration?

Bucken-Knapp (2019, p.53), identified the successful integration through using the method of the refugees' voices depending on three different resources of data e.g, narrative life stories, semi-structured interviews, and the group analysis to study the mutual and different experiences of different refugees. These two refugees are the Bosnian Herzegovinian who came a long time ago to Sweden, in addition to the Syrian refugees who arrived recently to Sweden. The author studies those refugees' experiences before and after their arrival to Sweden based on their subjective stories. However, Bucken-Knapp (2019) supposes that successful integration within the host country should require a good language education, skills assessment, developing an individual integration plan, easy access to citizenship, recognition of foreign certificates, etc. (ibid, p.9).

In Sweden, integration of immigrants is discussed according to extent measures of success and failure e.g., labor market participation, language acquisition, housing problems relating to segregation. The author questions the real integration? and to what causes integration, and does obtaining a job mean that the refugee is integrated within the community, or does integration needs more than that? Moreover, the author discusses that defining successful integration is difficult but it requires more than employing the immigrants (ibid, p.10). Integration within the labor market does not mean that the immigrant is integrated because integration requires more than finding a job.

Eriksson (2019) agrees with the previous study of Bucken-Knapp (2019) as both illustrate that integration requires much more than the labor market entry. However, Eriksson (2019) differentiates throughout his report between what integration means and the establishment program of the newly arrived immigrants means. According to Eriksson (2019), the integration process shall start as soon as the immigrant arrives at the host country, and the host country shall work on facilitating the immigrant's integration. In which this will create a bond between the newcomer and the Swedish society leading to more trust and solidarity within the community (ibid, p.15). While the establishment program is founded to establish the refugee within the Swedish labor market. (ibid, p.16).

Thus, the author problematizes the integration and the establishment programs issue, when the Swedish government is giving great importance to the establishment program, aiming to create independent refugees to enter the labor market in a fast way, without considering that finding a job is only one aspect of the integration process, and not the whole process (ibid, pp.16-17). Eriksson (2019) suggests though, to not direct the immigrants toward the labor market after a short period of the establishment program, because it will not be realistic to create established immigrants in the job market within two years of establishment. Thus, Eriksson (2019) suggests that it's much convincing to try to invest in the immigrants and to integrate the immigrants within every aspect of the society, then the immigrants will be ready to enter the labor market (ibid, pp.28-30).

Åslund (2017) tracks the labor market integration for immigrants who came to Sweden in 1994 until 2014, and studies in which industries and firms the entry of the labor market occurs, in addition to the number of jobs before immigrants become economically integrated (ibid, p.3) using an extensive data on individuals, firms and labor market firms. Accordingly, some immigrants will

be able to enter the labor market after five years whereas almost 80% of the immigrants might take 15 years before entering the labor market (ibid, p.10). The author concludes that it might take a long time for people to enter the labor market and even in the long haul, the immigrants might not be able to reach the native's involvement within the labor market (ibid, p.38).

Concerning the previous arguments, many authors explain that integration requires more than just entering the labor market controversy to the integration reform 2010 idea of incenting the refugees to enter the labor market in a faster way, assuming that entering the labor market is enough for refugees' integration. The previous issue will be explored within this thesis concerning the research results.

3.2 Refugees within subsidized jobs

Subsidized jobs were established to help the individuals who were away from the labor market, and faces problems to reenter the labor market. As some people may lack the self-confidence to work, never started a job, or don't have connections (Sjögren & Vikström, 2015, p.128). In addition to people who got a disability and any disadvantaged individual (Gustafsson et al, 2018, p.26), moreover, the refugees were added considering them one of the disadvantaged groups (Frödin et al, 2020, p.31).

In Frödin et al, (2020) the authors analyze the existence of these subsidized jobs and the increased use of this subsidized employment in the retail, hotel, cleaning fields. In addition to explaining the characteristics of the employees who work in these jobs, and the characteristics of the companies that hire these refugees and benefit from the financial support that the Public Employment Service offers (ibid, pp.31-32). The author illustrates that these three kinds of the subsidized job were utilized within the past years: New start jobs, Initial jobs, and Extra Service jobs.

This study was conducted in Helsingborg and shows that there is a risk of ethnic segregation when applying these subsidized jobs on the newcomers of the refugees. As most of the employers who accept to employ refugees are employers from a foreign background (the same background as the refugees) (ibid, p.50). The problem with such an approach is that those Swedish foreign-born employers are sometimes mistreating the employees of subsidized jobs, either by letting the employees of refugees work long hours or to work during the weekends. In addition, the employers might take advantage of the immigrant's insufficient information of the Swedish laws of work.

Even in the best scenarios, these subsidized jobs got a limited duration and when the duration ends, the immigrants might risk permanent unemployment as those immigrants did not practice the Swedish language during working and because they didn't have the opportunity to make Swedish connections to help them to find a job in the future (ibid, p.52). Therefore, the author concludes that there are a lot of problems relating to this subsidized employment and it should be implemented differently.

A report by Angdahl (2019), studies the characteristics of the individuals who work in the different subsidized. The author though tries to understand if these subsidized jobs are helping the weakest jobseekers on the costs of the strongest jobseekers (ibid, p.4). The result of this study shows that the individuals who participate in these jobs will keep going into cycles moving from one subsidized job into another until they reach permanent unemployment (ibid, pp.36-37). There is an internal criticism within this paper toward the subsidized job, however, the author doesn't adopt a strict position like the previous paper of Frödin (2019).

Another study by Svenberg (2018), discusses how the labor market policies influence the foreign job seekers of women with low or no educational degrees. These women have been involved in two subsidized jobs: The new start job and the Extra Service job. This paper investigates the formal regulations that regulate these subsidized jobs, in addition to how the caseworkers working at the Public Employment Service act and deal with these uneducated women while trying to direct these women toward suitable subsidized jobs for them (ibid, p. 8). The result of the study shows that the caseworkers of the Public Employment Service were working in isolation, and they did not direct the uneducated women toward suitable jobs for them (ibid, p.30). According to this paper, the caseworkers believe that the previous problem should be fixed by the policies of the employment agency and not by the caseworkers (ibid, p.31). In sum, the author did not criticize these subsidized jobs by themselves, rather than he criticized the work of caseworkers at the Public Employment Service.

As the authors don't share the same view toward these subsidized jobs when some of the authors accept these jobs while the others criticize them. Thus, in this thesis, I will explore whether these jobs of the Extra Service are beneficial or not and what are the shortcomings in such jobs, therefore, I will be using some of this literature to compare, contrast it with my research result.

3.3 Lived Experiences of the refugees

Bucken-Knapp et al, (2019), studies in their book, the perspectives of the refugees regarding how the institutions of integration work, and how these institutions affect the lives of the refugees. As the refugees have the human agency to use during the integration process. This book studies the voices of the Bosnian and the Syrian refugees who came from 30 years and up until now. Starting with the Bosnian refugees, the study stated that they were ambitious as they have worked on their agency to achieve their integrational plans by accepting to move from one place to another following their jobs and studies in Sweden (ibid, pp. 86-87). On the contrary, the Syrian refugees are still working on adapting to the country, they are trying to learn Swedish, find jobs, and enter the labor market but they are facing many problems regarding their inability to learn the Swedish language or to find jobs (ibid, pp. 94-98). Especially because they are constrained by their original identity e.g., wearing headscarves, foreign language (ibid, pp.109-111). The book concludes that despite Syrian refugees' hope to integrate within the Swedish society but they get sometimes confronted with some bureaucratic barriers that frustrate them and postpones their plans of integration (ibid, p.117,119, 123,124).

Another study by Brännström et al, (2018), discusses the refugees' lived experiences relating to the 2010 integration reform. This study investigates the narrative of refugees, the ones who participated in the old integration program, and the others who participated in both of the programs (the old and the new). As those participants experienced the transition from the old integration program into the New reform (ibid, p. 26).

The previous study suggests that the refugees who participated in the old integration program got different experiences from those who participated in the new reform, especially regarding the position of the public employment service within the new reform (ibid, p. 29). The refugees who participated in both integration reforms during the transition between the old and the new integration reforms criticized the work of the Public Employment Service by comparing it to the work of the municipalities (ibid, pp. 29-30). As the municipalities were responsible for implementing integration before 2010.

Many refugees who came before 2010 (involved with the old integration reform) were able to find permanent jobs because of the municipality's help whereas those who came after applying reform 2010, got subsidized jobs with no future according to the immigrants' narratives (ibid, p.31). This

study discussed some insightful perspectives of refugees toward the differences between the old and the new integration reforms.

However, another study by Bucken-Knapp et al, (2018), aims to discuss how the refugees understand their participation in the labor market integrations' programs, and what are the barriers that the refugees encounter, and do the refugees believe that these programs are effective (ibid, p. 222). The author focuses on the refugees who came post-2014, conducting sixty semi-structured interviews (ibid, p.225) with those who participated within the integration programs, focusing on the Swedish language acquisition, Swedish society acknowledgment, helping with validating the previous education, and the opportunities for internships within the Swedish firms.

However, regarding learning the language, the immigrants explained that they have faced different problems when learning the Swedish language. They explained that some barriers were due to their teachers' behaviors at the SFI school, in addition to the barriers in the education itself, besides the refugees' inability to study (ibid, pp. 226-228). Concerning validating the refugees' previous education, refugees feel frustrated about the periods of waiting for validation, in addition to the unsatisfying validation (ibid, p. 28). The study concludes that the refugees believe that there are some shortcomings when it comes to education and validation of the degrees. In addition to the unchallenging integration programs, moreover, the application of integration carries some frustration and long waiting periods (ibid, p.232).

However, refugees' experiences are the center of my study and as some of the authors emphasized the importance of the refugees' agency in the process of the integration, therefore this literature would be used to clarify how the refugees used or using their agency to improve their work situation.

3.4 Summary:

The above literature review whether it is regarding integration and the labor market, subsidized jobs, or the refugees' experiences, all of this literature are of importance for my thesis topic which is the refugees' experiences within the Extra Service jobs. To make a summary, scholars explain the labor market integration as one aspect of integration and not the whole process of integration. Additionally, some scholars perceive the refugees' engagement in the subsidized jobs differently, as some authors support refugees' engagements within these jobs while others are against them.

Moreover, some scholars emphasize the importance of the refugee's agency when it comes to integration. In the following parts of the thesis, I will explore and connect the above issues of the previous literature with the empirical results of my thesis, and with the help of the theoretical background of this thesis.

4.THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

This chapter will include the theoretical background of this thesis. Initially, it was tricky to find some suitable theory/ies that would explain the refugees' experiences within the Extra Service jobs, as refugees' experiences are quite diverse and it is difficult to find one applicable theory to explain them. However, in the beginning, I was intending to use the structure-agency perspective to apply it to this research, nonetheless, it didn't seem to fit the academic package of the thesis, as the structure/agency was a generic perspective. Hence, I have found two theories and one perspective to apply to this thesis.

The first theory to be applied is the Human Capital Theory which would act as one of the best theories to explain the refugees' experiences while focusing on the human capital of the individuals generally and the refugees specifically. In addition, as the refugees' agency is still an important perspective that I want to use, therefore, I am planning to connect it to the Human Capital Theory, when the refugee agency can play a role in enhancing the different human capital of the refugees. But, since the Human Capital Theory and the refugees' agency are not enough to explain the whole experiences of the refugees, therefore, I have found the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory would explain the Extra Service job itself, and how to understand the nature of this job, in addition, to give some explanation about the refugees' experiences as well. These three approaches will be used all together to explain the refugees' experiences within the Extra Service jobs.

4.1 Human Capital Theory:

The Human Capital Theory was born under the leadership of Theodore Schultz, Gary Becker, and Jacob Mincer (Hartog & Brink, 2007, p.1). Theodore Schultz (1961) defined human capital as all the attributes that can be found within the individuals such as abilities, competencies, skills, information, etc, that would help these individuals to build a strong successful social, and economic future.

Therefore, Human Capital Theory suggests that investing in individuals would attain economic gains for both the individuals and the society, and accumulating the different human capital will eventually lead to achieving the potential economic gain in the future. Indeed the Human Capital Theory theorists' considers education to be the basic aspect that would lead to the ultimate economic gain, and all levels of education e.g., school, home education, education at work or on the job training, etc., to be considered the primary human capital investment (Sweetland, 1996, p.341).

However, when Jacon Mincer measured the economic influences of training the individuals, he found out that investing time in training individuals would create lifetime economic benefits. Correspondingly, he illustrated that the skills and the knowledge inquired by the individuals shall be considered as a form of capital and a product of a calculated investment (Bryant & Javalgi, 2014, p.440).

4.1.1 Human Capital: the immigrants and the refugees' economic gain.

Many economists worked on enhancing and developing the Human Capital Theory in the field of economics and labor market (Borjas, 2014 & Chiswick et al, 2005).

George Borjas and Barry R. Chiswick studied the human capital of the economic immigrants and the refugees especially regarding achieving the first job after their resettlement in the destination country, in the terms of how much the immigrants need to work on themselves to reach the desirable job in the host country, while taking into consideration the inability of immigrants to transfer their original human capitals to the host countries (Borjas, 2014 & Chiswick et al, 2005), such as immigrants' previous work experiences, knowledge of the labor market, etc.

However, Borjas (2014, p.38) explains that the immigrants will enter the labor market sooner or later while lacking certain human capital of the destination country such as the language, information about the labor market of the host country, etc. Therefore the immigrants will be motivated to start the process of gaining new human capital, as an attempt to accelerate the transferability of the immigrants' original competencies to the host country and to invest in some new skills at the destination country. Some of these skills are the language of the country, the way of working, obtaining new certifications, acquiring new skills in which would increase the productivity of these immigrants, especially in the long run. Moreover, Borjas (2014) gave huge

importance to the element of time, as immigrants would probably need many years to be able to transfer their original human skills and to attain new skills (Chiswick et al, 2005, pp.333-335). Note that immigrants will decide to start to work and to accumulate their human capital after spending some time at the host country aiming to increase their earnings, immigrants will be incited to accumulate their human capital through training, studying, etc. (Borjas, 1989, p.472).

However, when speaking about the refugees, Chiswick et al, (2005), explains that despite that immigrants and refugees tend to fall under the same criteria of transferring their human capitals and gaining new capitals. However, the refugees on the other hand got a different attitude toward working on their human capital which might be a bit different than the economic immigrants' attitude toward working. As the economic immigrants come to the host countries with the intentions of working, refugees on the other hand might have different calculations. Many of the refugees who reach the destination countries would probably arrive carrying many burdens from their original countries especially regarding war, ethnicity, social classes, political situations, family. Hence, some refugees will not find working possible as soon as they reach the destination countries, as they would be busy thinking about their past problems which would stand against their economic development and establishment within the host countries. Therefore, refugees can be considered weaker than economic immigrants in terms of their participation in the labor market (ibid). This point is an important aspect to influence the refugees' ability to accumulate their human capital and enter the labor market.

In addition, as the refugees mostly reach the destination countries unexpectedly, thus, it will be difficult for them to transfer their original skills even if these refugees were high-skilled employees at their home countries (like lawyers, judges, doctors, etc). Their skill will be less transferable internationally, not to forget mentioning the weak decision-making skills that many of these refugees possess. Accordingly, the refugees could experience less positive experiences regarding achieving economic success if they were compared to the economic immigrants due to the refugees' problems of asylum-seeking (ibid, 336). According to the theory, the individuals who would put some work in educating themselves and engaging themselves in the training of some kind concerning job or labor market would probably achieve an economic gain in the future, whereas those who would not invest in their human capitals will not be able to achieve any economic success (Borjas, 2014 & Chiswick et al, 2005).

This theory would help in understanding the refugees' experiences working within these Extra Service jobs concerning enhancing the refugees' human capital whether these capitals are learning the language, understanding the working system in Sweden, meeting Swedish people, and getting introduced to the Swedish society, etc. In addition, the Human Capital Theory would explain the refugees' experiences in the terms of why some refugees would experience some positive experience throughout working within these Extra Service jobs comparing to others who might live less positive experience or a negative one. However, I am intending to mix the Human Capital Theory with the refugees' agency as both of them would create a suitable explanation for how the refugees use their human agency to enhance their human capital. Moreover, as the Human Capital Theory and the refugees' agency will not be able to explain everything when it comes to the refugees' experiences, therefore, I am using the Dual Labor Market Theory as this theory can help quite a lot in explaining some parts of my argument.

4.2 Refugees Agency:

4.2.1 Short description of the agency

Before explaining the concept of the refugees' agency, it is important to mention that the refugees' agency will be used hand in hand with the Human Capital Theory, as both of them combined would form a good explanation for the refugees' experiences in the Extra Service jobs. However, refugees agency is a term presented within the refugees' studies. Firstly, it is important to give a background of the concept of the agency itself. Agency is the degree of choice that is entitled to the human beings (Hays,1994) that stem from the rational choice theory that gives great importance to the individuals who own their personal goals to attain (Barnes, 2000, p.18). Agency suggests that the human got the power to choose their fate (Collins, 1992, p.77).

However, the agency is constrained by the structure. As many authors studied the relation between the structure and the agency (Elder-Vass 2010; Sztompka, 1994), in which they identified the structure by the social facts that the individual cannot control or change portrayed by the race, sex, culture, arrangements of the society, tradition, etc. (Musolf, 2003; Musolf & Denzin, 2017; Porpora, 1998; & Barnes, 2000), and is deeply rooted within the individuals' lives. Therefore, as the relationship between the agency and the structure is complicated, that means that the structure would always have the ability to constrain the agency (Dowding, 2008; Tan, 2011). However, that

doesn't mean that the individuals cannot take advantage of their agency, as the agency is always presented and everybody has got their agency to use.

4.2.2 Refugee Agency:

When it comes to the term of refugees agency, this term is used in political studies. Refugees have always been considered as “politically impotent victims” who escaped their countries due to some kind of persecution and moved to other countries to find peace and security according to Hannah Arendt. This vulnerable position that the refugees embody would probably depict the refugees in the victim position and would categorize the refugees in passive roles as if they are lacking agency (Bradley, 2014; Risam, 2018). However, many studies studied how refugee agencies could play an important role to change the lives of the refugees into a better one despite the obstacles that most of the refugees encounter.

A paper by Lisa Hunt (2008) was written based on her doctoral thesis. The paper studied the experiences of the refugees and asylum seekers of women regarding their integration in West Yorkshire. However, the author prioritized the refugees' agency while explaining that the refugee women were always acting as “creative agents” and seeking to find solutions for the problems that they have faced in which impacted their integration positively. (p. 286, 287, 289).

In another paper by Maya Korac (2003), the author studied the refugees' experiences when it comes to their social situation while resettling in two different host countries: Netherlands and Italy. However, the refugees who resettled in the Netherlands claimed that the Dutch system of integration controlled their lives and despite the good conditions of living, having a job, granting citizenship, these refugees don't feel fully socially integrated into the Dutch community. While refugees who resettled in Italy, despite that the refugees were living in terrible conditions due to the absence of laws to protect them, however, these refugees succeeded to integrate themselves socially and economically in Italy because they have used their agency to find ways to adapt and integrate into the Italian community.

Respectively, the Refugees agency will be connected with the Human Capital Theory and used throughout this thesis.

4.3 Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory:

As the Human Capital Theory suggests that working on individuals' human capital would probably lead to economic success, and refugees' agency would help in this manner. The Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory on the other hand focuses on the differences between two segments of jobs; the primary segment and the secondary one and the relation between this division in achieving economic success (Dickens & Lang, 1984).

Dual Labor Market Theory started as a term created by Doeringer & Piore (1971) and then applied to the American economy because the American labor market was characterized by the duality of two segments. Later on, this theory started to be used and applied in modern labor market economies. Accordingly, the Dual Labor Market Theory suggests that jobs are divided into two segments such stated earlier, the primary and the secondary segments. Jobs within the primary segment are supposed to be high ranked jobs represented by high salaries, good working conditions, workers are the natives, employees will be granted their full rights, they can climb the ladder easily and promotion is highly favorable, in the other hand, jobs allocated within the secondary segment are symbolized by low salaries, unstable relation between the employees and the managers, poor working conditions, no room for improvement, no climbing the ladder, can be temporary jobs, in addition, individuals with unpleasant background or history are usually the individual who would be employed within this segment e.g., individuals who have got bad skills, bad education, immigrants as well since they are lacking some skills and competences (Bulow & Summers, 1986, p.6).

According to Saint-Paul (1996, pp.4-5), Dual labor markets are usually presented within the same firm, as a firm would hire a staff of primary workers in addition to the secondary workers to act as side workers or as margin workers, those secondary workers can be replaced easily or fired in case an economic crisis happened. In another word, these firms would hire two different working forces, the primary working force is supposed to be protected and mostly unchangeable while the secondary working force can be easily changeable in case any economic swing happened.

Thus, when both of the primary and secondary workers' segments are working within the same firm or even in different workplaces, the Dual Labor Market Theory suggests that the employees of the secondary segment would probably be envious from the primary segment's employees for having better salaries and better work circumstances and conditions (Bulow & Summers, 1986,

p.6). Moreover, according to the theory belonging to the secondary section can cause a huge problem for workers who works within this segment when it comes to moving from the secondary segment to the primary segment, and being involved within the secondary segment would probably forbid or wouldn't allow the workers to climb the ladder and to be transferred to the primary segment (Berntson et al, 2006, pp. 226-227), even if the workers gained experience with time, they will not be able to transfer themselves from the secondary segment into the primary one (Hagner, 2000, p.23).

Concerning the thesis, this theory was added to the previous theoretical framework because there is a need to explain the Extra Service job itself and its nature such as stated earlier. In addition, this theory would explain some of the refugees' experiences as well.

4.4 Summary:

In sum, the theoretical framework of this research will revolve around two theories and one concept; the Human Capital Theory, the concept of refugees agency, and the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory. The Human Capital Theory and the refugees' agency would explain how the refugees would accumulate their human capital using their sense of agency, both of them combined will explain the refugees' experiences. While the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory would explain the Extra Service job itself and its nature and how the Extra job would play an important role to shape the refugees' experiences. These issues will be discussed in the following parts of the thesis in addition to the findings of the interviews and with the help of the literature review.

5. METHODOLOGY

This section will discuss the methodology within this research. A discussion will be made about the philosophical standpoints, validity, and reliability within the qualitative research, in addition to the discussion about the semi-structured interview as the best possible option to be used when to speak about the refugees' experiences.

5.1 A qualitative single case study:

The given thesis is a qualitative case study that explains that the social reality is the creation of human beings, therefore, the perception and the beliefs of the investigated group shall be given full importance (Baškarada, 2014, p.2). Moreover, the case study aims to study the social phenomenon,

and reveal how a group of people sees a particular issue and discuss the reason/s behind people's perceptions (Swanborn 2010, p.4).

Gerrings (2004) defines the case study as “an intensive study of a single unit of a purpose of understanding a larger class of a similar unit” (ibid, p. 342) that includes various participants who own different experiences about a certain phenomenon. This means that the case study does not have to be limited to the experience of one person, or one side of the story (Saldana et al., 2011, p.10).

These previous explanations of the case study would make it the best option to use while conducting this research. Especially when this research aims to seek the refugees' workers' perceptions of the Extra Service job. Moreover, it is important to note that despite that this thesis investigates the different experiences of 15 workers of refugees within the Extra Service Jobs. However, it is important to clarify that these workers of refugees are experiencing mainly the same kind of subsidized job contract, even if the places of jobs are different. Thus, choosing a single case study would be much appropriate because the emphasis will be on the extra Service itself and not the workplaces of the refugees.

This research will rely upon the inductive approach and as I am using a case study, thus, there is a need for an analytical inductive qualitative approach (Weligodapola, 2019, p.2) while concentrating on collecting the data, and analyzing these data, trying to form an explanation (Newman, 2000, p.3) about the thought of the refugees' workers relating to these jobs. As a result, the most appropriate method for such aim of the refugees' workers' perception about the Extra Service job, is the semi-structured interviews.

5.2 Internal, external validity & reliability

“Validity determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are”.

(Golafshani, 2003, p. 3).

However, in qualitative research, both external and internal validity can be menaced, within the three important levels of the research e.g., data collection, analysis, and interpretations. (Onwuegbuzie, 2007, p.233)

Regarding the internal validity, despite that, it is difficult to obtain the internal validity within qualitative research. However, there are multiple ways to achieve internal validity. Jonsson (1997, p. 282) suggests that the researcher must use some similar terms that the interviewees use to assist the internal validity, which was applied throughout this research. As translating the interviews was critically accurate, moreover, the meanings and the expression of the interviewees will be used literally throughout this thesis. Furthermore, to enhance the internal validity, I tried to add more participants, as the initial plan was to investigate 10 interviewees but after interviewing 8 interviews, I wanted to make sure that the result is right, therefore, I added more interviewees (ibid, p. 283). Not to forget mentioning that the qualitative research nature can create a researcher bias, as the researcher might let his vision affect the research interpretations, therefore, reflexivity is an essential issue here as the researcher must control his personal biases. This point is to be explained within the method's section.

Concerning the external validity, the inability to generalize within the qualitative research poses an issue throughout most of the qualitative studies (ibid, p. 289-291). However, choosing different kinds of interviewees would enhance the external validity, so there is a need to notify that many of the interviewees that I interviewed were strangers and I didn't know any single information about them before the interviewing process.

Moving on to reliability, it is an assumption that the research will give the same result in case this research was repeated. However, it is difficult as well to repeat the research and to get the same result. As the behaviors of humans are never constant and people's experiences can't be fully trusted, and because the socially constructed understandings of people can be changed over time (B. Merriam & J. Tisdell, 2015, p.250, 252). But this does not reduce the importance of such qualitative study. Moreover, obtaining some consistent and dependable materials can fix that possible problem of reliability, especially through the position of the researcher that I mentioned previously, and that I will illustrate it more, within the methods section. In addition, the point of how the data is collected is also highlighted.

5.3 Philosophical consideration

Moving to the philosophical part of this research. This research stands ontologically under the relativist ontology. Relativists believe that there is no single truth or reality to be observed or analyzed, and realities according to relativists are relatively real, and there are multiple versions of

reality. However, the experiences of people are important to understand these multiple versions of reality (6 & Bellamy, 2012, pp.58-59). As a result, this research will take into consideration the different perspectives of the refugees involved within the Extra Service Job, and the different versions of the realities of the refugees' experiences and narratives. Thus, there is a need to understand the different versions of realities derived from the refugees' different perspectives and lived experiences.

Regarding epistemology, it is "a way of looking at a world and making sense of it" (Crotty, 1998, p.3). This research lies under the social constructivist epistemology, and social constructivists build their knowledge based on what happens within a society, and within a specific culture (Miller, 2016). As the constitutions of the societies are different, which implies that these societies are constructed through the actions of the individuals (Rosenberg, 2016, pp. 133-134). Therefore, while investigating the individuals' experiences, I will try to construct the reality/ multiple realities that the refugees think it does exist. Construction of certain realities based on the understanding of the refugees about their own lives and experiences.

5.4 Author's position and the research reflexivity

This section will discuss my position as the author regarding the thesis subject and the interviewees. Research reflexivity in a qualitative study can imply a potential risk. *Reflexivity* is the research awareness and thoughtful thinking, when it comes to the researched group's topic, especially when the researcher belongs to the researched groups, and can understand their problems (Råheim et al, 2016, p.1). Research reflexivity can be seen as well, when some other factors might influence the research process, such as gender, age, etc., which could create a challenge within the study. Despite that, these considerations can be manageable, but these issues are to be discussed in the next paragraphs.

5.4.1 Regarding my background and its relation to reflexivity

I came to Sweden 6 years ago, and I am one of the refugees who came recently to Sweden. Initially, I studied social science for three years as my bachelor's degree and I studied one year of socio-economic development as my specialization within the field of social sciences. As I arrived in Sweden, I thought about the best possible ways to obtain a successful career, and because I have lived my life as a stateless person, I had this mentality that education is the only way that could

define my identity. Therefore, I have studied my whole life. Thus, giving such importance to education throughout my life prevented me from thinking about achieving a rapid economical income, to get an Extra Service job I mean. My priority was to educate myself.

However, back when I came to Sweden, I was offered the Extra Service job at some point but I refused it because I was convinced that this job won't add anything to my resume, and would waste my time, and due to my interest in education, I started studying IMER at Malmö University as soon as I got accepted, without considering that job proposal.

Therefore despite belonging to the refugee community, I do not belong to this group of refugees who started working within the Extra Service Jobs, and as I am seeking their experiences, I assume that these experiences are going to be different than my experiences, the ones I got at the university. On the other hand, despite that, I am a newcomer, but this will not influence the result of this thesis.

5.4.2 My position to finding interviewees

However, concerning my background and the ability to find interviewees, I believe that it was easy for me to find interviewees for my research due to two aspects. First, I had the access to the refugee community because I am a refugee myself, and secondly, because I was involved with a social association. Thus, I had access to refugees that I met there or the interviewees that my colleagues proposed to me, and here I need to thank my colleague who helped me to find more participants for this research.

Regarding the process of interviewing itself, I was quite surprised by how the refugees were opened to speak about their jobs. In a matter of fact, I expected that people are going to be reserved, as some people might feel threatened to inform me about their jobs. In this sense, I believe that my background as a refugee helped me to obtain some truthful results and a lot of details. Moreover, speaking the same language as the interviewees helped me as well to make the interviews comfortable, I think people felt safe to inform me about their experiences regarding the Extra Service job.

Eventually, I won't add any ideas of what I believe or think about this topic and I will keep the thesis; neutral and authentic as much as it could be. I hope that to succeed in doing so, and as I clarified earlier throughout the section of reliability and validity, there are some steps that I have followed and will continue following to achieve the research validity and reliability.

5.5 Method

5.5.1 Semi-structured in-depth interviews

To achieve the desired result that I am seeking, and to study the experience of the refugees when it comes to their participation within the Extra Service job, that the Public Employment Service offers to the refugees as a part of their integration. Thus, semi-structured in-depth interviews will be the best way to obtain such aims.

The semi-structured interview is an exchangeable conversation between the researcher and the interviewee, in which the researcher would ask certain questions that he already prepared to guide him through the process of interviewing. Moreover, semi-structured interviews need to be unfolded in a way that makes the interviewees comfortable to speak openly about the subjects that seem interesting to them (Longhurst, 2003, p.143).

5.5.2 Interview samples and recruiting interviewees:

This thesis is seeking the refugees' experiences relating to the Extra Service job, and how the refugees experience the whole process of integration. Therefore, the previous aims encouraged me to search for refugees who were/are involved within an Extra Service Job. Thus, the criteria of the selection were quite simple: any refugee involved within an Extra Service job as part of their integration program. In addition to including all genders and levels of education. Additionally, this study involved the refugees from age 25 up to 60 of interviewees living in Skåne. Moreover, the refugees shall be doing this job for at least 6 months, no less.

However, regarding the recruiting process, it was organized in a way that allows me to search for interviewees through different methods. Firstly, I have searched for persons who are involved in an extra service job, and despite that, some people refused to participate in this research but this didn't stop me to keep searching for other participants. Moreover, speaking the same language as the refugees helped me to recruit more participants, and to clarify the reasons behind my research that it is going to be used for academic purposes. Many refugees expressed their appreciation for the academic work, and they wanted to help.

Secondly, as I was involved within a social association that promotes teaching languages especially the Swedish language for 8 months. Therefore, I was quite famous within the association community, and people knew me either because they met me in person or through the association's

social media which facilitated my access to more refugees in Lund. For example, when I wrote a post on Facebook about my research, I received some participants who wanted to be a part of my studies.

Thirdly, one of my colleagues at the social association recruited more participants for me as well, because he was working there for three years, helping the refugees. Thus, he supplied me with the refugees' names and telephone numbers. However, it is important to note here that the participants had the full freedom to either participate or to decline participation. In addition, I have excluded the persons who felt hesitant to participate.

Regarding the interviewees, according to the table below, the sample included fifteen participants consists of seven women, and eight men; nine of the participants studied universities (three women and six men), while the other participants varied between those who left school early or reached high school (four women and two men). However, the Extra Service jobs of these fifteen participants are as follows; three individuals working at a social association, seven individuals working at kindergartens, three individuals working as teacher assistants, one works at the forests, and one at the elderly home.

Table 1: List of the interviewees and their information

Fake names	Gender	age	Previous education	Previous job	Extra Service job
Alma	Female	43	12 th grade	Housewife	A cleaner at a kindergarten
Amin	Male	40	Engineer	Administration	Social association
Amir	Male	32	Lawyer	Legal work	Social association
Darine	Female	25	9 th grade	Housewife	Serving food at the elderly
Hanadi	Female	36	12 th grade	Secretary	Kindergarten assistant
Lamis	Female	38	Teacher	Elementary teacher	Teacher assistant
Masoud	Male	40	Archaeology	Archaeological digs	Kindergarten assistant

Mirna	Female	47	12 th grade	Housewife	Kindergarten assistant
Mounir	Male	42	9 th grade	Contractor	Forest, work with wood
Mustafa	Male	41	6 th grade	Tailor, driver, carpenter	Kindergarten assistant
Rami	Male	32	English translator not graduated	Teacher for two years	Teacher assistant
Rashid	Male	29	Teacher	-	Social association
Sabine	Female	28	Business administration	Student	Kindergarten assistant
Salim	Male	60	Education & Psychology	High school teacher	Teacher assistant
Samira	Female	40	Teacher	Elementary teacher	Kindergarten assistant

5.5.3 Interview guide

The interview guide included the most important questions that the participant needed to answer. Some of the questions were asked to break the ice between the researcher and the participants, to make them feel comfortable to speak about themselves. Some basic information was needed such as age, academic background, etc. Then, the focus of the questions was about the Extra Service job and the refugees' experiences within this job. How the refugees got this job, what options did they have, how do the refugees feel about this experience when it comes to the Swedish language, Swedish society, culture, work environment, in addition to advantages and disadvantages of the job, and what future working/ studying plans do the refugees have in mind?

All these questions were built in a way that would let the participant, address more issues, that they feel are important to be addressed. I have noticed that the participant understood the questions the same way. Some answers were very similar, for example, the question about the refugees' expectations of the job before starting it, everybody almost expected that this job will be difficult, and everybody was afraid to start working, especially because they came from different cultural backgrounds, etc. The questions were good and there are some prominent answers to be discussed.

Moreover, the questions of the interviews were connected as well to the theoretical background of the thesis, as the refugees had to speak about the different human capitals that they have gained while they have used their agency, in addition to speaking about the Extra Service job itself and its characteristics which connects to the Dual Labor Market Theory. Thus, the interview guide was much connected to the theoretical background of this thesis.

Concerning the source criticism when it comes to the interview's questions or the interview guide as many scholars would criticize whether the questions are suitable for the research or not (Bogner et al, 2009). I think that my questions were enough for this research, as there are many prominent answers within the transcribed interviews, in addition, the respondents have answered similarly and have understood the questions correctly, however, it is undeniable that it could be that other researchers may add or take off some of these questions depending on the researcher's perception.

5.6 The interviewing process

The first place where I started the interviewing process was the social association. As most of the refugees' there are involved within an Extra Service job, and because this thesis is about the experience of the refugees within an Extra Service Job, and it was not about the civil society organizations and the Extra Service job. Therefore, I interviewed three of the social association workers no more using Zoom calls, as I couldn't meet them in person, due to Covid 19. Thus, the only possible way of meeting the interviewees was the Zoom meeting.

Whereas the other interviewees, I had their names and their telephone numbers. I contacted them, and I scheduled Zoom meetings with them. Some people were not familiar with the Zoom meeting, thus I called them through WhatsApp video call. The length of the interviews was between 20 minutes and 45 minutes, and the average length of the interviews was 33 minutes. Some people had a lot to speak about, like those who have been working for three years. Others didn't have much to speak about, maybe one of the participants. But in general, most people spoke for 30-33 minutes about their experiences. However, the most important aspects that we need to discuss within this thesis, are found within all the interviews.

5.6.1 Challenges within the interviewing process

There were two challenges regarding the interviewees and the interviewing process. The first challenging aspect was that despite I have found participants but many people didn't want to

participate in these interviews as well due to the sensitivity of the subject, a lot of people may be felt threatened by this research, and maybe they assumed that they might lose their jobs, in case they informed me about what they like or dislike at their jobs.

For example, one of the people that I asked to participate, she replied to me “this job is similar to any other job but there is no unemployment benefit”. Then I replied that “yes I know but I am investigating the refugees’ experiences regarding this job”, and she kept postponing our meeting until I finished all the interviews that I needed. Another one promised me to do an interview, but then she apologized for having Coronavirus.

The other challenge is that, because the research took some time until the idea was adjusted, therefore the interviewing process started in March. As I finished six of my participants, I didn’t expect that Ramadan is coming, the fasting month for the Muslims. Then, I had difficulty finding time to meet people because they were tired, which created a problem for me because I was embarrassed to ask them to meet and talk. However, we managed to find some time between 9:30-11:00 pm at the night, because it was a suitable hour for those participants. Some interviews were done at 11:30 pm. However, it didn’t influence the quality of the interviews, but it created an unpleasant situation for me to schedule interviews at night, and to wait until the day ends to conduct the interviews.

5.6.2 Recording and transcription of the materials:

All the interviews were recorded during the interviewing. Regarding the interviews on Zoom, I have used a cellphone to record the voices of the participants. The same method was used for the WhatsApp video call, I used two cellphones. On one cellphone I used to call the interviewees and on the other cellphone, I used to record the interviewees’ voices because I didn’t want to lose these records at any cost, this was the reason behind borrowing another phone. Then I sent the records to my Gmail, sometimes my Gmail would not handle the interviews, so I had to move the interviews to a separate hard disk and then my computer. It took some time to transfer these recordings to the computer. The interviews were in Arabic (the mother tongue language of the interviewees and myself). One interview was in Swedish because the participant was from Afghanistan.

However, transcription took a lot of time. I used to transcript the interview as soon as I finished it. But sometimes, I was doing three interviews on the same day. Thus, it was exhausting to transcript

the interviews directly because transcription takes a lot of time. As transcription of one interview would take 5 to 8 hours according to the length of the interview. The time of transcription was long sometimes because translation took a long time as well, as I wanted to protect the meanings that the refugees were trying to express. Some expressions that the refugees used during the interviews were specific and do have some cultural meanings as well, sometimes it was difficult to find some synonyms in English, therefore I tried to find the best words to translate the original language, into an acceptable version in English which includes all the expressions and meanings that the refugees were trying to highlight.

5.7 Ethical Considerations

When the individual agrees to be a part of a research, thus, the individual shall be protected from facing any kind of problem. Thus, a balance shall be taken into consideration, between conducting good research, and between protecting the interviewees. This protection shall be obtained through some procedures that the researcher shall follow (Swedish refugees council, 2017, p. 13).

Therefore, while conducting this research, I have followed different measures to protect the interviewees from any unexpected possible harm. Thus, I have informed the interviewees their names are anonymized. I also asked them not to give me their names, but they didn't care, and some gave me their names. Moreover, I have asked for the interviewees' permission for using their information within my research in two languages Arabic and Swedish. During recording the interviews I have recorded the interviews without videoing the pictures of the interviewees by using either a laptop and a phone or two telephones. Moreover, I excluded the participants that were hesitant to do these interviews, as I didn't want to pressure anybody.

However, during the transcription and coding of the material, I have edited the texts to remove any names of people, associations, workplaces, managers' names, and towns, etc. In addition, I was cautious to translate the interviews from Arabic and Swedish into English in the best possible way and trying to transfer the same meanings that the refugees wanted to express, without adding or taking off anything.

5.8 Summary

This chapter introduced the method of this thesis which is the semi-structured interview that has been used within this thesis to obtain the refugees' experiences. Moreover, this chapter introduced

the reason behind using semi-structured interviews as the research method, in addition to explaining the interviewing process, transcription, etc. The chapter explained as well my position as a researcher, reflexivity, and ethical consideration. However, in the upcoming chapter, I will divide the results of the interviews that I have conducted into different themes in which would explain the refugees' experiences within the Extra Service jobs.

6. ANALYSIS

This chapter outlines the results obtained from the fifteen interviews that I have conducted during this research. However, in this chapter, I have divided the results of the interviews into seven different themes, each theme consists of the experiences lived by the refugees during their involvement within the Extra Service jobs. Throughout this section, the empirical findings are presented using the exact quotes and statements of the refugees, in addition to interpreting the findings as well. The themes are as follows.

6.1 Refugees Expectations versus experiences

This theme will discuss the refugee expectations versus the refugees' experiences during working within these jobs. The following paragraph will start with the refugees' expectations and then will be followed by the refugees' experiences.

When I asked the respondents about their expectations before starting this job, many of the refugees knew that this job wasn't considered an actual job, rather than it was considered as help that the Public Employment Service offers for the refugees to enter the labor market.

“Well, I didn't know anything about this job except it was a job with no rights to unemployment benefits. So, if you left the job then there will be no benefit for you, and I looked at the website of the Public Employment service to read about the Extra Service (...) but I didn't understand a lot. However, I knew that it wasn't considered as a job, but it considered as a form of help to let the refugee enter the labor market.”

(Amin)

However, almost most of the refugees have expected to face many difficulties regarding speaking a proper language, entering a new society in which differs from the refugees' original background. Many respondents were terrified to start working in Sweden due to previous reasons.

“Well, I was afraid, really afraid. Firstly, I was a foreign person and secondly, I was wearing a headscarf, and I think I was the only woman who was wearing a headscarf at the kindergarten (....) So, they were working with a Muslim lady wearing a headscarf! (...) I felt judged even before starting the job. Moreover, I felt like nobody will be able to accept me.”

(Hanadi)

On the other hand, some respondents expected that they might not face difficulties (kindergartens' employees), as they knew that their job will be taking care of the children, which is an easy and clear task for them.

“Since I had children, so I already knew what I am supposed to do. It wasn't a big issue for me. I knew that I will be responsible for taking care of the young children.”

(Samira)

Other refugees wanted to take a chance on work. They wanted to see how the situation will proceed, especially because they were convinced that working would help them to gain the Swedish language, and it would be better than the SFI school.

“ I wanted to take my chance, and I thought that if this job didn't turn out to be good (...) I still had the option to leave the job and return to the SFI school (...) I wanted to work to improve my Swedish language because, at the SFI school, I didn't learn anything.”

(Darine)

On the other hand when I asked the respondents about their perception of the Extra Service jobs after working within these jobs for quite some time. The refugees' answers varied; some respondents stated that it was a positive experience, while others experienced a not-so-positive experience.

“For me, this job is a big chance, and not everybody can get this chance.... as I had this idea to work in Sweden (...) Now I feel that I can stand alone, now I can pay for everything I want. Back when I used to get money from the social services, I didn't feel good back then, they used to ask me why I bought this and that (...) I want to stand by myself and be able to support myself. Thanks to the Extra job I was able to do so”

(Rashid)

Other respondents felt that this job was not good enough, especially because this job was not going to last for a long period.

“The duration of the Extra Service Job was two years, but even if they told me to come and work for the third year, I wouldn’t accept, because I felt that I can do better than this job (.....) I am one of those who would work hard (...) and even my Swedish colleagues, they were always telling me, that Hanadi, you can do better than that. This pushed me to return to the SFI school and to study kindergarten nanny.”

(Hanadi)

Other respondents didn’t experience a good time working within this job, as they saw this job in a negative light.

“ I didn’t take this job seriously. Therefore, I failed to perform my duties (...) I mean that I was sure that they are not going to renew my contract (...) I believe that there should be a course that helped us to remain permanently at the school, like to give us the chance to keep working at the school (...) because there are Swedish students and you should be able to understand them, what do they want, what’re their problems and so on”

(Rami)

Despite that experiences of the refugees within these jobs varied between positive and negative sometimes, however, most of the refugees agreed that the Extra Service jobs were a good opportunity for them to meet Swedish people, introduce themselves to the Swedish language, society, the Swedish working system and to introduce themselves to a completely different community.

6.2 Advantages and disadvantages of the Extra Service job

This section will introduce the advantages and the disadvantages of the Extra Service Job based on the refugees’ narratives. I will start summarizing the advantages and then, I will discuss the disadvantages of the Extra Service Job from the refugees' standpoints.

Many respondents explained that the Extra Service job got multiple advantages; it starts from being a job which means that the refugees will be employed even if it’s a temporary job, while this job

could be turned into a permanent job in case the employer was satisfied with the worker's performance.

” The best is that you can find a job so easily and then they will take you off the “arbetslöshet” the unemployment. In addition, a person might continue working within this job. If the employer liked the worker's performance, then the employer will help the worker and will support him (...) In addition, the person will get experience, and then he will put it in his CV. Thus, the person will be able to get a job in the future.”

(Amir)

Another respondent found this job as a good opportunity for him to work as he was thankful for the municipality that considered his needs and offered him a job.

“Well, I think that the good thing is that it was the only opportunity for me to find a job taking into consideration my average language skills, in addition, it's a good thing that the municipality thinks of us (the newcomers) and they are giving us this opportunity to work.”

(Salim)

While the disadvantages of the job are many according to the respondents. It relates to the original conditions of this job. As this job is temporary and there are no rights for the refugees besides their salary such as no maternity rights, no rights for unemployment benefits, no financial incentives, etc, in addition to the inability of the individuals to work and study together.

“The unfairness is that they don't give you a chance(...) I mean when you finish your contract, everything will be thrown away, those three years that I did were for nothing. But I admit that I have got a lot of money during these three years that I spent within the extra job but at the same time, I lost my chance to study at the SFI school.”

(Alma)

Some respondents of women expressed their worry toward if they were to get pregnant, they will not be able to receive any maternity benefits as there are no rights for employees working within such subsidized jobs.

“Extra service has no right, there are no employment benefits and no maternity leave. For example, a lady was pregnant during the renewal and she told her employers that she is

expecting a child, but they told her that they are not going to renew her contract due to her pregnancy.”

(Sabine)

Many respondents expressed their discontentment toward the different treatment that they were receiving from their employers especially regarding the financial rewards that the permanent employees were getting, as the respondents felt upset for not getting any financial incentive when they were working hard.

“There is the money bonus that the permanent employees received because of Corona but we didn’t, we felt bad because we were seeing them (permanent workers) asking themselves about the money raise and we’re sitting like fools because we’re Extra service workers, but we are facing Corona as well, just like them and here I see that the stimulation is important sometimes (...)”

(Mirna)

Additionally, many respondents felt pressured because they wanted to work and study together, and it was difficult for them to do both tasks.

“The worst thing is that I was so pressured when they gave me this job and told me that it will be difficult for me to work and study together, because I didn’t want to leave the studies, so I did both of them (...) But this pressured me a lot especially because I am a mother and I have a family to take care of (...) which caused me a lot of stress.”

(Lamis)

However, many people expressed that they would like to stay at their jobs but others wanted the conditions of this work to change, or at least to get a study plan connected to the work as well such as Rami mentioned earlier.

“But one thing is that if they would improve the conditions of the extra job, it would be much appreciated like after the second or the third year of the extra job, the employer should be obliged to employ the person.”

(Lamis)

In sum, Extra Service job got advantages but it also got many disadvantages in which relates to the characteristics of the job itself.

6.3 The Language dilemma

Most of the refugees accepted to take part in these jobs because they wanted to learn the Swedish language from the Swedes, as these jobs will allow the refugees to learn the street language and not the standard one.

” Of course, it is important to work. You know because of the language and so on.”

(Masoud)

However, it was difficult for some respondents to learn Swedish during their jobs e.g., some respondents explained that they were working with other refugees, others were working within handcraft jobs, while others related their inability to learn Swedish because of Coronavirus, and others were shy and embarrassed to speak.

“Well, it depends on the person, because I am a shy person, and sometimes I feel afraid to speak, maybe the other person will not be able to understand me (...) and I don’t want to be in that situation. Therefore, I believe that it’s better to stay at the SFI school as much as the person can.”

(Alma)

Other respondents referred to their inability to speak Swedish because the Swedish language needs a lot of effort to be studied. However, some of the respondents are trying to break these difficulties and study hard despite their limited capabilities.

“In the Swedish language, they got something called proverbs and certain expression that does have a meaning, and you can’t understand (...) Like when the teacher says, “Det är aldrig kört”, when I translated it meant, I never drove a car, but the real meaning is “it’s never too late”. These expressions are difficult for me to understand. ”

(Salim)

While one participant stated that he doesn’t want to study the language because he doesn’t like studying, and therefore he chose a job within a handcraft field. But still, this didn’t help him because his managers informed him that if he wanted to stay for the long haul within the job, he needs to study Swedish.

“I can speak Swedish when it comes to my field only, I have memorized some sentences and words about my work but to initiate a deep conversation, I can’t do that (...) I have to say that I am not good at learning Swedish and maybe this was the reason behind excluding me from the future employment (...) I should be honest. Not everything is my employers’ fault, I am responsible as well because I didn’t put my mind into studying the Swedish language.”

(Mounir)

However, seven people out of fifteen stated that their language got improved a lot because of their jobs.

“ I worked there eight hours, and when I used to go back home, I was speaking Swedish with my family, and I forgot to speak Arabic because I didn’t have anybody who speaks Arabic at my job.”

(Hanadi)

However, three people related their inability to learn the language because of their old ages, as they feel that they are no longer able to study, or those who were not good students initially at their home countries.

“I want to learn the language, and I try to speak, and I try to stay with my daughters to teach me some languages, but unfortunately, my limited educational capabilities in addition to my age won’t help me a lot.”

(Mustafa)

In sum, almost half of the respondents confirmed that their Swedish has improved a lot, while others are still learning and doing some efforts, whereas few expressed that it is difficult for them to study.

6.4 Educational factor

Among the interviewees, seven individuals had high university degrees e.g., teachers, an engineer, a lawyer, and an accountant. One was an ungraduated university student and the others are either housewives with secondary education or men who used to work in handcraft jobs like a Taxi driver, tailor, etc.

According to the interviewees' narratives, education didn't play an important role regarding their participation within these jobs. Anybody can do this job and it doesn't matter if the person is educated or not, but one thing is that if the employee of the Extra Service job is educated, he might entitle more responsibilities than the one who is not educated. For example, one of the interviewees mentioned that she wasn't allowed to enter the classes at the kindergarten and to take care of the children, because she was uneducated while those who got a university degree were allowed to take care of the children (Alma). Moreover, the refugees who studied teaching within their original countries were allowed to work as teacher assistants, a thing that benefited them. They were the only people who felt connected to their original careers.

6.5 Comparing women versus men experiences.

The interviewees' sample contained seven women and eight men. Before comparing women's experiences with men's experiences. It is important to clarify that four of seven women were uneducated housewives and the other three women had university degrees whereas five men were educated and three of them were uneducated. However, it was notable that the educational degree didn't play an important role when it came to the refugees' experiences.

In fact, despite that most of the women were uneducated comparing to men, however, the women have shown capability and willingness to work within these jobs. Taking into consideration that most of these women were housewives who haven't worked in their lives. When I asked these women about their previous occupation and studies they answered:

“My whole life, I haven't thought of working because I was a housewife. But then I came to Sweden, and things started to be different, thus I decided to work, and I don't regret this decision. I love it. I like being able to provide for myself, and I have developed myself as a person and as a worker. “

(Alma)

It was obvious during the interviewing process that women seemed very much interested to work in their Extra Service jobs, in addition, to continue studying Swedish and start studying a new education as soon as these women finish their Extra Service jobs.

“I worked two years within the Extra job and after finishing these two years, I returned to the school to study nanny at the kindergarten (Barnskötare). “

(Hanadi)

On the other hand, men were interested in finding jobs, but they didn't show the same determination women showed especially because women didn't have high educations in the first place. In addition, men didn't show their interest to learn the Swedish language during their jobs compared to women. However, the situation here is personal because everybody perceived their situation differently.

“I needed to start to work. I felt back then that a person can work and study together” and then he added “and because of Coronavirus and the work, I ignored studying.”

(Masoud, man)

“Now I am back to study, with working of course. When I finish studying SVA 2,3. I will be legitimized to work as a teacher within a school, an elementary school.”

(Samira, woman)

6.6 Work environment and colleagues

One of the main points that most of the interviewees discussed quite a lot during the interviewees was the work environment. 12 respondents out of 15, discussed that despite the job can be difficult sometimes but what makes the work easy, is the help and the understanding that the respondents receive from their colleagues. Most of the interviewees are very much grateful for that.

“This work needs a lot of physical efforts to carry the woods and the trees by your own hands. Sometimes there is pain as well. But all these efforts don't matter to me when my manager is good and helpful”.

(Mounir)

Speaking about the work system, almost most of the respondents stated that they learned new things about the Swedish work system, in addition to the Swedish culture as well.

“I felt that I improved a lot, and I was happy that I worked with my manager because he improved us and made us enter the labor market and to know the Swedish system.”

(Amin)

Many respondents stated that they have met Swedish people and were able to make some friends.

“Like now while working I feel so comfortable, I have Swedish friends, I meet with them and we go to the restaurant. I am glad that I met them through my work.”

(Darine)

Overall most respondents had the same view regarding appreciating their colleagues and getting introduced to the work system.

6.7 Changing the refugees’ routes toward studying/working.

It was notable that many refugees decided to change their original plans due to their involvement in these Extra Service jobs. Even those who didn’t start studying confessed their desire to study something unrelated to their original academic/ handcraft background.

There are different circumstances among the interviewees. Two persons were able to get a permanent job because their employer was satisfied with their work. Two respondents studied an education related to kindergarten. One of them was educated while the other wasn’t which means that former education didn't play an important role in the choice.

“I wanted to find an easy route to find a job soon, therefore I chose to study (barnskötare) (.....) because I thought that if I decided to leave the public employment service and to go for the option of studying master`s at the university to continue my business studies, then the Public Employment Service won’t help me to find a job after I finish studying (...) which would complicate my reunification process.”

(Sabine)

Whereas some of the teacher assistants that I interviewed expressed their desire to get the paper that would allow them to practice their careers in Sweden which needs completing SVA3. Three out of five individuals (Samira, Lamis, Salim) showed their interest in the school system in Sweden after being involved in these Extra Service jobs. While two individuals didn’t like the school system or thought it was too much for them.

Rashid was originally a teacher; however, he was involved in two Extra Service Jobs, one at a school and one within a social association. When he was asked about his thoughts regarding the two jobs he replied:

“In Sweden, they told me that I can work as a teacher, after getting SVA3 (...) as a Pashto teacher. This route is short, but I don’t want it (...) as I had a bad experience while I was doing my first extra job as a teacher assistant (...) Whereas, working at the social association shifted my mind and opened my eyes to a new career possibility (...) I owe this decision of changing my career to the extra job at both places, the school, and the social association.”

(Rashid)

In addition, many other respondents showed their interest to study something related to their Extra Service jobs in the future.

“I am thinking to study nurse assistant, or even work within the hospital itself, I have such plans. Initially, I wanted to study as a hairdresser, but in Sweden, you need to pay a lot of money in case you want to study hairdressing. I want to study undersjuksköterska within the Yrkes SFI and then I can study other things and I am hoping that one day I will work at the emergency as well.’

(Darine)

While few people expressed that it will be difficult for them to start studying again.

“I think sometimes to study something like a nanny at the kindergarten, but I have to be honest that I don’t feel I will be able to study, because I am old, and I don’t feel that I will succeed to do that but I might try”.

(Mirna)

In sum, changing career routes seemed like a pattern here, most respondents have changed their careers or planning to do so, only teachers’ assistants are staying within their fields as those are practicing it, except for Rashid who also decided to change his career.

6.8 Summary:

This chapter included the empirical results that I have obtained throughout the fifteen interviews that I have conducted. As the respondents spoke about their experiences while working within their Extra Service jobs; informing about the advantages, disadvantages of the job, the skills that they have gained, and where do they stand in terms of job and education, in addition to the future career

routes. However, in the next chapter, I will connect these empirical results with the thesis' theoretical framework and the previous research aiming to create a good explanation about the refugees' experiences within their Extra Service jobs.

7. DISCUSSION

This chapter will link the research results' outlined in the previous chapter of analysis with the research theories; the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory, the Human Capital Theory, and the perspective of the refugees' agency. Therefore, an explanation will be formed about the thesis subject of the refugees' perspectives and their participation in the Extra Service jobs. Moreover, while connecting the theories to the thesis' result, I will use the previous literature that I have included within this thesis to clarify, and explain the thesis' subject, and to contrast, if there is a need to do so. Therefore, I will divide this section into four parts.

7.1 Situating the Extra Service job and the refugees' position within it

Many respondents explained their involvement within the Extra Service job because they wanted to gain the Swedish language from a Swedish resource and to educate themselves about the Swedish community. De facto, these respondents had no idea about the characteristics and the conditions of the Extra Service job rather than it was help offered by the Public Employment Service for the refugees to enter the labor market, however, in the following section, the characteristics of this job will be highlighted.

The only right that the Extra Service job's participants can receive is the right to get a salary of 15000 crowns per month, in contrary, there are no other rights for the job's participants such as employment benefits, maternity benefits, financial rewards, in addition, pregnant women can lose their jobs in case they turned out to be pregnant, no salary raise, etc as this job is considered an encouragement for refugees to work and to facilitate their entry into the Swedish labor market such stated earlier, however, many of the refugees consider this job as a real job, especially when they are doing huge efforts that entities some physical pain in some of the cases according to the respondents' answers.

In this sense, and by introducing this Extra Service job and its characteristics, here comes to my mind the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory's explanation of the two segments in the modern labor markets in which the primary segment contains the high ranked jobs with good conditions of

work, chances for promotion, etc while the secondary segment contains the low ranked jobs with bad conditions of working, a weak chance for promotion and the workers are individuals with undesirable history e.g., immigrants (Bulow & Summers, 1986).

With the previous characteristics of the Extra Service job, in addition to the result-driven from the interviews with the refugees, Extra Service job would be situated within the secondary segment in the labor market due to multiple reasons; firstly, due to the absence of the employees' rights such as the theory suggests, while the second reason; as to speak about the refugees themselves, they are individuals who arrived at the host country carrying their original human capitals in which these capitals cannot be easily transferred to Sweden as most of the newly arrived refugees comes from their countries with a different cultural and educational backgrounds, even the language is completely different than the Swedish language. All these original human capital of the refugees would make them look undesirable in the eyes of the employers according to the Dual Labor Market Theory (Borjas, 2014 & Chiswick et al, 2005). Therefore, when the newly arrived refugees are getting involved in these Extra Service jobs, they are automatically becoming employees of the secondary segment of the labor market.

However, situating the refugees in the secondary segment is encouraged as well by another factor that the Dual Labor Market Theory suggests. According to the theory, those who work in the secondary segment would probably feel envious of the primary segment workers as these workers are taking better wages and better working circumstances (Bulow & Summers, 1986). Concerning my thesis' result, many of the respondents expressed their annoyance because they are doing the same work that their primary sector' colleagues are doing, and while these colleagues are having many privileges, the refugees on the other hand are deprived of these privileges such as financial rewards, as the refugees are not getting any rewards. After all, they belong to the secondary segment, Coronavirus financial reward is an example of such an issue, many of the respondents showed that they are upset because their colleagues received the Corona allowance, despite that both of them were working under Corona. Due to the previous explanation, I would situate the Extra Service jobs and their participants within the secondary segment. It is notable to point out that Frödin et al, (2020), criticizes these subsidized jobs harshly as it could cause damages to its participants, this point will be clarified in detail in the upcoming sections. In sum, the previous

argument suggests that Extra Service jobs are allocated within the secondary segment of the labor market.

7.2 Refugees' experiences and human capital.

Many of the respondents stated that they have entered the Extra Service job as they wanted to enhance their human capital and to facilitate the transferability of their original human capital into the Swedish labor market. In the upcoming section, I will use the Human Capital Theory to explain the refugees' experiences when it comes to their participation within these Extra Service jobs concerning enhancing their human capital.

De facto, many refugees expressed that they have entered the Extra Service jobs because they wanted first to learn the Swedish language and to meet Swedish people, to introduce themselves to the working system in Sweden and much more to see how the Swedish citizens works, thinks and operates (Hanadi, Lamis, Salim). Many respondents answered the previous answer when I asked them about the reason/s behind accepting to work in the Extra Service jobs.

According to the Human Capital Theory, immigrants will enter the labor market sooner or later to enhance their different human capital aiming to find a desirable job in the future such as Borjas (2014) and Chiswick et al, (2005) illustrated. Parallely, the respondents wanted to enter these Extra Service jobs aiming to gain new human capital represented by the Swedish language, observing the workplace environment, way of working, etc. An example of these respondents is the individuals who have got teaching as their original university degree, as they wanted to enhance their human capital to be able to find a job in the future and to achieve economic gain. Respectively, the Human Capital Theory explains that practicing and learning within a workplace would enhance the different human capital of the individuals and this is the thing that many of the respondents are trying to do, to practice working to find better jobs in the future.

However, when I asked the respondents about their experiences in accumulating their human capital, I mean learning the Swedish language, introducing themselves to the work environment, and so forth. Many of the respondents informed me that they have gained so much throughout their participation within these Extra Service jobs. Many of the respondents are able now to speak good Swedish, such good examples are Lamis, Amir, Amin, Hanadi, Sabine, and Darine. Those

respondents assured that they have progressed a lot during their participation within the Extra Service jobs and their Swedish language has developed quite a lot.

In addition, many respondents showed that they have positively gained new perspectives toward life and work in general such as the housewives who never started work their whole lives and after getting involved within these Extra Service jobs, these women started to understand how much work could add value to their lives like Alma, Mirna for example. Hence, according to the Human Capital Theory, getting involved in the training of some kind, or being involved in any kind of work would lead to primary human capital investments (Sweetland, 1996, p.341). However, regarding the respondents, many of them have positively gained and accumulated some human capital that would benefit them in the future to find another job as soon as this job ends.

In another hand, not all of the respondents were fortunate to gain new human capital such as Rami. Two respondents felt passive toward their participation in their Extra Service jobs. Therefore, when I looked into the respondents who didn't have a good experience, in terms of accumulating their human capital and gaining new human capital, I have found out that those individuals were restricted by the idea of being refugees if I could say. In terms of being restricted by their personal problems as Rami for example who was suffering from loneliness, and because he misses his family, he wasn't able to improve his skills. In the matter of fact, the Human Capital Theory by Chiswich et al, (2005), explains why certain refugees would not be able to accumulate their human capital; as some refugees would enter the destination countries carrying some baggage from their original countries such as mental conflicts due to war, family problems, religion, etc in which this baggage will forbid these refugees from achieving any kind of development.

De facto, many authors explain that integration within a country requires more than entering the labor market and finding a job (Bucken-Knapp, 2019; Eriksson, 2019), therefore, entering a job is only one part of the whole integration process, however, as for my respondents, they have gained so many skills regarding the working life in Sweden, the Swedish culture and so on. According to the respondents' answers, it seems that being involved within these Extra Service jobs has helped them to understand the Swedish society, and culture more, in addition to adapting to the working environment in Sweden which can be considered as a form of integration and could be categorized under the social and cultural integration. In sum, the results based on this study contrasts with some of the previous studies that explain work as one part of the integration process and that it doesn't

lead to other forms of integration. According to this thesis, work opened the door for integrating the refugees in terms of cultural and social integration such as getting to know the Swedish community, meeting Swedish people, having conversations with them, going to a restaurant, etc, and without being involved in this work, these refugees wouldn't be able to get to know to the Swedish people, and the culture, etc.

However, and before moving to another point, an important clarification to be made, through the previous section I was not pointing out that all the respondents were able to accumulate their human capital effectively or that all the respondents were able to achieve social or cultural integration, as some of the respondents failed to do so, while others succeeded in gaining some new human capital. But, I am referring here that participating in these Extra Service jobs have allowed many of the respondents to accumulate some of their human capital, it helped the refugees to be involved in the Swedish community and the least benefits that the refugees gained are understanding the Swedish community more, getting to know the culture, the food, the working system, meeting Swedish people and so on. Many of the refugees confirmed that they are thinking positively now about the Swedish community, the work environment, and life in general, etc. Accordingly, in the next paragraph, I will explain refugee's experiences within this job while connecting it to the refugees' agency, as the agency is an essential factor in determining the refugees' experiences and gaining some new human capital.

7.3 Refugees' experiences and agency.

Many of the respondents whom I investigated stated that they do like their jobs despite the shortcomings in the Extra Service jobs, when it comes to pressuring the refugees to study and work or the inability of the refugees to get some financial incentives, or not having rights, temporary job, etc. However, many of the respondents stated that these jobs opened some good opportunities for them to obtain the economic success that they were seeking. Amin and Amir are two examples of that, as they have received permanent employment after their engagement within these Extra Service jobs, despite that according to the Extra Service job description (*Arbetsförmedlingen, 2020*); Extra Service jobs is not capable to give the refugees permanent jobs. However, those respondents were able to get a permanent job contract. While many of the teacher assistants are planning to start teaching after finishing studying the Swedish language, as they have validated their degree and got the needed experiences while working as teacher's assistants.

Here, it is noticeable that refugees' agency has played an important role in this manner, as many of these refugees have used their agency to work on their different human capital and to show that they can do better in terms of working hard and accumulating their human capital.

Many researchers have studied the importance of agency (Hunt, 2008; Korac, 2003; Bucken-Knapp, 2019), as they emphasized that refugees can use their agency even if the refugees are suffering from some bad circumstances and constrained by different obstacles and obligations. Maya Korac (2003) showed throughout her paper, how the refugees in Italy were able to challenge their bad circumstances by working on their human capitals and by using their agency to find a place in the Italian community while the Italian laws weren't supportive in terms of offering the refugees a place to live, financial support and integration program, etc. In addition to Bucken-Knapp (2019), who concluded that the Bosnian refugees were able to achieve good results regarding their integration in Sweden as they used their agency to study and work. The bottom line, refugees' agency can be illustrated through the refugees' determination and through proving to the employers that the refugees are worthy to be given a chance for work according to the previous literature.

Going back to the respondents, Amin for example showed his employer that Amin is taking this job seriously, he worked on himself to attain the Swedish language, he studied Swedish during working and he developed his human capital in a short period, he showed his employer that he is making progress in his integration process which encouraged his employer to give him a permanent job, Amir as well.

Refugees agency can be seen as well, when many of the respondents chose to change their career and to study another education which aligns with their Extra Service jobs like Sabine, Hanadi and even those are thinking of changing their careers as well such as Rashid, Darine. Those respondents especially the ones who studied an education proved that they have used their agency to enhance their human capital to find a job in the future.

Moreover, women as well showed determination, and they have employed their agency in an affective way despite all the difficulties that they have encountered throughout their whole lives suffering from traditions and customs, many of the women respondents' mentioned that due to some traditions and restrictions at their home countries, these women were unable to work or study but after moving to Sweden and starting this Extra Service job, these women encouraged

themselves to use their agency; to study and to work despite their weak original human capitals such as the academic background.

In sum, many respondents used their agency to work on their human capital to be able to achieve future economic success. Here, I can illustrate how accumulating the human capital in addition to using the refugees' agency would create a difference for those respondents in terms of finding new career routes or employment or in their way to be integrated as well.

7.4 Beyond refugees agency

In the last paragraph, I have spoken about how refugees' agency played a role when the respondents chose to work on their human capital and use their agency, to prepare themselves to find better jobs opportunities in the future. However, there is another side of the topic in which goes beyond the refugees' agency, if I go back to the nature of the Extra Service job itself by returning to the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory, the theory suggests that individuals who participate in the secondary segment will probably stay within the secondary sector and even if the individuals were to get the experience with time, these individuals are still going to be stuck within this segment (Hagner, 2000; Berntson et al, 2006). Many of the respondents whether those who studied other educations that align with their Extra Service jobs e.g., kindergarten or the individuals who got permanent jobs, or even the individuals who decided to study some education related to their Extra Service jobs such as kindergarten or nurse assistant, etc. Notably, those people remained stuck in low-ranked jobs if to say.

Giving an example to support the previous argument, Sabine left her business administration studies and chose to study kindergarten education leaving her university degree behind. Amin and Amir received permanent employment within their Extra Service jobs while Amin was an engineer and Amir was a lawyer. So, it is notable that those respondents are going to be stuck within their new positions due to their involvement within the Extra Service jobs. Thus, the Extra Service job encouraged the refugees in one way or another to chose another working direction than their previous direction, here, there is an issue, if the refugees were uneducated just like Hanadi or Darine or Alma and then they chose to study as a nurse assistant or kindergarten education, then it would be considered as a success. But what about those who already had high university studies such as engineering, lawyer, and business administration and then they had to abandon their original working routes for lower-ranked job routes, is it still considered a success? Overall, the issue of

imprisoning the refugees in the secondary sector is presented in the Extra Service jobs and supported as well by the explanation of the Segmented Dual Labor Market Theory.

However, regarding the previous literature, researchers had different standpoints whether these subsidized jobs are beneficial for the refugees' integration or not, some researchers were supporting these jobs such as Svenberg (2018), as he saw these jobs in a positive light while other researchers like Angdahl (2019) and Frödin et al, (2020) criticized these subsidized jobs as it could affect its participants negatively by keeping the refugees stuck in a cycle of subsidized jobs until the refugees to reach permanent unemployment. However, to compare these studies with the result of this thesis, that yes, it could be that there is some shortcoming when it comes to these jobs, however, being stuck in one cycle of subsidized jobs until the refugees reach unemployment wasn't the result of my research, the hazard according to my thesis is that these refugees might be stuck in a low standards jobs for a long time abandoning their original high ranked jobs or studies.

In sum, as this job has helped some people to build a new career especially individuals who came from their home countries with low skills, but on the other hand, the high skilled individuals changed their career routes into lower-status jobs if to be compared with their previous career routes. Here, Extra Service jobs created an unpleasant situation that could be worth exploring in the future within another research.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Concluding Remarks

This thesis investigated the refugee's participation within the Extra Service jobs which are promoted by the Public Employment Service in the refugee community. Accordingly, for this research, I have conducted fifteen semi-structured interviews with the refugees (e.g., women and men) who have been participating in these jobs. Therefore, I have used the Dual Labor Market Theory and the Human Capital Theory in addition to the refugees' agency perspective to explain the refugees' experiences when it comes to their participation within these jobs.

To conclude some remarkable insights from the previous literature, many authors believe that immigrants should be given the chance to establish themselves away from the labor market. As the labor market integration is one aspect of the integration process and not the full aspect (Bucken-Knapp, 2019; Eriksson, 2019). Additionally, many researchers emphasized the importance of the

refugees' agency when it comes to their integration, as the refugees will use their agency to work on their human capital and to challenge the bad conditions that they encounter leading them to achieve better studies and careers possibilities. Moreover, regarding the subsidized jobs, as the researchers had contrasted points of view regarding the importance of these subsidized jobs concerning refugees' integration, some researchers have supported these subsidized jobs while other researchers were against such jobs especially because these jobs can create permanent unemployed immigrants moving from one subsidized job into another without getting involved in actual employment (Frödin et al, 2020; Svenberg, 2018).

Depending upon the qualitative analysis that was conducted in this thesis based on fifteen interviews, many prominent results have been highlighted. Using the explanation of the Dual Labor Market Theory, one finding shows that the Extra Service job and its participants are allocated within the secondary segment of the labor market, and this result was found based on the bad conditions of the Extra Service job regarding rights, salary and the job dynamic of leading the refugees to work within the secondary sector.

However, the other finding that has been found within this research is that despite that Extra Service job is located within the secondary segment of the labor market, however, many of the participants have experienced a good experience throughout their participation within these jobs. Many respondents have gained the opportunity to enhance their human capital such as studying the Swedish language and working hard which has opened the working doors for them e.g., finding permanent jobs within their Extra Service job's field, changing their career's routes, and studying some studies that relate to their Extra Service jobs. Moreover, many respondents stated that they have educated themselves through these jobs about the Swedish society, Swedish culture, and the working system in Sweden. Women as well have gained new perceptions regarding the value of work after they were restricted in their home countries. On the other hand, few refugees experienced a bad experience as they were still busy with their old problems of family, war, religion, etc., and these respondents were not able to move beyond their problems according to the Human Capital Theory.

Another finding that relates to the previous argument is the importance of the refugees' agency. As many respondents have used the refugees' agency to enhance their human capital, despite the problems that these respondents encounter as refugees, in addition to the characteristics of the Extra

Service job itself, when this job is not supposed to offer real employment chances. However, many respondents challenged these obligations by using their refugees' agency e.g., when some of these refugees showed their employers that they are trustworthy while the other refugees found new career routes as previously illustrated. This finding implies that the refugees showed their capability to properly using their agency contributing to better employment chances and future careers.

However, the last finding of this thesis is that it is true that many respondents have worked on their human capitals using their agency to enhance their future career such as the low skilled respondents who arrived till Sweden having low capabilities, however, this study shows as well that many of high skilled refugees changed their career routes till lower status jobs, leaving their high-status jobs aside. A question is raised here whether this transition from the higher-ranked jobs into the lower ones considers a success or not.

In sum, this study shows that participating in the Extra Service jobs had some benefits on the refugees who were involved in these jobs in terms of learning the Swedish language, getting to know the Swedish working system, Swedish culture, etc. Therefore, refugees participation in these jobs has put them into the way of integration, however, it is undeniable that some issues can arise when applying such kinds of subsidized jobs on the refugees, one of these issues can be allocating the refugees and keeping them stuck within the secondary segment of the labor market, working within low-status jobs especially when those refugees are no more than high skilled refugees.

8.2 Directions for further research

When speaking about refugees' integration, whether investigating the labor market integration or any other field of integration such as social or cultural integration, there are many areas to be studied. However, an important issue that has been arisen at the end of this thesis is about; why high-skilled refugees have to compromise and leave their original careers and go for the option of obtaining low-skill jobs. Why wouldn't the high-skilled refugees invest and empower their original high-status careers, what are the possible explanations for that? I would recommend investigating this phenomenon. Moreover, another study can be done is to trace the individuals who were involved in such subsidized jobs after five years of their participation, and to investigate whether these refugees were able to integrate or not and where are they now.

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Appendix

The semi-structured interview guide:

These questions were used during the interviewing.

1-Tell me about yourself?

2-What have you been doing since you came to Sweden?

3-Tell me how did you get this job?

4- Tell me why did you participate in this job?

5-What were your expectations when you started this job?

6-Tell me about your tasks within your Extra Service job?

7-How long have you been doing this job?

8-What was the good thing/s versus the bad thing/s about this job?

9-Have you gained any experience due to this job?

10-How do you feel about this job?

11-What is your plan for employment? In the future.

12-Do you have anything else that you would like to highlight regarding your Extra Service job?

This is the interview guide, however, during the interviews, sometimes I had to follow the respondent s ' argument. Therefore, I asked them other questions related to their own experiences.

In addition to the interview guide questions.