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Akil A. Sherif

Masculinity through the Lens of the Introduction Program among Ethiopian Immigrant Men in Oslo: Work Inclusion

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Abstract

Norwegian Introduction Program has been studied and understood fairly from the perspective of female migrant. However, it is less understood how experience and perception of masculinity in an intersection with class status among immigrant men are expected to adjust or to be re-defined in the process of implementation of activation policies in Norway, and to what extent this experience shape their feeling of work inclusion. Taking departure in semi-structured interview of six Ethiopian men in Oslo, this thesis employs an intersectional approach to unpack different categories of 'migrant men' in the context of Norwegian Introduction program in connection to work inclusion. It also adopts hegemonic as well as flexible and/or strategic masculinities to analysis how Ethiopian male immigrant informants re-adjust and renegotiate their former masculine construction and workplace gender identity through the Program.

The finding of the study shows that although the Norwegian Introduction Program has created a feeling and sense of integration among all Ethiopian immigrant men, for some, it continuously questions their former construction of masculinities. The result of the study shows that through the facilitation of the Introduction Program obligatory internship, most informants display strategic "flexible" masculinities in the workplace. In conclusion, in the context of this study, I argue that Introduction benefit is served as a tool of motivation (sanction) for most Ethiopian informants' men to be strategically 'flexible' with their gender identity by working in occupation consider as low status and feminine in their country of origin in order to fulfill aspect of their former masculine obligation: providing their family here or back home.

Keys Words: Masculinity, Norwegian Introduction Program, Hegemonic masculinity, Work inclusion, flexible and strategic masculinities, Ethiopian immigrant in Norway, Activation, Integration

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Chapter One: Introducing the Thesis

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate male Ethiopian immigrant informants' experience by drawing attention to intersection of masculinities, class and ethnicity in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program, and their feeling of work inclusion. In the past three decades, there has been growing interest in research on men and masculinity. This has been driven mainly by factors such as post-industrialization, globalization, feminist critique of hegemonic masculine culture and practice (Howson, 2006). However, despite the fact that the field of masculinity studies has flourished in recent years across various areas, migration scholars have left the study of migrant's masculinities relatively underdeveloped (Batnitzky, McDowell, & Dyer, 2009; Charsley & Wray, 2015; Datta et al., 2009; Hopkins & Noble, 2009; Maher & Lafferty, 2014, p. 1).

In the dominant literature, the impact of migration on gender identities, race, norms, and conventions has been predominantly understood from the perspectives of female migrants (Datta et al., 2009). Migrant men are often "invisible" in dominant literature (Charsley & Wray, 2015), or appear erroneously and homogeneously as "custodian of patriarchy" "oppressor" or "deviant other." This misconstruction of migrant men is often further portrayed in the research as apparently "deficit" masculinity circled around "issues such as spousal and family desertion, "hypermasculine" identities associated with gender violence, or the failure of men "left behind" to take on reproductive responsibilities" (Datta et al., 2009, pp. 853-854).

However, these views about migrant men are challenged by small, but noteworthy studies dedicated to migrant men (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Charsley, 2005, 2013; Charsley & Liversage, 2015; Charsley & Wray, 2015; D. Cohen, 2014; Datta et al., 2009; Donaldson, Hibbins, Howson, & Pease, 2009; Herz, 2018; Rosten, 2017). This literature demonstrates various natures of male migration that is attributable to a range of factors, including hegemonic and counter-hegemonic gender systems in a migrant's country of origin; the extent to which these gender identities and beliefs are reproduced, adjusted, intensified or challenged in their host country; and the type of migration undertaken, among other things (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Datta et al., 2009; Donaldson et al., 2009; Pessar & Mahler, 2003).

This thesis takes its departure from these works and focuses on the experience of migrant men within the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program with the connection of work inclusion,

and in doing so, it employs an intersectional approach to unpack the category of "migrant men." Charsley once stated that "men are not simply men, and masculinities are braided with [a range of] other identities" (2005, p. 98). On the contrary, research on masculinities often focuses on relatively singular, recurrently marginalized masculinity (Datta et al., 2009). Therefore, a research on migrant men is significant and promising, because it allows us to consider the experience of those who, collectively, tend to be marginalized as migrants or, more especially, migrant men in an institutional context – in this case, the Introduction Program – often competing for construction of masculinities arising partly from complex intersections of race, class, religion, and ethnicity (Datta et al., 2009).

1.1. Background

Recent debate and discussion of masculinity, tradition, culture, and immigration erupted throughout Europe in 2015 mainly due to an incident that was fueled by reports of a large group of immigrant men sexually assaulting women in Cologne, Germany, on 2015 New Year's Eve. One trend that is rarely mentioned in this discussion is the rise of men among refugees and immigrants in the recent mass migration, many of whom are aged between 18-35 (Gros, 2018). As already mentioned above, male migration has been invisible for decades in the dominant literature, or/and usually appear in negative socially constructed ways. This recent mass migration – predominantly men from Syria and – has exacerbated the already-contested issues of migrant men, since they came from countries presumably have patriarchal traditional culture and norms that are inconsistence with western views.

The incident created a polarizing debate across Europe about the alleged masculine culture of violence these immigrant men brought from their place of origin (Chirstian, 2017 cited in Herz, 2018, p. 1). A similar discussion took place later in Stockholm, Sweden, when some news reports claimed that the police had knowingly hushed up reports of assaults perpetrated in 2015 by "unaccompanied" children during a festival. However, this news report "later proved to be untrue; only four out of eighteen police reports could be tied to young people from Afghanistan" (Herz, 2018, p. 1; Nannestad, Svendsen, Dinesen, & Sønderskov, 2014).

This polarizing debate made its way to Norway in March 2015, when a teacher, activist, and leader of extreme right-wing organization Pegida called Max Hermansen wrote a journal article in

Norwegian entitled "Sinte Unge Muslimske Menn," which translates directly to English as, "Angry young Muslim men." He wrote that these young immigrant men were treated within their families as princes since their birth, and that their status in the family has been higher than their own mothers. He further characterized these young Muslim men collectively as having immigrant backgrounds, being uninterested in work, and not considering other people as as equally worthy. Archer stated that these young immigrant men were often associated with dangerous activities and tied to discussions on terrorism, youth riots, and immigration (Archer, 2003). Scholars said that they had become the new "folk devils" (Alexander, 2000; S. Cohen, 1972).

In this kind of public discourse, masculinity is associated with a specific immigrant "culture" that is passed down through generations (Herz, 2018). Thus, as we have seen above, studies on men and masculinity have pointed to ways in which immigrant men – mainly young Muslim and African men – have come to occupy public interest in Europe in a negative, socially constructed way. The above incidents in German, Sweden, and Norway have also refueled the debate on the Introduction Program, especially those social studies classes that taught western relationships and norms to newly-arrived refugee men (Kirby, 2016; Longman, 2016). On the one hand, the debate often revolves around, a claim that "they" need to learn "Western" values, in terms of "sexuality," "normal behavior" and Western gender ideals, because their country of origin endorses views on sexuality, behavior and gender ideals different from those found in the "West" (Herz, 2018; Kirby, 2016; Longman, 2016).

On the other hand, the debate on the Introduction Program also included the fact that the program could create a pleasant atmosphere for newly-arrived refugee men to build access to the labor market, and to build trust in the host society and institutions through providing them more information, as one integration expert cited in Longman (2016) stated, if they face "any challenges in the future, they will hopefully have the confidence to come and ask us for advice if they need to." This perspective on the Introduction Program claims that the program could facilitate the integration of immigrants in the host society through access to free language training and the program's mandatory work internship (Djuve, 2011; Hagelund & Kavli, 2009; Kavli & Djuve, 2014).

It is now a well-established fact that masculinities are relational identities that are constructed in everyday life (Archer, 2003; Herz, 2018). Accordingly, in the construction of new masculinities

based on available local masculine discourses, newly arrived refugee sees themselves and imagine what and who they are through the people they interact with, and then decide what people around them think of them. This is what social psychologist Charles Cooley called "the looking-glass self," a process through which we come to know ourselves through our interaction with other people in society (Cooley, 1970, p. 379), or "we come to know ourselves in terms of the categories that are socially available to us" (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003, p. 120). This idea emanates from the basic notion of social constructionism, in that your identity shapes who you are through your interaction with other people. In this way, through the construction of their masculinity in a new environment during the Introduction Program period or afterward, newly arrived refugees and immigrants approach their integration into work according to local construction of masculinities (Cooley, 1970; Holstein & Gubrium, 2003).

The purpose of this thesis is to study how Ethiopian immigrant men interact and renegotiate their masculinity in the resettlement process with the intersection of class status and ethnicity in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program. Furthermore, the thesis is also interested in studying Ethiopian immigrant men's access to the labor market through the Introduction Program.

1.2. Research aim and Research question

This thesis investigates the experience of masculinity among newly arrived[1] male immigrants enrolled in the Introduction Program in relation to work inclusion. It mainly explores the experience of male Ethiopian immigrants who came to Norway as adults and participated in the Introduction Program. The study is interested in how their participation in the Introduction Program re-defines or challenges their masculinity in terms of class and ethnicity, and how, by extension, this experience and perception shapes their work inclusion. Currently, there is little research on "how migrant men react to, negotiate with, and counter the demands imposed and changes required of them by the people and cultures they encounter during their migration and settlement" (Donaldson & Howson, 2009, p. 210). Research on migrating men indicates that they "do not arrive in their new homeland bereft of notions about their own manliness" (ibid). On the contrary, migrant men often bring with themselves firm beliefs and well-established practices

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[1] In this thesis, newly arrived refugee means a person who, within the last seven years, has had a positive response to his asylum application, and who has been settled in a municipality.

about manhood and gender relations (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Donaldson & Howson, 2009; Kofman, Phizacklea, Raghuram, & Sales, 2005).

While there is some research focused on the Norwegian Introduction Program and its participants from different angles, to my knowledge there is almost no research on the experience and perception of masculinity in an intersection with class status among immigrant men who are expected to adjust or to be re-defined in the process of implementation of activation policies in Norway, and to what extent this experience shapes their feeling of work inclusion. Thus, partly, this thesis aims to contribute to the knowledge gap in this respect by taking the experience of male Ethiopian immigrants in the Introduction Program. **Accordingly, the research question of the thesis is***: How do Ethiopian male immigrant informants draw on their changing ideas of masculinity in connection with aspects of class and ethnicity as they find meaning in their activation and work inclusion in the Introduction Program?*

1.3. Personal Motivation and Researcher's background

As a new refugee who participated in the Introduction Program and later as a master's student majoring in social welfare, certain classes I have enrolled in have created specific interests in me regarding masculinity among new immigrant men and the Norwegian Introduction Program. My time in the Introduction Program was eye-opening and fascinating, not just because I learned the Norwegian language, but also Norwegian culture, values, and history. At the time of my arrival in Norway, I had already had exposure to the western concept of gender equality through my education in Ethiopia, as I had a degree in philosophy with a focus on Western philosophy, and a master's in international relations, in addition to years of teaching experience at a university. This helped me to understand that, in fact, the primary goals of the training were to place emphasis on Norwegian gender equality, and child rearing in Norway among others things, and what it means for us as newcomers.

Furthermore, as my master's studies in social welfare program progresses, given minimal knowledge in the field about experiences of non-western, mainly African immigrant men in Norway, my curiosity has increased as to how one's former masculine identity unfolds in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program. However, while undertaking this study, I had to be conscious of my perception as a man with an Ethiopian immigrant background in order to

distinguish my experience from my informants' perception and experience in the program and their situations. My informants came from different areas in Ethiopia, and might have different experiences and perceptions of manhood informed by their respective local cultures, religion, social statuses, ethnicity, age, and marital status, among other things.

My presence in the data as an insider could be positive, as I could understand and relate to some of their experiences and challenges as another immigrant man. However, it could also be negative, as I had different experiences and perceptions of masculinity from them. For example, as I came from a specific region in Ethiopia, I could assume that those who came from "certain" areas in Ethiopia could have a more "repressive" culture of masculinity than mine. As a result, I tried my best to consciously put aside my own thoughts and experiences whenever I met my informants, although this was not always possible in practice. I wanted to meet my informants without expectations to show that they are the experts on their own lives, since they know their experiences and situations best.

1.4. Ethiopian Context

Ethiopia is a landlocked country located in the horn of Africa, with Amharic as the official language, although Affan Oromo is the most spoken language in the country (Lewis & Gary, 2015). Ethiopia has a rapidly growing population of approximately 105 million people, the second-most populous country of Africa after Nigeria, with an annual population growth of 2.83 percentage, as per 2018 estimates (CIA, 2019). It is endowed with 83 diverse ethnic groups, with shared similarities regarding values and culture, though characterized by unique customs, norms, and practices (ibid). The diverse ethnic groups have different cultural backgrounds, reflected in various spoken dialects, constructions of masculinities, and socio-economic structures across regions. However, they share commonalities in the social structures of family, marriage, and child rearing. In Ethiopia, like many other countries, "hegemonic masculinity is defined as exclusively heterosexual" (R. W. Connell, 1995, p. 162).

1.4.1. Social Construction of Masculinity and Culture in Ethiopia

Many scholars have documented that there is no uniform masculinity across culture or even within the same sub-culture (Donaldson et al., 2009; Messerschmidt, 2015; R. Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005; Mungai & Pease, 2009; Tadele, 2011, p. 459). The study of masculinities in Ethiopia, as part of

the Eastern African region, is relatively non-existant compared to the West and Southern Africa (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005). Nevertheless, a handful of studies have been published over the years on Eastern Africa and Ethiopia (Levine, 1966, 2002; Mains, 2011; Silberschmidt, 2001; Tadele, 2011).

As Ethiopia is not a singular or homogeneous country, there is considerable cultural and social diversity in relation to language, religion, culture, climate, and topography. Thus, the diversity of Ethiopians and Ethiopian experience makes it very hard to present a form of masculinity that is , on its own, descriptive of Ethiopia and Ethiopians. Like all masculinities, Ethiopian masculinities are socially constructed, contextualized, plural, and changing (Mains, 2011; Tadele, 2011). According to Mungai and Pease, notwithstanding the variety of masculinities, modern African manhood, including that of Ethiopian men, bestows on the man specific responsibilities to himself and the wider society (Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 97). The same applies to womanhood, as women also carry responsibilities such as conducting themselves in ways that do not bring dishonor to the family. Similarly, one of my informants shared with me that women in his local area should maintain their diginity by working in the house, and not bring dishonor to the family.

The traditional norm in many African countries, including Ethiopia, is that girls leave home upon marriage, while boys can stay. This means that investing in te boys, who will always remain part of the family, is a guarantee for being cared for in old age in a society with little or no modern pension or old age-care programs (Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 97). This point is also shared by some of my informants, as I discuss in detail in chapter four. Young men in Ethiopia often struggle to attain economic independence, marry, and become fathers and, according to Daniel Mains (2011), failing to achieve these milestones along the trajectory from youth to adulthood, is more typical than not, resulting in young men being perceived as dangerous idlers when they are unable to take on these normative responsibilities.

Scholars have stated that, besides poverty, economic decline, and the structural adjustment program of the World Bank that have further disempowered African men, colonialism has also challenged the dominant social position of African men (Flood, Gardiner, Pease, & Pringle, 2007; Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 99; Silberschmidt, 2001). For example, Silberschmidt believes that Western gender theories should be reread and reviewed in the context of economic and political development in Africa, because they do not take account of the impact of colonialism on African

masculinities (Silberschmidt, 2001). However, while the former reasons such as economic problem and poverty could be applied in the Ethiopian context, it cannot be said that colonialism has challenged the positions of men in Ethiopia, as it has never been colonized except for a brief period of occupation.

In contrast, in one of the earliest studies of masculinity in Ethiopia, Levine (1966) discussed how Ethiopian men exhibited a higher degree of physical stamina and courage during the two wars with Italy in 1896 (at the battle of Adwa), and later in the 1930s. Contrary to the majority of African men's experience with regards to colonialism, it could be said that the two wars with Italy had strengthened the position of Ethiopian men (cf. Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 99). To use his own words, Levine described Ethiopian men as having the "capacity for enduring hardships and their flashes of extraordinary valour have impressed many observers" during Ethio-Italian war in the 1930s (Levine, 1966, p. 17), and this was more true during the first Ethio-Italian war of 1896, which resulted in Italian defeat. This defeat inspired many African and other countries to fight against colonialism. As a result, Ethiopia has become a symbol of anti-colonial movements throughout the world (Levine, 1966, 2002).

However, with regard to former reasons, i.e., socio-economic change, it has challenged the position of men in Ethiopia as it has in many other Eastern African countries. The disempowerment of men in rural and urban Eastern Africa due to socio-economic challenges and unemployment has been a continuing theme of Silberschmidt's work through the years. According to Mungai and Pease (2009, p. 99), Silberschmidt's main argument is that patriarchal authority has been undermined as a result of men have been unable to fulfill the expectation of their traditional role as breadwinner. Thus, men have seen their self-esteem plummet, as well as their male identities become destabilised. This decline of the breadwinner role is likely to have significant effects on gender relations. In this context, women have challenged their subordinate position. While patriarchal authority remains, Silberschmidt stated that the normative basis of men's authority has been probed, leading her to question whether men have become the weaker gender (Silberschmidt, 1992). However, Mungai and Pease (2009, p. 99) stated that it is difficult to answer this question affirmatively in a context where men are increasingly using violence to defend their household authority.

In addition, Mickael Kimmel (2003) explained that the globalized configuration of masculinity from the West is spreading across the world in an unprecedented way, facilitated through the influence of cinema, the Internet, and the reach of Western media. He stated that these tools, together with development aid, tourism, and migration, have had an impact on the perception of masculinity at national and local levels (Michael S Kimmel, 2003; Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 100). In short, while the Ethiopian context of poverty and economic hardship may create more space than would otherwise be the case, once Ethiopian men and women arrive in Norway, they may face different challenges. Furthermore, diaspora Ethiopian masculinities in Norway may also differ from the experience and perception of masculinities in Ethiopia because they are shaped under the shadow of local Norwegian masculinities.

1.4.2. Ethiopians in Norway

There is very little published information on the Ethiopian settlement in Norway. According to Statistics Norway, as of January 2019 there were 131,700 African immigrants and children born to African parents living in Norway, representing 2.5% of the Norwegian population (SSB, 2019). Of these, 11,505 were Ethiopian immigrants and Norwegian-born children of Ethiopian immigrants, comprising about 0.23% of the total Norwegian population. The largest group of African immigrants in Norway are Somali (0.57%), followed by Eritrean (0.4%). As of 2017, more than 1,200 Ethiopians in Norway have higher education up to four years, and 800 have studied at Masters and Ph.D. levels. 75% of Ethiopians in Norway are engaged in either full-time education or full-time work (SSB, 2017).

In 2017, Ethiopian immigrants had the highest employment rate (59.2%) among African immigrant groups in Norway, followed by Eritrean immigrants (51.7%), while Somali immigrant had the lowest employment rate (41.3%). Ethiopian immigrants had also good track records in terms of gender disparity in employment rates among African immigrant groups in Norway (SSB, 2017). The employment rate was 63.3% among Ethiopian immigrant men versus 55.1% among Ethiopian immigrant women, i.e., a difference of 8.2% points. Somali immigrants, on the other hand, had greater gender disparity in employment rates, at 50.3% for men and 31.2% for women, making a difference of 19.1% points. The Ethiopian immigrants' gender disparity gap was closer to gender disparity among the majority of the population in Norway, which was 69.5% for men and 65% for women, i.e., a difference of 4.5% points (SSB, 2017).

1.5. Norwegian Context

It is said that contexts influence meanings attached to behavior, hence making sense of masculine and gender practices necessitates understanding how it is interpreted within a specific context. The Nordic countries, including Norway, are characterized by a strong concern for equality, rooted in values of solidarity, legitimacy, and individuals' ability and willingness to respect such social values (Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). Citizens depend on the welfare state, due to economic redistribution and high levels of taxation. To give general conception of Norwegian welfare state, according to Esping-Andersen's (1990) classifications of the welfare state, Norway is categorized under the social-democratic system, orientated towards de-familiarization and low stratifications aimed at having a classless society based on equal rights and universalism. This is considered to be one of the essential characteristics of Norwegian society.

For many consecutive years, Norway has been ranked in the top three of most gender-equal countries in the world by the prestigious World Economic Forum[2]. This did not happen without context or in a vacuum. For example, de-familiarization has played an essential role in this regard. The concept of de-familiarization means relieving the burden on families, thereby making it possible for women to participate in the labor market. As Lister (1997, p. 173) puts it, this includes "the degree to which individual adults can uphold a socially acceptable standard of living, independent from family relationships, either through paid work or through social security provision." Especially in social-democratic countries like Norway, women have achieved a high level of participation in the labor market as a result of such policies.

Similarly, in his book *Social Foundation of Postindustrial Economies*, Gosta Esping-Andersen (1999) further adopts the concept and claims, as Béland and Mahon (2016, p. 35) stated, that the Nordic social democratic system, such as in Norway, can "best achieve this because it offers alternative income guarantees to those of the market," unlike liberal systems such as the United Kingdom and the USA "that offer meager, stigmatizing benefits, and provide services and social insurance (parental leave)," that help "women's full time, long-life participation in the labor market." As a result of such policies and discourses, many feminist scholars consider the

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[2] The World Economic Forum report monitors gender disparities in 144 countries in the four areas of economy, health, education and politics.

Norwegian model of the gender system as dual-breadwinner model, in which both Norwegian men and women take part in the labor market equally. However, this does not mean that Norwegian women do not encounter a problem. Rather, scholars mentioned that they face a "highly gender-segregated labor market, high rates of part-time employment, and several years of absence from the labor market when having small children" (Ellingsæter, 2013; Halrynjo & Lyng, 2010; Hansen, 2018, p. 186). Besides, many of these income guarantees are not available for Ethiopian immigrant women upon their arrival in Norway except the basic assistant, as I discuss this in section 3.1., in which itself stopped with establishment of Introduction Program. Rather, they have to work through their way up to be able deserve to these alternative income guarantees.

1.6. Previous Research on Black Diaspora Men

A study on black masculinity or black men living exclusively in the Nordic countries is almost non-existent as of this writing. However, in the last two and half decades there has been evolving literature on black masculinity and black men's lives in the West, especially in the United Kingdom (Mac an Ghaill, 1994), Australia (Mungai & Pease, 2009), and United States (Stecopoulos & Vebel, 1997). In these studies of masculinities, black men are often seen to inhabit marginalized masculinities, since they are marginalized and subordinated to hegemonic masculinities (Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 100). Scholars stated that such a study comes out of an understanding of race as an indicator of inferiority in the context of colonialism and imperialism (R. Morrell, 2002; Mungai & Pease, 2009). Hence, they warn us that we should be "careful not to essentialize black masculinities and fix them in a subordinated position" (Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 100).

Staples (1978) has maintained that institutional racism prevents black men from getting any benefits from Connell's patriarchal dividend. Similarly, Morrell and Swart (2005) ask how many benefits black men would access from the patriarchal dividend, given their lack of education and poverty. On the other hand, others have argued that, even though black men are marginalized by race, they are still nonetheless benefit from gender (Collins, 2006). However, more nuanced studies come from Mutua (2006) and Mungai and Pease (2009), in which they question whether black men benefit from gender in all situations.

Even though these previous studies mainly originate in a context where a strong male breadwinner system prevails, i.e., the US and Britain, they are still important for this study because they show the ways in which diaspora African men construct their masculinity under systems, at least in

theory, granting gender equality for both sexes. If these studies can be any guide, they show that black women have been performing better in education, while black men are overrepresented in prison. For example, black women in the US receive 67% of all bachelor's degrees awarded to black students, as well as 71% of all master's degrees and 65% of all doctoral degrees (Mungai & Pease, 2009, p. 101). This demonstrates that the challenges of racism might not be the only problems that black immigrant families face, though it could be a important one. Tony Sewell articulates this more eloquently as follows:

> Race remains a vitally important part of contemporary life and politics, but it is neither separate from other factors (class, gender, sexuality, disability) nor is it always the most important characteristics in human experience and action (Sewell, 1997, p. xiii).

Thus, race does not operate independently of other factors, such as class, gender, ethnicity, age, and disability, among others, but rather, it works in an intersection with them.

Chapter Two: Theoretical and Methodological Framework

In this chapter, I discuss the theoretical as well as a methodological framework that underpins this thesis. In doing so, I first outline the key theoretical framework and it is used in this thesis. Then I will discuss in detail the main methodological approach adopted in this thesis.

2.1. Theoretical Framework

In this section, I discuss the main theoretical and conceptual framework that outlines this thesis. The intersection of gender, ethnicity, and class among immigrants within the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program is an interesting area to explore. "Intersectionality" and "masculinities" are based on the assumption that gender relations, hierarchies, and social capital are constantly negotiated and subject to change. Besides, all these concepts share an interest in understanding how such change is embedded in hierarchies of power arising from specific contexts and situations. In the following section, I first discuss one of the significant conceptual, analytical tools that I adopt in this thesis, i.e., intersectionality, and how it is defined and used in this thesis. Afterward, I will also look at how masculinity is defined and used in this thesis, as well as discussing the main theories of masculinities that are applied in this thesis.

2.1.1. Intersectionality

The concept of intersectionality was originally introduced by African American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), and it has since gained widespread success throughout feminist scholarship and far beyond. Crenshaw (1991) defined the concept of intersectionality as "various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's employment experience" (p. 1244). Originally, her goal was to demonstrate that the experiences African American women face are not separately confined to race or gender, as was traditionally understood, but rather at the intersection of racism and sexism factors (ibid). However, in her famous speech at the Ohio Women's Convention in 1851, Sojourner Truth drew attention to intersectionality long before Crenshaw. To understand the dilemmas of exclusion of black women in the US, in her persuasive speech, "Ain't I a Woman?" Truth argued that race and gender constitute one another and that one category alone (e.g., gender) cannot fully explain the outcome of an individual lived experience without the intersection of other category or categories (e.g.,

race). Thus, as Hervie (2019, p. 46) stated, Truth challenged the order of reason that heavily relied on one social category, such as race or gender.

In contrast to the above usage of the concept, which adopted the intersectional approach from the perspective of disadvantaged black women, I sought in this study to analyze black men in Norway. The concept is highly relevant for my research because my participants in this study are Ethiopian immigrant men in Norway, and at first glance one can see that two categories require attention here: Ethnicity (immigrant) and gender (male). However, many other categories overlap for these immigrant men, such as the color of their skin being black, class, religion, age, and length of stay in Norway. These all are intersected and analyzed with their experience in the Introduction Program. Additionally, I analyzed how they talk about their experience within the context of the institutional framework (the Introduction Program) and their access to the labor market during the program period and after.

Currently, scholars adopt an intersectional perspective to analyze the "advantage as well as disadvantage" population, unlike previously, when it was used to analyze disadvantaged or excluded populations alone (Hervie, 2019, p. 47; Yuval-Davis, 2006, p. 201). Now, the concept is widely used to analyze the intersecting pattern between different structure of power and how people concurrently positioned and position themselves in multiple categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, age, religion, and class (Christensen & Jensen, 2012, p. 110; Hervie, 2019; Phoenix, 2011, p. 137; Phoenix & Pattemana, 2006, p. 187; Staunæs, 2003). As a perspective, the scholars differed on the specific definition of intersectionality, depending on the research context. However, it is beyond the scope of this study to discuss the wide variation of these definitions.

Nonetheless, a common trait across a discussion on intersectionality among scholars is concerned with the ways in which people have multiple layers and identities connected to their history, the operation of the power structure, and social relations (Christensen & Jensen, 2012; Hervie, 2019, p. 47). For example, for Collins (2000), an intersectional perspective can be used to analyze how micro-level social categories describe an individual or group, which are connected to macro-level structures that create disadvantage or exclusion. Accordingly, in other words, the perspective aims to study how disadvantage occurs due to multiple identities, simultaneously with the overlap of macro-level structures in compounding this.

As an analytical tool, intersectionality suggests that the intersection of different social categories should not necessarily be viewed as increasing the burden of individuals. Instead, the objective is to reveal how multiple social identities produce unique or meaningful experiences in people's lives (Hervie, 2019; Symington, 2004). Here, for example, in my study, when I explore the experience of Ethiopian immigrant men, intersectionality prompted me to pay attention to aspects of interwoven complexities that would not usually be considered relevant, yet are meaningful in participants' accounts. Accordingly, if being an "Ethiopian" among immigrants in the Introduction Program is the only category that creates a difference, could other categories such as status, class, or gender be involved?

As I discuss in chapter four, I observed in my empirical data that some informants referred to other classmates in the Introduction Program language class at *voksenopplæring*[3] as people without education. As a result, they felt that, as educated people, their educational background, talent, and culture treated as unpleasant factors toward them. Put differently, categories such as class, cultural dimension, masculinity, and ethnicity are at work and become relevant in my informants' lived experience. Adopting intersectionality as an analytical tool means that when I explore the lived experiences of the Ethiopian immigrant men, it is crucial to pay attention to how issues of their multiple identities, social positions, and systems of socio-economic structures are significantly interwoven with emphasis in their narrations. Intersectionality, therefore, becomes a relevant theoretical perspective enabling me to explore categories such as gender, ethnic identity, and class status in my data.

It is important to note, however, that under any circumstances, I do not argue or suggest that all Ethiopian immigrant men in this thesis equally suffer or/are vulnerable. Some are more settled, hold good positions, and are more adjusted to their life than others. However, the slightly various combination of categories such as gender, age, length of stay, residency status, ethnicity, class, religion, and other factors, often operating in invisible ways, put them at particular disadvantage and in position of discrimination (Charsley & Wray, 2015, p. 409). Or, put another way, "complex

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[3]This is Norwegian term meaning adult training school. There are different kind of adult training schools in Oslo, which offer different services for adults of different ages and positions. The one I am interested is *voksenopppplæring* schools that offer Norwegian courses and social studies for newly arrived immigrants, or schools that only offer 50 hours course to introduction to Norwegian society for newly arrived refugees.

intersectional understanding is needed to appreciate the position of individuals or different groups of migrant men" (ibid).

2.1.2. Theories of Masculinity

Before I delve deep into hegemonic masculinities, it would be wise to first define masculinity. Masculinity is widely recognized and defined in the literature from a social constructive point of view in relation to feminism in gender relations (R. W. Connell, 1987, 1995; Robert W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Donaldson et al., 2009; Levant, 2008; Mac an Ghaill & Haywood, 2007). As such, for example, Hibbins and Pease define masculinity as "socially constructed within specific historical and cultural context of gender relations" (2009, p. 1). Such a perspective has two relevant merits for this thesis. First, it focuses on the variation of masculinities across various cultures and within different historical trajectories, and second, it also gives priority to intersectional approach of gender difference arising from race, class, ethnicity, religion, and different region of the country within specific cultures (Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Michael S. Kimmel, 2000; Pease & Crossley, 2005).

Similarly, a world-renowned expert on masculinities, Raewyn Connell defines masculinity through the lens of gendered relation, as a social constructivist approach dictate. In the opening comments on her website[4], Connell writes "to speak masculinity is to speak about gender relation," where she emphasizes that masculinity is not equal with man, but rather a configuration of practice through which men and women engage in positions in the gender system (Connel, 2019; R. W. Connell, 1995, p. 71). Another nuanced meaning came from Levant's (2008) explanation of masculinity that deemed highly applicable as its summarized well and put forward precisely in Lease et al. (2013, p. 85) as "combination of the practices, ideologies, and historical norms that a culture use to define what it means to be man." For this thesis, I use this definition of masculinity, as it captures important aspects of masculinity as well as it is defined and viewed in various scholarship, and it is also easy, as such, for my informants' understanding in the use of the term in their daily life.

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[4] http://www.raewynconnell.net/p/masculinities_20.html Access date: 24.01.2019

2.1.3. Theories of masculinities and migration

In this part of the thesis, I look into one of the leading scholars of studies of men and masculinity, Raewyn Connell's (1995) framework of hegemonic masculinity, its main characteristics, its variation, and most importantly, in context with migration. Hegemonic masculinity is one of the most used theories in the field of studies of men and masculinities.

2.1.3.1. Hegemonic Masculinity

Conventionally, research on masculinities depend heavily on Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. By developing Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony in the context of masculinity studies, Connell confirms that there is a multiplicity of masculine identities or masculinities (R. W. Connell, 1987, 1995). She develops this further and argues that, not only is there a multiplicity of masculinities, but also that they stand against one another. In this confrontation of masculinities in a "given historical and society-wide setting," hegemonic masculinity stands out the most from the rest, thereby setting the "structures and legitimate hierarchical gender relation" across various masculinities and femininities (R. W. Connell, 1987, 1995; Messerschmidt, 2015, p. 10). Connell emphasized that hegemonic masculinity does not exist independent of other forms of masculinities, including subordinate, complicit, and marginalized masculinities – in this case, immigrant men – as well as femininity (R. W. Connell, 1995; Wedgwood, 2009).

According to Connell's original claim, hegemonic masculinity could mean "culturally dominant notions of masculinity, might be used to gain influence and power regardless of whether the men themselves, in fact, possess a hegemonic position" (Herz, 2018, p. 4). This suggests that even men who do not act or behave based on masculine hegemonic principles can still benefit from the same ideals (R. W. Connell, 1987, 1995; Herz, 2018, pp. 5-6). However, Hibbins and Pease (2009, p. 2) stated that the hierarchy of masculinities meant that all men do not benefit equally from the "patriarchal dividend" (cf. Charsley & Wray, 2015). Thus, the dominant form of masculinity needs to be understood in relation to masculinities that are marginalized by other forms of social positions such as class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality.

Besides, in order to understand more deeply and broadly about masculine identities or masculinities, one may need to go beyond gender and look at the impact of race, class and sexuality hierarchies on men's lives (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Charsley & Wray, 2015; Datta et al., 2009;

Hibbins & Pease, 2009; Osella & Osella, 2000). As many social constructivists would agree, masculinities are something that needs to be studied in very specific social contexts (Messerschmidt, 1993, cited in Hibbins & Pease, 2009, p. 2). As such, since men's subjectivities are socially constructed, they are also open to changes and encounter challenges in daily life, and thus in the process, they are continuously engaged in constructing themselves.

2.1.3.2. Hegemonic masculinity and migrant men

While the notion of hegemonic masculinities is vividly the most known and influential concept in the studies of men and masculinities, it has also attracted the most criticism. At the forefront of this criticism is what Richard Howson (2009) called the problem of "slippage," in his study of theorizing hegemonic masculinity. This refers to the ambiguity in whether hegemonic masculinity is about men or masculinity, practice or identification, the "real" or the "abstract," which resulted in uncertainty in how it would resolve these contradictions between "how and what men do with how and what men see themselves as" (Howson, 2009, p. 23). As I will discuss in detail in below, this has particular importance in the context of migrant men's hegemonic masculinity, since "it is the new culture's expression of normative masculinity and thus any sense of taken-for-grantedness of the old masculinity is no longer enable for these men" (ibid).

2.1.3.3. Flexible and Strategic Masculinities

In ordinary circumstances, Charsley and Wray (2015) state that the kind of employment migrants are able to get may challenge their models of masculine success, since their niches are habitually feminized and/or in low-status sectors. This often depends and differs on immigrant's willingness to be adaptable with their masculine identities in light of apparent gain of migration (Batnitzky et al., 2009). In their well-formulated article entitled "Flexible and Strategic Masculinities: The Working Lives and Gendered Identities of Male Migrants in London," Batnitzky, McDowell, and Dyer (2009) show this point more clearly. They aim to investigate how migrant men reconceptualize the relationship between their former dominant masculine identities and their current workplace-based identities. Notably, the authors were interested to see how migrant men change in economic status impact and interact with their renegotiation of masculine identities.

Through in-depth interviews with thirty immigrant men at different London hospitals and hotels, the study confirm that migrant men "create a unique space for the renegotiation and production of

flexible and strategic masculinities that enable them to make sense" of their low wages and status in the UK (Batnitzky et al., 2009, p. 1278). The concept of "flexible masculinity" was originally first used by Chua and Fujino (1999) in their study of Asian American men in the United States. Here the concept was used to signify that immigrant Asian American men move away from a dominant male form of masculinity in their country of origin.

However, Batnitzky, McDowell and Dyer (2009) further develop the concept by adding a strategic component to it, and argue that migrant men in the new country may able to put particular aspects of their masculine identities "on hold," while "strategically selecting and emphasizing aspect that will benefit them in the labor market" (p. 1280). The study shows that immigrant men from middle- and higher-income families were able to be "flexible" with regards to their economic identity and take on work considered as "lower class" in their country of origin in order to protest their gender identities in the United Kingdom. In contrary, "men who migrated for economic gain and had family obligations to send remittances were observed to be "strategically" flexible with their gender identities and often performed what they considered to be "women's work" in order to be able to fulfill economic expectations" (Batnitzky et al., 2009, p. 1282).

In part, this has a strong resemblance to the way Robert W. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 836) define complicit masculinity as "men who received the benefit of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance." Alternatively, immigrants men in a study by Batnitzky, McDowell, and Dyer (2009) might just display masculinities that reflect degrees of departure from the practice of hegemonic masculinities in the country of origin (Batnitzky et al., 2009). In both cases, masculine performance in the context of institutional practice interacts with social positions such as class, race, and others, articulating "loosely with the practical constitution of masculinities as ways of living in everyday local circumstances" (Robert W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 840).

As I tried to mention above, this contradiction could also manifest itself in how marginalized men – in this case, migrant men – although embodying "the claim to power," also lack economic and institutional power (Robert W. Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848), which creates apparent tensions. Since a hegemonic definition of masculinity often includes being in power, a marginalized "position in relation to hegemonic ideals of masculinity could be focused on re-establishing power" (Haywood & Johansson, 2017, p. 5; Herz, 2018). In their vibrant book entitled

Migrant men: Critical Studies of Masculinities and the Migration Experience (2009), Donaldson et al. show this tension very clearly. They showed that, on the one hand, masculinity is not by any means static or fixed. On the other hand, they discussed that it is often approached and experienced as quite solid by "migrant men" themselves.

What becomes clear, however, is how they use familiar contexts in their new locality to approach their masculinity. This could be expressed through work: being expected to be a breadwinner, or, in family life, being expected to be a good father (Donaldson & Howson, 2009). Such ideas and notions are respected in their new country as well as in their country of origin. Rather than approaching masculinity as something static that is brought from the men's old locality to their new one, masculinity needs to be analyzed and studied globally as well as locally. Local, "Western" hegemonic ideals of masculinity influence and provide ways of experiencing one's masculinity "to the same extent as one's previous experiences of masculinity do" (Herz, 2018, p. 5).

Such an understanding of masculinity – as something affected equally by the past and the present – is reminiscent of Stuart Hall's theory of portraying "cultural identity" as something that is both becoming and being, where the cultural identity has both an axis of change and one of unchanged (Hall, 1997). The masculine identities and approaches to masculinities share two axes, one of continuity or unchanging – i.e., global ideals, such as being a good father and one of discontinuity or changing – i.e., different local ideals. Moving from one context to another could, therefore, endorse diverse ideals of masculinity, but it could also promote continuity in certain aspects of ideals of masculinity, such as being a provider or showing strength. The issue of masculinity among immigrant men thus cannot be approached without keeping locality in mind.

2.2. Methodological Framework

The aim of this thesis was to explore the experiences of Ethiopian male immigrant informants in the Norwegian Introduction Program with the connection to workplace inclusion. Simultaneously I was interested in studying how their masculinities shaped, re-adjusted or changed, while also looking at how this masculine construction interacts with their access to work when they describe their experience in the program. In order to get answers to my research questions, I interviewed six adult Ethiopian male immigrants who live in Oslo and have had experienced or are currently

experiencing the Introduction Program. This section will outline my research's procedure and the methodological choices and considerations I have had in the process of developing the research questions, and in collecting, analyzing and interpreting the empirical data. In the final part of this section, I will reflect upon the several ethical dilemmas I have faced related to this particular research.

2.2.1. Semi-structured Interviews

I have chosen to use a semi-structured interview method of the qualitative approach, since I aimed to explore and better understand the experiences of Ethiopian immigrant men in the Introduction Program and lessen the influence of gender (Silverman, 2013). I chose this interview method because I was going to talk about issues of gender, power, and resistance within an institutional context. This type of interview method avoids establishing a hierarchical relationship between interviewees and interviewer. Sensitive issues and topics would come up; for example, an informant might talk about his position within the Introduction Program making him feel powerless, and the interviewer should not neglect this feeling, but give his voice and rapport. These kinds of considerations about the interview's framework have been taken account, as Bryman (2012, p. 491) stated.

Furthermore, the semi-structured interview would allow me to explore my informants' beliefs or points of view of the action, experiences, motivations, intention, interpretation, and explanation of the participants and allow flexibility in getting answers (Silverman, 2013). Besides, since the semi-structured interview is often preceded by observation, informal and unstructured interview, it would allow me to develop a keen understanding of the topic of interest necessary for developing relevant and meaningful semi-structured questions before the interview took place (ibid).

The interview guide helped me to keep on track whenever I felt like I was getting lost in the middle of the interviews, since I was actively listening and allowing the participants to talk and ascribe their experiences about their masculinity here in Norway and Ethiopia, their experience in the Introduction Program, and how the program shaped, readjusted, or influenced their masculinities, and how these in turn interact and connect in terms of access to labor market. The interview guide was long and contained many lists of questions stemming from my research questions (see appendix I), but I was very flexible in following through and gave priority to specific questions

that were directly related to my research questions. I had in mind a list of topics to be covered, but I also organized the interviews with specific questions beforehand. I had to identify what the interviewee had said and link it to the research focus and the interview. I supported my informants by trying to establish a warm and natural environment in which they would share the depth of their experiences (Atkinson, 1998).

I was conscious throughout all of the interviews of the impact my identity would have on the construction of their descriptions and stories. I am an Ethiopian immigrant, man, and researcher who also once experienced the Introduction Program. So, I share many identities with my informants, and this serves as a resource. As Swe (2013) once did, I exposed my informants to my migrant experience to create a comfortable environment in which they would share their worlds and we could avoid power imbalances. I knew two of them previously, so we had a relationship that provided a natural, trusting and comfortable atmosphere. I shared my experiences with them of being a student in Norway, so they should not feel that they were just subjects of academic interest.

2.2.2. Recruitment of Informants

Among Ethiopian male immigrants in Oslo who have finished or are currently enrolled in the program, the thesis only focused on individuals that have migrated to Norway as adults from Ethiopia, in order to leave out people who were born or grew up in Norway, as their education and experience would further complicate the data. However, the data could include people who had participated in and completed the Introduction Program in the past five to six years to include their point of view, as they look back on their experience in the program and how their masculinities have changed over the years, and how that change interacts and connects with a feeling of work inclusion.

All of my informants came to Norway as asylum seekers from Ethiopian at different ages. At the time of the interview, my informants' ages ranged from 25 to 35. Moreover, the length of residence in Norway varied significantly between them. All of the interviewees were male. All of my informants had bachelor's degrees from Ethiopia, except one who had a degree from a university in Ghana. This informant was the only one who had lived outside Ethiopia for a long time before coming to Norway. At the time of the interview, three informants were married, one had two

children, and the other three were single. I decided to include their marital status in the analysis due to one crucial reason: the trajectory from youth to adult signified an essential milestone in Ethiopia, and this can be realized through marriage (Mains, 2011), as such, one's marriage signals a crucial social status in the local community.

The informants were recruited through snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a sampling technique in which the researcher initially samples a few people relevant to the research questions, and these sampled participants then suggest other participants who have had experience relevant to the research (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). I recruited two original or initial participants through my contacts, as I was also a former participant of the program and, through them, I recruited another two, and the process continued until I had enough informants. At the time of the interview, one informant was on the verge of completing the program, three had completed it four to six years ago, the fifth completed the Introduction Program two years ago, and the last one had just started the program two months earlier. All interviews were conducted in the period from mid-September 2018 to 10th January 2019. I contacted them again later, however, to make sure that my interpretation of their account and experience in the program was correct. Nevertheless, by no means, the informants in this thesis represent Ethiopian immigrants in Norway as they have substantial cultural differences, among them reflecting cultural diversities and differences back home in Ethiopia.

2.2.3. Context, Interview Setting, Collection of Data and Transcription

To be able to convince and secure their consent on the one hand, and maintain the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants on the other, is one of the most crucial tasks I have when I present the data. At the time of my data collection, Ethiopian refugees and migrants in Norway feel more suspectable and vulnerable than usual, due to several things that have changed in Ethiopia. The current Ethiopian government, which came to power last year in April 2018 have promised sweeping changes and have also already enacted many changes, notably releasing all political prisoners and journalists from jail, among other things, despite some still doubting government intention. This sparked European government counterparts, including Norway, to consider or change the status of Ethiopian refugees and immigrants, especially those who were accepted in the last two or three years.

As this news was circulating among Ethiopian immigrants in Norway, another incident happened that further exacerbated the situation. Two Ethiopian refugees in Oslo who held temporary residence were refused renewal of their residence by UDI on the grounds that the political situation had changed in Ethiopia, and that there was no reason for them to stay in Norway any longer. As the target group for my research mostly came to Norway during this period as refugees, the situation has made it very difficult to recruit participants for my research. Many former or current participants in the program felt that they could face a real risk of losing their residence or, worse, deportation. However, despite all the odds, I was finally able to recruit six participants, mostly former participants of the program from four to six years ago, and was only able to recruit two fresh recruits who are currently in the program. The relationship between me and two of the participants started years back through different social interactions, while I got to know others recently.

This above context and situation gave me awareness and the understanding that the interview setting does not have to imply the actual formal interview setting, but also that the first contact and the process of getting to know and build trust with the participants has to be smooth and natural. The interview setting had to provide a safe and secure place for the participants, but also a place that felt informal, relaxed and tolerant, in which it was allowed to talk openly about personal experiences and think out loud. Hence, I let all my informants choose a place they felt safe and secure for their places of interest for the interview sites. As a result, upon their request I interviewed my participants in a variety of sites, such as inside the car of one informant, another inside my kitchen at the student village house (no one was in the kitchen except us), one at a very quiet café in the center of Oslo , one informant requested to be interviewed here, and the other four informants in a student group room at Oslo Met and Oslo Universities.

I told everyone involved in my research that I would contact them during the process of writing to offer them an opportunity to look at the material regarding their anonymity, and that they were free to contact me whenever they had any questions or thoughts related to the study. I made sure that they knew that participation in the research was totally voluntarily, and that it would not affect our relationship if they chose not to. I also informed them about their right to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason. I took the time to go through the request for an interview and statement of consent (see appendix II).

I asked my informants if they wanted to be interviewed in Affan Oromo, Amharic, or English since these were the languages most of my informants and I could speak best. It was vital for me and my informants to express what they wanted to say in the language they feel most comfortable speaking. Most of the participants choose to speak Affan Oromo; only two of them preferred English. The interview lasted, on average, one hour, often ranging between 40 to 80 minutes.

I used a tape-recorder to ensure that I did not miss anything and could instead stay focused and take notes during the interviews. All of my participants agreed to record a tape. After being recorded by an audio recorder, interviews were transcribed as the first step of the analysis process. Transcription is a time-consuming process (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 149) that should be planned ahead. I carried a full transcription that did not omit parts of the audio recording, but rather represented in detail what it was said. A full-transcription was chosen because the recording was seen as a conversation in which all the words were essential to reproduce informants' accounts, and full-transcription seemed the most appropriate to get detailed descriptions to analyze in depth.

Sounds such as "yah" and "umm" on some occasions were only omitted to make the written text more comprehensible. When an informant omitted a word, parentheses were used in the transcription. The transcript should reproduce what the informants said during the interview (Bryman, 2012, p. 485), so the audio recorded was transcribed verbatim, without paraphrasing every word.

Afterward, I translated all interview materials into English. Having an audio recorder, and transcript in Affan Oromo made it easy for me to translate from Affan Oromo to English word for word, without leaving anything out. When I found a term or a phrase that did not make sense in English, or vice versa, I used an approximate term that was most likely to be synonymous with other terms. For example, one such term was masculinity. It was challenging to translate this concept, even during the interview. The exact term in Affan Oromo is "dhiruuma," but this term in Affan Oromo would not connote the exact meaning in English. So, I have to define the term in long sentences sometimes, rather than in just one or two words. But overall, having a tape recorder and taking fieldnotes during the interview made it easier to translate than I expected, with the exception of the challenge I just mentioned.

2.2.4. Analytic strategies

Even though thematic analysis is a well-known approach to qualitative data analysis, it has still not been outlined in terms of a distinctive cluster of techniques (Bryman, 2012, p. 578). A theme can be defined as a category identified through the data that relates to the focus of the research, building on codes from transcripts, which can provide a basis for theoretical understanding and contribution (ibid). The flexibility of this approach makes it applicable both as a realist method, with a focus on the experiences, meanings and realities of the informants, and as a constructionist method through which experiences and realities are examined in terms of how they are affected by different discourses operating within society (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 9). I adopted the thematic approach as a strategy for assisting a thematic analysis of qualitative data. The thematic approach implies constructing an index of central themes and subthemes, which are then represented in matrix that, in Bryman's s term (2012, p. 579), resembles an "SPSS spreadsheet" with its display of case and variables.

The process of analysis commenced through the conducting of interviews and working with the transcriptions, in which I started to identify patterns and themes that could be relevant to my study. Thematic analysis was facilitated by the audio recording of interviews and the production of transcripts. The transcripts were put in order to identify key themes in the interviews, as well as deviant cases and similarities and differences between informants' responses. For example, transcripts codes such as masculine adjustment in Norway, on the one hand, and social studies class, on the other, were arranged together to form a sub-theme because informants often attributed their masculine adjustment to social studies class. Again, this sub-theme was arranged under a main theme, known as Ethiopian informant men's experience in the Introduction Program, because social studies class was one of the program measures.

As such coding of transcripts was done, a framework was systematically created by arranging them into a range of different themes and subsuming the information under "main themes" and "sub-themes," while continually focusing on their potential to inform my research questions. I only choose themes or sub-themes that had the ability to inform masculinity and intersectionality, either in the place of origin or here in Norway. For example, as I discuss in chapter four, I chose to include a sub-theme known as "language course placement with student peers" because of its capacity to connect masculinities among Ethiopian informants with class status, culture, and

ethnicity within the Introduction Program. As such, it is relevant and has the potential to inform my research question.

In doing so, I identified three main themes that recurred throughout the interviews, which I regard as the most essential in answering my research questions on factors regarding informants' experience in the program affecting their feeling of work inclusion. Then I will relate how these factors affect and interact with their masculinities. These themes will then be divided into sub-themes related to specific factors to sharpen the analysis, making it tidier and easier to follow.

2.2.5. Ethical Considerations

It is known that ethical issues are a major concern when carrying out social research, and should be considered throughout all phases of the research, from framing the research questions to presenting the findings (Bryman, 2012, p. 130). The most important areas of ethical concern in the field of social research include harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy and deception (ibid, p. 143). Regarding my research, there were many ethical considerations that I needed to pay attention to right from the beginning. Being a man, a researcher, and an Ethiopian immigrant made it difficult to pay attention and focus on some occasions when I had to figure out which of my identities was an asset at that moment. There was a moment during an interview that one of my informants talked continuously without stopping since he was familiar with me, and I needed to switch my role from someone he is familiar with to a researcher. On another occasion, I experienced that the same kind of situation turn to an asset that resulted in amazing rich data. I anticipated that these kinds of situations might happen right from the start, but others also appeared later in the middle of the research journey.

I generalize ethical considerations that could have the potential to jeopardize my research into three categories. First, before the interviews, I applied for approval from the Norwegian Social Sciences Data Service NSD to conduct the study, where both the interview guide and consent form meet the requirements of national ethical principles. Upon embarking on the interview, I ensured that my participants clearly understood the purpose of my interview and my research. I presented a consent form and explained my research verbally. All interviewees signed a consent form prior to the interview. The consent form itself explained who I was, the purpose of my research, and the

university I was from. It detailed the method I would be using and the amount of time I would need from them.

Second, the most crucial ethical issue of my research is confidentiality. Abell and Myers (2008) note that "it is only when interviewer enters a community that feels threatened, stigmatized, marginalized, powerless or misrepresented that the tactic assumptions underpinning the exercise may come to surface" (Abell & Myers, 2008, p. 157). As I mentioned in the above section, this notion may be highly relevant for my study, as many of my potential informants were newly arrived refugees and sensitive toward their case. For this reason, it was important to stress that participation was voluntary and that signing up would not entail an obligation to carry it through. I started all the interviews by giving the informants more information about the project and about confidentiality and anonymity.

Furthermore, as a researcher, I was extremely cautious not to touch upon the sensitivity of my informants' cases or sharing any mark that identified them on the notepapers or personal information with anybody else, even with my family or close friends. The consent form would highlight all this information and the confidential nature of the interview, stating that data would be kept on my password-protected home computer, and that I would be held responsible for any breach of the consent form. I also explained that the participants had the right to withdraw at any time during the interview, without notice or consequences. They were assured that the quotes used in the paper would only be used in a non-identifying way.

Third, the ethical issue of my research is stating the role I may have in this research. As highlighted in chapter one and elsewhere in this chapter, my interest and experience underpin my research on lived masculinity experiences of Ethiopian immigrant men in Norway. For this study, I occupied a space somewhere between insider and outsider. I was an insider because of my nationality as an Ethiopian, my gender, and as a former participant of the program, hence having an opportunity to gain access to respondents attributed to my social similarities with participants, characterized by gender, ethnicity, race, and culture. However, at the same time, I was an outsider and socially distant regarding the personal lived experience of masculinity and immigration status and timeframe.

Labaree (2002) argues that insiderness is embedded with hidden dilemmas that require negotiation of accuracy and maintenance of objectivity through questioning one's presumptions of

truthfulness. As I mentioned above, participants were willing to share their experiences because of the assumption of shared distinctiveness and understanding in comparison to outsiders, who view them through glass windows. However, there was also the potential to discourage participants from explaining in detail, based on assumptions that I already had the knowledge. I self-reflected by separating my own experiences, perceptions, and prior intimate knowledge on the topic under consideration, by not taking for granted the understanding of those being researched. Notably, I avoided assuming that I was familiar with what was communicated during the interviews, especially when statements like "*You have been there, you know what am talking about*" were used in the description, to which further questions were asked to elicit their meanings.

Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that what is crucial is not one's position but the researchers' credibility and authenticity in the expression of interest in participants' experience and respective accurate representation. In this regard, I was cautious in analyzing the data from my influence and was also always sensitive during the interview, following the signals and needs of my informants. Furthermore, I acknowledge here that my own experience as a man, a researcher, and an Ethiopian immigrant might influence how I interpret the lives of others or how much my presence may influence the data and steer the conversation.

2.2.6. Study Limitations

Qualitative research is associated with a limitation of the inability to generalize findings (Bryman, 2012), as studying a few immigrant men does not warrant conclusions concerning masculinity experiences among immigrants in Norway. However, the research aimed to explore the experiences of Ethiopian immigrant informant men by drawing on their masculinities in an intersection with class and ethnicity in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program, hence qualitative research was best suited to meet this objective. Additionally, Bryman (2012) argues that data obtained from this methodological approach is challenging to replicate because it is unstructured and relies on the researcher's ingenuity. Therefore, it is impossible to conduct a true replication, since there is no standard procedure to follow. I agree with Creswell and Poth (2017) that it is improbable for research to be entirely bias-free, because several aspects influence researchers' decisions in choosing topics to investigate and how their investigations are designed. Nonetheless, revealing the social world of participants regarding their masculine experiences and their feeling of work inclusion takes precedence in this study.

Chapter Three: Contextualizing the Norwegian Introduction Program

3.1. Brief Historical development of Introduction program

The establishment of the Norwegian Introduction Program in 2004 was not a sudden action in the tradition of Norwegian social policy, but rather the result of deliberate and prolonged bargaining between rightist political parties and the centrist/leftist government of the time, coupled with public debate (Djuve, 2011). In Norway, just as in many other Western European countries, non-Western immigrants and refugees were confronted with soaring levels of "unemployment, marginalization, social exclusion, and discrimination in their new societies" (Fernandes, 2015, p. 246; Morissens & Sainsbury, 2005). This, coupled with the prevalence of some non-Western immigrants' patriarchal tradition, led Norwegian politicians from both sides and public discourse to question the existing social and integration policy (Djuve, 2011). In an attempt to solve these problems, Norway introduced a special program called the Introduction Program in 2004 for newly arrived refugees and immigrants from non-Western countries.

The laws that maintained the Introduction Program mark "a shift in the way the rights and obligation of social assistance claimants rhetorically conceptualized" (Gubrium & Fernandes, 2014, p. 6). This is mainly due to explicit emphasis on the duties and responsibilities of participants drawn up in strict conditions, while "exchange for benefits is 'softened' by the introduction of new rights for program participants" (ibid). Since the emergence of the welfare state in Norway in the mid-19th century, Norwegian social welfare policy has passed through different dramatic changes over time. The initial Norwegian Poor Laws of 1845, which termed as "pre-modern" period applied a "workhouse test" that was punitive both in the corporal and social senses. This law basically refused help to those living in poverty unless "they were so destitute as to be willing to accept accommodation under strict work-based regimes" (ibid).

This had changed in 1964 when the Norwegian parliament passed the Social Care Act that replaced Poor Laws of 1845. As Gubrium and Fernandes (2014, p. 6) noted, it was only during this time onward that the Norwegian state's help to those individuals living in poverty explicitly moved away from punitive to more gentle control: that is the reassurance of more self-help. Since the Social Care Act of 1964 was passed, the principal rhetorical emphases have been on "reducing

dependency on social welfare state through work approach "*arbeidslinja*." This approach ties the right to social benefits to the duty to work" (ibid). However, despite the inclusion of activation and conditionality in various laws that were passed in 1960 (concerning disability pension), including 1964 and 1991 (concerning social assistance benefits), the research indicated that the condition was hardly implemented (Djuve, 2011, p. 116). This led Anne Britt Djuve to describe Norwegian social policy in the past several decades as "sleeping" clauses of activation (ibid). In the 1980s and 1990s, courses and training efforts offered to immigrants differed considerably across various municipalities, "but typically consists of a few hours of voluntary Norwegian language training per week." Five days a week, full-day and all-year program were mostly absent (Djuve, 2011).

Prior to the enactment of the Introduction Act, refugees were normally referred to the social assistance offices. The size of social assistance benefits may be influenced by the discretionary power of the social workers, but generally, as with other clients, it is calculated based on household income and expenses. The social worker's discretionary power may also include setting a condition for the benefits. Nevertheless, the local implementation of conditioning, as Anne Britt Djuva (2011, p. 117) noted, was not surveyed until the 1990s, and these surveys show that the use of activation and conditioning was not widespread. For example, in 1995, just over 30% of municipalities reported having used conditionality in at least one case (Djuve, 2011, p. 117; Lødemel, 1997). Besides, even in the municipalities that were reported as having used conditionality, the condition was rarely or never used in the economic sense, but rather for immigrants to register as unemployed and sign up a Norwegian course (Djuve, 2011, p. 117; Lødemel, 1997; Vik-Mo & Nervik, 1999).

This was profoundly changed with the enactment of the Introduction Act, as Anne Britt Djuve describes it, marking a radical institutional change in the Norwegian context. Imposing an obligation upon municipalities to manage full-day language courses and training was a considerable "departure from traditional high level of local autonomy in the implementation of social policy" (Djuve, 2011, p. 117). Politically speaking, the Act attracted a wide spectrum of interests. For the anti-immigration supporters, the Act represented a greater obligation for newly-arrived refugees to adapt. On the other hand, for "those who were skeptical to the compulsory element of the reform" and pro-migration, "the pill was considerably sweetened by the fact that the Act provided one of the most marginalized groups in the labor market with the right to

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comprehensive assistance and support" (Djuve, 2011; Hagelund & Kavli, 2009, p. 262; Kavli & Djuve, 2007)

Immigrants and refugees' access to ordinary social assistance was restricted. Individual participants only claim income support through the Introductory benefits upon mandatory participation in the program. The Introduction benefit was designed as an individual benefit, which means that both immigrant wife and husband of the same household have individual rights to it, but only if they both fulfill their duty as participants. This was mainly constructed to encourage refugee women, while simultaneously breaking patriarchal tradition among refugees and immigrants families through sending both men and women to language school and other program training, and then on to the labor market (Djuve, 2011; Gubrium & Fernandes, 2014; Kavli & Djuve, 2014).

The purpose of the introduction program is to coordinate the integration process into host societies (Fernandes, 2015, p. 246), and the main gist of the program is activation, integration, and citizenship for the newly arrived refugees (Djuve, 2011; Fernandes, 2015; Hagelund & Kavli, 2009). The target groups of the Introduction Program are mainly newly-arrived refugees and their family members. It is a comprehensive program that follows newly-arrived refugees for two years from the first day they arrive in a municipality, in some cases, for a shorter or longer period, depending on the municipality and the personal situations of the participants. Participants in the Introduction Program get paid a much higher income than ordinary social assistance benefits (Jurado & Brochmann, 2013, p. 63). Missing a class without proven sufficient reason will lead to a reduction in an individual income. Thus, many participants take attending the classes seriously.

This program has it is own outcome and output as a policy document, since it is establishment. The program's output consists of language courses, civic instruction/social studies, work and different vocational training that pave the way for immigrants in the labor market with the goal of self-reliance (Fernandes, 2015, p. 246). Thus, we can infer that the program outcome is self-reliant, or getting employed in the labor market as a short outcome and integration into societies as long outcomes.

3.2. Work Inclusion and the Introduction Act

In her famous book entitled *The Human Condition*, Hannah Arendt wrote that whenever we want to say who somebody is, "our very vocabulary leads us astray into saying what he is" (1958, pp. 181, emphasis in the original). This is meant to say that we know who we are by looking ourselves in action (Ferrucci, 2014, p. 184). Hence, our roles in the workplace are still significant in the modern world, as it was before for constructing and defining our social identity (ibid). In fact, it is now well established in social science research that the gendered identities of employees at the workplace are actively constructed on a daily basis (Batnitzky et al., 2009; Guerrier & Adib, 2004; Haggis & Schech, 2009). This is especially true when it comes to immigrants in Norway, where the social life of immigrants is grounded upon work, as it is highly stipulated in the Introduction Act for newly-arrived refugees and immigrants (Hagelund & Kavli, 2009), and also as Datta et al. (2009, p. 854) noted, work is essential for all migrants in their construction of gender identities, irrespective of reason for migration.

The relationship between participants' expectation of self-sufficiency through work, and participation in broader society and social inclusion seem to be in tension in the Introduction Act, which could result in problems in implementation. Scholars stated that this dilemma is a result of the over-ambitious aim of the policymakers' formulation of the introduction program (Hagelund & Kavli, 2009, p. 259). They explained that, on the one hand, the refugees are encouraged to participate in the labor market and be self-reliant, while simultaneously, on the other hand, they are encouraged to become involved in society as active citizens, thus having broader aims than labor market integration.

This means that, as an activation policy, the program aims to prepare participants for labor market participation, while as an integration policy it aims to enable them to participate in broader society as citizens (ibid, p. 260). Obviously, we can infer that the way we understand the aims of the program has consequences for its implementation. It also has implications for how we evaluate program outcomes. In other words, "whether the aim of the program is understood as work, citizenship or both have consequences for how policymakers, caseworkers and the general public think about work methods" (ibid).

This contradiction becomes more apparent when observing "the very diverse group of individuals who are included in the programme" (ibid, p. 261). Newly-arrived refugees and their families are composed of a highly heterogeneous group, encompassing all levels and types of educational backgrounds – including the complete lack thereof – work experience, family structures, war traumas, and health issues. According to Lipsky (2010), it is "street-level bureaucrats," in this case individual social workers[5] who are responsible for devising individual action plans for newly arrived refugees in the NAV Introduction Program, who in practice are making policy (Hagelund & Kavli, 2009, p. 161), as policy is usually not specific enough "to prescribe precisely how professionals should deal with specific situations or types of dilemmas" (ibid, p. 261).

Furthermore, contact pepole "have wide discretionary powers and considerable space for devising their own strategies. Added up, the multitude of individual actions constitutes agency behavior" (ibid, p. 261; Lipsky, 2010). Therefore, in the end, to understand how these dilemmas are solved in practice lies at the hand of local professional's welfare workers or contact people. As a result, as Hagelund and Kavli (2009, p. 261) stated, different perspectives could be applied both between municipalities and between individual professionals, depending on new refugee backgrounds. Consequently, participants with similar backgrounds and skills may be perceived very differently, concerning their possibilities in the labor market (ibid).

On the other hand, participants with different backgrounds and skills may be perceived and treated similarly with regards to their opportunities in the labor market, and even in their placement in language classes. For example, as I discuss in the next chapter through the analysis of the Ethiopian immigrants in the Introduction Program, we see how participants struggle in the language classroom with peer students because they were treated similarly, despite their having different educational as well as Norwegian language skill levels.

3.3. Introduction program, Masculinities, and the Culture of "other"

The notion that immigrants and refugee men need to learn to transform their views on masculinities and gender is strongly manifested in "Western" politics and policies (Baaz & Stern, 2013; Herz, 2018; Olivius, 2016). This discourse claims to be based on cultural assumptions through, for

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[5] It is unclear whether those who work in the activation program can be called social workers… But hereafter in this thesis I will refer to them as contact person, as my informants do.

example, visualizing the traditional patriarchal culture of immigrants and refugees (Herz, 2018, p. 3; Olivius, 2016). As I mentioned above, when the Norwegian Introduction Program was introduced in 2004 for newly arrived refugees and their families, the law was explicit in its gender-egalitarian initiatives. Kavli and Djuve (2014) quoting Proposition to the Odelsting nr. 28, has put this point in a more eloquent way as follows:

> The law was also clear in its gender egalitarian ambitions, emphasising that "gender equality and the individual's responsibility for their own provision by means of paid employment has gradually become a central feature of Norwegian society," and that the programme should not be implemented in a way that would support traditional gender practices (p. 8).

Generally, there are two perspectives on whether the Introduction Program as activation policy benefits immigrants in terms of work inclusion, builds their trust in public institutions and introduce them into Norwegian society, thereby empowering immigrants in the host country or undermining their right to the cultural heritage of the origin country. On the one hand, as in many other European countries, "opponents of activation schemes voiced concerns that such schemes would undermine the social and cultural rights of immigrants" (Djuve, 2011; Kavli & Djuve, 2014, p. 2). This perspective often claims that activation and other similar schemes portray that "immigrant and refugee" men need to learn "Western" values, in terms of sexuality, masculinities, and gender equality, because their country of origin encourages patriarchal dividend and gender inequality that are different from those found in the "West" (Herz, 2018; Olivius, 2016).

This is related to what Alexander (2000) calls a privileging of race in relation to "black masculinity" (Herz, 2018, p. 3). It is often assumed that it is easy to fix black masculinity to race, since black masculinity has been misrepresented or ignored, both empirically and theoretically. When interventions to educate violent masculinities are implemented or discussed, the "barbarian other" is distinguished from the civilized "West" (Baaz & Stern, 2013). Such initiatives, thus, tend to reproduce racial and cultural hierarchies (Olivius, 2016).

Similarly, Gubrium and Fernandes (2014, p. 12) stated that the Introduction Program was constructed "with an ethnified and essentialized understanding of its non-western immigrants target group in its mind." They explained that while "early Introduction Program policy document shows that employment level for immigrants from North America and Oceania lower than for

Latin America and Asia. Moreover, gender division was also greater," the policy document of the program signaled out non-western immigrant women as a target group who need to be educated on the importance of gender equality (ibid).

Midtbøen and Teigen (2014) argue that when gender equality among non-western immigrants is discussed in Norway, it is immigrant women's weaker employment rate and traditional gender role pattern that is emphasized. However, when Norwegian women in general are concerned, they maintained that the issue of care and work is only discussed in a general basis as gender equality, that the weaker labor participation among Norwegian majority women compared to men, especially women extensively representing in part-time jobs, are not problematized but rather taken "as an expression of women individual preference" (Midtbøen & Teigen, 2014, p. 279). This demonstrated the assumption mentioned above that immigrants from non-western cultures need to learn western cultural values and norms about gender equality. The idea that non-western immigrant women, Gubrium and Fernandes (2014, p. 12) stated, are "involuntarily trapped" in traditional "patriarchal culture is reoccurring phenomenon" not only in the Introduction Program but also in various official policy documents in Norway (ibid).

Other scholars, however, argue that, while the establishment of the Introduction Program restricts cultural support of immigrants, individually tailored Introduction Programs actively empower immigrants in the new society by equipping them with necessary skills and information through full-day Norwegian language training and social studies (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013; Kavli & Djuve, 2014). In this perspective, multiculturalism and cultural relative discourse that is understood as unconditional support of cultural rights, is seen as difficult to combine with the high socio-political ambitions and demands that characterize the Nordic welfare states.

Brochmann and Djuve (2013) rather argue that the Marshallian concept of social citizenship is a more adequate measure in evaluations of the legitimacy of the Norwegian Introduction Program than multiculturalism alone, and that the risk of illegitimate cultural assimilation, however that could be defined, should be weighed up against gains in social citizenship. They further stated that multiculturalism as a goal of integration policy might divert "the focus away from important issues, such as living conditions, social inequality, and discrimination." (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013, p. 231; Brochmann & Hagelund, 2011). Accordingly, in their book chapter entitled "Multiculturalism

or Assimilation? The Norwegian Welfare State Approach," Brochmann and Djuve (2013, pp. 233-238) propose a two-step model of citizenship by using the Introductory Program as their case.

The two-step model considers program measures as step one, which is the knowledge and value gap to be bypassed on one axis versus degree of force or sanction applied to achieve this. Program outcomes are identified as step two, which links program measures to their effects on citizenship in the broad Marshallian sense (i.e., legal, civic, and social or economic citizenship). By applying the two-step model in their analysis, Brochmann and Djuve (2013, p. 238) regard the Introduction Program measures to be "moderately assimilatory," however, given the program fair quality, they stated, program outcomes hold the potential of extending full Marshallian citizenship to immigrants. In short, they maintained that whether the program "will produce citizenship as an outcome depends not only on whether or not participation is empowering but also on how participation is linked to formal rights" (ibid).

Chapter Four: Analysis and Findings

In this chapter, I analyze the main findings of empirical data based on the research question. As already mentioned in the second chapter, masculinities in this thesis are defined as socially and culturally constructed according to what is meant by being a man within a specific historical period. Based on this definition, the notion of "being a man" changes across culture and society in different parts of the world. Accordingly, as the construction of masculinities is subjective and change across space and time, I was interested to study how this process of change occurs for male Ethiopian informants' with an intersection of class and ethnicity in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program, and how, by extension, this change affects their access to work.

Three main themes emerged from my interview materials. In the first, I present the men and their lives before they emigrated to Norway with a close analysis of their former masculine identities in Ethiopia. In the second, I discuss how their changing masculinities can be unfolded in the presence of the Norwegian Introduction Program. In the third and final theme, I discuss and analyze how their construction of masculine identities affect their feeling of work inclusion.

4.1. Being a Breadwinner and Hegemonic Masculinities

All of the Ethiopian men interviewed for this thesis noted the importance of being a provider[6] in their culture of origin. As I went through all the interview materials, I noted that the role of provider was of central importance in the complex network of the former life that they described. This role can be used as an analytical tool to describe their former masculine identities in their place of origin. For example, Elemo replied with the following when I asked him what it meant to be a man in his local community:

> …*A man has to do anything and provide for his family. Because it's his responsibility to provide the family. To provide does not just mean to give food and drinking for a living, but to live a life in local standard according to their need* (Elemo, 32, married).

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[6] "Being provider" has different meanings for my informants. For some it means only providing financial contributions to the family, for others it means financial contribution as well as sharing household activities.

Elemo came from a semi-rural area in Ethiopia and grew up observing what it meant to be a man in his family and the local community. He came from a middle-income family who owned a large piece of land. He stated that men's physical strength in Ethiopia rural areas is an important yardstick, as this represented one's ability to provide for one's family through plowing their land. Research has also shown that hard physical labor, independence, toughness and nature have been key markers for the construction of rural masculine identities in both global North and South (Aure & Munkejord, 2016; Campbell & Bell, 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001; Tyler & Fairbrother, 2013).

Elemo's above quote indicates two characteristics of a complicated former identity in the place of origin. First, it explicitly indicates that men are responsible for providing for the family, and it explains that in order to carry out his responsibility, a man has to do anything necessary – in Elemo's own words, "*break the stone*" – to feed his family and fulfil his duties as a man. As many of my informants noted, to be a man means having to wake up early in the morning and search for any available job to provide for his family. To even start a family of his own, a man will be asked if he is able or/and capable of providing for the family he wishes to have. My informants on numerous occasions told me that men could not be considered men if they could not fulfill their role as breadwinner. Thus, this signal that men's being active is a central feature of their identity.

The second point of emphasis from the above excerpt is that a man's contribution is not enough by itself if he cannot fulfill his family's need, which is judged according to local standards. This suggests that the economic level of the local community influences his contribution, which implies class categorization at the local community level based on men's provision for one's family. Here is where an intersection with class status comes in terms of their former masculine construction. A man's being active is not enough by itself; he will be judged by how much he can provide. The dominant or hegemonic man is the one who can provide more than enough for his family. However, failing to accomplish his duty based on this local class[7] implies consequences. For

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[7]There is a class hierarchy in the current social fabric system in Ethiopia, but the definition and boundary are fluid, unlike definitive social class structure in the past (Tigabu, 2017). A local class is here meant to be people sharing a common position in the economic order, or a group of people having more or less equal economic resources and indicating a similar standard of living in a society. Income could mean one's property such as lands or monthly salaries. Ones' class in the local community is tied up with income or what he can provide for his family. Often, owning a certain business confers a higher status than being a teacher or government employee in many local communities in Ethiopia.

example, Fayesa said the following while explaining what it means to be a man and the significance of providing, based on local class in his local community:

> *A class is seen by what you have – if you do not have anything or if you are not providing for your family, then nobody will respect you in society. You will not be even seen as a man.* (Fayesa, 27, married)

Fayesa came to Norway two and a half years ago. He grew up observing his father cooking, washing clothes, and even performing Ethiopian traditional coffee rituals. His father had a career as a teacher, while his mother worked as a nurse, and his sister was pursuing a career in academia. He explained that his family was unique in this regard, compared to the rest of the local community, in that the men in the family were helping with household activities. However, judging from the above excerpt, he did not totally escape the influence of his local culture in which women stayed predominantly at home, while men played the role of breadwinner. Instead, the notion of men as breadwinners in his local community had a profound influence on Fayesa.

He once mentioned that, as a child growing up, he used to think that he would be a "certain" kind of man when he grew up, indicating that he would be a man who worked very hard, was reliable, and provided for his family. However, he continued by saying, "*Luckily, I did not grow up in Ethiopia. So those thoughts are gone. They are not there anymore.*" Unlike other informants who came to Norway directly from Ethiopia, Fayesa lived in Ghana for four years to attend university as soon as he finished high school. Additionally, after he graduated from university, he worked on international ships that travelled to different parts of the world.

Fayesa's statement, together with Elemo's, adds another dimension to the role of breadwinner in their local community. While to be a man in Ethiopia entails a high level of responsibility as a breadwinner, it comes and is associated with privileges and respect. Of course, there are also unearned privileges that accrue to men simply because they are men. For example, one of my informants told me that his older sister had to quit school to work at household activities because he said:

> *If our sister works outside or she goes to school, we (men in the family) would be at a disadvantage. They (my parents) said she has to stop her school and work in the house.* (Yussuf, 33 single)

Yussuf immigrated to Norway a little over one and a half years ago. He came from a middle-income family and had lived in a city in the Eastern part of Ethiopia. He told me that his mother worked outside as an importer and could not find someone else who could take care of housework activities, so his parents asked his older sister to do so, but not the men in the family. This case points to the family's strategy of equipping the men in the family (in this case, sending the son to school) so that he could better take care of the family financially in the future. In this regard, family or social expectations of men as future breadwinners starts at an early stage of upbringing. In this line of reasoning, families trust and invest in boys unconditionally.

In any case, as most of my informants noted, men's status and privilege in society often goes hand in hand as an exchange with their contribution to the family. This is parallel to research on men in Eastern Africa, where male authority and status require a material base, while male responsibility is culturally and normatively constituted (Silberschmidt, 2001, p. 657). This indicates that men are prioritized insofar as they are also expected to provide for their families. For example, Nathan noted the following while explaining what it means to be a man in his local community in Ethiopia:

> *A man is one who provides for his family. For example, he is able to afford his family means of living, so they do not live below the average life standard, a man who works hard and makes his family secure and is ahead of his family and provides for his family. If he is able to do that, he is a man.* (Nathan, 31 married, father of two)

Whenever I asked my informants what it meant to be a man in their respective local communities in Ethiopia, they often responded in similar way to the above three quotes. Nathan came to Norway seven years ago, and married along the way while he was a participant in the Introduction Program. Like all other informants in this thesis, he has a bachelor's degree. He worked as a computer science teacher for quite some time in Ethiopia. While both of his parents used to work as teachers during his childhood, his father quit the teaching profession, started his own business, and was afterward better able to provide for the family with his new enterprise.

In a way, Nathan's excerpt shows the reflection of his childhood memory. Competing for allegiance to a dominant form of being a man or hegemonic notion of being a man is highly desirable, and breaking from that tradition will be followed by some kind of sanction. In his last statement of "if… clause," i.e., "*if he can do that, he is a man"* one sees the intersection of

masculinity (he is a man) and class (if he can provide for the family based on local class). One analysis of this point is that the intersectionality of gender and class seems to matter even in their place of origin in the construction of masculinity. While it seems there would be multiple masculinities in their local community based on class, the most well-organized and well-formulated construction of masculinity would be based on hegemonic masculinity in which all other masculinities should be in compliance with it and take their ideal model from.

Compliance with hegemonic masculinity means that one is able to enjoy many types of status as a man. For example, another informant – in part, like Nathan – said while explaining the status of men in his local community: *"Men in the society is seen as a boss, you know, is consider as the head of the family."* It also clearly shows that being capable of providing results in privilege, great status, and the honor of being the head of the family, which includes holding an authoritative position and being the decision-maker in the family.

On the other hand, as the above excerpt from Fayesa shows, failing to provide for one's family or being unable to comply with hegemonic masculinities has severe consequences, which include not only expulsion from one's local class, but also losing the respect of others and the status of being a man. This indicates that not able to provide or not being active enough is one of the biggest threats to their former masculine construction in Ethiopia. Similarly, in her study of men in rural and urban Eastern Africa, Silberschmidt (2001) shows how unemployment or low income prevents men from fulfilling their male roles as a head of household and breadwinner, which affects their social values, identity, and self-esteem.

Another point that is strictly related to the breadwinner role is gender division of roles, with men working outside and women inside the home. All informants associated providing with working outside and earning income, while on the other hand, women worked inside and took care of the household chores. For example, Ibsa explained the following while talking about the role of women in his local community:

> *Women are only responsible for household chores. They stay at home, cook food, take care of the children… every activity pertaining to family chores, she is responsible. She feeds children, baths them and everything else.* (Ibsa, 23, single)

Another informant similarly explains: "*role of women often is in house or kitchen or to take care of the house… while men work outside, and they provide for the family*."

Another essential feature of being a provider that should not be ignored in this regard is the continuation of this role in their current identity. Some of my informants explained the importance of this role in their current identities. They explained that being a good husband, good father, and a family man as well as being breadwinner are essential to their current identity. Such an understanding of their masculinity is something influenced by their past and present. As discussed in the second chapter, this has a certain resemblance to Stuart Hall's theory of portraying "cultural identity" as something both becoming and being (Hall, 1997b; Herz, 2018). For example, Yussuf said the following when asked his current opinion of ideal masculinity:

> *According to my opinion, the ideal masculinity… the ideal man should take*
> *responsibility both working outside and also taking responsibility in the house.*
> *They have to provide their family very well.* (Yussuf, 33, single)

Thus, moving from one context to another could promote different ideas of masculinity, but it could also promote continuity in certain aspects of ideals of masculinity, such as being a provider in this context (Herz, 2018, p. 5). However, this does not mean that immigrant men will enjoy the same privilege and status from being breadwinners in their new context. This would challenge their former masculine identities in their new locality because the role of being breadwinner still continues in the present identity, but the status and respect associated with it may not be present. As we will see in the next section, informants approach gender and masculine ideals not as they exist in a single line stemming from one's origins, but along two lines: one of continuity, influenced by previous relations, cultural and historical interpretations, and another of change affected by new relations, localities, ideals, and knowledge aggregated during the Introduction Program and afterwards. None of the two aspects should be read statically, but together they can create tension and conflicts.

4.2. Ethiopian Male Informants Experience in the Introduction Program

One of the major themes that emerged from my empirical data is how the informants – Ethiopian immigrant men – re-negotiated their former identities and their masculinities over time in Norway. They came to Norway with firm beliefs and particular notions of what it means to be a man.

Although informants did not share the same exact beliefs because of their different trajectories and biographical histories, their notion of what it means to be a man was entirely different from the Western notion, especially in Norway, where dual breadwinners are a central feature of society. As they settled in Norway, they started to reflect and question the validity of their former identities, and their former cultural identities of who they were as men in society.

In the discussion of Ethiopian immigrant men's experience in the Introduction Program, I organize the empirical data into a theme and subthemes, based on their relevance to my research question, i.e., how the informants draw on their changing ideas of masculinity with regard to class status and ethnicity as they make meaning of their experience of the Norwegian Introduction Program. The various courses offered in the Introduction Program have different purposes, but I do not make any distinction in the following presentation of results between language and other courses, such as job training. Partly because the data is too limited, but the main reason is empirical. Informants often refer to the Introduction Program in a general way when they explain their experiences, for example, regarding integration, language course, job training courses, and so on. However, the vast majority of Ethiopian informant men make a distinction between social studies class and compulsory work internship from other parts of the Introduction Program measures. Hence, I distinguish between these two measures and discuss them in separate subsection 4.2.2. and section 4.3., respectively.

Building on this distinction, in the following first subsection, I discuss the Introduction Program measures together on a general basis, along with their contribution to the positive experience of informants with close analysis of informants' masculinity construction in an intersection with religion, ethnicity, and class. Thus, it is challenging to identify which of the specific program measures lead, for example, to their positive experience of the Introduction Program. In the second subsection, I then discuss social studies class and the impact it has had on informants in their changing ideas of masculinity. In the third subsection, I discuss language course placement with peers' students, as the informants commonly considered this their least favorite part of the Introduction Program. Last, in section 4.3., I discuss the informants' access to work through NAV Introduction Program obligatory work internship and how they understood their gender identities at the workplace to be shaped.

4.2.1. The Program Aims, Integration and Construction of Masculinities

> *You take those things at first… while you were in the Introduction Program… because it is new, and you value it but after a while, it becomes normal because you see it every day, that is normal. I mean you internalize it, and it becomes a part of you… I mean you value, and you start believing the same thing, and you become that person, part of that society precisely like them, right integrated (laugh). If you believe in those beliefs and accept it, then you start actually acting like Norwegian as well…* (Magarsa, 32 single)

Broadly speaking, in the previous chapter, I have discussed the program's aim as being twofold. First, as an integration policy, it aims to enable informants to participate in broader society as a citizen (Hagelund & Kavli, 2009, p. 259). Second, when the Norwegian Introduction Program was introduced in 2004 for newly arrived refugees and their families, the law was explicit in its gender-egalitarian initiatives that it should not be implemented in a way that supported the traditional patriarchal culture (Kavli & Djuve, 2014, p. 8). It seems that Magarsa had these two aims in mind when he replied with the above answer when I asked him his experience in the Introduction Program with regard to gender equality.

On the one hand, per the first program aim of broader societal integration, one common theme that emerges from the data is that the program became a tool of information for the informants' integration into society through different platforms such as language courses, job training courses, and contact with their teachers. It has/had a role in the creation of feeling and sense of integration among informants. All of my informants explained that they had/have a mostly positive experience with the NAV Introduction Program. The Program became a bridge for them to connect and learn about Norwegian language, society, and culture. For example, Elemo, explained the importance of the Introduction Program as follow when asked what he learned during the program:

> *We learn about their culture, about the language, about Norwegian society, and how one should integrate into the host society, and we learned about these things and also how to get a connection and get a job here.* (Elemo, 32 married)

His statements explicitly imply that the program can serve as a measure to connect to Norwegian society. It shows that the program served him as an essential information tool and as a point of departure for his integration into society. As such, it fits well within empowerment discourse, where the program is conceptually perceived as an individually tailored, day-long training in Norwegian language and social studies, with a strong focus on user involvement (Djuve, 2011, p. 121).

Many of the participants told me that they have learned how to deal with real-life situations in the Introduction Program, as well as what Norwegian society looks like based on real-life experience, which serves them as a base for their integration. All informants deeply believed that the program is an essential tool for integration into Norwegian society and even success. For example, one informant considers the program as a "*highway,*" and he explained that, on that highway, there are people who drive their car as fast as possible as program guideline dictates and achieve "*great success through introduction program.*" Another noted that the program offers "*something that can be a foundation for you.*" No doubt these kinds of general positive experiences and use of program measures as such fall under empowerment discourse, as I explained in chapter three (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013).

However, on the other hand, as per the second program aim of promoting gender egalitarianism, an important theme that emerged from the interview is an invitation to construct new masculinities or new gender ideals based on available local discourses in the program. The Program has also taught informants explicitly/implicitly about the correct way of constructing masculinities based on local gender discourses, which in turn question their former masculine ideals, especially their connection with language teachers and adult education school. It is noted that schooling is associated with gender construction on two levels (Francis & Skelton, 2001, p. 9). First, through government policies on education, and second, as sites where gendered identities are constructed and negotiated on a daily basis, not only between teachers and students, but also between students.

Concerning the first, which is the subject of my interest here, it is clear that one of the purposes of the Introduction Act is to teach newly-arrived refugees the central values of Norwegian society, including gender equality, thereby breaking traditional patriarchal norms held by immigrants. Implicitly, this includes teaching them and inviting them to construct new masculinities based on available local discourses. While this mainly happens in social studies class, it also implicitly takes

place in Norwegian language class, since a school curriculum is constructed to provide insight into Norwegian society and values through language textbooks.

In class, they learn about gender equality, such as the right of women to work outside the home, sharing financial responsibility in the family, or in general about Norwegian social codes and values. For example, Yussuf said the following while talking about what he learned in the program:

> *Of course, what you learn in the program is the Norwegian culture and norms. While you learn the language, you learn everything simultaneously. In that you learn what it means to be typical Norwegians, you learn how to communicate with Norwegians, their social codes, their cultures… gender relation…* (Yussuf, 33 single)

However, a question naturally occurs: would they receive the invitation to accept the new gender ideals and masculine identities based on local discourse as a whole without any exceptions? In an attempt to answer these questions, the data show that informants have very contradictory views. As I have shown in the previous section, the informants rarely questioned their roles as men in the family or society while still living in their place of origin. This was taken for granted. However, upon entering Norway, their firm beliefs around manhood came continuously into question in different forms through different platforms. As they started the Norwegian Introduction Program, their questioning of their former identities reaches another level. Now, through their experience in the Introduction Program, particularly their interaction with teachers, obligatory internship work, social studies classes, and so on, their construction of masculinity based on available masculine discourses has gone through different phases.

In the findings section above, in which I have described how the informants negotiated their masculine identities upon arriving in Norway, Ethiopian men participating in this research noted that they have had to adjust to accommodate changed circumstances in Norway. However, this does not mean that immigrant Ethiopian men have disregarded everything they have learned within their culture of origin. In the last part of the previous section, I cited Yussuf's ideal masculinity right now, *"…ideal man should take responsibility…"* where he explained that men should both work outside the home to provide for a family and also take responsibility in the house. Likewise, Ethiopian informant men have taken what is constructive from their old culture in order to facilitate their settlement process here in Norway, for example, in notions like being a responsible father,

husband, and hard worker. This indicates continuity in their present identities as well as in their former gender ideals. Nevertheless, it also indicates a change, in part, in their present identities because they now have to share responsibilities and decision making in the house. This means that the masculine statuses that accompany being a provider are now called into question, if not destroyed, in their new locality.

Consequently, not all their present gender ideals are consistent with Norwegian gender ideals. Although the Introduction Program created a sense feeling of integration among informants as I presented above, it has also continuously called their former masculine identities into question. For example, Yussuf told me on many occasions that he questioned himself since he came to Norway and started the Introduction Program about "*why we used to look down on women.*" He said, "*I even questioned or ask myself about that, really. Because when you see their potentials and kind of role they could play in the society, you would be surprised*" He continued and said, "*I mean the way we treat women… giving all those household chores to women… when you came here and saw what kinds of roles and contributions women are making in society… I mean when actively see all these… it had impacted me very well.*" However, when I asked him women's education and working outside, he said the following:

> *They can learn so that they can be independent in themselves. I believe that women should not just sit in the house but work outside too. However, they should not engage in bad things or do something unworthy of their names. They should not do something that is not respectable in their culture, country, and religion. They can be independent parallel in accordance with our culture...* (Yussuf, 33 single)

Yussuf came to Norway directly from Ethiopia one and a half years ago. At the time of the interview, he had just begun the Introduction Program and was hoping to continue his education in Norway. In the previous section, I cited Yussuf's account that his sister had to quit schooling so that the boys in the family could go to school. From that viewpoint, his above statements are quite open-minded and progressive, but when examined more closely, seem self-contradictory. On the one hand, it states that women can be independent, while on the other hand, it places restriction on what women should and should not do, according to their culture of origin.

Likewise, Magarsa shared similar views, but with even more complex and contradictory understanding. Interestingly, Magarsa's quotation in the beginning of this subsection, i.e., "…*you start believing the same thing, and you become that person, part of that society precisely like them, right integrated (laugh)…"* signal that, as immigrants, integration into Norwegian society means accepting gender equality. It seems that he clearly understood the program's aim that it should not be implemented in a way that supports traditional patriarchal culture. Nonetheless, Magarsa said the following while talking about gender equality between men and women:

> *You cannot expect to have everything similar… in terms of the gender roles, for example let say in a family, ok… men cannot take care of children like women do… So, I believe that we (women and men) are different, but we (women and men) are equal…* (Magarsa, 32 single)

Magarsa came to Norway seven years ago and finished the Introduction Program five years ago. Both of his parents used to work as teachers in public elementary and secondary schools. The Teaching profession has different class status in various parts of Ethiopia, ranging from low status teaching in the elementary and secondary school in rural areas to higher middle-class status for teaching in universities as lecturer or professor. Magarsa had a degree in economics and worked as a manager in a good company with middle-class status. When he began the Introduction Program, his goal was to continue his education in Norway.

To do that, he needed to learn the Norwegian language as fast as possible so that he could attend a university. After many years, Magarsa is now a master's student. At one point, Magarsa said, "*... when you are educated, you really need to apply your education even if it is something to do with family issues, gender equality, and anything else…"* One analysis of this point is that the trajectory of his class status mattered in the process of settlement in Norway, and his goal to pursue education in Norway in a way is reclaiming a continuation of his former class status. This indicates his interest in re-establishing himself here in Norway.

While Megarasa's above statement in part refers to a biological difference between men and women, it also implies that men and women have different roles in caring for children. In another instance, he mentioned that, while men have to help women in the house, he told me that it is wrong to propose that men do 50% of the housework, with women doing the other 50%. Magarsa stated that "wo*men have a natural instinct, right, for example, for caring. We (men) do not have*

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that. It is natural." He justified his position based on his religion (Islam) and culture. However, surprisingly, at one point, referring to what he learns in the class, Magarsa mentioned that "*I take a lot of listen from both… religious text, and from Western text such as literature, so on, from what I observe and from what I think is right… in common sense."* This point, at least on the surface, seems contradictory, as the question would arise: what would happen when religious and western texts collide with each other, as they often do in the real world?

One interpretation is that if (when) they do collide with each other, the more common sense and practical of the two would to take over for him. For example, with regards to women's working outside, Magarsa once mentioned that "*in my religion, we often misunderstand a lot. Only because one or two hadiths (i.e., the record of the traditions or sayings of the Muhammad) said that women should pray home or better to be home, it does not mean that she should always be home… I do not believe in that."* Here, it seems that the more practical and meaningful option for him is women working outside, rather than staying at home. However, in the case of taking care of children or household activities, judging from the above paragraph, cultural meaning would take precedence. Thus, ambivalent views of gender ideals could create tension and conflict, as he also signaled in the excerpt in the beginning of this subsection, that becoming integrated into Norwegian society means accepting gender equality.

In part like Yussuf, his change of attitude back and forth toward Norwegian gender ideals seems to be a result of an intersection of class trajectory position (being a master's student now, in addition to his former education in Ethiopia), religion (Islam), length of stay in Norway (the change occurs gradually, not overnight like the others) and ethnicity (immigrant). The above two examples point to how some informants navigate and renegotiate their gender ideals and identities when they face a challenge or crash with Norwegian gender ideals during the Introduction Program and afterward in their resettlement process. However, not all informants have such views on gender equality. In the following subsection, I discuss how informants navigate changes and adaptabilities with Norwegian culture in connection with social studies class.

4.2.2. Social Studies Training and Masculine Adjustment

Another major theme that emerged under this category was the importance of social studies courses in their construction of masculinity. I made certain in light of this to ask direct questions

about whether or not it has/had an impact on the construction of masculinity in terms of attitude or/and behaviors. Social studies is a class that instructs and guides most Ethiopian informant men in the active construction of masculinity during their time in the Norwegian Introduction Program and afterward. They learn about gender equality in the classroom while, at the same time, learning about Norwegian social codes and expectations, among other things. In this subsection, I discuss how informants relate to the Introduction Program social studies class, while at the same time experiencing a change in masculinity in terms of attitude or/and behavior.

Most Ethiopian men interviewed for this research emphasized the importance of social studies courses, the information they get through different platforms in the Introduction Program, and the impact it has had on them. For example, Nathan made the following when I asked him what role the Introduction Program social studies class has played in the change in his attitude or behavior toward gender equality, or *likestilling,* since he came here:

> *It is an obligation to respect her opinion; she has a right to work just like you have a right to work. You learn those things in there that you should respect other opinions and that everyone has a right to work. You also begin to believe that it should be this way because she is the mother of your children. So, you begin to believe in it.* (Nathan, 31, married)

Nathan was married after he came to Norway. His wife works in a nursing home, and he told me that they share both financial contributions and household responsibilities. After a long journey of class trajectory, I discuss this point in more detail in section 4.3.; Nathan is now working as a bioengineer at a hospital in Oslo. His above statements have two important aspects that were often shared among my informants. First, his statements signal that everyone has a right to work, i.e., he knows that, as a newly-arrived immigrant, he has to abide by the law, and he also knows that not following the law has immediate consequences here in Norway. Whereas in Ethiopia, by contrast, there could be laws that give the same rights as Norway – for instance, stating that everyone has the right to work – however, there might be no institutions that upheld those rights, with the result that, often, no one takes it seriously in Ethiopia.

At the same time, following from the above line of reasoning, Nathan has a need to construct new masculinities based on available discourses here in Norway because he now knows that he cannot refuse if his wife wants to work outside the home and become the sole breadwinner in the family

in an exchange of masculine statuses from culture of origin. Thus, his acceptance of his new status as dual breadwinner is a departure from his former masculine identities. The second point is that Nathan's attitude changes over time, not overnight. In another instance, for example, when I asked him the importance of social studies classes, in clear language, he stated the following:

> *In the beginning, you follow the laws because it is just an obligation, but through time gradually, you believe in it.* (Nathan, 31, married)

Thus, it seems that his change of attitude toward new gender construction and ideals is an intersection of his current status position (bioengineer), marital status (being married), class trajectory (both his former education in Ethiopia as well as recent education in Norway), length of stay here in Norway, and ethnicity (being immigrant). His above two points were also shared by many of my informants. For example, Elemo said the following when asked about the impact social studies class has had on him, or/and whether he adopted Norwegian culture:

> *I have adopted with Norwegian culture because… Norwegian culture first as someone who is educated, and also, as more you learn, stay, and communicate with people, you will adapt to the culture. When you come to being a husband, for example, if it was yesterday or we were in Ethiopia, you could be angry very fast if she does not respect you or she does not make something she supposes to... But here you cannot do that.* (Elemo, 32, married)

It was recalled from the previous section his account of the influence that his culture of origin has had on him. However, notwithstanding his local lifestyle, Elemo later moved to an Ethiopian city to pursue his dream of profession nursing. Elemo told me that he had wanted to be a nurse since his youth, after he observed people from a distant rural area who used to walk hours to a Community Health Center that was located where he lived. As a result, when he finished high school, he joined a private University College to study nursing. He did not tell his family until he was in the second year, however, as he knew that they would not be happy. After he graduated from nursing school, he worked as a nurse for quite some time there before migrating to Norway five years ago. Right now, he is working as a health care worker (*helsefagarbeider* in Norwegian) at a nursing home. However, as I discuss in section 4.3., Elemo went through many challenges before reaching this position.

Elemo was married while he was in Ethiopia, and his wife immigrated to Norway just a few months ago, after he applied for family reunification. He said, "*I was prepared and waited before she came here. I widen my belief in gender equality. I prepared myself... My idea or perception I had about equality are changed.*" Here it seems that he understood that, when arrived, things would not be the same as they had been before. He realized that he needs to change his former gender ideals of a place of origin before she arrived. Similarly, his comment above indicates that he recognizes that he may not get the masculine statuses, such as respect and privilege, he used to get in exchange for being the sole breadwinner in the family back home.

His statements also show that he adopted Norwegian culture over time, as he stated clearly in other instances: "*I behave like them. At this moment in time, my setup completely changes… I act and behave like them. Since I adopted this culture."* Thus, many things play into his change of attitude, such as his former class status, as he refers to himself as an educated person, being married, his current status as a health care employee, being an immigrant and, last but not least, growing up with a different background, i.e., an environment where the local health center helped him to think and construct different masculine identities from an early age while he was in his culture of origin.

Fayesa has also shared similar thoughts about gender ideals and equality, with an even more natural reaction. He came to Norway two and a half years ago and recently finished the Introduction Program. He is now a first-year degree student at a university college in Oslo. Accepting gender equality and changing conceptions of gender roles at home for Fayesa came naturally, since he, as a grownup, observed his father cooking and helping in the house. When asked how he feels about women working outside, while the husband stays at home in Norway, he replied with the following:

> *It makes me feel good because here people live as everyone is equal. As everyone can contribute equally to society, to the family and also to the country.* (Fayisa, 27, married)

Fayesa spent most of his child life away from his local community, as he puts it: "*like as I said I went to missionary school or boarding school and most of my life as a child was there in the boarding school. And my teachers were foreigners. So, I was not actually that much influenced by the society around me.*"

After boarding school, he lived in Ghana for four years for study. After he graduated, he worked on an international ship where he visited many parts of the world. However, despite all these influences, he said the following when asked whether living here and taking the social studies course had an impact and changed his attitude or behavior toward gender equality:

> *Back then, although I have been to university in Ghana and even though I was working in an international company, traveling a lot of places… I thought I know how western society lives, but when I came here (Norway), I found totally different things. Now I think differently, the view I have for religion, the view I have for politics is totally different. So, I think it (social studies and being living here) has impacted me a lot… now, for example, when you come to a family and child-rearing, it's not only money or it is not actually about money but I have to be there for them for the baby and help my wife. And we take care of the baby together… that view has been changed* (Fayisa, 27, married)

Although his class trajectory, taught by foreign teachers from a young age and having been to different places of the world, help him to understand gender equality, it is living here that played an important role in his altered conception, as he explained above. He stated that he cooks more often than his wife now, who is also a student at a university college. Thus, it was natural for him to adjust his masculinity to the new environment in this regard. However, on the other hand, the construction of gender identities at the workplace takes another trajectory and creates challenges for him, as I discuss in section 4.3.

As I have shown above, change in attitude did not come overnight for most of my informants. Furthermore, it must be noted that these classes by themselves were not new for most of my informants. They were already informed about gender equality through different platforms in Ethiopia. For instance, they had all graduated from universities, which means they had taken civic and ethical education courses from grade nine onwards, that gives fundamental insights into gender equality. What is new to them, however, is the practice of this notion. For example, Ibsa said the following while explaining about this:

> *In Ethiopia, as I said, gender equality is, in theory, you do not see much in practice. Nevertheless, here, you see 100% in practice. Besides, you learn how*

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> *to bring children up, you learn rights and obligations between wife and*
> *husband, you learn laws about family, they believe in 100%, so whether you*
> *like it or not you have to follow and abide by the laws. That what I believe in.*
> (Ibsa, 27, single)

Most of the participants explained that they did not know how to live by it. Change in attitude or/and behavior come over time as they live in Norway, observe and experience in different social interactions the real-life experience of what it looks like to live according to gender equality.

4.2.3. Language Course Placement with Student Peers

Class placement is meant here as an act of placing a student in a classroom with other fellow students based on the assumption that they are at a similar language or educational level. It does not mean their relationship with teachers or not even with the other students, strictly speaking, but only the space they are placed in. Problems with language class placement is a common theme that emerged from interviews with Ethiopian men. Almost all of my informants were/are not pleased with the class they were placed in. The problem with language course placement could affect the construction of masculinities in the new environment in the Introduction Program. For example, Elemo said the following when asked about his least favorite part of the Introduction Program:

> *It is common to find this problem in the Introduction Program. In the program,*
> *you will learn with people that do not have an education or do not even know*
> *how to write a word. So, you will go according to their speed, not according*
> *to your talent… They think you in that position that you do not know how to*
> *write a word. Even teachers will consider you that you do not know anything…*
> *it happens to many refugees who came from my areas; they do not say*
> *anything about the problem to the teachers because they are timid by nature.*
> *Moreover, they do not know how to explain the problem in Norwegian.*
> (Elemo, 32, married)

Here in this specific instance, categories such as ethnic background (immigrants, language), class (education), cultural dimension (being shy by nature), and masculinity (according to their speed-not being active enough) are interwoven. In the first section of this chapter, I discussed how being active as a responsible and a provider in the family is a central feature of the Ethiopian men I

interviewed for this thesis. It means that being always on the move in order to search for meaning (such as being a provider/active) in their life once again here in Norway is inevitable. In connection with class placement, Elemo said on one occasion: "…*how would a person expect to provide his family if one goes in this speed in the class. I wanted to learn the language very fast and got a job to provide my wife who was in Ethiopia back then…*" Thus, Elemo's excerpts refer to gender construction.

My informants wanted to learn the language as fast as possible and take the *Bergenstest*[8], which qualify them for the entrance to a university, as most of whom wanted to further pursue their education here in Norway. However, parts of their former middle-class identities are challenged now, either because their former competence could not match the Norwegian labor market (as Nathan and I discuss in the next section), or they were informed, like Elemo, that the educations that they pursued in Ethiopia were not considered equivalent to the Norwegian education counterpart by the Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education (NOKUT).

As the primary purpose of the Introduction Program is to provide a language course for the participants and prepare them for the Norwegian labor market, not placing students in the right class could cause a class to be less meaningful, which compromises the quality of the Introduction Program. The language class being passive could be considered by Ethiopian men as a hindrance to their former construction of sole-breadwinner masculinity because of being stuck in time and unable to move upward.

Elemo was first placed in a class that was above his level. It was challenging for him to catch up with the class speed. So, he asked the school management to change to a class at his level. They then placed him in a class that was very much below his level, as he tried to explain in the above quote. Most of my informants explained that their placement in classes was either below or above their level. Some said that they faced the same problem, again and again, one time below their level and other times above their level. One informant said, "*They changed me a lot. I changed the class four or five times.*" He continuously said, "*and it is almost always the same*" problem. For some informants, "*sitting in the class was very boring because of this.*" Not moving according to their ability, and instead according to fellow students, would mean the class not being active

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[8] The *Bergenstest* is a test for proficiency in the Norwegian language. The test is nationally approved and is a prerequisite for non-native speakers who wish to study at a higher education institute in Norway.

enough and feeling like of loss of time, which could affect their construction of the former masculine identity of a breadwinner.

Similarly, Nathan said the following:

> *…You learn only a few words a day; it is something you can learn by yourself at home. This is because we were in a different language and educational level. It was very under my level. But if you do not attend the class, they will deduct the money from you. If that happens, I could not help my wife enough. Even though she was working and earn more money, I had to contribute.* (Nathan, 31, married and a father of two)

As already mentioned, Nathan was married while he was in the Introduction Program. His wife had been in Norway long before him and was working in a nursing home. Thus, she earned more than he did at that time. The money that would be deducted if he did not attend the class would have further diminished his financial contribution to his family at the time, and by extension this would hurt his masculine obligation of being a provider. Thus, from Nathan's excerpt, we see that many intersections are intertwined such as class (education), ethnicity (immigrant, learning language), and masculinity (being a provider).

Most of my informants felt that they were wasting their time in the class. One informant told me that he did not feel he belonged in the class with a little bit of smile on his face, and said, "*I think no one did (laugh)*," indicating that there was too much difference among them in their level of language skills. Some felt that they were not happy with the class, but other informants felt frustrated at the time.

The magnitude of the problem with class placement with Ethiopian immigrant men I interviewed seems to be disappointment and that the class was somewhat inactive. However, their experience in the language class placement did not appear to affect their overall experience in the Introduction Program. For example, Elemo said the following when I asked him whether his experience in the language course placement with student peers affected his trust in the Introduction Program:

> *The problem is in the implementation… the problem is not in the introduction program or social studies per se, but the way they allocate students. It is not with the government or those who design the program policy, or not with*

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introduction program goals, but those who implement the program. It is the way they assign students to the classes. For example, they will assign new students with those who have been here in the class for two years and have good Norwegian skills. (Elemo, 32, married)

Similarly, when I asked Fayisa the same question, he said, "*I think I have a very good time during the Introduction Program.*" Continuing, he said there was the language course placement problem, but he said, "*even that I do not want to say it a thing.*" All informants share similar thoughts about their experience in the Introduction Program, despite the language course placement problem.

4.3. Work Inclusion and Display of Flexible and/or Strategic Masculinities

In this section, I discuss how Ethiopian informant men's access to work through the Introduction Program facilitated or challenged them to renegotiate their gender identities in Norway. They came here with enthusiastic hopes to build a good future for themselves after they escape the gruesome horror behind them, but they have to start from the ground up. However, in the process, they have to convince themselves and understand their new situation, context, and environment. For example, Magarsa had a degree in economics and came to Norway after he worked as a manager for a good company for many years in Ethiopia in a middle-income economic position, as he often talks about how good his status was in Ethiopia. When he settled here in Norway, his primary goal was to continue further education. This trajectory of class, in a way, is a claim to re-establish himself again here in Norway. Meanwhile, in the meantime, his interest was to work as a salesperson in a store, despite the fact that he has a degree in economics and has years of experience. The fact that he wanted to work as a salesperson indicates that he already knew that he would not get a job as a manager in the first place, as once before.

He sent as many job applications to several places as he could, but he said, "*I did not even get a response. So, I downgraded myself and started applying for hotels, and you know as a staff like that.*" Now he finds he cannot even get a job as a salesperson in a store. However, he did not give up and kept applying for any jobs he could get and said this with a broken voice: "*that I did not get still. I started applying for cleaning, and it took me three months to convince myself to work whatever its I get.*" He told me that "*my family was in a bad situation at the time and I have to work whatever it is I would get so that I could help.*" One interpretation of this point is that to

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provide for his family means to fulfill one of the most significant aspects of his former masculine construction, as I have discussed in the first section of this chapter.

He was living in Tromsø during this time, and just started the Introduction Program. One thing worth mentioning here is that he used to be a manager in an aluminum and steel workshop company, which is a typical traditionally male-dominated job. He told me that all his co-workers were men. Now for him to convince himself to work in the cleaning branch is not a matter of changing occupational hierarchy, but also changing to a job traditionally considered to be "feminine," both in Norway and Ethiopia. He worked as a cleaner for quite some time in Tromsø as a part of the Introduction Program obligatory internship. The cleaning branch is both low status and considered a female occupation in Ethiopia and in Norway. Thus, this has (Batnitzky et al., 2009) challenged his idealized notions of former middle-class masculine status. This was one of the first places that challenged his former masculinity, as the workplace provides an important site for the production of gender identities (Batnitzky et al., 2009).

Soon after, he applied to relocate to Oslo through Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDI), got accepted, and started the Introduction Program in Oslo. He got a second job in an elementary school as an assistant teacher through his contact person in the Introduction Program. This time he was so glad, and said:

> *I was here two and a half years, and I got a job as an assistant teacher. It was*
> *really a big deal for many people. The status was huge because people do not*
> *get a job. I want to learn the language there (school), and I got a job.*
> (Magarsa, 32, single)

His experience and contact in the elementary school are still highly important after many years as he put it: "*Even now they called me and told me that if you do not get a job (after he finished his master's), come to us. I mean, they want to hire me. So, my time there was really nice… So the Introduction Program helped me to get a job.*" Many of his co-workers at the elementary school were female, and he had good working relationships with two of them especially, of which one of them recommended him to the school principal to hire. Furthermore, he said his being black was needed for the school to have diversity, but he felt very positive about it. He said:

> *The thing when you are a teacher in Norway (informant making sound with his tongue), and you are black, and your background is from Africa… or you are not grown up here is a big thing.* (Magarsa, 32, single)

And when asked how, he replied, "*they want different people for diversity for school. Not just Norwegians… in a positive way.*" Although an assistant teacher position is still a low-status position, it has quite a bit higher status than cleaning, and is male profession in Ethiopia. Nonetheless, Magarsa was happier for being an assistant teacher. As I discuss below, here Magarsa classed and gendered identity in a new and different way in Norway that both challenged and reinforced the dominant notion of hegemonic masculinity.

As I have indicated in the above, after convincing himself, Magarsa demonstrates flexible gender identity in the short term for working in the cleaning branch, and in doing so, he challenged the dominant notion of hegemonic masculinities through working in what traditionally considered as low status "feminine" occupation. However, in return he strategically fulfilled his masculine obligation to provide for his family back home with the money he got through Introduction benefits. However, through changing occupation to assistant teacher, Magarsa reinforced the notion of hegemonic masculinities again, because the teaching profession is still a predominantly male occupation in Ethiopia. Thus, his migration experience displayed a complex intertwined intersection of class (his current as well as former education), ethnicity (being black and immigrant, but favored positively), and gender location between here (Norway) and there (Ethiopia).

Another similar story came from Fayesa. As already mentioned, he has a degree in Navigation Science, another typical male profession, and also worked for years on an international ship as second-in-command officer on the board, which is a highly respected middle-class masculine position, as he said:

> *I was a second officer. I was navigator like my position comes third on the hierarchy of the ship. It was good… captain is there, then a chief officer and the second to the chief officer was me. When you have a position, it is tough to mingle with others like you have to keep respect* (Fayisa, 27, married)

As he explained, working on the ship is kind of "*like a paramilitary thing. You have a position there on the ship starting from captain down to ordinary seaman,*" and almost all were men who often worked on the ship with him. Clearly, here Fayesa emphasized how important status was in his former working life in Ethiopia. As he settled in Norway and started the Introduction Program, he was interested in working on a ship in any position, or studying. He, together with his contact person, sent many job applications to many ship companies, but did not get positive responses. He then omitted his first interest and started searching for any other job he could get.

He then got a practice job as an assistant nurse – a low-status, female occupation – in a nursing home (*Sykehjem*) as part of the Introduction Program mandatory internship for three months. During his time in the nursing home, he said, "*from the patients… some of the elders at Sykhjem can act…as racist sometimes like they can say no you cannot take care of me… that can happen…*" Being a man in a low-status female-dominated job and treated badly in the nursing home would clearly further hurt Fayisa's masculinity, as he was used to being at the top of the status ladder in his former career in Ethiopia. After he finished the internship, he did not get a job there. However, mainly, after completion of the compulsory internship, he did not want to work for the rest of his Introduction Program period. He said:

> *As I told you, I was not working. I choose not to work during that time… I know a lot of friends who worked in addition to the introduction program. But I really need that time to sit down and think because after all, I have enough money (Introduction benefit) (laugh). It was more than enough really* for us (Fayisa, 27, married)

He preferred not to work partly because he wanted to think and plan for the future. But mostly the Introduction benefit was enough for both him and his wife, as she was also a participant in the program, and contributed jointly to their finances. However, as Fayisa's excerpts above suggests, it could also be attributed to his experiences with racism in the nursing home and with the lack of job availability in his chosen field. As soon as he finished the program, he got a call from the nursing home where he used to work, and they offered him a job. He declined though, because, at that moment, he was also called for an interview for another job, which he preferred. He got a job as a quality controller for Oslo Ruter Public Transport, where he worked for one year. Right now, he is a first-year student studying bioengineering at a university college in Oslo.

Just like Magarsa, working in a nursing home for Fayisa during the Program internship period clearly illustrates a strategic trade-off, because through the performance of "flexible" gender identity in working as an assistant nurse, which was considered a "feminine" and low-status occupation in an exchange for being paid the Introduction benefit, he fulfilled his masculine responsibility of providing. The fact that he was uninterested in working in the nursing home after he finished the obligatory internship period further strengthen this point. In doing so, as I have shown in the above, the Introduction Program serves as a tool of motivation (sanction) for him to participate in the labor market and challenge the dominant notion of hegemonic masculinities.

Another story came from Nathan, who came to Norway seven years ago. As mentioned in the previous section, he had been a computer science teacher in a prestigious international school. Teaching in such a respected school in the capital, Addis Ababa, was a middle-class position in Ethiopia. When he started the Introduction Program, his primary interest was to work in programming, or to continue his education in Norway. As already mentioned, this trajectory of class status is a way of reclaiming his former middle-class status and re-establish himself here in Norway. He sent many applications and said, "*I applied many places again and again, and I could not get any responses.*" After a while, he got a practice job as an assistant nurse at a nursing home through his contact person in the Introduction Program.

After he worked three months there and finished the internship period, he quit. He said, "…*whenever my family back home asked me what I do back at that time, I would talk something else, they wouldn't understand what I do, you know…*" This shows that his work at a nursing home clearly challenged his former masculine construction. Nathan continued and said, "*my preferable job was programming. I learned computer science back home. Thus, I wanted to work in programming or related fields… And I have very good competence in that field. However, I could not find a job in that area, and I gave up.*" Thus, the Introduction profit serves as a tool for Nathan to participate in the labor market in Norway for the short term through being strategically "flexible" with his gender identity in exchange for providing for his family. Although NOKUT has approved his computer science education credentials, he said:

> *The competition is tough here because the students are very familiar with the*
> *computer, and they have more experience with the computer starting from*

their childhood. Thus, because of this, I could not get a chance. (Nathan, 31, married, and a father of two)

Notwithstanding his chances in programming, he developed an interest in bioengineering. His change of interest was more strategic, as he put it, *"I chose bioengineering first because in this country, I will get a job very fast if I learn something related to health,"* in order to fulfil his masculine obligation to financially support his family. However, on the other hand, Nathan displayed flexible masculinities by joining the health sector, female-dominated occupation in Norway. Thus, after while he started a bachelor's degree in bioengineering at a university college and graduated. Right now, he is working full-time as a bioengineer in a hospital.

When asked about his relationship with co-workers and his feeling of inclusion right now, he said, *"after you become a full-time employee, you will start living like them, new life, and you become just like family with them… sometimes, for example, we go together to a cabin (hytte) in the countryside…"* the fact that Nathan revealed such strong feelings of integration in his current workplace shows that his masculine flexibility in a female-dominated occupation has taken root, rather than just being a strategic trade-off to provide for his family. Thus, this last comment of Nathan's feeling of successful integration in his workplace is an intertwined intersection of reasonably middle-class status occupation of current job and displacement of flexible masculinity, unlike his previous unsuccessful renegotiation of masculinity during the Introduction Program work internship in the nursing home as an assistant nurse, which was a low-status position.

However, not all informants display strategic "flexible" masculinities in the workplace through the facilitation of the Introduction Program. For example, we can look at the experience of Elemo. He has been living in Norway for six years, and his goal was to work as a nurse, as he had a degree in nursing from Ethiopia. He used to work for a private clinic as a nurse in Ethiopia. When asked how he joined a nursing school, he said, *"as I was growing up, I used to observe people from distance area walking for long hours in order to reach community health center that was located in my area where I used to live. I wanted to become a nurse from that time on, you know I want to help people."* Even though nursing is a predominately female profession in Ethiopia, he did not mind. He said, *"I did not care what people would say about it, you know."* This indicates that

Elemo protested the dominant notion of hegemonic masculinity, and was also demonstrating flexible masculinity, even while he was in Ethiopia.

However, he could not get a job as a nurse in Norway because of discounting of his education credentials. He worked in a nursing home as an assistant nurse as a part of the Introduction Program obligatory internship. After he finished the Program, he got a part-time job in a nursing home as an assistant nurse, which was quite unstable. At one point, he said his former employer did not call him often, and he said, "*plus you have to be capable more than Norwegian in the same field. However, since you cannot speak the language as they do… you will not be preferred or accepted.*" Elemo felt that his being an ethnic minority played a role in his not being called often for the job at a nursing home. As such, for him at that moment, it was an intersection of class status (reduction of his former education and occupational hierarchy), and ethnicity (immigrant), whereas there was no change in gender identity role at the workplace, as working in female occupation was not new to him, but rather a continuation of his previous construction of masculine identity.

It appears that an intersection with ethnicity functioned for my informants in different ways. For Magarsa, ethnicity played a positive role in getting a job, and even being favored among his students as he once told me, while for Elemo and others, in a negatively constructed way. Right now, Elemo has had his nursing degree credentials approved as a Health Care Worker (*Helsefagarbieder*), and he is working full-time. His change of status in the current job heightened his sense and feeling of inclusion in the workplace. He has a good working relationship with his co-workers in his current job. When asked how he feels about his current job and the feeling of inclusion, he said:

> *I feel more included right now than before. Because now you meet them frequently. Moreover, second, your meeting with them is widening. The more you stay here the more you know about this society*. (Elemo, 32 married)

Thus, just like Nathan, successful feeling of integration in his current job is an interwoven intersection of reasonably higher status position of his current job than his former low-status position of an assistant nurse, and already ongoing displacement of flexible masculinity in the workplace.

Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis has been to investigate masculinity with an aspect of class status among Ethiopian newly arrived male immigrants in the context of the Norwegian Introduction Program and their feeling of work inclusion. The thesis is based on a semi-structured interview of a qualitative study of six Ethiopian immigrant men in Oslo who participated/have been participating in the Norwegian Introduction Program. The thesis utilizes the intersectional framework to explore different categories such as gender, ethnic identity, religion, length of stay, and class status among Ethiopian men interviewed for this research.

This thesis challenges understandings of masculinity as unchanging or as a means through which individuals can act consistently across places. Instead, the descriptions of the Ethiopian immigrant men in this thesis demonstrate that identity is not an essential attribute (Gibson-Graham, 1997). The finding of the study shows that although the Norwegian Introduction Program has created a feeling and sense of integration among all Ethiopian immigrant men, for some, it continuously questions their former construction of masculinities. The analysis of this thesis illustrates that Ethiopian informant men coming to Norway in a way by itself pose a challenge to their former masculinities. For example, as soon as my informants began settling in Norway, they have to do simple things like cooking, doing laundry, cleaning and other housework activities by themselves that were traditionally done by women in the family back home. As such living in different socio-economic environment facilitate for some smooth transition in certain aspects, while others have to adjust themselves with over time.

The finding of the study shows that masculine identities are (re)negotiated in the process of resettlement, often resulting in the production of flexible and strategic masculinities distinct from those performed in the country of origin. In part, this has a strong similarity with how Batnitzky et al. (2009) describe immigrant men in the United Kingdom (UK) in their research. In the second chapter, I have discussed how immigrant men in Batnitzky et al. (2009) research 'uphold' specific aspects of gender identities in order to send remittance money to their relatives back home while strategically selecting and focusing on aspects that will benefit them in labor market. Their research shows that sending remittance for relative back home functions as a tool of motivation (in order to fulfill their familial obligation) for immigrant men (especially immigrant men from lower-income families in the countries of origin) to participate in the labor market in the UK,

through being strategically 'flexible' with their gender identities. It means that immigrant men were 'flexible' and challenge the dominant notion of hegemonic masculinities by participating in occupations, they consider as 'feminine,' through strategically selecting and negotiating with their masculine construction to fulfill their masculine obligation of a provider.

Similarly, in the context of my study, I argue that Introduction benefit is used as a tool of motivation (sanction) for most Ethiopian informants' men in this thesis to participate in the labor market in Norway (through engaging in obligatory internship), through strategically 'flexible' with their gender construction by working in occupation consider as low status and feminine in their country of origin in order to fulfill aspect of their former masculine obligation: providing their family here or back home. For Magarsa, Fayisa, and Nathan, their occupations during Introduction Program obligatory internship were not their first choice. Thus, during this period the fact that they were not able to pursue their first career choice was part of the reason why they had to or were able to adopt a flexible and strategic version of masculinity in the Norway.

Nathan, for example was unable to work in a programming during Introduction Program obligatory internship period. Instead he worked in a nursing home as an assistant nurse during the program internship period, and he gave up his first choice to provide his family. Based on Lupton's concept of a process of realignment (2000), I argue that Ethiopian informants men reconstruct and interpret their occupations during the program obligatory period in ways that are consistent with their sense of former masculinity, part of which is located in the fulfilment of masculine obligations of being a provider in their country of origin, while in doing so challenge their past expectations about proper work for men.

In this way, this research supports other findings which have suggested that for the men in their research who have family obligation to send remittance "migration allowed them to meet economic imperatives that were part of their construction of an acceptable gender identity, while at the same time challenging some of their previous assumptions about appropriate work for men" (Batnitzky et al., 2009, p. 1289). I add to this observation that masculinity could also be flexible prior to migration in the country of origin due to a certain societial need. This was demonstrated by the experience of Elemo who became a nurse to help people in need, and protest against the dominant form of masculinity in his country of origin. I have shown in this thesis how multiple forms of

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masculinity are performed in the working and family lives of Ethiopian informants men, and how their labor-market experiences during Introduction Program obligatory internship period provided them with an opportunity to display what Guerrier and Adib (2004, p. 336) call 'a different masculinity'.

To conclude, masculinity is not stable and cannot be pinned down (Haywood & Johansson, 2017). Nonetheless, it tends to be interpreted as such in the public discourses, media, and politics in discussions about African men's gender identity. However, through the facilitation of Introduction program obligatory internship work, male Ethiopian immigrant in this study demonstrates various natures of masculine identities that are attributable to a range of factors such as class status, religion, length of stay, marital status, and biographical histories. As such this study challenges dominant literature and public discourses that view migrant men homogeneously as "custodian of patriarchy" "oppressor" or "deviant other" (Charsley & Wray, 2015; Herz, 2018).

However, further research has to be carried out in order to understand whether such findings are feasible with other activation and integration policies measures. It is somewhat surprising that there is almost no research that focuses how on the experience and perception of masculinity among immigrant men are expected to adjust or to be re-defined in the process of implementation of activation policies in Norway. In this regard, future research in the activation and integration measures should more thoroughly theorize notions of transnational gender identities and their appropriate empirical dimensions.

Appendix 1: Interview Guide: Interview

The purpose of research/interview: to learn more about your experiences in Norwegian Introduction Program (NIP), as well as your thoughts about adapting to Norwegian egalitarian culture – I am interested to hear more about this information in relation to Norwegian society and feeling of included in workplace.

Life in the Ethiopia

- ❖ An overview of where you grew up and what your family life was like growing up
- ❖ How do you regard the role of men and women in your society or in Ethiopia? Is there some role solely attributed to men or women?
  - What does be a provider to one's family as man mean to you?
  - Given your experiences as man, how did you feel about the idea of 'Masculinity' (what is mean to be man) in your culture?
- ❖ An overview of where you lived and what your life was like before you moved to Norway
- ❖ How did you end up in Norway? (Family, love, work, travel, other)
- ❖ What were your thought about Norway before you moved? When you thought about Norway, what did you imagine?

Two years' experience in Norwegian Introduction Program

- ❖ What is your most and the least favorites part of the Introduction program?
- ❖ Have you taken 50 hours social studies classes? If so, what have you learned about Norwegian society, Norwegian family or Norwegian egalitarian gender culture? How did you see it in comparison with Ethiopian gender culture? Have these differences impact on your attitudes or behaviors? How did that make you feel?
- ❖ Thinking your two years' experience in NIP, do you remember experiencing any changes in your attitudes and behaviors in relation to your female partner (if any), your family, your friends, your local community, your involvement in paid work, and public institutions)
  - ▪ How did you regard these changes? Positive or negative?
  - ▪ In your opinion, what you think the role of Intro in this?

Work inclusion

- ❖ Did you have a practice job while you were in introduction program as part of requirement of the program?
  - If so, how did get the practice job? How many hours did you worked in weeks?
  - What were gender component in the workplace? How can you describe your working relation with your colleague?
  - Did you struggle or face any challenges while you were in practice place? If so, how did you get by the challenge (s)? Did you felt you were included in practice place?
  - Did courses such as how to write CV or how to prepare one's self for interview or any other courses in NIP help you to get this practice job or others? If so, how?

❖ What sort of job did you had in Ethiopia? Did you felt you were included in your workplace while you were in Ethiopia? How did that made you felt (either being included or not)?
❖ What did you imagine having (type of your dream job) when you come here (Norway)? What have you done to have this dream job? (Maybe upgrading your education, building social network…etc)
❖ Do you have job now? Is it full time job or part job? How that makes you feel? How well do you interact with your colleague at workplace and outside workplace? Do you feel included in your workplace? Do you think you are paying enough tax to make you feel included in Norwegian society?
❖ How do you feel being in a profession you are in and being provider for your family?
❖ Based on your experience, do you think NIP help you socialize or boast your feeling of inclusion in your current workplace? If so, how?

Ethiopia to Norwegian culture ideals

❖ When you think about Ethiopia culture, what does it mean to you today – how have your ideas about gender or masculinity changed?
❖ When you think about Norwegian egalitarian gender culture, what does it mean to you (as relevant, being men, being a father, being husband, being a colleague, being a son, being a part of family in your community, being a part of community in Norwegian society, being a provider, being included in Norwegian work place, having trust in Norwegian public institution and society at large)?
❖ Experiences with or understandings about Norwegian gender equality that have changed since you moved?
❖ Given your experiences of masculinity in the Ethiopia and Norway, you could be said to have a good understanding of what works and what doesn't. If you can imagine for a minute, what would you describe to be an ideal masculine culture?
❖ Did your role as men changed since you moved to Norway (or while you were in Intro)?
  ▪ If so, in what ways? How did that make you feel?
  ▪ What you think the role of NIP in this change?

Demographic questions (to ask if not answered within the interview)

1. Birth year and place
2. Relationship status:
   a. Single (includes divorced/widowed)
   b. Partner (not co-resident)
   c. Partner (co-resident)
   d. Married
3. Number of children at home (if applicable)
4. Number of children living outside home
5. Presence of family members in same town:
   a. Siblings
   b. Parents

      c. Children
6. How long they have lived in their current house/apt/place
7. How many times they have moved in the past three years
8. Level of education obtained
9. Currently working? (if applicable)
      a. If yes: what type of job do you have?
      b. If no: what type of job did you last have

Appendix 2: Information provided to informants requesting their participation in research project and statement of consent
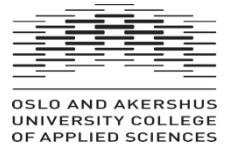
Request for participation in research project

Master thesis Title: Experience in Norwegian Introduction Program and its role in finding job and building connection with Norwegian societies

<div align="center">

Written by Akil A. Sherif, 23.08.2018

</div>

Background and Purpose

I'm a master's student undertaking program in International Social Welfare and Health Policy at Oslo Metropolitan University (formerly known as Oslo and Akershus University College), Faculty of Social Science.

My thesis focuses on the Norwegian Introduction Program and its role in getting jobs and connecting with Norwegian society. It mainly explores the experience of male Ethiopian immigrants who came to Norway as adults and participated in the Introduction Program. The study is interested to see how your participation in the introduction program shape or challenge your thought about Norwegian societies and how by extension this experience and perception shape your feeling of included in the workplace.

You are requested to participate in the research study because you are attending or have been participated in introduction program and taking or taken 50 hours introduction to Norwegian society in order to share your *experience and thoughts about participation in Introduction Program and its role in shaping your opinion about Norwegian culture and feeling of included in the workplace.*

What is expected during the research study?

I would like to talk with you for 40-60 minutes with the possibility of future discussions. The interview can take place at your home or another location of your choice.

If you are willing to participate in the study, we will talk about:

- Your life in Ethiopia before moving to Norway and your move to Norway

- Your thoughts about Masculinity when you lived in Ethiopia

- Your life in Norway since your move – including work and family

- Your experiences and thoughts about Norwegian Introduction Program (this may include things like your meeting with your caseworker, Norwegian language course, språk kafe (language café), work training and 50 hours introduction to Norwegian society) and the ideas associated with Norwegian Introduction Program

- Your thought and feelings about Norwegian society and the workplace in Norway.

What will you get out of participating?

- You will have a unique and rare opportunity to share your opinion and input on a variety of issues. This is your platform! You get the chance to tell someone what you really think about important issues regarding the introduction program and its role in a judgment-free zone.

- Data from the interview will be used as a primary source for my master thesis writing and will probably be used as a secondary source for future master students at the same degree program.

What will happen to the information about you?

I will ask for your approval to record our interview on a digital recorder. All the information you share with me with be held confidential. When I write a report from my research data, it will be anonymized (I will not provide your name or any personal information about you or where you live).

My personal computer will be password protected, and this will be kept in a locked room in my house. Printouts will be protected from unauthorized access by being kept in a locked drawer or shredded. Recordings will be protected from unauthorized access by being saved on my computer which is password protected and the recording will be deleted from the recording device. When the study is finished, the information you provide (without a name or personal information) will be entered into a database, for use in future research. I will contact you and report back on the most important findings and on how I will report them.

You will have the opportunity to ask questions or clarify information both before the interview begins and any time during the interview. You can pull out of the research project at any time should you wish to do so, without explanation.

The project is scheduled for completion by November 2019. The data will be made anonymous by project completion

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY
I have received written and verbal information about the study, *Experience in Norwegian Introduction Program* **and am willing to participate in the study.**

Date:_____(day)/_____(month)2018

Place:_____

Signature: _____

Name (with ALL CAPS): _____

Address (with ALL CAPS): _____

Postnr: _____ Zipcode: _____

Phone number: _____

If you have any questions about the research study, please contact the student responsible Akil Sherif by telephone +47 96977994 or e-mail 320836@oslomet.no. You may also contact the project supervisor Erika Gubrium, Professor at Oslo Metropolitan University by telephone +47 41366534 or e-mail (erika.gubrium@oslomet.no).

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