Work inclusion of migrant women in low-skilled labor organizations

Gender, ethnicity and migrant status and feelings of work inclusion of Latin-American migrant women in cleaning companies

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Preface

This Master Thesis is a piece of academic work, a humble contribution to the vast and profound sea of Social Science that might or might not be lost in a search engine in ten years' time. I like to think about research as a search into other people`s minds, into their feelings, their ideas, their constructions about the world in which they live. Therefore, for me, there is always a complimentary discovery beyond the scientific contribution of a research. There is always a lesson not only in what other academics argue but most importantly in what people – "the respondents, the informants", as they are called "scientifically"- teach researchers.

This is the reason why I would like to thank, first of all, the women that have answered my questions for this research. They are women and migrants from Latin-America; they are among the wisest women that I have ever met. They work cleaning the buildings that we inhabit, that we work in. These women taught me valuable things about life in one hour of conversation. I am very much indebted to their generosity.

I would like to thank the early readers of this thesis, especially Irene Dankelman and Dide van Eck, whose valuable input helped me clarify my ideas. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Pascal Beckers, for his constructive feedback. I would like to express my gratitude to Marieke van den Brink, whose internship supervision has been like studying a Research Master, for giving me the opportunity to be a small part of the great job that the Gender and Diversity group is doing at Radboud, and for always having her office open.

Thanks to the unforgettable friendships from all over the world that I made during this master at Radboud and who made me a better person. I still toast for this being one of the best years of our lives.

Gracias a mi familia, por su apoyo constante.

A Roberto, por ser la sonrisa de cada día y hacerme mirar más allá de mi dedo.

Summary

The broad literature on diversity in organizations pointed out to the need on knowing how to make diversity effective. Work inclusion appeared to be the key to make diversity work, besides a matter of social justice. This research has deepened into the knowledge on work inclusion within the theoretical framework of feelings of uniqueness and belongingness in low skilled labor organizations. This research is relevant because much of the literature on work inclusion has been focused on high skilled labor organizations, with few exceptions. In addition, this research has explored feelings and perceptions of the diverse workforce themselves on work inclusion. This research has aimed to find out in what way do migrant women feel included or excluded at work.

In order to achieve this goal, interviews had been undergone with Latin-American women working in low skilled labor organizations, namely cleaning companies, in the Netherlands. Framed within interpretive traditions and a feminist critical standpoint, this research observed the role of gender, ethnicity and migrant status in feelings of uniqueness and belongingness. An extensive literature review was conducted, with a critical perspective, to find out which indicators were suitable to measure feelings of work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations. Thus, a complete picture on work inclusion has been presented, with all the nuances that work-related and relational indicators have bring about.

Both sets of indicators –work related and relational- proved to be suitable to study work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations. Work-related indicators showed how precarious conditions of the respondents curbed their feelings for work inclusion, and relational indicators showed that when it comes to interactions and communication the respondents had more opportunities to feel included. Overall, Latin-American migrant women feel low uniqueness and low belongingness, although unpacking their feelings with the indicators as a tool, showed that there are some opportunities for agency and for inclusion in low skilled labor organizations, although these opportunities were not facilitated by the organizations.

This research has filled a gap in work inclusion literature in low skilled labor organizations, it identified suitable indicators to measure feelings of uniqueness and belongingness, and it showed the nuances that the inclusion/exclusion feelings have at work. Thus, it uncovered knowledge that low skilled labor organizations can use to promote work inclusion of the diverse employees, and has advanced interesting research for the future on the field of work inclusion.

1. Introduction

On May 2017, *The New Yorker* published an article that brought to the light the situation of exploitation and abuse in Case Farms, a chicken plant in Ohio, USA. There, migrant workers – mostly from Guatemala- undergone the tasks none of the American locals wanted to do. Osiel, a Guatemalan worker for Case Farms, lost his leg while cleaning the liver-giblet chiller because he had to climb up the machine, as his supervisor suggested him, by the lack of ladders. He was underage and undocumented. He was fired. In their web page, Case Farms has a section announcing their career opportunities, in which the company asserts that "Case Farms is an Equal Opportunity/Affirmative Action Employer. All qualified applicants will be considered without regard to race, gender, national origin, color, religion, age, genetics, sexual orientation, disability or veteran status". Some of the workers at Case Farms told Michael Grabbel, the author of *The New Yorker* article, that they were paid nine dollars per hour, and that they must wait so long to have a break in the production lines that some of them wear diapers.

The overrepresentation of migrants -and especially migrant women- in low-skilled labor organizations is a reality (Cortés and Tessada, 2011). Nonetheless, low skilled labor organizations have been largely ignored in work inclusion literature (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008), as well as the study of the perceptions of the individual about organizational practices and employee`s feelings within the organization regarding work inclusion (Shore et. al. 2011). When migrants start working in an organization, they also become part of the diverse workforce -although not necessarily become the minority workers- and not always feel included in their teams. Therefore, it is important to distinguish between diversity and work inclusion. While diversity is the representation of multiple identity groups and their culture in a particular organization or work group (Ferdman, 2014:3), inclusion is a concept that requires action, allows for change to happen and takes on account the individual perceptions of the worker within the group. As we can observe from the example of Case Farms, for some companies to have a good policy on paper becomes a substitute for action (Ahmed, 2007:599). This is the reason why work inclusion has grown as an important concept, different from diversity. Shore et al. (2011) define work inclusion as "the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the workgroup through experiencing a treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (p. 1265). The same authors, however, recognize that work inclusion remains a concept with blurred and varied definitions that have often lead to confusion and controversy (Winters, 2014). The reason why inclusion remains a confusing concept is due to the high volume of definitions and indicators that different authors have been using, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the research done in work inclusion over the years has been focused mainly in high skilled labor organizations, therefore focusing only in part of the labour market. This fact has lead researchers to question whether the concept of work inclusion, as it stands today, is suitable for low-skilled labor organizations.

The theoretical concepts used by Shore et al. (2011), *uniqueness* and *belongingness,* aim to find a unified framework for work inclusion. These two concepts, the authors found, are somehow present in most of the previous definitions they reviewed. They define belongingness as the need to form and maintain strong, stable interpersonal relationships; and

uniqueness as the need to maintain a distinctive and differentiated sense of self (ibid). In other words, in order for a worker to feel included in his/her organization or workgroup, she should feel part of the team without leaving behind the unique aspects of her identity: that of being a Latina, migrant, woman, for example.

It is remarkable that most of the research done in the field of work inclusion has been done in high skilled labor organizations, and therefore the indicators to measure and study work inclusion might not be suitable for study work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations. This situation gives us an idea about how disregarded are not only those organizations, but also and most importantly, the workers who perform low-skilled jobs (Rodriguez, 2004).

Box 1. Precariousness and the "migrant work ethic"

In the past, I already experienced what was like to be a high-skilled migrant woman working in a low-skilled labor organization. As part of the process of this research, I made what I consider to be an interesting experiment. Randstad is one of the biggest temporary working agencies, founded in 1960 in the Netherlands. Nowadays Randstad is present in more than forty countries all over the world. Randstad operates as well under the commercial name Tempo-Team, which is the *uitzenbureau* hiring most of the women who work in cleaning companies in the Netherlands. I called Randstad in my own name, giving my own, truthful information: I am a Psychologist, finishing a Master`s Degree in the Netherlands and I do not speak Dutch. I wanted to know whether I would be able to use Randstad`s services to look for a job. Then, I called one of their branches located in a city of the Netherlands. First, I asked politely whether it was possible to speak in English with the person on the phone. She made a sound as if she was doubting (or annoyed) and answered me "yes". I introduced myself and explained that I was looking for a job, for that I detailed my educational background. I added that, on their web page, it was not possible for me to register because all the information is in Dutch. Then, the worker told me: *If you do not speak Dutch, you can go to this website. It is called Pran.* I thought this page would be another branch of Randstad and I asked her *is Pran part of Randstad?* She answered me "yes". We ended our phone conversation, and I started browsing in Pran. Above there is a sample of some of the jobs offered in Pran`s website:

(Continued)
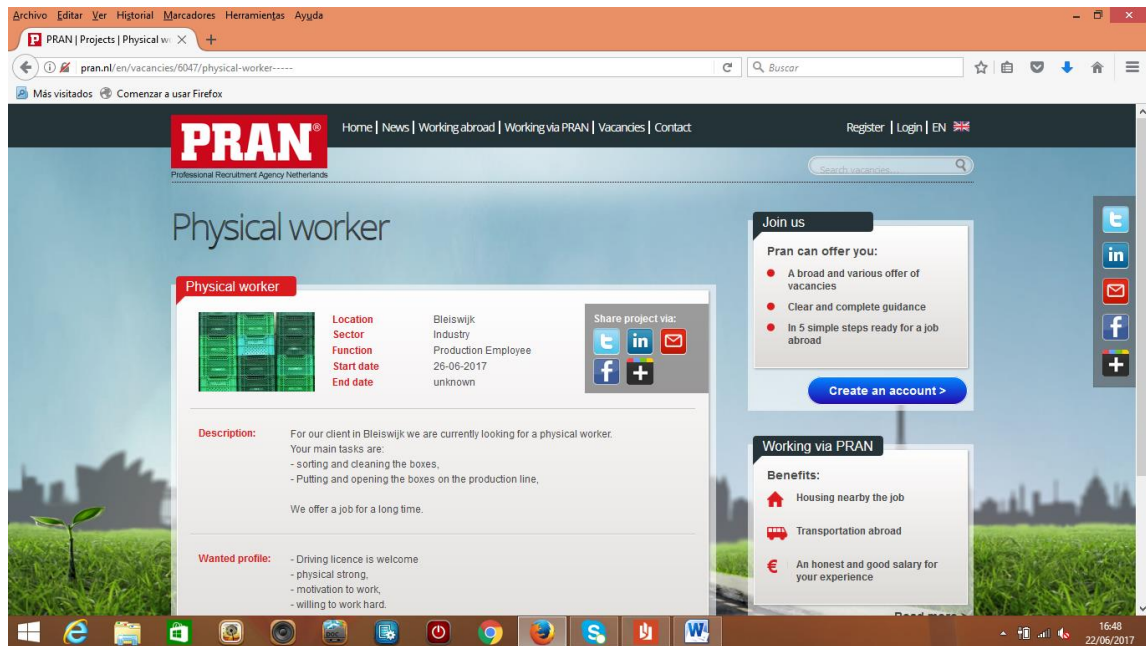
Figure 1: Job announcement in Pran: "physically strong, motivation to work, willing to work hard"
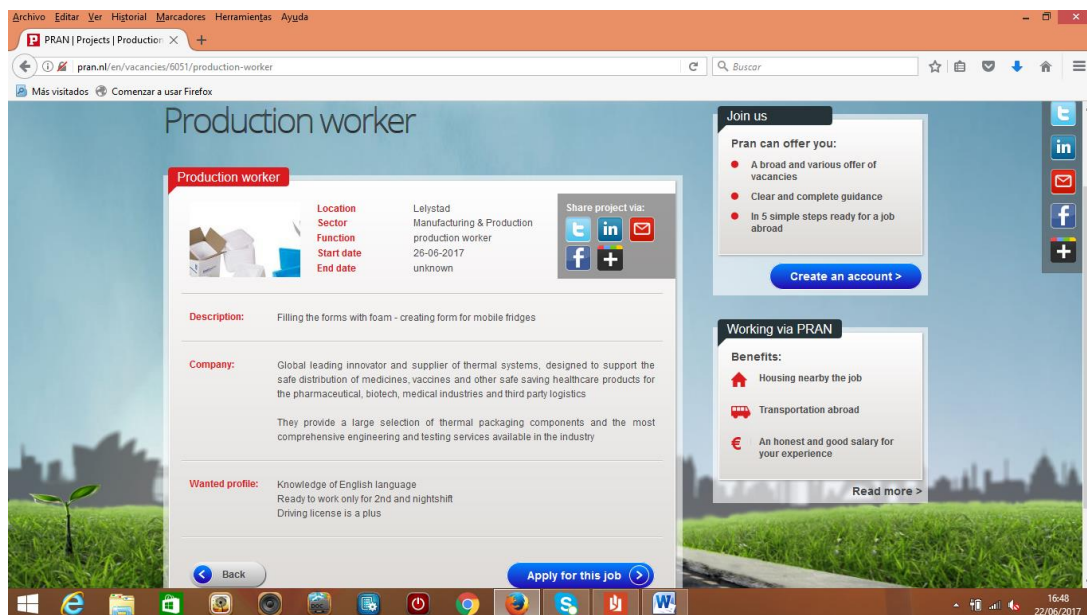
Figure 2: Job announcement in Pran: "ready to work only for second and night shift"

(Continued)
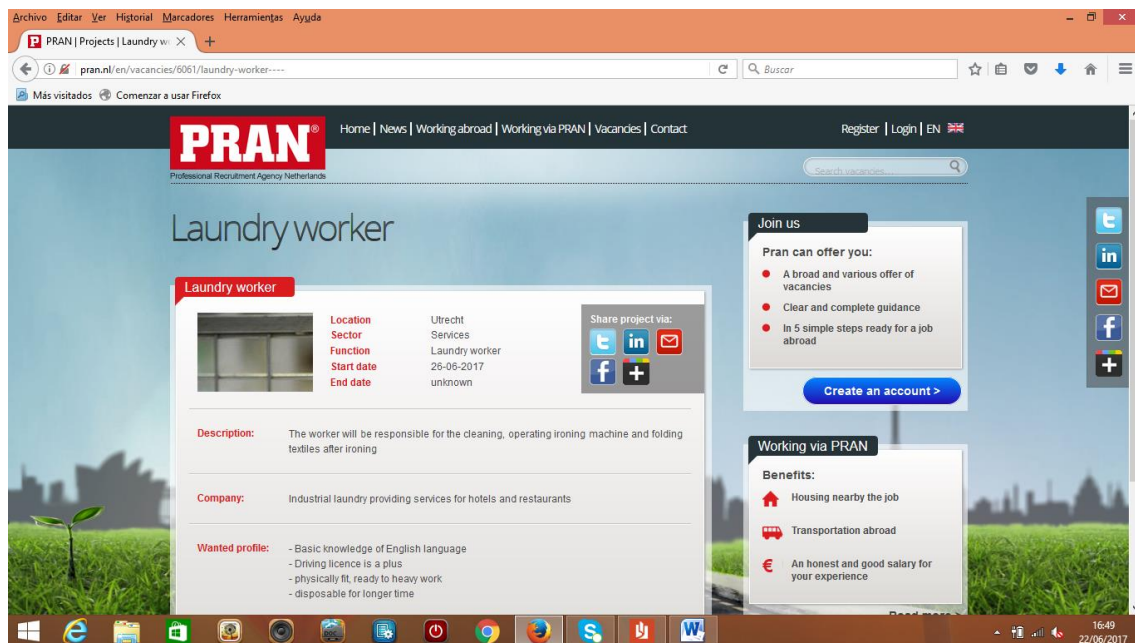
Figure 3: Job announcement in Pran: "physically fit, ready to heavy work, disposable for longer time"
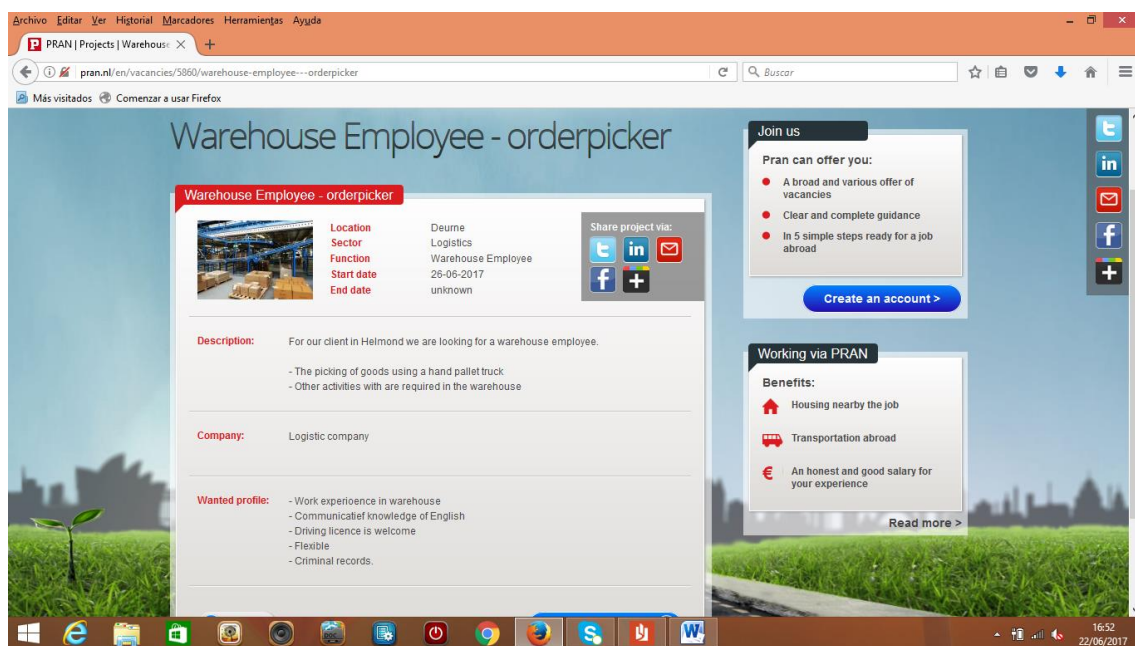
Figure 4: Job announcement in Pran: "flexible, criminal records"

It is important to remark that I explained my educational background (a Degree in Psychology and a Master in the Netherlands) and that I did not speak Dutch. I thought that, maybe, the worker who answered the phone previously did not know exactly what information to give me, and I decided to call a second time. This time, a different worker answered the phone. Again, I introduced myself first and asked politely whether it was possible to speak in English. She acceded. I explained to her the situation and the fact that Pran was maybe not the place for me to find a job in the Netherlands. Then, I asked her, again, if there was any possibility for me to find a job using the services of Randstad apart from their Dutch website.

(Continued)

She told me that it was not possible and, again, referred me to Pran website, which left me stunned.

Not only as a researcher, but also as a woman and as a migrant this made me feel useless, hopeless and disarmed. Indeed, chaotic and unpredictable working times can undermine other social identities (Anderson, 2010: 304).

This helped me to understand the reality of low-skilled jobs in the Netherlands –and most likely in other countries as well (for examples from the UK, see also Anderson, 2010 or Dawson et al. 2017). In fact, temporary agencies and websites do not seem to hide anymore and state clearly what they expect from migrant workers (it is important to remind that Pran is written entirely in English but works exclusively in the Netherlands): individuals able to work any shift, willing to work hard and even "disposable for a long time", as if they were talking about toilet paper: a great, desired and strong migrant work ethic. Only having in mind the particularities of low-skilled labor organizations will we be able, as researchers, to measure work inclusion accurately.

1.1 Research goal and questions

In this sub-section, I will explain the main aim of this research and will set forth the main research question as well as the sub-questions that will lead this research.

Even acknowledging the extreme example that Case Farms represent, it is important to point out the gap in the literature on work inclusion regarding low-skilled labor organizations. Thus, the main objective of this research is to add knowledge to the field of work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations and to show how gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in feelings of uniqueness and belongingness at work. In order to fulfill that purpose, I elaborated the main research question that will lead the research:

In what way do migrant women feel included or excluded at work in low skilled labor organizations?

I will use the case study of Latin-American women working in cleaning companies in the Netherlands. I decided to use this sample because we could communicate in Spanish. As they would talk about feelings and perceptions, speaking in their own language is important. In addition, Latin American women are a growing group of migrants internationally (Pessar, 2005). I will conduct interviews with them and I will try to find out first, whether migrant women feel included working in a low-skilled labor organization as is the case of cleaning companies. Second, I will explore how gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in their feelings of uniqueness and belongingness working in those organizations. My research will contribute to clarifying if migrant women feel unique and if they feel they belong to their organization.

To achieve the abovementioned research objective and answer the main research question, I formulated three sub-questions that must facilitate the process of finding out answers. The first sub-question is:

Are current indicators suitable to study work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations?

This sub-question is important because we need to find appropriate tools to measure work inclusion. In order to answer this question, I will conduct a critical literature review. The second sub-question addresses the concept of uniqueness:

How do gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in feelings of uniqueness?

The third and last sub-question will draw in the concept of belongingness:

How do gender, ethnicity, and migrant status play a role in feelings of belongingness?

These last two sub- questions, which deal with the core concepts of work inclusion as we define it nowadays, will try to dig deeper in both feelings to observe how gender, ethnicity, and migrant status are deployed at work inclusion.

1.2 Scientific and societal relevance

In this sub-section, I will argue about the scientific and societal relevance that this research can add and how it will contribute to gain work inclusion knowledge from which organizations, society and academic scholarship can benefit from.

In the first place, this research is relevant scientifically to diversity and work inclusion scholarship because the knowledge about work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations is rather limited (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008), and therefore this research will fill this theoretical gap. Besides, this research also assumes the need proclaimed previously by other authors stating the need to inquire about feelings and perceptions of the individual about work inclusion (Shore et al. 2011) and will add to the knowledge about feelings of the diverse workforce themselves (Zanoni et al. 2010). In addition, this research will lead the way to find indicators to measure work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations, indicators suitable especially to these companies. Moreover, previous studies about work inclusion have used a wrong sample to build scales to measure it (see, for example, Jansen et al. 2014). On the contrary, this research is among the few ones focused on migrant employees actually working in low-skilled labor organizations (for an exception, see for example Janssens and Zanoni, 2005). After this research is done, new, more refined indicators, and therefore more accurate measurement of work inclusion could be used in low-skilled labor organizations. And going further, maybe a reconceptualization of the definition of work inclusion as we know it nowadays can be put forth after this research, and contribute to the rethink of a work inclusion definition, a more inclusive one.

In the second place, the societal impact of a research is the "contribution of research to the social capital of a nation, in stimulating new approaches to social issues, or in informing public debate and policy-making" (Bornmann, 2012: 673). Organizations are among the most important capital in any country. However, it is important not to forget that organizations are built by people and that without those individuals –the employees, supervisors, and managers- the product or service that the organization delivers would not be possible. The present research will contribute to organizational knowledge on work inclusion of a diverse workforce: not only gender, ethnicity/race; class/migrant status/employment status but also to other

identities such as sexuality, religion or age. Diversity in organizations is a reality and companies have to deal effectively with it. Especially in low-skilled labor organizations, where diversity is more salient, to favor work inclusion is not merely a need for effectiveness, but mainly an issue of social justice. Taking this research as an illustration of the reality of work inclusion in low-skilled labor, its derived conclusions could be used by organizations to spot in which aspects they could add or change work inclusion practices. Organizations, as a result, could gain from the work inclusion of a diverse workforce taking its advantages (Ely and Thomas, 2001). However, it is important to point out that organizations that use this knowledge would gain not only more effectiveness but also would practice their social responsibility. Employees, at the same time, can gain in well-being (Mor-Barak, 2000) and favor their inclusion in society at large: because organizations are mirrors of society (Acker, 2006), society would benefit from individuals who feel included at work. Inclusion at work could mean inclusion in society.

1.3 Content overview

In the next chapter, I will explain, with a critical perspective, the theoretical framework for work inclusion. Thus, the main theoretical concepts for this research will be detailed: work inclusion, uniqueness, belongingness and work related and relational indicators. Adopting a critical perspective through the literature review will allow me to answer the first sub-question. Moreover, I will describe and define low-skilled labor organizations.

In the third chapter, the methodology used for this research will be detailed. I will explain my research philosophy, approach, and strategy and I will explain the process of data collection and analysis. Lastly, I will discuss the research ethics as well as reliability and validity for this research.

In the fourth chapter, the detailed research results will be explained. First, I will analyze the results derived from work related indicators. Secondly, I will detail the results derived from relational indicators.

In the fifth chapter, the two last sub-questions and the main question will be answered. In addition, the contribution of this research, its limitations, and suggestions for future research will be provided.

2. Theoretical framework and critical literature review.

In this chapter, I will explain the key theoretical concepts in the field of work inclusion, which conform the foundations for this research. However, I will not only explain the concepts, but I will keep a critical perspective on the literature. Thus, the present review will have the double purpose of first, explaining the theoretical background and framework for work inclusion, and second answer the first sub-question of my research: *Are the current indicators for work inclusion suitable to study low-skilled labor organizations?* Firstly, I will explain and define the concept of work inclusion and its indicators. Afterward, I will provide a description of low-skilled labor organizations.

2.1 Work inclusion

Diversity in organizations is a reality more common each day, although not always recognized or well managed. It could be argued that diversity relates to "the number" of people in an organization that is part of a minority group in the society. Therefore these workers represent the diverse workforce in an organization. Diversity is "the representation of multiple identity groups and their cultures in a particular organization or workgroup" (Ferdman, 2014: 3). The rising numbers of workers from minorities in organizations is a reality because society is experiencing also more diversity. In that sense, organizations can be considered as mirrors of society (Acker, 2006). However, the question is how to manage organizations that are already diverse in terms of gender, ethnicity and migrant status? In low- skilled labor organizations, the lack of local workers "appropriately disciplined", make employers preference switch to migrant workers who apparently are easily manageable (Thompson et al. 2013). Roberson (2006), defined inclusion as "a person`s ability to contribute fully and effectively to an organization" (p. 215). Thus, a mere representation of minorities in an organization is not enough in order to recognize differences within the work group and in order for the diverse workforce itself to feel unique and to feel that they belong to the organization. Inclusion, therefore, is the key to making diversity effective (Bell et al., 2011), as well as a matter of social justice.

A key challenge for diversity scholars is to find organizational practices that allow its workforce to feel included, where workers are regarded as individuals within the group, and their feelings and perceptions about their inclusion in the organization are taken to the fore (Shore et al. 2011). Workers that feel included in an organization, as a result, will experience well-being, job satisfaction and will increase their workplace morale and their productivity (Mor-Barak, 2000). However, the positive outcomes that diversity can bring to organisations remains quite absent in the little research undergone in low- skilled labour organisations, where migrant workers are depicted either as "the good worker" or "the vulnerable worker" (Thompson et al. 2013), or where human resources employer`s discourse has been uncovered as regarding the employee as a mere member of a group, and not as an individual (Zanoni and Janssens, 2004). In the eyes of employers, migrant workers are regarded as "effective means to reach organizational ends", willing to take jobs that require flexibility and that are badly paid (ibid, 2004: 65). It seems that, because of the given for granted availability of migrant workers in low- skilled labor organizations, their work inclusion have been disregarded.

Shore et al. (2011) defined work inclusion as "the degree to which an employee perceives that he or she is an esteemed member of the workgroup through experiencing a treatment that satisfies his or her needs for belongingness and uniqueness" (p. 1265). For these authors, work inclusion involves the feelings and perceptions of two main concepts: uniqueness and belongingness.

	Low Belongingness	High Belongingness
Low Value in Uniqueness	Exclusion	Assimilation
High Value in Uniqueness	Differentiation	Inclusion

Table 1: Inclusion Framework, adapted from Shore et al. 2011

In the next two subsections, I will explain the concepts of uniqueness and belongingness. In the third subsection, I will explain the indicators available to measure work inclusion and their suitability for low-skilled labor organizations through a critical review of the literature.

2.1.1 Uniqueness

Uniqueness is the need to maintain a distinctive and differentiated sense of self (Shore et al. 2011). In other words, uniqueness is the feeling that our unique characteristics as individuals are valued, heard and regarded at work precisely because these characteristics are different from those of the majority and can bring positive developments to the organization. Optimal Distinctiveness Theory (ODT, Brewer, 1991) is the theory which served Shore et al. (2011) to develop their framework for work inclusion.

ODT argues that "(…) social identity derives from a fundamental tension between human needs for validation and similarity to others (on the one hand) and a countervailing need for uniqueness and individuation (on the other)" (Brewer, 1991: 477). The ODT explains that an individual needs to establish boundaries between her/his self and the group. In fact, to be valued as an individual and not merely as a worker within the organization has proven to be relevant for feelings of work inclusion (Nishii, 2013).

The value of unique identities and personalities at work have been claimed to be effective for positive and creative contributions in an organization: "(…) the creative person is motivated both by the need to be distinctive and by the intrinsic enjoyment of effortful thought" (Dollinger, 2003: 99). Workers need to feel allowed to express themselves freely, to remain truthful to their unique identities (Jansen et al. 2014) in order to contribute effectively to an organization. Ely and Thomas (2001) defined it as the "integration and learning perspective". These authors found that organizations adopting this perspective allowed diverse workers to feel more included because their ideas, perspectives, and behaviors were embraced and incorporated in a way that performance was heightened. In other words, organizations where minority workers bring their uniqueness make the organization grow "with its differences-not despite them" (Thomas and Ely, 1996: 7). However, the question is whether this is the case in low-skilled labor organizations.

If the individual feels a high value in uniqueness and a high belongingness, then it can be argued that the "individual is treated as an insider and also allowed/ encouraged to retain uniqueness within the work group" (Shore et al. 2011: 1266). However, if in order to belong to the organization an individual "is expected to conform to organizational/dominant culture norms and downplay uniqueness", then it can be argued that the individual is assimilated to the organization, and therefore not included (ibid). Minority workers might choose to hide or not to disclose their unique characteristics because they think it can be a threat to their belongingness. The fact of downplaying their uniqueness can cause stress and conflicts to these workers (Ragins, 2008). They can choose to hide or deny some of their identities and assimilate to that of the majority because their identity is seen as "undesirable or repulsive", as could be the case for a certain character, physical body or group membership (ibid). Nonetheless, if diverse workers feel they are part of the work group because of their uniqueness, they will feel a sense of relief, will have closer interpersonal relationships, and will be a way of influencing their environment (ibid). However, Boogaard and Roggeband (2009)

point out to the paradoxes that this may carry for minority workers. These authors argue that if a minority worker deploys his/her unique characteristics in order to feel included (being a woman, having an ethnic minority background, for example), they end up reproducing the inequality, somehow "locking themselves" in a subordinate position. In addition, arguing in favor of the distinct "cultural competencies" of minority workers, they might end up being assigned to specific jobs (ibid).

For some authors is the group who includes the individual, and not the other way round (Jansen et al., 2014). According to these authors, being able to bring one`s whole self to the workplace is an indicator for work inclusion. They define this aspect as authenticity. These authors use this term instead of uniqueness, because they consider that uniqueness, as recognition of the diverse workforce`s differences, "may endanger the safe inclusion of prototypical group members" (p. 371). While on the one hand it is important to have on account the potential resistance to diversity in an organisation, this approach disregard power relations existent in the workplace and the agency of workers (Zanoni and Jansenss, 2004; Zanoni at. al. 2010) as well as the discourses of diversity as an additional value (Zanoni and Jansenss, 2004) and the fact that inclusion has been available traditionally just for members of the most powerful groups (Ferdman, 2014: 9).

Thus, at an individual level, in order to contribute creatively to the work (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al. 1999) to be valued for who they are and not just as workers (Nishii, 2013), to make use of their knowledge to improve strategic tasks (Ely & Thomas, 2001), to influence decision making (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al. 1999), to be able to reveal their true self (Nishii, 2013; Ferdman, 2014; Jansen et al. 2014), is important that a minority worker feels highly unique, feels that his/her uniqueness is valued, regarded and appreciated.

Moreover, Janssens and Zanoni (2008) argue that the ethnic identity is fundamental to an individual`s self-concept and functioning. According to these authors, there are several organizational practices that can be put in practice that recognize the uniqueness of diverse individuals and allows for the expression of their cultural identity at work. It is important, for example, that minorities can express their cultural identity at work (for example, by organizing multicultural activities) and that their unique cultural competencies are recognized (by recruiting due to distinct cultural backgrounds). Nonetheless, the question is still open about whether a feeling of uniqueness and the value that low-skilled labor organizations give to the need of feeling unique is present in these companies.

What is it to feel unique?	Example	Author(s)
To contribute creatively to the work	I can use different tools (from the available ones) that make my job easier	Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al. 1999
To be valued for who you are, not just as a worker	I am approached by a colleague when I look like I am not feeling well	Nishii, 2013
To make use of one`s knowledge to improve strategic tasks	I am able to do my work differently in order to make it more effective	Ely and Thomas, 2001
To influence decision making	I am asked first when a change in my shift is made	Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al. 1999
To be able to reveal your true self	I can share with my colleagues where I come from/ the main features of my culture/my sexuality (if I wish to do so)	Nishii, 2013; Ferdman, 2014; Jansen et al. 2014
To be able to express cultural identity	I can bring my own typical food to Holiday`s informal meeting	Janssens and Zanoni, 2008
To recognize unique cultural competencies	I am recruited due to my distinct educational and/or professional background	Janssens and Zanoni, 2008

Table 2: Characteristics of uniqueness present in previous definitions of work inclusion

2.1.2 Belongingness

Belongingness is the need to form and maintain strong, stable interpersonal relationships (Shore et al. 2011). Belongingness is the feeling that we are part of a work team that recognizes our unique characteristics. As Brewer (1991) argues, having too much individuation is undesirable. We also need to feel validated, part of the group (ibid). There is broad research arguing that the need for frequent interactions in a stable and enduring framework is needed in order to ensure our well-being as individuals (Baumeister and Leary, 1995; Baumeister et al., 2005). Individuals need to have frequent interactions free from conflict and negative affect and to have the perception of an interpersonal bond marked by affective concern (Baumeister and Leary, 1995: 500). If a minority worker feels low belongingness and low uniqueness, he or she is feeling excluded (Shore et al. 2011), and it has been demonstrated that exclusion can lead to negative emotions and distress (Blackhart et al., 2009). In organizations, friendships at the workplace have proven to facilitate work inclusion (Pelled et al. 1999).

Is important to remark that, although some of the research done in work inclusion has been too focused on belongingness and neglected the need for uniqueness, "(…) colleagues who treat unique characteristics (e.g., perspectives, knowledge, or information) as unimportant or irrelevant contribute likewise to feelings of exclusion" (Shore et al. 2011: 1266).

Our sense of who we are is partly composed of the groups we belong to. However, to belong to a group, or to a workgroup for this matter, is valuable insofar the group allow us to be free to express ourselves. Indeed, "individuals are expected to leave groups that impede personal goals" (Hornsey and Jetten, 2004: 250). For example, the study of "tempered radicals" within

organizations, demonstrate that it is possible that individuals whose unique ideas are at odds with those of the organization, can still be committed and productive workers and be a main source of transformation for organizations (Meyerson and Scully, 1995). The need to belong to a group is so important that we will try to put in practice some strategies to find a balance between that need and our need to differentiate (to be unique) (Hornsey and Jetten, 2005). Individuals can belong to a group that allows individual differentiation, or they can make a distinction between being loyal and being conformist or one can consider oneself as more normative than other group members (ibid).

Thus, to feel belongingness is to establish fruitful interpersonal relationships at work (Pelled et al. 1999), to have frequent interactions free from conflict (Baumeister and Leary, 1995), to be asked about opinions and to have feedback (Nishii and Rich, 2014), to be invited to formal and informal meetings (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Mor-Barak, 2015; Ortlieb et al. 2014), to be part of mixed groups (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008), to participate in professional networks (ibid) and to be informed transparently about decisions, activities and practices within the organization (Mor-Barack, 2015; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008).

What is it to feel belongingness?	Example	Author(s)
To establish fruitful interpersonal relationships at work	I have friendships at the workplace	Pelled et. al. 1999
To have frequent interactions free from conflict	I am respected if my knowledge of the country`s language is not perfect	Baumeister and Leary, 1995
To be asked about opinions and to have feedback	I am asked about the performance of a new colleague. Supervisors congratulate me when I do a good job	Nishii and Rich, 2014
To be invited to formal and informal meetings	I am asked to join for drinks after work, or for holiday`s dinners	Mor Barak and Cherin, 1998; Mor Barak, 2015; Ortlieb et al. 2014
To be part of mixed groups (majority and minority)	I work along Dutch colleagues	Janssens and Zanoni, 2008
To participate in professional networks	I am part of a developing skills group at work/ I can attend Dutch lessons provided by the organization	Janssens and Zanoni, 2008
To be informed transparently about decisions, activities, and practices within the organization.	I am properly informed when I am eligible for a permanent contract.	Mor-Barack, 2015; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008

Table 3: Characteristics of belongingness present in previous definitions of work inclusion

2.1.3 Work-related and relational indicators: a critical perspective

In this section, I will describe the work inclusion indicators that authors have operationalized previously. I used the argument by Janssens and Zanoni (2008), who distinguished between work-related and relational indicators, to classify the indicators currently in the literature on work inclusion. Thus, the first sub-question will be answered:

Are current indicators suitable to study work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations?

In order to answer it, I conducted a critical literature review in which I analyzed the indicators that previous authors identified as indicators of work inclusion to conclude that most of them, as it was argued before by Janssens and Zanoni (2008), are mostly highly rank sensitive. However, they can provide information about feelings of work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations. As the same authors claimed, implicit in most of the literature were also relational indicators that are less rank sensitive, and therefore might represent a powerful tool to complement our knowledge on how and which aspects make a diverse workforce feel unique and feel they belong in low-skilled labor organizations.

Analyzing the framework for work inclusion proposed by Shore et al. (2011), one wonders: what are the feelings of uniqueness or belongingness of an employee that has been isolated from her teamwork because she does not speak the language? What are the feelings of uniqueness or belongingness of a worker that just have a three-hour contract? When we try to switch the scene from work inclusion in high skilled labor organizations to low skilled labor organizations we can observe gaps that have not been covered yet. The analysis of work related and relational indicators and its use as a tool to dig deeper into feelings of uniqueness and belongingness will help to answer these questions.

2.1.3.1 Work-related indicators

To measure work inclusion, we need valuable indicators that clarify whether employees feel unique and feel that they belong in their organizations. When we analyze inclusion literature, we find that most of the indicators are work related, therefore highly rank-sensitive (Jansenss and Zanoni, 2008). Nonetheless, they are suitable to measure work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations even acknowledging that one of the characteristics of these jobs is the restricted opportunity for upward mobility. These indicators can uncover the precarious conditions that curb feelings of work inclusion. Janssens and Zanoni (2008) categorized these indicators as work-related indicators. Work-related indicators are built around key constructs such as involvement in work groups, participation in the decision-making and access to information and resources (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011; Nishii, 2013). This means that these indicators measure aspects exclusively related to the performance of the job. As it can be observed, all of them are focused on the intrinsic work process within the organization.

- *Decision making, involvement in work groups and access to information*

A diverse workforce who brings unique educational, cultural and professional background should feel that these unique identities are making a difference in the performance of the job. Roberson (2006) found that inclusion is related to employee involvement and the integration

of diversity into organizational systems and processes (p.228). This could be translated into being an insider (Pelled et al. 1999; Roberson, 2006). Mor-Barak and Cherin (1998) and Nishii (2013), consider that being part of the decision making is related to workflow and career decisions. For Mor-Barak and Cherin (1998), involvement in work groups is related with the level of influence in the tasks. Access to resources and information (Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011) is related to the participation in formal and informal discussions, administrative communications and access to resources to perform tasks. Although they claim that work inclusion is on the roots of psychological well-being, these indicators operate still under the diversity perspective that focuses on the business case for diversity, such as improving the commitment to the organization and its effectiveness. These indicators are highly rank-sensitive because they depend on the level that the worker occupies in the organization. Nonetheless, to gather information about these aspects, about these indicators, is relevant for low-skilled labor organizations because they can show what workers in these organizations lack from, as well as give researchers information about their working conditions.

- *Job security*

To feel included, to be treated as an insider within the organization, employees have to feel they have job security, which is the likelihood that an employee will retain her/his job (Pelled et al. 1999: 1015). Organizations may show acceptance of a person by granting her stable employment (ibid). As a matter of fact, employees who are highly esteemed within the organization occupy the core of stable positions, while less valued workers are in the surrounding circles of less secure or temporary positions (Handy, 1994, cited in ibid). The perception of job security is relevant for feelings of work inclusion, although employees are experiencing increasing perceptions of insecurity and risk at the workplace (Kalleberg, 2009). This is especially relevant for low-skilled labor organizations, characterized by precarious employment (Piore, 1979 cited in McKenzie and Forde, 2009).

- *Equitable employment practices*

For Nishii (2013), a climate for inclusion is relevant for feelings of inclusion. Inclusive climates, the author argues, facilitate the engagement of whole selves (ibid). Thus, inclusive climates should favor feelings of uniqueness and belongingness within the organization. A climate for inclusion involves, among other aspects, whether the organization has equitable employment practices such as fair promotions, equal pay for equal work and safety.

2.1.3.2 Relational indicators

Relational indicators are those indicators of work inclusion that focus on the interactions and exchanges at work between colleagues and/or managers during which everyone is able to show her/his unique selves without constraints. These indicators also make workers feel that they belong to the organization without having to give up their unique identities. Relational indicators might give us complementary, more accurate information about feelings of uniqueness and belongingness in low-skilled labor organizations. As it has been mentioned before, the nature of the tasks performed by employees in these jobs does not imply most of the tasks implied in work-related indicators (such as influence decision making, for example), or those are limited. If we focus solely on work outcomes, we might lose important

information on the way. We might be disregarding the every-day interactions and communication issues (Rowe, 2008) that can only be taken into account if we operationalise relational indicators. If we focus exclusively on work-related outcomes, we are disregarding the power relations of every-day work (Zanoni and Jansenss, 2004: 57). In addition, if we focus excessively on task-related indicators, we forget about the agency of workers (ibid, 2004). Moreover, interactions at work may be shaped by racial stereotypes as well as gender and class stereotypes (Acker, 2012: 219) and therefore it is important to analyze them. This is why relational indicators are also necessary to measure work inclusion.

- *Friendships at the workplace*

Pelled et al., (1999) recognize the importance of friendships at the workplace as a means to facilitate organizational inclusion (p. 1016). We can consider this as a relational indicator because it acknowledges the important role of relationships and interactions in the workplace. Communication among colleagues builds bridges and opportunities for mutual understanding that are not available through work-related indicators. Indeed, "small talk" and "social talk" during breaks or at the start or the end of the workday has a unique bridging potential between employees (Coupland et al., 1992 cited in Thuesen, 2016). This relational indicator is important not only by itself but also because of its influence on other indicators. As a matter of fact, communicative misunderstandings can curb the influence in decision making, or create a difficulty in finding out about workplace events or having less access to information (Pelled et. al., 1999: 1017).

- *Two-way (upward) communication*

An inclusive organization would be the organization that has a "pluralistic value frame" (Mor-Barak, 2000: 343). In other words, the inclusive organization is the one that is open to contributions to the unique characteristics of the workforce, and especially that of the minority. If they are included, the diverse workforce would have the perception that their contributions are valued because they have two-way communication with management, open management, and employee meetings and their concerns and expectations are listened (ibid). Having facilities for upward communication makes it easier for employees to contribute to work processes (ibid). As a relational indicator is based on manager`s openness to new ideas and the attitude of seeking feedback (Nishii and Rich, 2014).

- *Significance of cultural identity, mixed groups and use of sense of humor*

Ely and Thomas (2001) considered the quality of intergroup relations, the degree to which workers feel valued and respected and the meaning and significance of cultural identity at work as inclusion indicators. These authors acknowledge the value of intergroup relations and the effect that the cultural identity has in those relationships: minority workers that feel included are those who feel respected by others, feel appreciation, feel taken into account and taken care of.

Jansenss and Zanoni (2008) considered the significance of cultural identity as an important relational indicator for work inclusion in operational jobs. These authors identified indicators of relational inclusion in low skilled labor organizations, such as mixed majority-minority

groups, the use of the sense of humor, majority`s interest in minority`s culture and minority`s expression of cultural practices. There are certain practices, the authors argue, that can foster the relational inclusion of the diverse workforce. These practices should ensure same treatment (such as having a newcomer's policy or evaluations based upon performance), allow for the cultural expression of minorities (such as schedule flexibility and multicultural activities) and acknowledge the minority's competencies (such as mixed workgroups). It is important that diverse employees feel that they can engage in interactions where their differences are integrated (Nishii, 2013).

To sum up, it is important to operationalize both sets of work inclusion indicators, because both can give us relevant information. Below it is a table summarizing work-related and relational indicators:

WORK RELATED INDICATORS	RELATIONAL INDICATORS
Participation in decision making (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et.al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011; Nishii 2013)	Friendships at the workplace (Pelled et. al. 1999)
Involvement in work groups (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998)	Two way (upward) communication (Mor-Barak, 2000)
Access to resources and information (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011)	Significance of cultural identity (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008) and integration of differences (Nishii, 2013)
Job security (Pelled et. al. 1999)	Mixed majority-minority groups (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008)
Equitable employment practices (Nishii, 2013)	Use of sense of humour (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008)

Table 4: Work related and relational indicators

- *Are the current indicators for work inclusion suitable to study low-skilled labor organizations?*

Indicators that have been operationalised to measure work inclusion, have been traditionally focused only on work-related indicators, which are by nature highly rank sensitive (Jansenss and Zanoni, 2008). Thus, these authors identified them as "inadequate to assess the degree of inclusion of (minority) individuals when they are concentrated in the lower organizational ranks" (p.4).

The excessive focus on work-related indicators alone might be due to previous research still too focused on arguing about the beneficial outcomes and effectiveness that a diverse workforce could bring to an organization, as a kind of justification for their inclusion (Janssens and Zanoni, 2004). However, much of these authors, as we have seen, recognize the importance of relational indicators although they failed to operationalise them. As a result, merely work-related indicators are not sufficient to grasp the experiences and feelings of the diverse workforce in low-skilled labor organizations: we need also relational indicators to complete the picture on work inclusion.

Unlike Janssens and Zanoni (2008), I argue that to measure work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations, we do need to find out about work-related indicators because they give us useful information about conditions of employment. But in line with them, it is clear that we also need to measure relational indicators because feelings of uniqueness and belongingness are not experienced by the diverse workforce exclusively through work-related indicators. At the end, everybody needs to feel unique even if it is just at lunch time; everybody needs to feel they belong even if it is just during a break in their shifts. Working conditions and organizational practices should facilitate feelings of work inclusion. Whether in low-skilled labor organizations this need is fulfilled or not, will be answered in the remainder of this paper.

2.2 Low skilled labor organizations:

In 1979, Piore (cited in McKenzie and Forde, 2009), defined the concept of "secondary sector". It was a sector characterized by precarious employment, lower wages, and limited opportunities for upward mobility. This sector was where migrant workers find employment. Indeed, migrants usually perform what Athukorala (2006) categorized as 3D jobs: dirty, dangerous and demanding (cited in Connell and Burgess, 2009). Not only the potential cost saving advantages for organizations in terms of recruiting and training, but also an interest of the states in redistributing "the costs of labour reproduction onto external social systems" (McKenzie and Forde, 2009: 144; Rodriguez, 2004) is what make organizations hire migrant workers to perform low-skilled jobs.

There are several points that characterize low skilled jobs. First of all, these jobs are paid the minimum wage. Not all of the indigenous population of a country will be willing to perform jobs that are badly paid. Migrant workers are more likely to accept lower paid jobs while, most of the times, being overqualified (McKenzie and Forde, 2009). In addition, migrant workers in lower skilled jobs are recruited via internal social networks that facilitate recruitment (and therefore save costs for the organization) and job training (Rodriguez, 2004). The high level of dependency of social networks for recruitment of migrant workers has, as a result, the overrepresentation of these workers in certain occupations (Connell and Burgess, 2009). Moreover, as the recruitment network of migrant laborers is centered in low skilled labor organizations, it tends to reproduce the low position of migrants and their lack of opportunities for upward mobility, thus reproducing inequality. Some of the times, migrant workers are hired by employers interested in a certain cultural skill. Ely and Thomas (2001) defined it as the access and legitimacy perspective, which leads minority workers to question whether they are really valued in their organizations, and is at the same time a source of ambivalence for them (ibid).

There are certain ways in which low-skilled labor organizations recruit their workforce. According to Rodriguez (2004), organizations know they can find workers in day labor pools, or workers who approach workplaces or are introduced and recommended or via labor recruiters or smugglers. In the case of the recruitment of migrant women working in cleaning companies in the Netherlands, most of them are recruited either from a temporal working agency (*uitzendbureau*) or introduced to the company by a friend. Hiring through social networks is very common among migrant workers, and this is actually "one of the ways in which gender and racial inequalities are maintained in organizations" (Acker, 2006: 450). Especially Latin

American women are highly regarded in cleaning companies, where they use to be overrepresented (Lutz, 2002). Selectively recruiting of powerless workers can be a form of control (Acker and Van Houten, 1974 cited in Acker, 2006: 454).

Rodriguez (2004) made an extensive study of working conditions in low skilled labor organizations. The work shifts of the job tend to have a shorter duration. In cleaning companies, for example, there can be shifts as short as one hour and a half. In addition, some of the jobs might require hiring a new crew on a daily basis. In the case of cleaning companies, supervisors call the women informing them where to work each day. Moreover, workers are easily displaced from one place to another. In the example of cleaning companies of the present research, managers can decide to end a temporary six-month contract and "send" that woman to work somewhere else (if women are lucky).

Some migrants do not seek to last in these jobs for a long time and see them as temporary solutions (Rodriguez, 2004). This fact gives the impression of interchangeable workers, moving around trying to find new lower skilled jobs with a particular advantage (ibid). For other migrants, this is not always the case, as it will be shown in the remainder of this paper. In fact, constant fear of losing the job can be found. Accepting any kind of working conditions and trying to work harder than indigenous workers in order not to lose their job is present. This is taken by some companies as a stronger work ethic (Dawson et al. 2017). Most migrants perform a low-skilled job as a permanent job and not as a job to perform in the meantime while seeking for a better position. Their limited possibilities in the labor market and the difficulties to validate their higher skilled background make migrants show an "outstanding" work ethic, underlying their productivity (ibid).

In lower skilled labor organizations, the conditions of the job -and not the skill level of the worker- are what makes them low skilled. In other words, lower conditions create lower workers (Verloo, in personal communication, May 2017). Even though migrant workers are more likely to accept lower conditions, most of the times they are overqualified, and the nature of the tasks is monotonous and/or physically demanding. The working conditions offered to migrant workers are not negotiable (Rodriguez, 2004), and employers take advantage of the high numbers of migrant workers "available". Moreover, linguistic barriers in low-skilled labor organizations and the difficulties that it creates in interactions outside and inside the job, occur more often in low-skilled than in high-skilled workplaces (Thuesen, 2016: 4).

3. Methodological Framework

In this chapter, I will discuss the research philosophy, approach, and strategy that I followed. Moreover, I will explain how I conducted the data collection and analysis. Lastly, I will discuss the research ethics and its reliability and validity.

3.1 Research philosophy

Philosophy helps researchers to communicate what we know (Aitken and Valentine, 2016). The main objective of this research entailed understanding in which ways migrant women working in low skilled labor organizations feel included at work. The nature of the research

required an understanding of feelings which are, by nature, subjective. As Anderson (2016), argues: "emotions are subjective states through which human life is made meaningful" (p. 186). Thus, this research is philosophically framed within an interpretive tradition: reality is socially constructed through acts of interpretation (Prasad, 2005: 13). Interpretive tradition assumes the human capacity for being subjective, that is the ability for meaningful social construction, and therefore its goal is to understand the processes of subjective reality construction (ibid, 2005).

This aspect is linked with the feminist critical standpoint. From this perspective, social constructivism explains the discursive construction of social categories and meaning. Prior to its arrival, knowledge was centered around a masculine epistemology based on universalism and objectivism, which feminist standpoint challenged (Dixon and Jones, 2016). However, a growing number of researchers have raised awareness about the "heterogeneity along class, race, religious and ethnic lines characterizing women" (Prasad, 2005: 176), and therefore the need of adding an intersectional approach within feminist critical standpoint.

3.2 Research approach

This research aims to understand in what ways migrant women feel included at work. This aim involved obtaining deeper knowledge about the extent to which migrant women feel uniqueness and belongingness working in low-skilled labor organizations, trying to understand whether they feel they contribute, whether they feel they are cared about and whether they feel they are valued and regarded at work. It also involved obtaining deeper knowledge into their everyday interactions with their colleagues and with their supervisors, both in formal and informal communications at the workplace.

Along with having in mind this aim is equally important to consider that an "all-women together" approach raises problems (McDowell, 1997). Each woman has different experiences and each of them feels different about these experiences. Verloo (2006) argues that "a "one size fits all" approach to addressing multiple discriminations is based on an incorrect assumption of sameness or equivalence of the social categories connected to inequalities and of the mechanisms and processes that constitute them" (p. 211). Moreover, Acker (2012) acknowledges that an analysis of gender is incomplete if it ignores ethnic and class processes: "class inequality is relatively invisible, hidden in management and bureaucracy discourses. It is also widely accepted, as just the way things are" (Acker, 2012: 219).

The migrant women I interviewed for this research shared some identities –such as their ethnicity and gender- but differed in others –such as their migrant status. Latin-American migrant women shared, at the same time, their gender identity with their indigenous colleagues at work, but differed in ethnicity and migrant –and therefore employment- status. These women are valued at work for some aspects of their identity, but their position is downplayed and threatened for other aspects. Some women explain this fact in ways different than other women: some of them normalize it; others suffer from it. Thus, to have this in mind required acquiring an intersectional lens in order to gain a deeper understanding of their experiences and their feelings.

Using an intersectionality approach allowed me to spot when particular identities become salient in particular moments, to observe what identities are being done, when and by whom, to identify which identities are given importance when, where and by whom and to understand when some categories might undo others (Valentine, 2005, cited in Longhurst, 2016). It also helped me to understand the migrant women`s positionality in their organization and how this position influenced not only their interactions and experiences with colleagues at work but also their working conditions. Thus, intersectionality is useful to consider the power relations in organizations (Zanoni and Janssens, 2004; Zanoni et. al, 2010), and how those have an influence in creating a different positionality. The social structures that create a unique positionality in society will create at the same time inequalities in organizations (Holvino, 2010).

Thus, an intersectional approach is useful to study inequality in organizations because it allows researchers to undergo a systemic analysis of inequality, to observe how power is exercised and to observe the institutionalization of inequalities (Rodriguez et. al, 2016). Inequality means a disparity in the power/control over goals, workplace decisions, opportunities for promotion, job security, salary, respect, and interactions at work (Acker, 2006). Acker defined this situation in organizations as inequality regimes: "loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender and racial inequality within particular organizations" (ibid: 443). Intersections of gender, ethnicity and migrant status create a certain position for workers within organizations that produce and reproduce inequality.

There is, however, some criticism about intersectionality. The lack of a defined methodology, the confusing definitions and the difficulty in linking the theory and lived experience (Nash, 2008) makes intersectionality a difficult term to understand in practice.

Intersectionality also has its limitations. In order to simplify things, for practical reasons, the research tends to narrow the range of identities or categories used, and researchers focus in some identities neglecting others -which are typically gender, class, and ethnicity (ibid)-.

For this research, it has proven to be difficult to undergo an in-depth intersectional analysis due to the limited time frame that a master thesis requires. However –as it has been argued above- it has been useful as a tool or as a lens to have on account the different identities of the migrant women subjects of this research.

3.3 Research strategy

Firstly, to inquire about feelings of work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations entailed a great understanding of the theory in order to know which questions to ask. Therefore, for this research, the knowledge about which indicators are suitable to study low-skilled labor organizations was very relevant, indeed the first sub-question of my research. The main method I followed to answer this question - *Are current indicators suitable to study work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations?* - has been desk research.

Secondly, in order to obtain information about the feelings and perceptions on work inclusion of women, a qualitative methodology is the best research strategy for this purpose.

Qualitative, small scale and case studies are the most suitable for researching women`s experiences and the complex intersections of categories in their everyday lives (Valentine, 2007; McDowell, 1992). Inquiring about feelings and emotions made quantitative methods not suitable to use in this research, as traditionally the research of emotions and feelings have been "accompanied by the use of talk-based qualitative methods, biography and life history, as well as ethnography" (Anderson, 2016: 186). In order to grasp all these rich and different experiences and feelings, I decided to use semi-structured, in-depth interviews, which is a qualitative method that can be used alone (Longhurst, 2016).

It was strategically useful for me to put "the intersectionality glasses" to look at myself first. Then, I became aware of my identity as a migrant woman as well as a researcher interviewing other migrant women. This fact allowed me to share my own experience with them not just as a migrant woman in the Netherlands, but also as a former worker in low skilled labor organizations in London and in Madrid. I think that the fact that I could share some of my views and feelings with them helped me to create a better rapport during the interview, and to build a relationship of confidence or at least of comfort. Sharing some commonalities with the Latin character or culture proved to be very relevant: speaking the same language helped them to open to me. McDowell (1992) points out that the relationships between the researcher and the respondents are a valid research process, and allow for "intersubjectivity": an exchange between two subjects, namely one that wants to find out and other who has the information and is empowered by the researcher because of that.

The questions of the interviews were based on the categories used by Jansenss and Zanoni (2005) in their research about four service companies; by the guidelines suggested by Marieke van den Brink, and by the indicators I found through the literature review. I adapted these categories and questions to my needs, but I followed the same ones through all the interviews. Although semi-structured, the interviews were guided by main categories or topics: organization of work (What are your tasks? Who gets which tasks?); the organizational culture (Do you have contact with your supervisor? Do you have breaks to interact with your colleagues?); employment of minority employees (Are your colleagues also migrants? What tasks do they do?); practices of managing a diverse workforce (Do you know where to go if you feel unfairly treated? Is there any procedure in cases of unfair treatment?); personal feelings towards colleagues and management (How do you communicate with your colleagues? Do you feel appreciated? Do you get along with them?); perceptions of their own uniqueness (What things do you think you bring to your job? Do colleagues and/or superiors appreciate them?); perceptions of their belongingness (Do you gather together with your colleagues outside of work? Are your colleagues interested in your culture/country?).

Lastly, the role of the context (McDowell, 1992) was relevant as well for the aim of this research. It was very important to point out that the interview was about feelings exclusively at work. Therefore, during the interviews, I tried to focus the conversation in experiences and feelings at work. This did not mean that I was not interested in their life stories and under which circumstances they decided to migrate to the Netherlands, for example.

3.4 Data collection

All the respondents were migrant women from Latin America: five of them from the Dominican Republic, one from Colombia, and one from Cuba. In total seven women were interviewed; the interviews were conducted in Spanish and lasted about an hour. All of them have been living in the Netherlands between twenty and seven years, and all of them work in cleaning companies in a city in the Netherlands. To protect their privacy, neither the name of the company or the exact location of their work was asked, nor are the names used in the research the real names of the women.

I also interviewed informants that provided me "peripheral" information about a range of aspects. I interviewed a man in Eindhoven, natural from Cuba that gave me some information about the conditions working in a production company. I also interviewed the president of a Latin American Association and a member of a sociocultural Latin association in the Netherlands, who gave me a profile of the Latin American woman living and working in the Netherlands. Lastly, I interviewed a migrant woman from Honduras who works in a highly skilled labor organization in the Netherlands as a social worker, who gave me an alternative perspective of the profile of Latina women I interviewed.

Respondent	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Migrant status
Esperanza	55	Female	Latina (Dominican Republic)	20 years in NL
Soledad	40	Female	Latina (Dominican Republic)	18 years in NL
Betty	36	Female	Latina (Cuba)	13 years in NL
Susana	43	Female	Latina (Colombia)	7 years in NL
Paula	53	Female	Latina (Dominican Republic)	16 years in NL
Ana	50	Female	Latina (Dominican Republic)	17 years in NL
Elena	50	Female	Latina (Dominican Republic)	13 years in NL

Table 5: Respondents for the research

Informant	Gender	Ethnicity	Occupation
Pablo	Male	Latino (Cuba)	Production
Matilde	Female	Latina (Venezuela)	President of a Latin-American association
Felipa	Female	Latina (Honduras)	Social worker
Unknown	Female	Latina	Volunteer in Latin-American association

Table 6: Informants for the research

Although I speak English, I choose to use a sample of Latina women for practical reasons: it allowed me to conduct the interviews in Spanish, and therefore the expression of feelings in their own language would be easier for them to produce, and for me to interpret. Because this research focus on feelings, to be able to express in your own language is very important. In addition, these women do not speak English, and their knowledge of spoken Dutch is rather moderate. Moreover, numbers of Latina women migrating internationally is growing (Pessar, 2005), and in the Netherlands, a high number of Latina women are working in low-skilled labor organizations, and therefore represented a suitable sample to study work inclusion in these organizations.

To select the participants, I used a "snowballing" recruiting: "This term describes using one contact to help you recruit another contact, which in turn can put you in touch with someone else" (Valentine, 2005: 117, cited in Longhurst, 2016). "Snowballing" proved to be the most effective means to recruit participants because a relationship of confidence was needed for the interviews to take place. The issues and topics raised in the interviews were sensitive ones and therefore women were reluctant to talk with me if I was not referred by someone they knew before. My first respondent introduced me the second one and the second one introduced the third one and so on.

It is also important to point out that the network of these women seems to be rather limited. In some cases, I was not able to discern whether they did not know any other Latina woman, or they just did not want to put me in contact with them because of the type of questions I was asking. The truth is, when I tried to inquire about their network in the Netherlands, most of them declared that they did not know many Spanish-speaking/Latina women. It took me days contacting the women I interviewed several times until they acceded to provide me with the contact of one more woman, or two at best. Our main communication channel was WhatsApp and phone calls, although the first option resulted being the most suitable one, as most of them have difficult schedules to be contacted by a phone call.

One example of the difficulties that the selection of participants for this research carried can be illustrated with the day I planned to make a meeting –a focus group- with all the women I had interviewed so far. I created a WhatsApp group with all of them, explaining my plans and asking about their availability. At the beginning, all of them seemed enthusiastic about it, and to suggest bringing food was warmly welcomed. Even some of the women who told me they "did not know any other Latina woman" asked me whether they could bring some other Latina friends. The enthusiasm, nonetheless, became weaker in the following week. I was expecting that because I already experience their loss of motivation before participating in the interviews. When the day we planned to meet arrived, nobody answered in the WhatsApp, and nobody showed up. I thought they just forgot to cancel. However, I suddenly received a call from one of the respondents telling me that she was, in fact, prepared and that she already cooked some food for our meeting. This left me puzzled because she did not mention anything in the group –I understood that they use social media in a different way, perhaps. I could not bear the idea to disappoint this woman, who was also the one who introduced me to most of my respondents, and I decided to go to her house to eat her food with her and her family.

I have to conclude that, despite all the difficulties involved in finding respondents, I feel extremely fortunate and grateful for having had the opportunity of meeting these women who taught me so many things about life and work, apart from providing me information for my research.

3.5 Data analysis

The interviews were fully recorded and transcribed in Spanish in the cases when women allowed me to record them. When women did not allow me to record them I wrote notes, which I also transcribed fully in Spanish. In addition, for me, it was relevant that the interviews were carried on in person, as observing body language was a very important additional aspect of the data analysis.

For the analysis of the data I collected from the interviews, I took inspiration from McDowell (1997), who used in her research the listener`s guide centered on voice by Brown and Gilligan (1993).

The listener`s guide (Brown and Gilligan, 1993) comes from the field of Psychology. This analysis is based on listening to the "different voices" that are present in an individual`s discourse. It consists of listening to the interviews at least four times, each of them paying attention to different aspects of the story that the respondent is telling. The first listening aims to grasp the geography of the psychological landscape of the woman: "Like a literary critic or a psychotherapist, we attend to recurring words and images, central metaphors, emotional resonances, contradictions or inconsistencies in style, revisions and absences in the story, as well as shifts in the sound of the voice and in narrative position" (p.15). The second time aims to listen to the "self", to get to know the woman in her own terms. Lastly, the third and fourth time allow me to listen to the way the woman talk about relationships. This analysis resulted in being extremely useful for my research because it gave me the tools to find out what I am looking for: feelings, relationships, definitions of themselves and of colleagues, supervisors and the organization.

Because I had only seven in-depth interviews, I used Excel to help me organize the categories and the information for the data analysis. Even though using Excel entailed harder work and more hours of reading and re-reading the interviews and adding excerpts, it was at the same time useful for me because each time I re-read an interview transcript I discovered and "listened" to new things. It was useful, as well, in order to remember other aspects of the interview, namely body language or casual circumstances that occurred during the interview with women.

In the first listening, I was looking for main topics, recurrent issues that women –and one informant- expressed during the interviews. I focused on whether they have a Dutch partner, which was their initial job plan when they arrived, their issues with language at work, their educational knowledge or background, the differences they find in their own country and The Netherlands, which differences do they find between migrant workers and Dutch workers, signs of assimilation, signs of normalization, loneliness and isolation, lack of interactions and how do that made them feel, the hierarchy at work, their responsibilities, the possibility for upward mobility, some aspects regarding their salary, signs of the idea of migrant workers as

hard workers, their precarious conditions, the feedback they receive, signs of discrimination, and future plans. The purpose of this first listening was to depict a "psychological landscape of the women" (Brown and Gilligan, 1993: 15), find common places in their experiences and feelings. It was the first step to understand their feelings.

In the second listening, I focused on the work related and relational indicators that were embedded in my questions. It required a deeper level of analysis because it entailed the objective interpretation of the words based on the facts, the experiences and the conditions they reported to me. The second listening demanded to trespass the superficial layer of their words, to cross the threshold of the "everything is good in here". For example, it entailed analyzing the fact that a woman would tell me that she earned the same than her colleagues, but then remarking that women who pass a test earn more and that she did not pass it, therefore their Dutch colleagues –who passed the test- are already earning more than her. The second listening entailed going further than the events women told me.

The following listenings revealed new aspects each time. As I have mentioned before, the fact of having "only" seven interviews to analyze was useful because I could keep in my mind details that would come to my mind even if I did not categorize them before but revisiting the interviews several times helped me retrieve.

As it has been mentioned before, in order to analyze and interpret the answers of the respondents correctly and free of bias, I had to be aware of the conceptually demanding nature of the research`s topic. I found the recommendations by Keats (1999) highly helpful in order to analyze the data. She argues it is important to be aware of the respondent's behavior during the interview: looking for inconsistencies, noncooperation, evasion, lack of verbal skills, emotional state, and bias. In some women, I could notice they were sad and hurt about some of their colleague's or superior's behavior towards them. It was noticeable not only through their words but also through their gestures and bodily expressions –the sight, hands position are very important signs. Thus being aware of these emotions was important in order not to make claims or to reach conclusions based on that. For example, one of the women said: "you cannot trust Dutch women". These kinds of affirmations have to be taken carefully: "the interviewer`s task is to interpret the response as accurately as possible" (Keats, 1999: 62).

3.6 Research ethics

It is important to consider that an ethical behavior in research protects the rights of individuals and communities involved in our research and assures a favorable climate for the continued conduct of scientific inquiry (Hay, 2016). Important principles of ethical behavior doing research are justice, beneficence/non-maleficence, and respect (ibid).

For this research, this point was especially relevant because the topic treated during the interviews was a sensitive one, indeed a difficult one to talk about with a researcher: work environment. Thus, considerations about the sensitivity of the topic had to be taken into account: fear about talking was present in these women. Therefore, before and during the research there were some prompts to consider (Hay, 2016): consent of the respondents and informants, confidentiality of information, potential harm and cultural awareness. This is the reason why the personal information of respondents and informants have been protected by

changing their names in this research, the name of their company and the location of their workplace have not been disclosed. Moreover, the results will be shared with the respondents once the thesis is ready for publishing.

3.7 Reliability and validity

Without rigor, research is worthless, becomes fiction and loses its utility (Morse et al., 2012). Thus, to have on account reliability and validity in research is crucial. Reliability of a research deals with accidental errors; measuring it we can verify whether the findings are the result of luck (Engbers, 2015). In order to ensure reliability, I followed the same topic-list through all the interviews, even though during them I adapted it to my needs. In addition, I tried to spot exactly which situations, interactions and/or practices at work made the respondent feel the way they did in order to obtain the highest accuracy in my data.

To have on account the validity of the research involved maintaining continuous reflection through the research about my background and possible bias (Engbers, 2015). In order not to influence their answers, the exchanges that I had with respondents were not about work, Dutch culture, language or people. The exchange was based more on a mutual understanding about the experience of migration in a country whose culture differ very much from one`s own. In addition, I made it clear from the beginning that their names or their companies would not be disclosed in the research, which minimized the risk of giving the answers they would think I was expecting.

4. Research results

In this chapter, I will analyze the results gathered through the work related and relational indicators, explaining in detail each of the indicators and illustrating them with excerpts from the interviews.

4.1 Work related indicators

Work-related indicators are those which are focused on the tasks that have to be performed at the workplace. For this research, these indicators gave me information about whether the diverse workforce have any influence in decision making (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011; Nishii, 2013); whether they are involved in work groups (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998); whether they have access to resources and information (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et. al. 2011); whether they have job security (Pelled et. al. 1999) and whether they feel that equitable employment practices are present in the organization (Nishii, 2013). All these indicators, the authors argue, are a measure of feelings of work inclusion: uniqueness and belongingness. One of the critiques to these indicators, however, was that they were highly rank sensitive, and therefore its potential as a source of information for work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations was limited (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008). Although it is true that these indicators are too rank sensitive, and the tasks that they imply are not usually performed by the migrant women interviewed for this research, work-related indicators gave me information about the conditions and the nature of the everyday work that they undergo in cleaning companies. Work related indicators gave me information about practices that do not promote equality but on the contrary

produce and reproduce inequality among workers. Therefore, I found work-related indicators to be useful to find out to what extent Latin-American migrant women lack, benefit or suffer from the everyday performance of their job, and the consequences it has in their feelings of inclusion.

4.1.1   Participation in decision making

As we have seen, some authors argue that in order for a worker to feel included in an organization, his/her unique characteristics have to be taken into account in important processes such as decision making (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998). This is also related to the feeling that one belongs to an organization in which the worker`s opinions and contributions are valued. However, to what extent migrant workers have the opportunities to influence decision making?

The Latin-American women working in cleaning companies in the Netherlands that were interviewed for this research lack these opportunities, although in some cases they had some *room for manoeuvre.* For example, Soledad came to the Netherlands from the Dominican Republic seventeen years ago and started working in her current company in 2001. After ten years working in the cleaning team, she became *voordame* in 2011 when her Dutch colleague took a sick leave and she started to do *voordame* tasks. Her supervisors started to appreciate Soledad`s performance comparatively more. She has been working as *voordame* the last five years and she is very happy: *For example, if one of my colleagues needs a day off, they have to tell me because I know who is free, if I don`t have enough people, if there is going to be a meeting and everything has to be perfect…* Even if a colleague asks directly her supervisor for a day off, her supervisor advice is to discuss it with Soledad, who has the last word in these kinds of decisions. However, she considers that *for them* (the supervisors) *you are just a number.* I asked Soledad what she thinks she is doing differently in order to be appreciated as *voordame* in her team: *I am more concerned about my colleagues (…) I have seen that Dutch voordames are not like that.* As a result of her new position and the influence that she has in decision making, her company has enrolled her in a course which will enhance her possibilities to keep climbing the ladder in her organization. Nonetheless, she finds it difficult to attend because she does not have enough time.

There are some examples in which these women influenced decision making without being in a higher position like Soledad. Women working in cleaning companies usually have a list of tasks they have to fulfill by the end of the day. They do the same tasks every day and they become used to it. The women that I interviewed managed their tasks perfectly after years of doing the same. In fact, when Esperanza, another respondent from the Dominican Republic, was asked to move to clean other areas, she refused: *(…) they* (the supervisors) *tried to move me from my place but I said no. I have been working there so many years and I know my place.* This is an example in which a worker influenced decision making, as her supervisors might as well have told her that they would change her no matter what. It is important to take into account that the women I have interviewed have been working in cleaning companies between seven and twenty years. Most of the tasks that they have to perform every day are already settled and listed for them to fulfill. After years of doing the same tasks, they manage them perfectly, they feel somehow secure. Sometimes, fear of losing their jobs might be

present. This can explain that some of them prefer to stay doing what they think (or their supervisors make them think) they are good at.

Even though there is some *room for manoeuvre* or agency for these women in decision making, generally their inputs are not sought to make decisions not only in relevant organizational aspects but not even in their own schedule. Esperanza, for example, has three hours per month contract. I asked whether she would have a say about her contract after years of working in the same company. Her supervisor told her that: (…) *they don`t have hours for me. I mean, that she has hours but I cannot work them because I am working. Yes, that`s what they tell me.*

The nature of the contracts that the buildings they work in have with cleaning companies might contribute to their limitation in decision making. For example, Paula works cleaning a public building. As a public contractor, the cleaning company changes every few years and the new company decides whether to hire the "old" workers. Paula enjoys the place she is working now, but she will be moved next year to another building: *(…) the next year we are moving to that new building they are building there, then we are going to be all together, and I don`t like that. We are going to have just one room to put our tools, and then you never have your own tools anymore because someone will come and take them.* Her cleaning tools are very important for Paula: these are the only things she has at work, as well as a lawyer would have her books, her computer, her pen, etc. But when the company changes and she will be moved, she won`t even have that, and she will lose the only room for agency that she has in her everyday job: how to manage her own tools.

Ana has been cleaning in a health centre and did all kinds of tasks: cleaning the rooms of the patients, the offices of the health practitioners, the toilets, she even helped out in the kitchen: *(…) the only thing I couldn`t do was making the orders with the computer, for that you need to be trained.* She has never been trained to make the orders, even though her professional background as a secretary in a government`s office back in the Dominican Republic would have meant a clear advantage at least regarding computer knowledge. Thus, it can be observed that their unique background is not regarded to influence decision making in which organizational decisions is concerned. As Susana, another respondent from Colombia said to me: *That is the reason why I started in cleaning because they did not demand anything from me.*

Pelled et. al (1999) argued that to have influence in decision making was part of being an insider in the organization. However, for these migrant women, it is difficult to feel like an insider in an organization where their opportunities to contribute are limited to a list of tasks, and contracts with new companies renew every few years, with short notice. As we have seen, decision making possibilities for these women are restricted on their level in the organization (*voordame*) and confined to a minor say in the physical place of cleaning, but not about any strategical or relevant organizational process. Some of them do not even have a say in the smallest of aspects: to make orders, to manage their own tools. This indicator has been useful to find out to what extent the unique background of Latin-American migrant women is valued and regarded in strategic decisions in the organization, and whether they feel part of the decision-making, the so-called insider status. It helped me to find out that women`s influence

in decision making in cleaning companies is clearly restricted and limited, even when their background and expertise would allow them to contribute.

4.1.2 Involvement in work-groups

For Mor-Barak and Cherin (1998), involvement in work groups contributes to having the feeling that one has an influence in the tasks and would contribute to a feeling of belonging because workers feel the tasks have part of them. As a work related indicator, involvement in work groups refers to the worker`s perception of affecting the work performed and her sense of belonging to the work group (ibid, 1998: 53). In other words, having a voice is important to feel work inclusion (Shore et. al. 2011).

It has been a challenge to find evidence of involvement in work-groups researching in low-skilled labor organizations because one of the most important findings is that loneliness is a recurrent topic in the experiences and feelings of these women. Esperanza remembers when she started working: *We were just my Dominican friend and me. At that moment I did not see anyone, not even while working.* There were no work-groups in which to contribute. Latin-American women in cleaning companies have the opportunity to be together with their colleagues mostly at breaks or informal gatherings, but this will be explained further in relational indicators. Regarding the working schedule, all of them work alone early in the mornings for short shifts: Esperanza works from 7 am to 8:30 am. She does this shift alone *because the previous girl, who was Dutch, refused to wake up so early in the morning for one hour and a half, but I said yes because I need it*, Esperanza told me. Similarly, the morning job for Soledad starts at 8 am until 10:30 am, *some stairs that need to be clean.* She has been cleaning those stairs by herself for sixteen years now. Likewise, Betty works completely alone in the mornings from 9 am to 11:30 am. As well as Susana, who has a short shift in the morning from 7 am to 9 am, all by herself cleaning chemotherapy equipment. After they finish these short shifts, they have some time to go home and prepare the lunch for their daughters and/or picking them up from school. Later, they start working again cleaning other buildings like schools or offices. Normally in these afternoon jobs, they work together with colleagues, but they cannot interact –this aspect will be explained further in relational indicators-.

In cleaning companies, there are no meetings that these women can attend (at least not formal ones). Usually, these women learn how to perform their job the first days, when they have just started. Most of the times, they do not know the Dutch language yet, as Paula recalls: *I did not know what was a mope or anything (…) but when you want to learn, you learn.* They check a list in which all the tasks are detailed. Thus, there is not much opportunity to affect the tasks performed and sometimes is not even desirable. Ana, a Dominican woman thinks that in cleaning jobs *the important thing is that you work well and fast the hours you are assigned to. I have adapted myself; I do not have any other option.*

Using involvement in work groups as an indicator was useful for me because it revealed that working in complete loneliness -and sometimes even in isolation- is a characteristic feature of cleaning companies. Even though a work-related indicator, it was difficult to find in which ways these women can affect the tasks done because they just do not have any opportunity to have a say on formal meetings which do not take place.

4.1.3 Access to resources and information

In order to feel included at work, as we have seen, it is important that the diverse workforce is kept informed about the company's objectives and plans (Pelled et. al. 1999), that they have access to the resources needed to perform their job properly (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998), and is also related to the insider status that have been discussed before (Shore et. al. 2011). As a work-related indicator, it implies that workers are informed about the goals of the organization and that they are aware of important information that will affect the performance of the job.

Usually, migrant women are not even informed about their contracts properly. The lack of access to even this level of information affects their feelings of uniqueness and belongingness because they do not understand why, after the "good job" they are acknowledged to do, they do not even receive the most basic information. Some of them, like Ana, find it unfair. The company was happy with her, so she would have expected to be informed by them that, after a certain period of time, her company is obliged to make her a permanent contract. Nonetheless, nobody told her and she has been working on temporary contracts in the same company for years. She refers to it as *working as a permanent employee without a permanent contract*. After three years she has been fired with unfair conditions because she has been signing new contracts each year. She feels she has not been treated equally compared with her colleagues, who are Dutch. She considers that they *do not have any problem because they have a permanent contract. If the company fires them they will have to give them a lot of money…But not to me… I wonder if it was mandatory that they made me a permanent contract, why the company did not tell me?* According to her, after they fired Ana the company hired a Dutch worker to fill her vacancy and after six months they made her a permanent contract. She told me that her *voordame* did not allow her to speak with her boss when she was fired: *Yesterday I had a meeting with my boss but she didn`t allow me to speak with him. She said I have to talk with my lawyer to ask where I am going to be assigned to work next.*

4.1.4 Job security

For Pelled et al. (1999) the feeling of being unlikely to be laid off and the degree of job security that a worker has in the organization are important aspects of feelings of work inclusion. The indicator job security can give us information about the employee`s contracts and her conditions, whether the contracts that the ethnic minority have are the same than the rest of their colleagues, whether the number of hours of work is the same, for example. In the present research, this indicator resulted to be valuable because it allowed me to find out the precarious contracts and lack of job security that Latin-American women in cleaning companies have.

Firstly, it is important to point out that some of the women interviewed do not even have "fixed" contracted hours. On the contrary, their company calls them every day or every week to inform them where they have to clean. The case of Esperanza represents an example. When she came here twenty years ago, from the Dominican Republic, she started cleaning in a factory: *They told us to wait a bit working there, then they called us for another factory, then after some time they gave us a contract and they "got us". (…) I started with Tempo Team,*

sometimes for six months, sometimes for one year… Then they negotiate with the boss whether they take us. It was difficult for Esperanza to explain to me the different changes and contracts she had to do until now. During our conversation, it seemed that not even she was aware of the process of signing contracts, with which company (was it with the cleaning company straight away? Was it with the temporary working company?). I also asked her about how many hours she works per week. She said to me it changes every week: *Some days I work 8 hours, other days 8 hours and a half, other days 7, sometimes 5 hours (…), not every day, just when they need me. They call me that same day; they ask me if I can work. And because I need it, I always say yes.* There are some periods in which she does not have enough work because currently she only has a contract for three hours per month. In those periods, sometimes she has to go back to the Dominican Republic.

Secondly, another important aspect is that in some buildings the cleaning company has to change every few years, as has been said before. The new company can decide whether to keep the "old workers" or not. And even if the new company decides to keep the previous workers, they change their working place, as Paula reported.

Thirdly, it is important to point out that the lack of knowledge of their rights makes these women occupy a vulnerable position of inequality. For example, Ana started cleaning in the health center three years ago. When I met her, she was very distressed and upset because she had just been fired after three years and three months working there. Because her supervisors were happy with her, they used to make her a new contract every year. She started with a contract of 40 hours per week, then it was reduced to 32 and then to 18 hours: (…) *but the company kept changing "bosses" and finally my contract was reduced to 18 hours. I accepted because I didn`t have any other option. I am not going to go to the street to "look for adventure" again…* She had been the only non-Dutch worker among her colleagues. After she left, the company hired a Dutch woman; therefore now all of them are Dutch, which makes Ana feel that she has been fired because she is not Dutch. When the last new *voordame* came to the company, the problems started for Ana. She reports that her new *voordame* refused to make her a new contract. Taking on account the fact that she has been signing new contracts every year, she will not have the fair conditions that a colleague with the permanent contract would have. Therefore, it has been economically convenient for the company to fire Ana because she did not have any legal rights for a fair termination of the contract. She said she was not aware of the fact that, after six months, the company had to make her a permanent contract. Somehow, she felt betrayed and wondered why, if they were so happy with her job. I asked her if it is possible that, maybe, the company was not happy with her job anymore, to which she answered: *Then, why they used to put me so many hours of work?* Thus, as we can observe, these women can find themselves without a job from one day to another, and under unfair conditions: the type of contract they have is an important aspect to take into account.

For other women, like Soledad and Betty, who work together in the same company, conditions seem to be better. They have a permanent contract of 15 hours per week. Nonetheless, just these hours per week is not enough and, as all of them, have to work a short shift in the morning, and two weekends per month in the case of Betty to compensate the lack of hours when they need it. The case of Soledad and Betty lead us to think that different practices in

different organizations can make a significant change in the feelings of work inclusion (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008).

4.1.5 Equitable employment practices

As a work-related indicator, equitable employment practices can inform about whether the promotion process is fair, whether there is "equal pay for equal work" or whether the unique needs of employees are regarded (Nishii, 2013). Using this indicator, I have put a focus on the job these women perform every day: where, how, which tasks they do. I was also interested in what happens if they get sick or have to take a leave.

In the first place, I consider important to bring here the first interview that I did, which was with one of my informants, a Cuban man named Pablo. His interview was important for me because he gave me valuable information about practices that low-skilled labor organizations have regarding the diverse workforce. What he told me then, became a common pattern that I have found in most of the interviews with Latin-American women. Pablo had been working in a production company for seven months when I interviewed him, in February. He has a zero hour's contract, therefore he works whenever he is needed. When there is no job, he does not work. He was hired by a temporary agency (*uitzenbureau)* to work in a production company. According to him, only Dutch workers work directly for the production company. He shared his point of view about it: *If you are hired by the company* (the production company), *you are going to have more rights, and they are not interested in that… Then, it is not good for anybody.* It is remarkable the way in which he tried to normalize an unfair situation, which was something he used to do for every unfair situation he reported, like having different schedules than his Dutch colleagues: *when you work in these companies, there are only two options: working the evening shift or the night shift. Unless you gain respect and work hard, you are going to work evenings or nights, whether you like it or not (…) This shift is mostly for migrants because there is a very flexible schedule but is just for Dutch people. Not because they are Dutch, but because they speak the language.* I asked him why is it important to speak Dutch to work in the mornings: *Is much easier to communicate. In the mornings you have to be more social, so only Dutch people do that.*

I found similar patterns with Latin-American women working in cleaning companies, especially regarding the shifts and contracts. I have already mentioned the example of Esperanza, whose company call her whenever they need her. The situation is so extreme that she even forgets where she has just been working: *Now I am working always cleaning. I work in the school, sometimes in* (name of the place) *and today… I forgot where I worked today… Because I am always taking the hours they give me, because I really just have 3 hours and a half on my contract, so is not too much.*

In addition, I asked Esperanza if she earns the same salary as her colleagues: *No, they earn more. Whoever has "the course" and the diploma earns more, like one or two euros more. (…) The company facilitates the course. I did it but I failed, because of the "swape", and maybe also for the speaking (…) yes, while you are cleaning they ask you questions, about dangerous liquids, or what should I do in case of an emergency (…) I think maybe I did something wrong with my Dutch, but now my supervisor called me and told me a new course is going to start, so I will repeat it and do the exam again, then I will earn more. The Dutch girls are already earning*

more… It is hard to believe that, after twenty years of experience of cleaning, Esperanza did not pass a "swapping test". Wages are one of the most powerful ways of control (Acker, 2006).

A similar situation regarding the number of working hours happened to Ana. I asked her if she works the same amount of hours than her Dutch colleagues: *Buf!! Is a lot of work, a lot. My colleagues used to tell me that this is not normal. Because I do not work the same day as they do, but they see my schedule, which is hanging on the wall. We barely saw each other but when we did they used to ask me why they* (the bosses) *put me so much work.*

Sometimes women have limited opportunities to ask their colleagues and compare their contracts, their salary, and the schedule. This might be due to limitations speaking Dutch or because they work by themselves and barely interact with their colleagues during shifts. For example, I asked Susana, who cleans offices with other Dutch colleagues in the afternoons if she knows whether she has the same contract and conditions than her colleagues: *I really think it is the same, but I have never wondered it myself, and I have never asked it.*

When women have to ask for a leave, either because they are sick or because someone in their families is or because they lost someone, some of them reported having difficulties in their companies. One of the clearest examples is Betty. When I interviewed her, it was difficult for me to gather information about her experiences and feelings at work. After some minutes, I just assumed she was genuinely happy in her company and felt included. But when our conversation went on and she felt more relaxed, she told me about a situation she had some years ago when I asked her what happens in her company when she becomes sick: *Thank God, Soledad and I barely become sick, but when we are… They are all the time calling and asking when are we coming back (…) Once, I had a pain in my throat, I couldn`t even swallow, and I called them to tell them. The boss kept on asking me questions, asking me when did I think I could come back, and I said I am not a doctor (…) Years ago, my daughter was very sick, she had leukemia when she had 3 years old. Then I called my bosses to let them know what was going on, that I had to be with my daughter during the treatment. My bosses told me I had to go to work anyway. I was not going to do it, I needed to be with my daughter, the first thing is my daughter, and this illness is not like the flu, I do not have anybody here, I needed to be with her.* She told me that, after she spoke with a supervisor (a woman, an intermediate position between the *voordame* and the bosses), she told her not to worry and to remain near her daughter.

Paula suffered a similar situation when she lost her husband and her mother: *I am at home, very stressed, with a lot of pain, a lot of sadness… I should have stayed 2 or 3 weeks at home. But the bosses called me and said: "You have to come to work". Of course, they are bosses; they have to call you… And it doesn`t matter whether your husband died or not (…) When my mom was dying, she wanted to see me. I told my boss I had to travel to the Dominican Republic to see my mother. He told me no, told me that "everybody has to die".*

However, there are also alternative experiences in this respect. Elena, who has a broader working background (cleaning, production companies, cooking in a restaurant), reports that in her cleaning company everyone worked equally hard: *We used to clean houses, but sometimes they gave us a lot of houses… And in such a short time (…) But they were very good colleagues*

(…) If you had a colleague by your side and you had finished already, you helped her, and the other way round. It was a good experience, but very hard.

4.1.6 What work-related indicators tell about work inclusion?

To sum up, we have observed that work-related indicators are indeed useful to gather information about experiences and feelings of work inclusion of migrant women in low-skilled labor organizations. However, because these indicators are highly rank-related it was a challenging task to try to find examples in which they feel unique and feel that they belong through these indicators. What they have shown, nonetheless, is precisely the lack of opportunities for work inclusion that Latin-American women experience. They do not participate in important organizational decisions –although they did have some room to do it, especially if they become *voordame-.* They are not involved in working groups because they mostly work alone. Their access to important resources and information is highly limited, especially regarding their rights and contracts. The complete lack of job security of Latin-American women in cleaning companies is overwhelming: most of them do not have a fixed amount of hours to work per week and most of them do not have a permanent contract. Thus, the type of contract they have is relevant to measure work inclusion, as there is a difference between indigenous workers and migrant workers in this respect that intersects with ethnicity. In addition, they suffer inequitable employment practices in comparison with their Dutch colleagues. Work related indicators have been useful to measure feelings of uniqueness and belongingness in low-skilled organizations but we need more because there is more. Given their low-rank position, ethnic minorities score low on work-related indicators (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008: 5). Precarious working conditions not only involve insecure employment but also points to an associated weakening of interpersonal relations (Anderson, 2010). Thus, this is where relational indicators become useful, as we will observe in the next section.

4.2 Relational indicators

Relational indicators are those indicators focused on the interactions at work between colleagues and/or managers that make ethnic minority employees feel unique and feel that they belong to the organization. These indicators are not so much focused on the tasks performed in everyday work, but focus more on communication, relations, and interactions. In low-skilled labor organizations, these indicators can be related to interactions during breaks, informal meetings, or feedback comments by supervisors, for example. Thus, to have friendships at the workplace (Pelled et. al. 1999); two-way (upward) communication (Mor-Barak, 2000); the significance of cultural identity and the integration of differences (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008; Nishii, 2013); mixed minority-majority groups (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008) and the use of sense of humour (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008) are indicators that give us information about interactions and communication between employees and/or supervisors in low-skilled labour organizations. Relational indicators are important to measure work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations because, during shifts, interactions and the nature of tasks are restricted by a number of factors, as we have observed in work-related indicators. In cleaning companies, for example, women mainly work by themselves and the only opportunity they have to interact and communicate is during breaks or informal

gatherings. Thus, the information gathered through relational indicators is highly valuable to have a full picture about work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations.

4.2.1 Friendships at the workplace

Friendships in the work unit tend to facilitate organizational inclusion (Pelled et. al. 1999: 1016). Everyday interactions at work do not have to be very deep and involve a deeper relationship, but tiny acts of opening doors to opportunity for interactions, gestures of inclusion and caring, and graceful acts of listening can make a difference (Rowe, 2008: 46). Something as small and common for some of us as knowing the name of our colleagues and pronounce it properly, for example, is also important for feelings of inclusion. For this research, I have used this indicator to find out whether the women know their colleagues, name, how frequent are their interactions, and which difficulties they found in communicating with their colleagues.

We have to consider that Latin-American women working in cleaning companies interviewed for this research do not have an advanced knowledge of Dutch language, and do not speak English either (except for one of them). This has been a barrier for most of them to build meaningful relationships at work. In addition, cultural differences between Latin-American and Dutch culture have to be considered: most of the women asserted that Dutch culture is "very cold" or "individualistic" and, at work, "very demanding". Some of them reported that they would like to have closer relationships with their Dutch colleagues, as Esperanza, for example, *I would like to share more with them because in that way I could be more integrated, I could know more about the Netherlands.* As we can observe, to have the opportunity to share more things at work would allow Esperanza to "feel more integrated" at work. I asked her which differences does she notice between her country (Dominican Republic) and the Netherlands, she says here is *very cold, and people are very cold here.*

Esperanza knows the name of all their colleagues: *I know the name of all of them, but we only communicate inside the job.* I asked her how she gets along with her Dutch colleagues: *Not good, not bad. Sometimes if I speak and I say something wrong sometimes they even laugh at me, or they look at each other… but I keep on acting normal (…) Outside of work we do not see each other, only in June, when the school closes, we gather all together in the school and we eat and we are there until 22 pm or 23 pm…*

Some of them, like Paula, have adopted a negative view of Dutch colleagues –and especially about Dutch women- due to some negative experiences she had. Therefore in our interview, it was important for me to try to understand why she feels like that: *(…) you cannot do anything because she goes and tells the boss. There is not a secret, there is no… anything. One feels a bit… not confident. With the foreigner is different, because a foreigner is a foreigner. I am a foreigner. For example, if another foreigner sees you doing something wrong he/she tells you: "No, this is not the way of doing it". But a Dutch person will go to the boss and report you.* Paula has been living and working in the Netherlands for 16 years now. I asked her if she considered she had any Dutch friend, and she answered no.

Another respondent, Soledad, also adopted a slightly pessimistic view about Dutch colleagues. She told me she never experienced any kind of conflict, but she told me that *when Dutch*

women feel that you are spontaneous then they envy you. I was puzzled by this statement and I asked her to explain herself. She told me that once, she fell from the stairs and had to take a leave of two months at home, recovering: *(…) the principal of the school sent me flowers home, to wish me a soon recovery, and when I came back my (Dutch) colleague asked me what the principal wrote to me and told me "I have never received flowers from the principal and I have been sick many times…" and then I thought, well is not my fault if nobody miss you…But I did not say that to her, it was just a thought.*

Another example of how negative interactions have influenced the opinions that these women have about their Dutch colleagues is the case of Ana. As I have mentioned before, she was very upset when we met because she had just been fired. She told me: *When you get a cleaning job here and you know how to do it properly, I don`t know what happens to Dutch women that they don`t want you to work, they want to kick you out.*

Alternatively, there are also positive experiences with closer interactions at work. Elena, for example, reported that in her cleaning company everyone used to get along very well and had a good relationship. Similarly, Betty reports to have a good relationship with her colleagues and also with the teachers who work at the school where she cleans, whose attitude seems to be important for her, apart from her colleagues: *some of them are very nice, they say good morning… Some others walk nearby me and do not even say hello…But is normal.*

Thus overall, friendships at the workplace and deeper relationships and interactions are most of the times limited because of language, on the one hand, or because the negative interactions that migrant women have had with Dutch colleagues have influenced the opinion that these migrant women have about Dutch women. Moreover, it is difficult to talk about friendship if they only interact during certain times, and these interactions are short. Lastly, cultural differences between Latin-American culture and Dutch culture -like the need of connection that Latin-American women have and that in the Dutch culture is may be expressed in different ways- are also important.

4.2.2   Two-way (upward) communication

To feel included in an organization, it is important that a fluid and regular communication is present, and it is important that these communications are also with managers and supervisors. For Mor-Barak (2000), employee`s perception that there are open management-employee meetings, that management is interested in employee`s concerns and expectations and that the organization strives to modify its values and norms are important features for a good two way upward communication. This relational indicator is important to find out whether ethnic minorities perceive that they have somewhere (or someone) to go if they feel unfairly treated, for example. It is also important that they receive feedback based on their performance (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008).

For example, I asked Esperanza whether she had any manager or supervisor to report to when she felt unfairly treated: *I didn`t tell anyone, I keep on being normal. I am very positive (…) every year we have an interview with a supervisor and they ask you how you feel. Sometimes I say I feel OK because I don`t want to create problems.* I also asked her whether it was easy for her to speak with her *voordame*, who is Dutch, and she told me that it is easy for her to

communicate, but she does not know who is above her *voordame: I suppose there is the owner. I have just seen him once at a Christmas party.* Thus, in cleaning companies, the person they mainly communicate with or report to is the *voordame*, who is just the link between the women workers and someone above whose identity is not very clear.

As it happened in the case of friendships, language is also a barrier for upward communication in cleaning companies. For example, Susana who came to the Netherlands seven years ago and is not proficient in Dutch has some limitations when she has to communicate with her superiors: *I write an SMS to them, sometimes I call, but I use short words.* I asked her if she knew who the person she was sending the message to was: *yes, I send it to the team leader.*

In the case of Ana, who had been fired after three years but started having troubles with her *voordame* one year before, she did not know where to go or who to report to her difficulties: *If I would have known where to go then, I would have gone long ago. I don`t know where to go or who to talk to…* The new *voordame* was Dutch, with Molucca background. During breaks, which was the only time Ana could share some time with her colleagues –all Dutch- at work, she had not experienced any problem before, not even with the language, as her colleagues seemed to respect the fact that Ana did not talk much because she does not dominate Dutch yet. According to Ana, when the new *voordame* came, she did not like the fact that Ana was always quiet, then Ana made an effort to communicate and talk more with her: *When I tried to talk with her, she told me she didn`t understand. Then I became quieter and quieter (…) She looked to the others* (her colleagues) *and said: "I don`t understand anything she says!" Then I decided to keep quiet because I am not going to speak if she is going to make me feel bad… Is better if I don`t speak, you know?* I asked Ana whether she tried to talk about it with her: *Of course, but she refused to talk to me saying "I don`t understand you". She even told me that they* (the company) *didn`t give me a permanent contract because she "couldn`t understand me, the boss couldn`t understand me, nobody could understand me", and I told her: how is it possible that nobody understands me if I have been already three years working here?*

Regarding the feedback that Latin-American women receive from their supervisors, most of the women feel that their hard work is valued because they receive positive feedback from their superiors. For example, Esperanza is very happy about that: *Yes, I feel very proud. My voordame tells me: don`t you have a friend to come and work here? But she has to be just like you. I feel good. Although sometimes my colleagues complain and ask why my place is always OK, and my boss tell them "because you have to give credit to whoever has it"… Yes, when they check our work I am never called off.* This is related to the fact that, according to Esperanza, she does not know how to clean if it is not deep, which is a difference she finds with her colleagues: *they* (her colleagues) *tell me to clean superficially, but I don`t know how to do that. I like to leave everything very clean (…) once my supervisor found me cleaning the chair legs and she said* (to another boss) *"look, she is looking for something to clean!"*

Thus, as we have observed, there are some opportunities (like yearly meetings) for women to express themselves regarding their situation at work like Esperanza reported, although they prefer "to keep quiet" and "not to create problems". In addition, language is, again, a big issue for two-way upward communication. Regarding feedback, their supervisors regard migrant women`s work as exemplary work, which makes women feel proud of themselves. This feeling,

nonetheless, is tricky because migrant women in cleaning companies might end up being assigned to specific jobs (Boogaard and Roggeband, 2009).

4.2.3 Significance of cultural identity and integration of differences

Ethnic identity is fundamental to individual`s self-concept and functioning (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008: 6). Therefore, it is important that the diverse workforce cultural identity can be expressed at work, is valued by the organization, and their colleagues express interest in it. This involves the quality of intergroup relations and the ability to listen to and value the contributions of all the members (Ely and Thomas, 2001). Different ethnic identities and backgrounds have to be integrated into the organization, making everyone feel free to express themselves (Nishii, 2013).

In low-skilled labor organizations, and especially in cleaning companies, Latin-American women can express themselves freely and share some things about their culture, country, or ideas mostly during breaks and/or informal meetings organized for the celebration of holidays. Is in these moments when women have the opportunity to feel unique and feel that they belong to their work team mostly because of two reasons: because they can share their ethnic identity and because they feel that their colleagues –most of them Dutch- are interested in knowing more about their culture and background. Indeed, is in these moments when the indigenous workers ask questions about Latin-American culture, traditions, etc.

For example, Elena, who was born in the Dominican Republic and later moved to Netherlands Antilles, has worked in a production company and in a cleaning company. She compares the two jobs and thinks that in the production company was easier to share with her colleagues about her country, her culture, herself: *I used to talk about the Dominican Republic and about St. Maarten… The girls from Somalia also told us things and so on. I also learned a lot about Turkey.* She said it was easier to share and to interact while working in the production company because in cleaning she mostly worked by herself and did not use to have breaks because she worked *just for a few hours.*

In the case of Esperanza, these opportunities are positive for her, because she enjoys to share and to be asked questions: *In the Christmas dinner, for example, each of us brings food done by ourselves. With my food, my colleagues always give me at least a 10. Always with my food. They like it, they like the taste… And also dancing, I like to dance and I teach them how to dance merengue.* I asked Esperanza whether she shared some of her experiences before coming to the Netherlands, something about her culture: *I do not explain to them how I came here* (Esperanza is reluctant to share this information even with me), *but I do speak about Santo Domingo. They ask me and I tell them that we are very open, we make people feel warm, and we try not to refuse anybody… Yes, we talk a lot about it because they ask me. I tell them that we are very familiar; we like to share, at least the weekends we like to be together… Here, people are very cold.*

Esperanza also told me that once, the company invited all the workers for a dinner in Arnhem and she told me something that puzzled me: *sometimes one feels a bit uncomfortable, but maybe is not what one imagines…* I think she was referring to the fact that there are times when she feels bad due to some comment that a colleague might have done (mostly regarding

language) and she is not sure anymore whether those comments really meant to be mean, or if she is interpreting them wrongly. This is related to something that one of my informants told me in a phone interview. The name of this informant was Felipa, from Honduras, and she came to the Netherlands in 2001. I was interested in her story because she is a Latin-American woman who is working in a highly skilled job (she is a social worker). She told me: *you have to be aware that Latina women tend to complain a lot, and whenever they hear a word that makes them feel bad, they already call it discrimination.* It is remarkable how a Latin-American woman who has succeeded in finding a high-skilled job -and who herself suffered discriminatory comments at work- disregards the experience of her fellow migrant women. We might analyze this in terms of how the different employee status among women creates a different position about feelings of inclusion. Felipa feels she is part of something –namely a high-skilled organization- that the other Latin-American women are not and were not able to achieve, and therefore she thinks their opinions and/or feelings are not reliable.

It is important to note the cultural differences that Latin-American women find in the Netherlands and how these differences are integrated into the job. Some of the women notice big differences between the way of working in their own countries and the way of working in the Netherlands, where they had to adapt to a rhythm and a level of exigency that they were not used to. For example, Betty told me that *in Cuba, you say you go to work but you really work for a while. Here, they are much more demanding and stricter. In Cuba, we are more joyful.* Paula, who is Dominican, considers that here (in the Netherlands) *everything is stressful, everything has to be perfect. For us, in the Dominican Republic, everything is "tomorrow, tomorrow" (Mañana, mañana).*

Related with the different level of exigency in the Netherlands in comparison with Latin countries Pablo, one my informants, from Cuba, expressed it in this way: *If you say to a Dutch colleague "meet you at 2 pm", they will be there at one minute to two. Not at ten to two, not at five past two: at one minute to two they are at your door, and at 2 o`clock they knock your door.*

Similarly, Susana, from Colombia, finds differences especially in communication: *In Colombia, people are more kind, if they find out that you don`t know the language they try to help you, for you to understand. But here is not like this. Here, if you don`t speak the language, they don`t care about you. Sometimes, they don`t even pay you attention because they know you don`t speak Dutch. Sometimes, if they find out you don`t speak Dutch, they don`t even talk to you.* I find interesting to add here something that happened with Susana when I finished interviewing her. Is just an anecdotal note, but I think is worth mention because it illustrates exactly what Susana was trying to explain. When Susana and I were saying goodbye, two Dutch girls came across us. They asked something in Dutch, looking just at me and clearly ignoring Susana. When they finished their question I looked at Susana, who knows Dutch while I do not. Susana answered their question; the girls seemed puzzled and walked away. They kept on looking at me as if they were wondering "how is it possible?", while Susana was answering them. I suppose they were thinking "but you are the one who looks Dutch". After the girls left, Susana told me: *see? They didn`t even look at me, they went straight to you. This is hard, this makes you feel bad".*

4.2.4 Mixed majority-minority groups

Janssens and Zanoni (2008) identified mixed majority-minority groups around a common issue as an indicator of relational inclusion. As a relational indicator, this resulted in being an extremely valuable source of information because the issue of loneliness and isolation aroused as a topic again, as we observed before in some of the work-related indicators. I observed that the loneliness and isolation that these Latin-American women suffer at work is surrounded, again, by language barriers that low-skilled labor organizations use wisely for their own benefit.

This can be illustrated through the example of Susana. Of all the women I have interviewed for this research, she was the only one who remained serious during the whole interview, and barely kept eye contact with me. She used to look down while she was speaking, and her hands remained under the table through the whole interview. I could notice she was sad. The only moment she smiled was at the end of the interview when she talked to me about the birthday of her daughter: she was becoming fifteen years old in a few days, and she and her husband were preparing a party for her. That day, Susana finished her morning shift (the one she does alone) and was in a rush because she had to go back home, cook for her husband and her daughter, and come back to work, cleaning in a school. In this school, she works with other colleagues, although she barely sees them: *there is one Colombian, I think there are two Turkish… I really don`t know where my colleagues are from.* I asked her whether there was any Dutch colleague: *there are, but they do not work with me*, she said. I asked her if she had any interactions during her shifts at all: *No, not really (…) because in the mornings I work alone, then I go to the other place but I have an hour and a half to clean and I have to clean every room so I haven`t got enough time if I want to clean properly.*

The issue with the language and communication is something that troubles Susana. She mentions her difficulties for communicating in every question I asked. The language was the reason why she started in cleaning, why she couldn`t study something she liked, and she feels isolated because she does not speak very good Dutch ("when they know you do not speak Dutch, they don`t even talk to you"). I asked her if she suffered some of these experiences at work: *yes, they don`t talk to me… they ignore me basically.* I asked her how she coped with this issue of the language at work: *At the beginning, I accepted it because I have been lucky enough to speak a bit of English. But apart from that, I have never had… I have always worked alone. Sometimes I work with Dutch people and little by little I learned to talk to them. But especially at the beginning… Always alone, always. That`s why I tell you: because one doesn`t know the language, they* (the company) *put you working alone.*

For some of these women, years of working alone have made them dislike working with other colleagues. This is the case for Paula: *I like to work alone because when you are part of a group, they take your things, then it disappears, you have your things in your place, then a colleague comes and takes it and never gives it back…*

An example of a positive relationship is from an observation that I did one morning. I will use this observation to illustrate how positive would be to work in mixed groups, even if it is in pairs. Esperanza came to clean my apartment along with her colleague, a Dutch woman. I did not have many opportunities to observe their interactions before because they work just for

ten minutes in each apartment and because when they come I have usually left already. The day of the observation I was in the kitchen and could observe the following: when Esperanza and her Dutch colleague entered the apartment Esperanza told me (in Spanish): *she is the one who treats me good, she is nice with me.* I told her I was happy to know that. Then the Dutch woman saw us talking in Spanish and try to reproduce some of the Spanish words, so it was a nice interaction between the three of us, we end up laughing. Esperanza and I tried to teach the Dutch woman some words, and she tried to teach me the same words in Dutch. I said to Esperanza "Oh, but you speak very good Dutch!", and she answered me (in Spanish) *yes, but I have to talk slowly* (despacio). Then the Dutch woman told me in English and with some words in Spanish: *You have to talk "despacio" and work "rápido" (*fast). Then, the Dutch woman asked me for a piece of paper and a pen and wrote some instructions in Dutch for Esperanza, came by her side and apparently explained to her what they needed to do next (in Dutch). It was a nice exchange and I was able to observe the good interaction that Esperanza has with a Dutch colleague when working in pairs. Both of them were talking lively in Dutch. This situation leads me to the thought that maybe, the fact to work in pairs with a Dutch colleague could be an effective solution to the lack of interactions and the negative ones that both Latin-American and Dutch women may suffer at work.

Thus we can observe that generally, even though Latin-American women work with Dutch colleagues, they do not really work together. Mixed groups are formed mostly during breaks, and language is certainly a barrier to find a common issue to be together during shifts, where Latin-American women are isolated from their Dutch colleagues. The isolation they experience is on the roots of some of the unequal and disadvantaged position that migrant women suffer at work. As the example of the observation made between a Latin-American and a Dutch woman at work illustrates, mixed groups at work would be useful to have positive and fruitful interactions.

4.2.5 Use of sense of humor

In previous research, it has been found that minority and majority employees considered important having a good atmosphere in which to laugh together and make jokes (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008). To have the opportunity of laughing and making jokes, if it is welcomed by both parts, means that a relationship of confidence and knowledge is present in the work group. This entails that all the members of the group know each other, and therefore know where the limit is and what kind of aspects can be used to make fun of. If a member of the ethnic minority group is the target of jokes that are not welcomed by her/him and the situation keeps going on, this might cause feelings of exclusion in the diverse employee.

An example of this aspect is the case of Esperanza. As it has been mentioned before, Esperanza does not have advance knowledge of Dutch language, and she mentioned situations in which this fact becomes a challenge for her at work. She explained to me this situation: *For example, they* (her colleagues) *may ask me something and if I do not pronounce it correctly… The other day they asked me* (in Dutch)*: "Was it dirty where you were cleaning?" And I answered: "of course, it was dirty, but I already finished". Then they looked at each other and started laughing. And then I thought: "but they asked me if it was dirty and I said yes"… Maybe they*

laughed because I said that I already finished, but I don`t think so because I said that properly (she repeats the sentence in Dutch, checking again whether her words in Dutch were correct).

I asked Esperanza how she felt in that moment: *I felt bad because I don`t know what I said wrong. I just said, "it was dirty but I already finished"…* I asked Esperanza whether it was possible that maybe they were trying to make a joke: *No, because* "Ellas lo cogen muy tranquilas" (untranslatable literally, she means that her Dutch colleagues think they can do and say whatever they want while they are working) *and if I go to work I go to work. I am not talking; if I have to talk I keep on cleaning because most of them stop working and start talking, but I don`t, I keep cleaning because I have to finish. I don`t know why they laughed at me. I don`t make jokes with them.*

Thus, it can be observed that the use of the sense of humor at work is a sensitive aspect that might reflect the use of an inclusive sense of humor or whether, on the contrary, the sense of humor is used to make a diverse employee feel excluded. This situation is pushed to the extent that Esperanza, at the end, prefers to keep quiet while working, ending any possibility of further communication between her and her colleagues. And as we have observed before, is not the first time this pattern appears: it also happened to Ana, who preferred "to keep quiet" to avoid negative interactions with her *voordame.*

4.2.6   What relational indicators tell about work inclusion?

Relational indicators have been essential to complete the full picture of work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations. If in the previous section we could conclude that Latin-American migrant women do not feel uniqueness or belongingness through work-related indicators – although they were useful to find out the barriers to work-inclusion that they suffer-, in this section we have observed that it is through relational indicators that they can feel a bit more unique, a bit more belongingness. This is especially so during breaks or holiday gatherings and informal meetings, where women can share some features from their culture, bring their own food which is admired by their colleagues and are asked questions by their Dutch colleagues, who show interest in them. These occasions, nonetheless, are not facilitated by organizational practices.

Nonetheless, it is also true that language barriers and cultural differences regarding personal contact and interactions and the shift composition limit their relational inclusion. Some of them do not have friendships in the workplace; two-way upward communication is limited and sometimes even negative; Latin-American women often experience isolation and loneliness at work, and the use of the sense of humor is not always used in a positive and inclusive way. What these women told me made me wonder whether there is a hidden agenda in low-skilled labor organizations to put ethnic minority employees working alone, to isolate them. Because it is certainly true that these women work alone every morning –a job that, apparently, none of their Dutch colleagues want to do-. After that morning shift, they work with Dutch colleagues but barely see each other unless it is during breaks. Parallel to this, the lack of knowledge of most of their rights at work has to be considered, as is the case of their entitlement to a permanent contract after a certain period of time or the possibility of a raise in their salaries.

5. Conclusion and discussion

In this chapter the second and the third sub-questions will be answered. Moreover, the answer to the main research question will be argued. Lastly, the contribution of this research, as well as its limitations and suggestions for future research will be explained.

5.1 Feelings of uniqueness

In this section, I will use the information that both work-related and relational indicators gave me about uniqueness to answer the second sub-question of the research: *how do gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in feelings of uniqueness?*

Uniqueness is the feeling that the unique characteristics of the minority employees are valued, heard and regarded at work precisely because this unique background can contribute positively to the organization. In the words of Shore et al. (2011), uniqueness is the need to maintain a distinctive and differentiated sense of self. To feel unique entails having the opportunity to influence decision making (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999), to be able to reveal her/his true self (Nishii, 2013; Ferdman, 2014; Jansen et. al. 2014), to make use of his/her knowledge to improve strategic tasks (Ely and Thomas, 2001), his or her unique cultural competencies have to be recognised (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008), he or she has to be valued for who they are as an individual, not just as workers (Nishii, 2013), she or he has to have chance to contribute creatively to the work (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999) and has to be able to express her or his cultural identity (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008).

Latin-American women working in cleaning companies have a limited influence in decision making: only *voordames*, who are the link between the cleaning staff and the supervisor, can make decisions regarding schedules or hold responsibilities such as having the keys. Sometimes, women`s demands -such as remain in the same place to clean- are regarded. As we have observed, they cannot make use of their expertise to improve strategic tasks even if they would contribute positively to the work, as in the example of having computer knowledge background and not being able to place orders, for example. In fact, one of the aspects that made Latin-American women start working in cleaning companies is that these organizations did not demand anything from them, as one of the respondents asserted. Therefore, it can be concluded that cleaning companies do not recognize women`s unique background: nor educational neither professional. Most of them have a richer educational and/or professional background in their countries of origin, but their unique characteristics are not valued by their organizations.

Their lack of knowledge of Dutch language has been used by temporary agencies and low-skilled labour organizations to make them work in loneliness and isolation, which contributed to their lack of awareness of their rights at work (precarious working conditions, salary, different schedules): because if the company do not share this information with them, colleagues could cover this need.

The only opportunity for them to feel unique is through informal interactions at work, where they can feel respected and valued by their colleagues. Latin-American women working in cleaning companies are not involved in any work group. Working alone is not something

exclusively work- related, but also affects their interactions and relations. Latin-American women have fewer opportunities to interact with the majority, the Dutch employees, which limit their opportunity to be able to reveal their true self and to be able to express their cultural identity. However, this takes place during breaks or informal gatherings, and it is in these times when women feel more unique: they can share some features about their culture, talk about their ethnic identity or talk and share points of view about the differences they find with Dutch culture. Cooking and teaching how to dance typical dances, for example, is especially enjoyed both by Latin-American and Dutch women. Therefore, some of the migrant women reported that they would like to have the opportunity to interact more often with their Dutch colleagues because then they would be able to know more about each other.

Latin-American women are valued in their companies as hard workers and not as individuals with needs and rights. Two-way upward communications show that supervisors give them good feedback and appreciate the distinctive way of working of these women who, as they recognize, do not know how to clean if it is not in-depth. As Dawson et al. (2016) argued, migrant workers signal productivity through a stronger work ethic (p. 2). If low-skilled labor organizations valued migrant women as individuals they would provide fair and equal conditions to them, as they do it with Dutch women. On the contrary, what Latin-American women have is a lack of job security and equitable employment practices because their contracts are temporary for longer periods of time, which at the same time affects their salary. Cleaning companies do make use of Latin-American women ethnic background and their strong "migrant work ethic" (Dawson et al., 2016) because in cleaning companies, Latin-American women are known as hard workers. Low-skilled labor organizations use positive feedback to keep migrant workers in a certain position (Boogaard and Roggeband, 2009). In addition, the fact that the tasks in cleaning companies are highly repetitive and routinely, limit the opportunity for these women to contribute creatively in any way to the work: at the end of the day they are asked to be "fast and good", as another respondent said. The fact of being a Latin-American migrant woman made these women more likely to work in cleaning companies, where they are known as hard workers, but not valued as individuals.

To sum up, for Latin-American migrant women the very essence of uniqueness at work can be felt when they approach their colleagues as equals in equal conditions: this happens in breaks and informal gatherings, thus their opportunities to feel unique are limited and restricted in low skilled labor organizations.

5.2 Feelings of belongingness

In this section, I will use the results gathered through work-related and relational indicators to answer the third sub-question: *how do gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in feelings of belongingness?*

Belongingness is the feeling that we are part of the team; a mutual connection, value, and recognition. Belongingness is the need to form and maintain strong, stable interpersonal relationships (Shore et al. 2011). To feel that one belongs is to be able to establish fruitful interpersonal relationships at work (Pelled et. al. 1999); to have frequent interactions free from conflict (Baumeister and Leary, 1995); to be asked about opinions and to have feedback (Nishii and Rich, 2014); to be invited to formal and informal meetings (Mor-Barak and Cherin,

1998; Mor-Barak, 2015; Ortlieb et. al. 2014); to be part of mixed groups (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008); to participate in professional networks (ibid, 2008) and to be informed transparently about practices, activities and decisions (Mor-Barak, 2015; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008).

Latin-American migrant women working in cleaning companies do not have frequent interactions with their colleagues. As it has been argued, all of them use to work completely alone in the mornings. In the afternoons their opportunities to interact are restricted; therefore their opportunities for feeling belongingness are limited. Some of these interactions are difficult ones, as several of the respondents asserted, mostly based on the lack of knowledge of Dutch: during shifts, they are either ignored by their colleagues, or stigmatized in front of other colleagues, or suffer humiliating jokes and laughs.

However, also positive experiences were present, most of the times outside work (during breaks and informal meetings). The nicest aspect for them is to be able to share experiences and their cultural background through typical food or dances. In these moments, they feel that they belong to their work team because their colleagues show interest about their culture and their way of living and they have the opportunity to establish fruitful interpersonal relationships.

As a result of the loneliness and isolation they suffer at work, they are less informed about important decisions and changes, and practices are not as transparent for them as they are for their Dutch colleagues. Pelled et al. (1999) argued about how language is on the roots of unwanted consequences for diverse employees such as their input is ignored; colleagues fail to show consideration about them and have less access to information. Thus, this has a negative impact on feelings of belongingness of Latin-American women.

Being women, they belong to an exclusively female work team: cleaning companies. Second, being the ethnic minority in their organization they face restricted access to information and transparency and work most of the day alone, which reduces their opportunity to establish fruitful interpersonal relationships and interactions and being asked about opinions. And lastly, being migrants they have restricted access to certain jobs and/or contracts. They suffer more precarious conditions in terms of contracts, salary, and schedules.

To conclude, Latin-American women feel low belongingness in their organization because they work in loneliness and isolation; their opportunities to interact are limited to certain moments; communications with their superiors are restricted to one person (the *voordame)*. Thus, one wonders, where to belong? Discovering that Latin-American women work in complete loneliness and not in groups was already one of the most relevant findings of this research. As a researcher, one expects to find in reality what is described in the literature, although sometimes this is not the case. When this happens, however, this involves already a finding (Verloo, 2017, in personal communication).

Finally, Latin-American women can grasp the essence of the feeling of belonging when they are in equal conditions with their Dutch colleagues, when they see themselves working together.

5.3 Answering the main research question: In what way do migrant women feel included or excluded at work in low skilled labor organizations?

At this point, having answered the three sub-questions, in this section the main question of the research will be answered.

To clarify in what way do migrant women feel included or excluded at work in low skilled labor organizations, first, it was important to know what and how to measure work inclusion. Finding suitable work inclusion indicators has been the first step. Janssens and Zanoni (2008) argued that available indicators for measuring work inclusion were too dependent on the rank of the employee –work related indicators-, as they were focused on high skilled labor organizations. Thus, a critical literature review was conducted to identify indicators to measure work inclusion following the argument by those authors, who claimed that less rank related indicators were necessary to measure work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations – relational indicators. It has been made clear after this research that work-related and relational indicators showed different aspects for work inclusion, and therefore both provided useful information to research feelings of uniqueness and belongingness in low-skilled labor organizations. Unlike what Janssens and Zanoni (2008) asserted about work-related indicators, identifying them as "inadequate to assess the degree of inclusion of (minority) individuals when they are concentrated in the lower organizational ranks" (p.4), this research made clear that work-related indicators are indeed useful and necessary, as they uncovered the precarious conditions that curb feelings of work inclusion. Thus, this research is at odds with the argument of the unsuitability of work-related indicators for measuring work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations that Janssens and Zanoni (2008) argued but confirms the argument by the same authors claiming the need to operationalize, as well, relational indicators.

Several work-related indicators were identified in this research through an extensive literature review: participation in decision making, involvement in work groups, access to resources and information, job security and equitable employment practices. These have been proved suitable indicators to measure work inclusion and identify the barriers for feelings of uniqueness and belongingness that migrant women bear at work. Moreover, Pelled et al. (1999) argued that organizations may show acceptance of a person by granting her stable employment. After the results of this research have been analyzed, it has been made clear that, in addition, the type of contract marked an important barrier for feelings of inclusion, and therefore emerged as a relevant work-related indicator. In this research, it has been observed that this is an indicator that intersects with the ethnicity of the woman because -not by chance- indigenous women employees have most of the permanent contracts.

Additionally, several relational indicators were also identified in this research through a comprehensive literature review. Most authors considered them important, although they failed to operationalize them (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008). These have been identified and operationalized in this research: friendships at the workplace, two way communications, significance of cultural identity and integration of differences, mixed groups (majority and minority), and the use of sense of humor have been useful to measure work inclusion and find

all the nuances that feelings of uniqueness and belongingness have. In addition, in this research it has been made clear that language is an enormous barrier to the inclusion of migrant women: negative interactions are a source of distress for them. This research showed how, as a result, some of them decide to keep quieter and quieter at work to avoid prospective conflicts. Thus, language barriers emerged as a relevant relational indicator to have on account measuring work inclusion. Moreover, this research has illustrated how Latin American migrant women work in loneliness, at times isolated from their indigenous colleagues at work. All of them work completely alone in short shifts in the mornings, and in the afternoons when they are mixed with the majority, do not have any chance to see each other and/or interact. This affected other aspects such the access to relevant information about their working conditions, for example. Thus, this research has made clear the need to operationalize loneliness or isolation at work as a relational indicator.

Hence, with the information gathered through the research results, it is possible now to revisit the table of the indicators shown in the first part of this research. A new table of work-related and relational indicators would be as follows:

Work related indicators	Relational indicators
- Participation in decision making - Involvement in work groups - Access to resources and information - Job security - Equitable employment practices - Type of contract	- Friendships at the workplace - Two way (upward) communication - Significance of cultural identity and integration of differences - Mixed majority-minority groups - Use of sense of humor - Language barriers - Working in isolation

Table 7: Work related and relational indicators (II)

Analyzing feelings of work inclusion, Latin American migrant women score low in uniqueness and belongingness. The work inclusion framework by Shore et al., (2011) defined work inclusion as the fulfillment of the needs for uniqueness and belongingness. According to their classification presented at the beginning of this research, the respondents would fall within the category "exclusion".

	Low Belongingness	High Belongingness
Low Value in Uniqueness	Exclusion	Assimilation
High Value in Uniqueness	Differentiation	Inclusion

Table 8: Inclusion Framework, adapted from Shore et al. 2011

Nonetheless, this research made clear that even though migrant women feel excluded in most aspects in most times, there are some opportunities for agency –as, for example, when they can influence decision making about the physical place to clean, or when they can become *voordame* and therefore have more decision making power- and for feeling unique and belong –when they interact during breaks or informal gatherings. This research has shown the importance of unpacking feelings of work inclusion in order to delve into the nuances of inclusion/exclusion.

In this research, feelings of uniqueness and belongingness of the respondents have been made clear: Latin-American migrant women in this research do not influence decision making unless they occupy a certain higher position in the organization. This research illustrated how they cannot make use of their background and/ or expertise to affect the performance of the job. In addition, these women are not informed transparently about practices, decisions or changes in the organization and have different working conditions than their indigenous colleagues. However, in addition to those barriers for feelings of uniqueness and belongingness, this research has made clear how during informal meetings and interactions, Latin-American women can share some aspects of their culture, their country, their traditions, etc. At the same time, their Dutch colleagues show interest in their opinions, in their way of doing things back in Latin-America; they can share experiences with each other. In other words, they can enjoy interactions with the majority workers free from conflict. This is in line with the argument about the important role that being able to express one`s own cultural identity has for feelings of work inclusion (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008). These moments also promote the formation of friendships, which are useful for feelings of work inclusion (Pelled et al., 1999). In these moments, Latin-American migrant women feel valued for who they are as individuals and not just as workers, which contributes to feeling inclusion at work (Nishii, 2013) and they can share their true self and their cultural identity. However, this research made clear that those opportunities are not provided formally by organizational practices.

At the beginning of this research, the following was argued: "inclusion, therefore, is the key to making diversity effective (Bell et al., 2011), as well as a matter of social justice". This research has shown that Latin American migrant women employees in cleaning companies are effective without feeling included in their organization. On the contrary, it is the fact of being always on the verge (of being fired, of hours and salary cuts, of unexpected changes in the schedule) what makes migrant women work effectively and efficiently, showing a "strong migrant work ethic" in order to keep their jobs (Dawson et al., 2017), without feeling included. Feelings of work inclusion of Latin-American migrant women in cleaning companies have illustrated that to feel unique and to feel belonging are not priorities for low-skilled labor organizations because migrant workers are effective at work *anyway*.

5.4 Research contribution

At the beginning of this research, it was argued that this research would add knowledge to fill the gap on work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations. This research has contributed to the identification and the finding of the most suitable indicators to measure work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations. Unlike authors who claim the unsuitability of work-related indicators (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008), this research has made clear the importance of measuring them, and reinforced the idea, by the same authors, of measuring also relational indicators. After having identified work inclusion indicators, measuring work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations will be more accurate. Another important contribution has been adding knowledge regarding the need for knowledge on feelings of the individual about work inclusion argued by some authors (Shore et al., 2011; Zanoni et al., 2010). This research contributed to the unpacking of feelings of the diverse workforce themselves about uniqueness and belongingness in a low skilled labor organization such as a cleaning company. Moreover, also a relevant contribution has been the finding that cleaning companies do not

put in practice organizational interventions to favor or facilitate work inclusion of migrant employees: on the contrary, they curb feelings of inclusion with their precarious conditions.

5.5 Research limitations

There are some limitations in this research that need to be taken into account. Regarding the research process, it is important to point out to the difficulty in getting in touch with migrant women. It has been already discussed that the topic of this research is a sensitive topic; women do not always feel secure talking about work issues with someone they do not know, and their job security is unstable. Therefore, although I would have liked to have interviewed more women, it was a difficult goal to achieve taking on account the short time that a master thesis allows –this research was conducted in six months.

Moreover, it has to be considered that this is quite a new research topic, which theoretical background required an extensive literature review and generation of theory, as the available one was much focused on high skilled labor organizations. Thus, the ground for work inclusion in low skilled labor organizations is still somehow scarce, which influenced in the amount of time undergoing the literature review.

Regarding the content, a deep intersectional analysis was not completely achieved. An intersectional analysis of this kind takes an effort in terms of time that I did not have, considering the depth that this analysis requires. Another limitation regarding the content is related to the fact that I focused on cleaning companies, which affects the representability and therefore the generalizing power of the results.

5.6 Future research

After this research, further research can be set forth. In the first place, it would be interesting to research about inclusive organizational practices in low skilled labor organizations. There might be some alternative results to this research showing efforts done by organizations with high numbers of diverse employees and succeeding in including them. It will be interesting to analyze which practices they are applying and how they are doing it. To integrate discourses of managers, supervisors and employees can be an interesting research strategy to use. In addition, researching about opportunities for agency in low-skilled labor organizations could be an interesting topic to explore. This research showed how, even if limited, women had some room for agency making decisions. Delving into these opportunities we could identify in which aspects diverse employees with a low position in the organizational hierarchy can still operate with agency.

Moreover, as organizations are mirrors of society (Acker, 2006), a motivating topic to explore could be the role of organizations in creating an inclusive society. As it has been stated by one of the respondents, cleaning companies just want these women to work fast and good. However, work inclusion is also a matter of social justice. "Organizations have a crucial role, also within society at large and therefore act as mirrors of the society. Organizations are critical locations for the investigation of the continuous creation of complex inequalities because much societal inequality originates in such organizations" (Acker, 2006: 441). Therefore, organizations –including most importantly low-skilled labor organizations that

employ vast numbers of the diverse workforce- have the responsibility of acknowledging their role and care for the identities of their workers: their gender, ethnicity, migrant status, sexuality, religion, age, etc. This includes indigenous workers and migrant workers and the differences within them and between them. This involves caring about the identities, differences, and intersection of identities between two Dutch workers as well as a Dutch worker and a Latin-American worker, for example. Research in various fields within the low skilled labor world could be an interesting research endeavor – from cleaning, catering services, agriculture, production, etc- and maybe also a comparison between them.

Lastly, an in-depth intersectional analysis about work inclusion in low-skilled labor organizations is much needed. Although I used intersectionality as a tool to observe how gender, ethnicity and migrant status play a role in work inclusion, a complete analysis of each identity and their intersections is much needed for a more profound analysis of work inclusion.

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Appendix

Interview Guide

Work related
Participation in decision making
In your daily work, do you have to make any decision?
Involvement in work groups
Do you work in groups or alone? How many colleagues do you have?
Access to resources and information
Do you know where to go if you feel unfairly treated?
Job security
How many hours does your contract entail (weekly, monthly)? Is it a temporary or long term contract?
Equitable employment practices
Do you know if you earn the same than your colleagues? Do you know if you have the same contract? Do your colleagues work as much as you (in terms of hours and demands)? Which are your responsibilities? Which are your daily tasks? Who gets which tasks? Do you get feedback from colleagues and/or supervisors? When you feel sick, which is the procedure?

Relational
Friendships at the workplace
Do you have time to interact with your colleagues, on your break? How are those interactions? Do you have contact with them outside of work? How would you describe your relationship with them? Do you find any difficulty in the relationship with your colleagues?
Two way (upward) communication
Do you have contact with your supervisor(s)? Do you know him/her personally? How do you communicate with them when you need it?
Significance of cultural identity
Which differences do you find the way of working in your own country and in here? Do you share some of your values or your culture with your colleagues?
Mixed majority-minority groups
Are your colleagues also migrants?
Use of sense of humor
Are there any moments for sense of humor at work? Do you make use of it?

Coding scheme

	Info of the respondant No. 1	Info of the respondant No. 2	⋮
NATIONALITY			
DUTCH PARTNER			
INITIAL JOB PLANS/1ST JOB			
LANGUAGE			
EDUCATIONAL/KNOWLEDGE BACKGROUND			
DIFFERENCES BTW OWN COUNTRY AND NL			
DIFFERENCES BTW DUTCH WORKERS-MIGRANT WORKERS			
ASSIMILATION			
NORMALIZATION			
LONELINESS/ISOLATION			
INTERACTIONS (lack of)			
HIERARCHY			
RESPONSIBILITIES/OPINIONS/DECISIONS			
UPWARD MOBILITY			
SALARY			
MIGRANT WORKERS AS HARD WORKERS			
(PRECARIOUS) CONDITIONS			
FEEDBACK			
BETREATMENT/DISCRIMINATION			
FUTURE PLANS			

WORK RELATED	EXCERPT	RELATIONAL	EXCERPT2
PARTICIPATION DECISION MAKING (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et. al. 1999; Shore et al 2011; Nishiii, 2013)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...	**FRIENDSHIPS AT THE WORKPLACE** (Pelled et al, 1999)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...
INVOLVEMENT IN WORK GROUPS (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...	**TWO WAY (UPWARD) COMMUNICATION** (Mor-Barak, 2000)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...
ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND INFORMATION (Mor-Barak and Cherin, 1998; Pelled et al, 1999; Shore et al 2011)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...	**SIGNIFICANCE OF CULTURAL IDENTITY (RESPECTED, VALUED, INTEREST, EXPRESSED)** (Ely and Thomas, 2001; Janssens and Zanoni, 2008) **INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENCES** (Nishii, 2013)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...
JOB SECURITY (Pelled et al, 1999)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...	**MIXED MAJORITY-MINORITY GROUPS** (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...
EQUITABLE EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES (Nishii, 2013)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...	**USE OF SENSE OF HUMOUR** (Janssens and Zanoni, 2008)	*Excerpt from respondant 1* *Excerpt from respondant 2* ...