

Nepalese green card holders (NGHs) in Denmark

Perceptions, in relation to being adapted into Danish society

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Abstract:

This study is based on qualitative analysis of Nepalese Greencard holders (NGHs) in Denmark. The study is basically focused on perceptions of Nepalese Greencard holders in relation to being adapted into Danish Society after their migration in Denmark. However, the investigation had been started to investigate the perceptions of NGHs in three different levels from before migration, during migration and after migration. The study also compares the perception of rural and urban origin of NGHs and their capitals achieved in Denmark. The Greencard scheme gives permission to stay in Denmark for the highly educated foreigners for certain period of time for seeking job and integration opportunity for the future. Contrarily, Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark are mostly employed as low skill workers in restaurants, cafés and hotels instead of involving in high-skilled professions intended by green card scheme. This unintended involvement of NGHs is creating a problem of poor social as well as economic integration among them.

With the aim of sociological investigation I have employed the concept of Pierre Bourdieu's social mobility and field, capital and habitus. This study aims to investigate how the highly educated NGHs, but without relevant skills are navigating in Denmark. With this aim, this study analyses 6 in-depth empirical interviews as well as document analysis through the literatures as secondary sources.

The analysis shows that the factors such as language barrier, changing government rules, lack of job, lack of social network, and lack of possibilities of taking over host culture are the basic factors that are driving Nepalese green cardholders towards uncertainty and keeping them within limited capitals. Moreover, rural NGHs are seen more likely inclined towards social relationship and networking with their own community people. This social relationship can be seen as social capital through which they are benefitted in finding jobs and other social opportunities. On the contrary, Urban NGHs are seen less likely involved in the social and cultural activities and are rather economically inclined. They are in search of better salary in the Danish labor market. Hence, the analysis result shows that the government should conduct and disseminate the knowledge of integration programs among the migrants more effectively so that the barriers could be minimized. Moreover, the recruitment system should be improved so that the highly skilled rather than only highly educated labor could be selected.

List of abbreviations

NGHs: Nepalese Greencard holders

EU/EEA: European Union/ European Economic Area

DK: Denmark

GDP: Gross Domestic product

USD: Unites states dollar

SFI: The National Centre for Social Research

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the past ten years, Denmark has a policy focusing on promoting recruitment of highly skilled workers for the Danish labor market. Globalization and economic growth have increased the need for qualified labor, hence, previously retrieved guest workers from Eastern Europe, has since 2001 replaced by a number of schemes such as positive list, Greencard scheme, and corporate schemes to supplement the labor migration (Roseveare & Jorgensen 2004). Green card scheme should be seen in this context, and it was created in 2007 as an opportunity to recruit workers from outside EU/EEA (Mortensen, 2012). Recent policy changes have made it somewhat easier for highly skilled immigrants to attract in Denmark. The latest modifications to the rules are intended to grant easier access to other nationalities with needed skills. Hence, the Greencard scheme gives the immigrants the right to stay and look for work in Denmark. It is issued on the basis of the individual's evaluation using a point system. Points are given for educational level, language skills, work experience, adaptability, and age¹.

Denmark has become a destination for migration for many foreigners either for the purpose of education or seeking a job. Since 2007, the number of 'Nepalese Greencard holders'(NGHs) has increased partly because some of the students after completing a Danish degree fulfilled the criteria for obtaining Green cards, and partly because the Green card scheme is seen as another option for coping with the lack of occupational opportunities in Nepal (Valentine, 2012).The green card is a 3- year's residence and work permit², which is given with individual assessment and based on points through which, in assessing the holder's opportunity to obtain a qualified job in Denmark .

Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark are mostly employed as low skill workers in restaurants, cafés and hotels (Valentin, 2012) instead of involving in high-skilled professions intended by the green card scheme. This unintended involvement of NGHs is creating a '*problem of poor social as well as economic integration*' (Roseveare & Jorgensen 2004) among them. Moreover, immigrant's participation in the labor force is significantly lower than native

¹ new to Denmark,2016

² new to Denmark.dk,2016

Danes, and unemployment amongst foreigners is also considerably higher (ibid), even though, the migrants struggle to seek opportunities in the foreign country. It is well documented that migrants are generally enterprising and entrepreneurial and therefore often manage to seek out various opportunities, even under difficult circumstances (Foner, 2000). At a general level, *'migration is an integral dimension of the mobile livelihoods and the transnational networks'* of relations that have become important aspects of life for people in the developing and post-socialist world seeking social and economic improvement (Valentine, 2012).

Nepal is a least developed heterogeneous (with multiple ethnicities) country where 50% of the population is below the poverty line, distributed into the rural and the urban region (Bal Kc, 2004). Hence, a perception of the rural and the urban origin of NGHs have been investigated in this study which might investigate different strategies of the NGHs in Denmark. The study will examine perceptions and motivation of NGHs within the two groups of categories: one, whose origin is rural and another, urban. The study will differentiate and analyze the perceptions of these two different groups of NGHs in order to understand rural and urban perceptions of motivation.

This study sheds light on NGHs's understanding and experiences of their stay in Denmark as Greencard holders. The study also examines apolitical-science issues (laws etc.) from below, based on green card-holder's understanding and experience in Denmark regarding socialization. The study will be illustrated through a sociological point of view of the scheme. The green-card holders, several times become part of the immigration policy debate in Denmark, where it has been argued that the system should be abolished because it takes jobs from unskilled Danes a time when more and more people lose their jobs (Mortensen, 2012).

A portion of the contextual framework for this research field of study is beyond trends thus also Denmark as a country of immigration, and where, for example, stricter rules to strengthen integration reflected in the Green card scheme, which demands adaptability and language. Nepalese 'Greencard holders' being educated migrants, have already some English language skills and could choose English friendly destination. Hence, it is interesting to study that how

had they been motivated to move to Denmark through Danish Greencard scheme. The another interesting factor to study is that whether their life situation after the migration is different than their country of origin and how the contextual factor has brought a change in their life after moving to Denmark. There are also the green-cardholders of other nationalities struggling in Denmark. The interest of research on Nepalese is also because the researcher belongs to the similar nationality; therefore, the subjective interest is also playing a role behind my study.

1.1 Problem area

The research problem area can be studied through both political science and sociology. Green card scheme is a policy and therefore in a sense superficially treats as a policy for analyzing the problems. However, my study doesn't aim to analyze policy. The main grip of my study is sociological when I believe there are important issues in the plan that has not been analyzed. I will discuss the humanitarian implications that come with recruitment system which fetches people from the third world to Denmark, and consequences of 'poor labor market integration of the individual' (Mortensen, 2012). The study especially will focus on the Nepalese green card holders in Denmark who are involved in different working companies. The NGHs share several features. Firstly, they come from a least developed country where they see few social and economic opportunities for pursuing their dreams of a better life. Secondly, most of them belong to middle-class families, who needed to migrate for improving economic condition. They, therefore, seek opportunities in other parts of the world. Thirdly, some of them arrived in Denmark, partly through existing migrant networks that help them identify their migration destination and establish themselves in Denmark, partly through active recruitment efforts in particular parts of the world by Danish institutions. Hence, the study will examine the perceptions of NGHs so that their migration is furthering their social and economic mobility through the following questions:

1. How do economic condition, family support and individual resource in the country of origin motivate NGHs to migrate?

2. In which ways do NGHs draw on local and transnational social network in identifying Denmark as their destination in organizing, managing and enhancing their livelihood in Denmark?

3. How do Nepalese Greencard holders (NGHs) perceive their stay in Denmark in relation to being adapted into Danish society? And what is the difference in perception among the rural and urban origin of NGHs in Denmark?

The main desire of this study is to investigate the informant's experience of their situation and how their expectations that have been created about life in Denmark. The research questions for this study above entail that the study is willing to explore three stages of NGHs's life situations such as before, during and after migration in Denmark. However, NGHs's perceptions after migration outweigh other research questions and will be explored as a main research question in this study. The study and analysis will be based on literature, studies of policy documents and reports on highly skilled foreign workers and interviews with NGHs. I had organized ten-depth interviews initially and had analyzed six interviews seeking the relevant information within the interviewees during analysis. The methodological approach is narrative interviews, and analysis will be performed by identifying and comparing aspects of NGHs' life world. The hermeneutical and phenomenological position lends itself to this purpose. My interview guide has been built through grounded theory technique, and I have analyzed my data through hermeneutic meaning interpretation.

There is not much research on labor migration in Denmark and I have not been able to find relevant and much researches on Danish Green Card holders. I have therefore sought literature on migration and mobility of immigrants. Using this literature context of origin (contextual framework section) and journey to host country in relation to NGHs life situation has been analyzed. Furthermore, the trends of migration and policy of the government can be analyzed in order to reach the position of immigrants in Denmark. To answer my research question concept and theories of sociology has been chosen to support appropriately that I have primarily found in Bourdieu's ontology on habitus and capital. Hence, social mobility and field

are key concepts in my analysis. To work with these concepts it is important to investigate position, habitus and capital to conceptualize and analyze.

The working questions might be different in order to answer the research questions as following:

1. How was the life situation of NGHs before migration?
2. How is the family relation and effect on their family after migration?
3. What is the situation of NGHs after obtaining a Greencard in Denmark?
4. Do NGHs have a sense of belongingness with Denmark or/and with their country of origin?
5. Do NGHs enjoy their daily life in Denmark?

Furthermore, concepts of migration issues and middle class, according to Bourdieu's concept will be taken into consideration. The study will slightly analyze how a national need creates international resource flows of people from the global South to the global North. I will use the some relevant concepts in order to support the main theoretical concept for this study. I will use concepts of middle-class migration, transnationalism, role of remittances to the homeland, and I will treat issues of identity, belonging and psychological status of migrants.

1.2 State of art

Many of the studies based on immigration are focused on economic concerns of the immigrants. There are fewer studies in the context of analyzing the Greencard scheme and there is no study conducted particularly on NGHs in the context of integration in Denmark. Nonetheless, previous studies and how they are relevant to my study presented in the succeeding paragraphs.

Rinus Penninx, Dimitrina Spencer and Nicolas Van Hear (2008) have outlined in their study, within the theme '*Features of recent migration and integration in Europe*' that patterns of mobility have been changed due to the globalization of trade, industrial development, agriculture, culture, and knowledge. The pattern of changed mobility refers that there has been an increase in migration including short term stays like business travel, study, and tourism and longer stays of employees of international organizations and highly skilled immigrants (ibid

p.3).The study of Penninx, R., Spencer, D., & Van Hear, N. (2008) entails that national borders do not hinder to migrate for skillful workers and therefore the large cities have become more likely visible for increasing immigrants. The authors further describe that effect of globalization and economic factors have encouraged migrants to migrate from rural parts to urban parts.

Bourdieu (1983) has described the concept of habitus in his analysis of the Algerian society in which people have experienced major upheavals. He develops the concept of habitus in several places as "sluggish", but changeable. The social *upheavals* in Algeria are as a result of the conflict between *colonial capitalism*³ and independence struggles is meant people's dispositions and understandings of conflict with the new economic environment (ibid). Bourdieu describes that how the Algerian peasants were migrated to the cities where they were turned into a kind of sub-proletariat in an urban community; a society which was still marked by French colonial values. Their expectation was that the migration could improve their economic and social situation in the new society (Bourdieu, 1977/79 in Wilken, 2006).

To investigate the role of immigrant selection criteria and self-selection, Abdurrahman Aydemir (2003) carried out a research and provided an important insight. His study specifies migration as a joint outcome of two decision makers (e.g. host country and immigrants). He found that immigrants seek earning differentials across countries in decision making and immigrants with higher education are less likely to apply while they are more likely to be accepted through a point system. Further, the author found that while the host country has the effective way of selecting the immigrants on the basis of the easily observed characteristics such as education, the motivation factor outweighed this criterion.

The literatures that I found in different areas of migration including migration trend, migration factors and motivational factors above are providing important insights on migrant's choice and decision. These studies are providing valuable insights in the context of NGHs in terms of their choice and a decision of migration to Denmark. There are few studies on the determinants of international migration. The study of Aydemir (2003) mentioned above provides important

³ Bourdieu and Wacquant, (1992: 133 Wilken 2006: 45; Wilken 2006: 26)

insights on migration decision, but, the focus is more on personal and consideration of household characteristics- marital status, household size, and household income. Another study by Rinus Penninx, Dimitrina Spencer, and Nicolas Van Hear (2008) provides insights on change of migration trend and motivation. Moreover, the study of Perrie Bourdieu (1983) provides insights that the migration can provide social as well as economic upheavals. However, these studies are only inclined on the migrant's choice; decision and trends of migration, delimiting the consideration to individual experience after migration in a different context in the host country.

Hence, place of my study is distinct to that of all the studies have been made. The NGHs in my study are highly educated migrants in Denmark from Himalayan country, Nepal. Their stay in Denmark and especially integration into Danish society is challenging as they are culturally distinct. The individual investigation of highly educated NGHs in a different context has been expected to understand their personal experiences. The study result might be valuable for policy makers as the result has been expected a new knowledge in this research field. Information on why rather than what in my study is important for the purpose of my study. Studying the reason behind the information will reveal the perceptions of the NGHs in relation to socialization in Denmark. Study on NGHs in Denmark is a new and specific case; hence, it is significant which can provide a new knowledge for further studies and for policy makers.

1.3. Structure

My study is structured through Chapter 1, in which I have discussed the introduction of the study that includes various topics such as starting from problem area to state of art, structure, delimitation, and contextual study. Chapter 2 includes the methodology of the study and in Chapter 3; I have discussed the theoretical framework for my study. I have discussed various concepts in this chapter which are relevant for overall research questions for my study. At the end of this chapter, I have included a section 'presentation of informants' before starting the analysis in chapter 4. The Chapter 4 describes the analysis, in which the first part describes the framework of analytical design; the second part describes the document analysis, and third part includes the thematic analysis based on my empirical interviews. The first part of chapter 5

includes the discussion on my analysis and in the second part; I will disprove or confirm my early hypothesis through my results in the conclusion. The last section of the chapter 5 includes the limitations of my study and possible recommendations.

1.4 Delimitation

Considering a main research question, my study examines how NGHs perceive their stay in Denmark in relation to being adapted into the Danish society. So, my focus is limited to only Denmark. On the other hand, there are the migrants of many more nationalities who are equally suffering from the same problem. But I have limited myself particularly based on Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark. Similarly, there are many more perspectives in order to incorporate regarding theories and methodological perspective. My study is focused on analyzing the perspectives of rural and urban NGHs in Denmark and their integration strategies. The term integration is itself a broad term, hence it is not focused on detail on integration and subsequent theories of integration at the same time due to limited extent. Thus, my study is limited to overall perception of the NGHs in Denmark in relation to being adapted into Danish society.

1.5 Contextual study

In order to understand the Nepalese Greencard holders (NGHs), it is necessary to study the context of origin in terms of the socio-economic environment, culture and their livelihood. The main focus of this study is however in the context of NGHs in Denmark (Problem formulation chapter), their country of origin needs to be explored in order to understand what cultural and social background they stand upon. Hence, a contextual study can explore and analyze why the NGHs chose migration. The context of the host country will be further discussed in the analysis chapter. It is because the main research question is more likely based on the Danish context. Hence, the context of migration in the origin country has been studied as a contextual study in the following.

1.5.1 Context of Rural to urban migration in Nepal

Nepal is a least developed south Asian country recognized as a country of 'Himalaya'. Because of being a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, and multi-societal community, there can be seen multiple contexts within the country, however, the context can be studied on the basis of a rural and urban situation (Timilsina, 2012). In Nepal, migration has been an important livelihood strategy for the rural people, where the rural population has increased to such an extent that people no longer could secure a livelihood in a limited land capital within the rural area (ibid:3). Nevertheless, both poor and richer people pursue migration as a livelihood strategy in Nepal. Very poor people migrate to the cities to earn basic livelihoods whereas; higher and middle-class people migrate to the cities for two main reasons - first, they want to earn more wealth, and second, they want to enjoy and live in the urban environment (ibid:4). Hence, the urban region in Nepal has a better accessibility of physical facilities and availabilities of job and opportunities in comparison to the rural region.

Nepalese living in the rural Nepal depend on agricultural works, both farming and livestock rearing for their livelihoods (Timilsina, 2012). Agriculture, in general, can be defined in a broad sense to include crops and livestock, fishery and forestry. 85 percent people are still living in rural areas of Nepal, thus, agriculture is thus a main source of income and it is the way of rural life (ibid). Timilsina describes that major source of agriculture is from the land; land is thus a principal source of income and employment for the majority of households in rural Nepal. Having *unequal distribution of land*⁴ among the rural people, landless and very small land holding people are often engaged in informal credit relationship and have to '*work in rented land for their survival*'⁵. Land determines both the social status and political participation, for example, '*Jamindar*'⁶ (big landholders) are the key political and economic actors in rural Nepal. Farmers have adopted '*intensification and diversification*' of agriculture on their limited land to survive, and this is one of the key livelihoods practiced in rural Nepal (ibid: 75-76). The meaning of intensification and diversification suggests that the limited land is utilized for diverse

⁴ Timilsina, K.(2012)

⁵ Timilsina, (2012)

⁶ Timilsina, (2012)

crops. Rural economy of Nepal is based on crop, *livestock*; fishery and forestry, where rural people generally adopt both crop farming and livestock simultaneously for livelihoods. Livestock can provide agricultural manure input for their farm land, which enhances agricultural productivity. Likewise, people who are living in the '*highland and mountain areas fully depend on the livestock rearing for their livelihoods*'⁷ in Nepal. Timilsina says that, because of *difficult land terrain, low agricultural productivity, and unfavorable climatic condition*, people cannot produce crops in highland mountains. In addition to livestock, people in the mountain areas adopt wildlife, hunting, a collection of herbs etc. for their livelihoods (ibid).

On the other hand, migration trend in the rural region (Mid –hill region) of Nepal has a great impact on agricultural production due to the impact of family labor loss. Farmers are not investing on crop farming and livestock due to earning relatively higher remittances in Nepal (Maharjan A, Bauer, S. & Knerr, B, 2013). Another impact is that there is increase of *feminization* of agricultural labor in rural Nepal (ibid). It is because the males are seen more likely as migrant group for seeking job abroad.

1.5.2. Trends of international migration in Nepal

The trend of international migration among Nepalese people had been dramatically increased after the 1990s within the period of conflict ('Maoists forces and government 1996-2006') and the period of post-conflict (Valentin, 2012). Kuwait, Malaysia, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the UAE have been the most attractive destination countries for Nepalese foreign labor migrants since 1993. From 1993/94 to 2007/08, where, these countries received nearly 97 percent of all labor migrants from Nepal (ILO, 2013). In 2013/14, Malaysia had become the destination country with the largest number of Nepalese migrants (ibid).

Prior to the 2000s, Nepalese do not have any significant history of migration to Denmark and they only amount to 1,566 (Valentin, 2012). Nepalese coming to Denmark prior to the 2000s had either married Danes or they came as professionals for further training and education (ibid). In 2007, the number of Nepalese being granted a visa for the purpose of studying was

⁷ Timilsina, (2012)

574, and in 2008 was 710 (Udlændingesservice, 2009), but it dropped in 2009 to 280 (Udlændingesservice, 2010). Migration with the purpose of education began in the early 2000s when it was still free of charge for foreigners to study in Denmark and over subsequent years the number increased significantly (ibid). This trend continued even after 2006 when study fees were introduced for students coming from outside the EU/EEA⁸.

The idea of Denmark as a destination for study abroad had already been established, among others, through the presence of agents in Nepal promoting Danish education. While the number of Nepalese enrolled at educational institutions has decreased since 2009 and the number of Green Card holders has increased paradoxically (Valentin, 2012). The NGHs are seen increased since the introduction of Green-Card Scheme in 2008, there were 482 Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark by 2014 (Tål og Faktapå udlændingeområdet, 2015). Following figure shows the trend of Nepalese GCHs in Denmark.

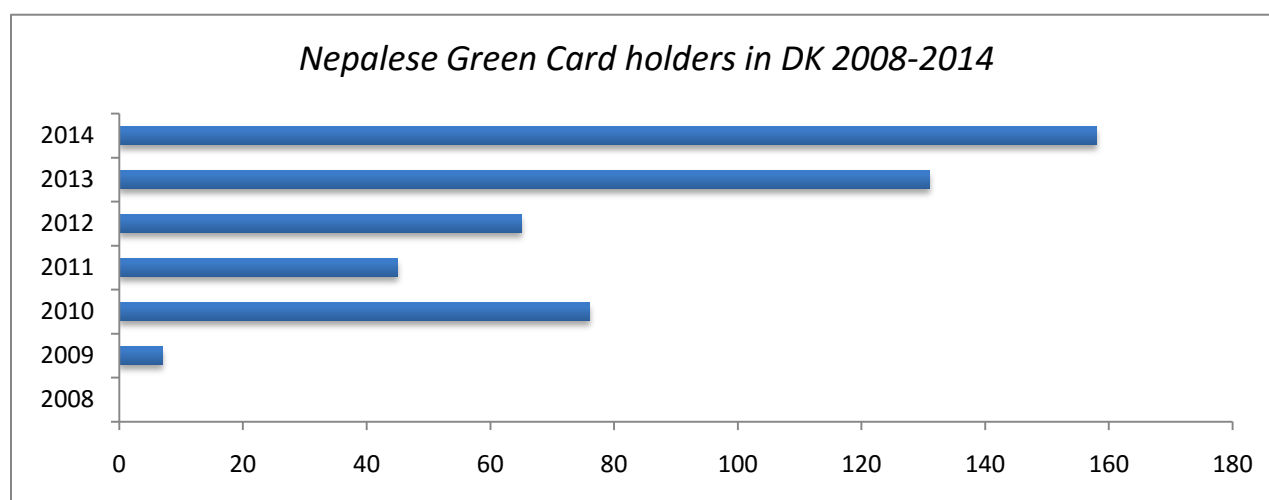


Figure 1: Trend of Nepalese GCHs in Denmark 2009-2014. (Source: Tål og Fakta på udlændingeområdet, 2015).

⁸ Karen valentine, 2012

Chapter 2: Methodology

This study focuses on NGHs's way to understand and interpret their life situation. The study explores Informant's thought through a *qualitative investigation*⁹. The qualitative interview has been used in order to achieve primary data, which has discussed and analyzed in my analytical chapter. The qualitative research interview is about '*understanding; to obtain informant's life world for the interpretation of their meaning*' (Kvale 1997). Kvale entails that interview is also about body language, speech, facial expressions, eye contact etc. which can be observed during my interviews. How did I perform the interview will be discussed in the next section.

2.1 The qualitative interview

Kvale (1997) describes the understanding of the shape of qualitative research interviews in different aspects that I have used in the design of my interview guide. The opinions of the informants were coded in order to analyze how they describe the changed situation in Denmark through their descriptions and opinions as Kvale (1997) describes the concept of 'change' (in theoretical chapter). The relationship that the NGHs have described in their life world has been encoded. The encoding has been done through quotes that the exact sentences or meaning of their saying during interviews have been included. It is a phenomenon that I can experience in my interviews, and it can be encoded along with what sociologist Bourdieu describes as 'Expression' (Bourdieu 1993:115).

According to Bourdieu, self-understanding and interpretation of one's own life can only be achieved in a safe and calm environment in a pleasant situation. Offering coffee and being informal might help to create an intimate environment during interviews. Therefore, some of the interviews were organized in cafes. The Semi-structured interview which is neither like an everyday open conversation nor a closed questionnaire has been applied for this study. The interview approach is *phenomenological*¹⁰ which has been described in the theoretical section.

⁹ Kvale(1997)

¹⁰ Kvale(1997)

The NGHS for the purpose of the interviews for this study have been approached from different networks such as friend's networks, Facebook etc. Hence, the *purposive sampling*¹¹ method was considered for this study. The interviewees were not initially recognized whether they belong to the rural or urban origin as described in introduction section above. Interviewees were selected on the basis of their availability as Bryman (2008) calls it snowball technique. They were classified into rural and urban origin after the information gained from the interviewees. Six in-depth interviews were analyzed on the basis of relevant information however ten interviewees were approached initially. The duration of interviews was 25 to 30 minutes. They were interviewed in their own native language because the researcher also belongs to the similar nationality. In order to include the female perceptions, two females were approached according to their availability, and rests of four males were included for this study. However, the overall analysis does not focus on gender differentiation.

The Interview guide (see appendix 1) has been designed according to the concept of *grounded theory*¹², which can have several categories that should cover the research aim for this study. It was possible to focus on the informant's experience of a subject after combining all the categories included in the interview guide. The stories of the informants were understood as narratives because *the narrative features are natural and the linguistic form* (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009: 174).

A pilot interview was made in order to understand the value of narrative interview form that can bring to my analysis. Thus, the category of question has been changed after gaining knowledge from a pilot interview. It should not be direct questions to the informants in order to indicate the categories because that might be a sensitive subject. Bourdieu (1993) says that the interviewer can create a framework for a communication. The interviewer can open up an alternative communication by providing space for, recognize and perhaps encourage articulation of concerns, needs or want, which has just come to the surface in the right interview situation (Bourdieu, 1993). The interviewer can thus help to create the best possible

¹¹ Bryman(2008)

¹² Glaser and Strauss (1967)

framework for narrative communication and a discourse that might otherwise never come to the surface (ibid).

The interviewer introduces the topics of conversation and controls the interview process through different types of questions (Kvale, 1997:131). The different types of questions, meaning related to daily life helped to control the field. The *inductive*¹³ study has been applied for this study in order to analyze interviews, which means it is necessary to enter through one case to another. The goal of the interview was to '*capture and highlight the specific and particular in the data*' (ibid).

2.2 Interview guide

The interview guide has been designed with the inspiration from Glaser and Strauss's (1967) grounded theory and Steinar Kvale's aspects of understanding the shape of the qualitative interview. The grounded theory entails that '*themes that are relevant to investigate the research question*' (Glaser and Strauss's 1967). On the other hand, Kvale (1997) says that qualitative research interview seeks the interpretation of the interviewee's description and the meaning of the described phenomena. He describes seven different modes of understanding qualitative interviews such as life world, meaning, qualitative, descriptive, specificity, qualified and focus. In order to grip the concept of a qualitative interview, the pilot interview had been studied well before reaching a final interview guide. The problems identified in the previous section were taken into consideration specifically, research question and working questions while conducting a pilot interview.

The overall framework of an interview guide was thought to include the three different life stages of NGHs such as the past, arrival stage and during integration process of the NGHs. It is because their initial context might have motivated them to migrate and what had happened during movement and after movement is equally necessary to study the overall perception. Thus, opening questions were introduced which were narratives and letting them talk

¹³ Kvale (1997)

themselves. The opening questions were focused on their family life, their expectations and interesting factors for migration etc.

I have built some categories using the literatures that I found in documents as well as in a pilot interview conducted. The categories of the questions I have developed (see appendix 1) are pre-migration; family; Greencard; a sense of belonging/transnationalism and mental health. These categories I have developed are thought relevant to investigate the past, during and after migration situation of NGHs in Denmark that I had explained before in my research questions. To explain further, the study of 'pre-migration' and 'family' will investigate why the NGHs had been motivated and decided to migrate to Denmark that helps to understand the past life of the NGHs. The category 'Greencard' will help to investigate their current situation regarding a status of a job; change in their lifestyle and economy; and their perception of 'Greencard scheme' that has brought differences in their life. Similarly, 'belongingness/ transnationalism' will investigate the network of the NGHs in Denmark and their feeling of being in the Danish society. And finally, the category 'mental health' will investigate whether the NGHs are strained due to having unskilled job or satisfied with their job and happy or sad in Danish environment etc.

Moreover, several questions were developed under the categories. The categories and questions had been reformulated after gaining some insights from my pilot interview. The questions that were irrelevant to the research question and categories were reformed in the final interview guide. The final interview guide (appendix1) was developed after understanding a complete conceptualization. The questions in the interview guide were formulated in a systemic order that is relevant to the particular category. The questions in left section in interview guide were designed in short form and clarifying questions were added in the right column (See appendix 1). The interview guide hence becomes a complete tool in order to grip the answer of working questions as well as research questions in a systemic way.

2.3 Epistemological approach

The interview data to be processed were related to making the onset of *epistemological*¹⁴ approach. NGHs's life-world through their description has been understood and analyzed on the basis of the descriptive survey of the knowledge. It will be given a detailed description of the content and structure while I strive to exceed applicable perceived meanings. The desire of this study is to grasp NGHs's point of view through qualitative interview method. Qualitative methods insist that we should not invent the viewpoint of the actor, and should only attribute to actor's ideas about the world they actually hold if we want to understand their actions, reasons, and motives (Bryman, 2008). In order to conduct a research into the social world which is informed by epistemological principles of this kind, research methods are necessary which facilitate an inside view (Ibid).

Preconception about the NGHs has been avoided during analysis. Hence, it is necessary to consider an open description which is important on the basis of gained information (Kvale, 2009:44). The '*hermeneutical and phenomenological approach*',¹⁵ is therefore, appropriate for this purpose. The Phenomenological concept requires descriptive information and does not seek the reasons or explanation for the studied phenomenon (Kvale, 2009). On the other hand, the *hermeneutic approach* is beyond the descriptive because interpretation and analysis never can be made without preconceptions (ibid: 30-31). Through interpretation and analysis, I will try to answer my problem formulation and arrive at a valid and general understanding. This will be done through selecting relevant theories and concepts (theoretical chapter).

2.4 Document analysis

Apart from the interview data, I will include some documents for analysis in this study as secondary information. Through this analysis, I can discuss and judge the quality of the empirical data, I have found on articles. Documentary materials are used as secondary information and may advantageously be used in the social sciences and humanities in order to understand individuals, groups, and community. There are many types of documents, ranging

¹⁴ Bryman(2008)

¹⁵ Kvale (2009)

from diaries and photos to newspaper articles, official and unofficial documents, etc. (Bryman 2008: 515). For my study field, the official documents from the public as well as documents from relevant private sources have been analyzed. There have not made many studies of the area in Denmark, and I have neither found research literature reports nor been able to find on the living conditions of NGHs in Denmark. But, Study of the documents on *Greencard scheme* (2010) and the Recruitment and retention of highly skilled labor have been beneficial materials to gain valuable insight.

The SFI (The National Centre for Social Research, 2011) report on recruitment and retention of highly trained labor in Denmark, Norway, Netherlands, United Kingdom, and Canada have yet given me a chance to get into the subject. I have gained insights into the environment in NGHs's life world, which had been beneficial in relation to design pilot interview guide. Documents from the state might be colored and biased, and I must, therefore, put a question on the credibility of the results and not assume that the document is a description of reality, simply because the source is the state. There are four criteria for judging the quality of a document (Bryman 2008: 517):

1. Authenticity (reliable source)
2. Credibility (error information bias)
3. Representation (typical / atypical of its kind)
4. Understanding (clear and easily understandable)

I have applied Bryman's checklist as a guideline to ensure that I have come around the different "Pitfalls". The list includes: Why is the document been produced? Was the person or group that produced the document, able to write authoritatively about the topic or issue? Can you support the events or reports made in the document? (See Bryman 2008: 534). I will discuss the results of some reports and notes through a document analysis, on which I will put a *hermeneutic* approach which sees things in a larger context and emphasize the historical and social context, the text is authored in. I would also bring a critical hermeneutic approach (Phillips & Brown

1993), based on two key principles: to find the author's point of view and to be aware of the context. First, I will examine the authorship of the material, which the intended recipient is, what the text refers to, and the context in which the text was written, sent and received will be studied. I will then make a formal analysis of the structural and traditional aspects, i.e. the basic parts of the text and the used written language studied.

2.5 Empirical interview analysis

The analysis of the interviews will be both descriptive and interpretive, and I will work with meaning coding and interpretation in my analysis. The meaning of coding in my analysis is that I will use the opinions of the interviewees and use the sentences what they had said. 'Opinion coding' that Kvale (2008) has described is to code the text into categories either can be defined in advance (in interview guide) or during the analysis. The texts materials will be reconstructed and encoded, where the transcriptions will be divided into smaller pieces. Hence, the summary of the transcriptions will be built during analysis (Appendix2: interview summary). The information gained through the interviewees will be interpreted under the various themes developed while analyzing (Analysis chapter: thematic analysis).

Coding is a part of grounded theory, where I will do an 'open coding' of the material through a thorough reading of transcriptions in order to encode each text segment. I will encode them from the concepts of NGHs and the concepts that I reach, which will become themes of analysis. The questions I have designed (Interview guide) are principally categorized into five different topics and the information gained through each topic will be carefully analyzed and encoded through different interesting quotes in the form of text segments. The text segments are those which are direct sentences from the informants. Then, the text segments will be interpreted and analyzed.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

Pierre Bourdieu is a sociologist who tries to integrate subjectivism and objectivism and this gave rise to the concepts of habitus and field. I will discuss my problem area in relation to Bourdieu's social mobility and field, capital and habitus that I will use as tools to investigate the sociological aspects of adaptation or integration. I will discuss his theory in the social space and how it structures the relations between agents, social classes, fields and forms of capital and how this theory is accomplished in my analysis will be discussed. Bourdieu is interesting because he is trying to exceed the contradiction between '*existentialism and structuralism*'¹⁶ and thinks in both where a person administers the structures. But, a person also has a free motivation, 'A self' acting. Hence, my study will seek individual perceptions of the NGHs in this study that will reveal their self act of motivation.

I can use dialectics between the "*objectivity*" and the "*subjectivity*" to analyze the practices are taking place within the Greencard scheme in my study. Why the group as a whole is poorly integrated into the labor market (problem formulation section), the objective conditions come into play, and the subjective performances of NGHs will be discussed in this study. Society's structure and organization is comparable to disorder or confusion; because, it is a multi-dimensional object which is in steady motion (Prieur & Sestoft 2006: 125).

The NGHs those are in an unskilled position might have a plan in a society and in a labor market where they appear to be located in the low profile (or the 'dominated' in Bourdieu's terms). Bourdieu has developed the concepts of capital and symbolic violence to analyze the differentiations in the society that agents have the opportunity to fight. Hence, the concept of capital and symbolic violence makes it possible to analyze the struggle between NGHs and legislation in my study. In order to understand NGHs's class affiliation, I will use Robison and Goodman's concept of the middle class in Asia and the economic remittances that may have been attracted to the NGHs in the foreign country. Eventually, I will discuss NGHs's level of satisfaction in the Danish society.

¹⁶ Bourdieu 1984

3.1 Habitus

Bourdieu (1993) describes 'Habitus' as background and context of practice that can be linked to the understanding of reality, which comes with NGHs in this study. Bourdieu's use of habitus can be interpreted as a cultural concept that emphasizes the dynamic relations between the individual and the society (Wilken 2006: 42). Habitus can be seen as a system of dispositions to act through one's socialization. Hence, NGHs's habitus is seen that has been formed through their background from their home country, and their dispositions might have developed in their socialization phase. The operations of habitus can be used to understand what is good and bad; right and wrong; possible and impossible so on, but the acquisition process has been forgotten or displaced. This means that the social character has been embedded in the body, where habitus can be a body condition rather than a state of mind (Bourdieu, 1993).

Habitus, at once occurs 'individual, collective and societal'. It is individual, because it integrates the individual's experience, and it personalizes the society for example, what expectations do the NGHs have to stay in Denmark. Habitus acquires in a social environment and therefore it is collective and generally defined as a form of community and common understanding (Bourdieu, 1993). Habitus also relates to society as individuals accept the status and takes them for granted (Wilken 2006: 43-45; Prieur & Sestoft 2006: 21). Habitus thus reflects the individual's social history, but it should not be necessarily coherent or straight forward.

This study reveals NGHs's experience when they migrate to Denmark. They have many hopes and ideas with them, and some experiences were showing other reality than they had expected. My study however incorporates the Bourdieu's research framework of 'Habitus', it rather seeks different reality of the NGHs. *Change*¹⁷ in habitus is not something that happens quickly or smoothly, and the changes will not happen automatically. In a case of NGHs, change in habitus will be linked to change in the 'external environment'. I asked during the interview into changes in habits, media consumption, food and the likes. Individuals can change in their habitus with respect to such external environment. But it requires both a social anchor and an

¹⁷ Kvale(1997)

individual acceptance of a new social environment (Wilken 2006: 45). There are so many factors and it will be dealt with in the last part of the analysis.

3.2 Capital provides power in the field

Bourdieu (1983) describes that unequal access to the material; social and cultural resources create and reproduce certain inequalities and power relations. This concept is a central concept in Bourdieu's theory of human social position in society. An analysis of the amount of capital occurs within a given Social field where Bourdieu works with three basic forms of capitals: economic, social and cultural Capital (Bourdieu 1983/86: 242). The material resources that the agents have access and economic value for instance, health insurance can be linked to economic capital and the social capital can be seen as the links such as family relationships, networks, friends, colleagues, etc. that the agents can benefit from. Similarly test of food, dressing perception, eating habits, way of gathering and celebration etc reflect a cultural capital. The NGHs's network can be seen in this study as beneficial for them in relation to finding jobs and being socialized. Hence, NGHs's Network in Denmark and corresponding behavior is linked to the forms of economic, social and cultural capitals.

3.3 Middle class

The concept of middle class that Bourdieu has defined is with respect to the existing class structure and labor in a society. This division of labor is related not only to production (as the Marxist approach) but also to the middle class, intellectuals, artists, etc. (Bourdieu 1979/84: 483-505). Bourdieu defines class affiliation through objectively, subjectively and relationally in the sense of class affiliation, which is not just dependent on certain shareholding, but also on classification and recognition (ibid: 506).

My informants (NGHs) are recognized and perform the middle class in their homeland. Performing middle class means that gets attention through their consumptions and lifestyle, but also the cultural capital they accumulate, especially through education. Middle class is a group that strives for modernity, democracy, individualism, and freedom that Robinson and Goodman (1996) believe, and therefore that affects the state's development.

3.4. Migration concepts

People are seen moving across the world for different purposes. Globalization has connected the world and more and more people are migrating, however, there is a difference whether people are migrating of their own interests or they are compelled to migrate because of some social or other factors (Mortensen, 2012). In relation to my problem area, it can be discussed that which side stands for NGHs. NGHs are categorized as labor migrants and it is a part of the international migration flows from the 'global south to the global north' (ibid). Hence, how the NGHs from south Asian country Nepal have been attracted to Denmark is also important to analyze for my study.

In recent years, migration from Asian countries to Europe has been increased and the migrants are among knowledge workers and unskilled workers for the purpose of domestic work (Immigration service, 2008: 129-130). In the 20th century after decolonization, industrialized countries opened economic and political deals with other countries that brought massive entry onto the world's migration (Castels & Miller 2009: 127, 139). The majority of Asians were migrated to the countries such as USA, Canada, and Australia, but many Pakistanis and Indians selected England¹⁸. Highly educated Indians have historically predominantly migrated to the United States (Immigration Service, 2008: 6).

Nepal has never been colonized, hence, there were not many pathways for educational migration to western countries before 1996 (Valentine, 2012). In the past, migration of Nepalese people was only limited to India due to an open border between two countries. The migration was well facilitated due to the geographical, economic and cultural proximity between Nepal and India (ibid). On the other hand, there had been a lack of educational and occupational opportunities due to armed conflict between government and Maoists forces (1996-2006) and post-conflict in the 1990s led to a dramatic increase in numbers of people going abroad for work and study¹⁹. Hence, Denmark became one of the destinations to migrate either for the purpose of work or education since 2006. My informant NGHs can have *full time*

¹⁸ Mortensen,(2012)

¹⁹ Valentin,(2012)

*authority to work in Denmark*²⁰, they therefore might have decided to migrate to Denmark for the desire of better life in the social welfare society.

3.5 Migration for the desire of economic remittances

Remittances have a major impact on migrant's economy of developing countries. Economic remittances are estimated today to \$ 351 billion a year - an amount that far exceeds the total official foreign aid (WB, 2011). The amount may be far higher because this estimate is based only on the remittances, which have been registered. Amounts given through informal channels could add 50 pct. on top of the \$ 351 billion (WB 2011; WB 2012; Castles & Miller: 59).

NGHs's nationality is considered incredibly relevant to include economic remittances. I have not found an exact resource that how much remittance does Nepal is receiving from Denmark; however, Nepal has received dramatically higher amounts of remittances over the past decade and has reached USD 4.22 billion or around 22.3% of GDP in 2011, which makes Nepal the sixth highest, receiver as a share of GDP, in the world (Nepal Rastra bank, 2011/12 *in* Poudel, 2016). The governments carry out recruitment and expect that remittance not only helps the development of countries but also deals with reducing unemployment (Castles & Miller: 139-140). When we look at the highly educated labor migration in Asia, 90 percent of immigrants want to extend their stay in Denmark (INM 2010: 30), and all my informants (NGHs) would also like to get permanent residency if possible.

The concept of economic remittances in my study is not used to elaborate in depth and it will be only used for the purpose of investigating whether the money that the NGHs are sending to their home country has improved their family status in their home country and how does their income in Denmark create sustainable resource for both in Denmark and in their home country. Hence, the end of my analysis will investigate how satisfactory is NGHs' stay in Denmark in relation to improving their family status.

²⁰ New to denmark

3.6 Presentation of informants

In order to facilitate the readers I will present briefly my informants below before I begin my analysis. All the informants have come from a south Asian country Nepal and entered Denmark since the different period of time from 2010 to 2015. They are altogether six NGHs and among them; four are males and two are females. They are aged 26- 39 years and all of them have their family together. Five of them have completed master's degree, from their home university and one has from Danish university. Three of the NGHs have chosen from the rural origin and three are the urban origin of their home country for my analysis. The details of the NGHs are presented in the following table; however, the names are anonymous.

Table 1 Presentation of informants

Name	Age	Urban /Rural origin (Nationality)	Family in Denmark	Job status	Immigrated
Bivana	27/F	Rural origin (Nepal)	Yes, husband, but no children	Copenhagen commune in a cleaning section, fulltime job	2010
Sarala	26/F	Rural origin (Nepal)	Yes, husband and one son of 1 year	ISS service, cleaning assistant Denmark, full timer	2014
Binod	34/M	Rural origin (Nepal)	Yes, only wife, but no children	In a clothing company warehouse Nørdrhavn, as a helper, fulltime job	2014
Ganesh	39/M	Urban origin (Nepal)	Yes, wife and one son of 4 years	Warehouse: Nørdrhavn, computer section, as a data operator, fulltime job	2015
Subil	27/M	Urban origin (Nepal)	Yes, only wife, but no children	In a Restaurant, full time job, Østerport	2012
Duridarshan	35/M	Urban origin (Nepal)	Yes, only wife, but no children	Ørestad canteen, a full time job	2013

Bivana is one of female informants who came to Denmark in 2010 after she got accepted in Danish Green card scheme. She had completed master's degree from Nepal in business management. She belongs to the western-rural region of her country. She, however, had a job in a non-governmental organization working in her community; decided to choose Denmark for a better opportunity. Beside the desire of better opportunity, she was seeking an open community and social security in Denmark. There are social and cultural barriers to move and behave freely within her community for being a girl. Her family also supported her in her decision to move to Denmark. Her husband also came to Denmark as her dependent. With the help of friend's network, she found a job as a cleaning assistance in Copenhagen commune after a long struggle. She was frustrated as she could not use her education in her job. In 2013, she got extended her visa again (see detail explanation in Interview summary).

Sarala is another female informant, who also belongs to the rural origin. She was working in an INGO as a project leader. She has a master's degree in rural development from her home university. After completion of her project job, she decided to apply for Danish Greencard. Her family is proud of her what she had done to be a self-dependent girl as being a girl of a rural community. So, her family had supported her economically while moving to Denmark in 2014. She also brought her husband with and now she also has a 1 year's son together who was born in Denmark. Now she has a job as a cleaning assistant in ISS service in Denmark (see detail explanation in Interview summary).

Binod is my male informant who was entered in Denmark in 2014 and he was also accepted as a Greencard holder. His wife came after 6 months. He was a government officer in an agricultural department in Kathmandu, Nepal. He originally belongs to the rural region of his country. He resigned his government job for the desire of better income in Denmark. He had to suffer in Denmark without any job until 6 months. Now he has found a job in a clothing company in Nordhavn (see detail explanation in Interview summary).

Ganesh is another male informant who entered Denmark in 2015 from urban origin, Kathmandu, Nepal. He came to Denmark together with his son and a wife. Now his son is of 6 years old and admitted to a Danish school. He was a civil engineer and teaching in engineering

university in Kathmandu, Nepal. Due to the desire of better income and opportunity, he decided to move to Denmark with his family. His initial days were not fruitful as he had to struggle to adapt in a new system in Denmark. He hardly found a job in a computer section in a clothing company (see detail explanation in Interview summary).

Subil is also another male informant who belongs to the urban region of mid-west Nepal. He came to Denmark in 2012 for the purpose of education. He had completed a pre-masters degree from Neilsbrok University Denmark and applied for a Greencard. Now he is living in Denmark together with his wife. He is working as a kitchen helper in a restaurant in østerport.

Durdarsan is a male informant, came to Denmark in 2013 as a Greencard holder. He had a nice job in the banking sector in Nepal. He belongs to the urban region, Kathmandu Nepal. He has invited his wife to live together in Denmark. He doesn't have any children, but his wife is pregnant. He now works in a canteen in ørestad as a full-time kitchen assistant (see detail explanation in Interview summary).

Chapter 4: Analysis

This chapter constitutes both the theoretical concepts that I relate to the analysis and the analysis of the information that I have gained through the documents and during the interviews. The overall strategy of the analysis will be discussed through the framework of analytical design below where I will discuss all the theoretical approaches that I have presented in the theoretical chapter (chapter 3); and how I have used them in my analysis. In the document analysis, I will analyze some documents such as policy documents; individual survey as well as the institutions of receiving and sending countries superficially. The thematic analysis of the interviews will be presented as a primary analysis within the different themes formulated for the analysis.

4.1 Framework of analytical design

Before the analysis, I will sum up my theoretical apparatus that has been applied in my analysis. The main concepts in the analysis will be Bourdieu's social space, power, field and the associated concepts of symbolic violence, position, capital, and habitus. NGHs's access to legitimate culture affects their positioning in the field, and I will therefore discuss the struggle that takes place in the respective fields and NGHs' amount of capital, particularly the symbolic. NGHs come to the country with different thoughts and contrarily, the symbolic violence leads them to accept the system's basic structures. The state has a monopoly on the legitimate use of symbolic violence that Bourdieu (1984) had described (in the theoretical chapter 3) and therefore has the power to construct social reality.

I will discuss the contextual framework for the system (host country) in the first part of the analysis, which will explain how the NGHs are exercising their life in the Danish context. Bourdieu (1984) explains (in the previous chapter) that the state sets the power field premises for other fields to legitimize or delegitimize the NGHs's capital. I want this chapter also to discuss the struggle that is going on in the state field concerning Green Card, which is currently very intense.

In order to put the analysis in a broader context of understanding, I discuss immigration to Denmark, which is not just about statistics, but also a high-value political area. This analysis module is based on the data in the form of reports, policy documents, and interviews. In my analysis, I will make a thematic analysis where I perceive the problem area "from below" by starting my informant's narratives. I will use all my methodological and theoretical apparatus through a hermeneutic meaning interpretation to analyze my empirical data. The themes in the analysis are formed through grounded theory technique.

I will initially discuss the Danish labor market as a social space and place NGHs in that social space. I will use the perspective of symbolic violence brought from chapter 3 to analyze the NGHs's positioning in the Danish society. I will then analyze how NGHs perceive their stay in Denmark in relation to being adapted into Danish society. The capital concept here will be a central part as it reinforces some of the barriers that the NGHs are meetings on the Danish labor market. For example, the perception of what is legitimate knowledge, training, and skill is different than in their homeland. It is a barrier that can be analyzed through the institutionalizing cultural and *symbolic capital*.

An important part of the thematic analysis is also the NGHs's social integration; including the position they occupy in the various fields as they struggle in. International migration is a complex matter where many economic, political, social and cultural factors must be involved. Furthermore in contextual analysis, I will analyze the differentiations between the rural and urban perception of motivation among the NGHs. Cultural, social and economic differentiations among the NGHs even within their own country of origin might bring differentiation in perception in the Danish context. Hence, their strategies of integration in Denmark can be studied through a comparison in my analysis.

I will participate in a discussion on the struggle between NGHs and legislation. I will use my theoretical framework of understanding to analyze, how the unemployed or unskilled NGHs are classified and positioned. I will confirm or disprove my hypothesis from the last two chapters on the subjective expectations and objective conditions; on NGHs' understanding and practice. I will analyze their disposal systems (*habitus*) and change in their life situation. In conclusion, I

will discuss my analysis results in a wider context. Finally, the overall limitations of my study and subsequent suggestions will be drawn.

4.2 Documents analysis

The different documents such as from the scholars and another individual research regarding Greencard scheme have been analyzed in this section. Similarly, the role of the government as a power to issue Greencard and role of the institutions of sending and receiving countries has been analyzed as follows.

4.2.1 'Greencard' as an immigration policy

In February 2008 the government, the Danish People's Party, Social Liberal Party and New Alliance signed an agreement on a job plan that would provide more manpower in Denmark (FM 2008: 69-96). One of the plans was 'Stepping up international recruitment' to supplement with foreign labor particularly in areas where there is a shortage of domestic labor and thus ease the pressure on the labor market. The Greencard scheme thus became a part of the overall labor in Denmark, which will make it quick and easier for companies to hire.

The Greencard scheme was adopted from the other international trends such as the United States and Canada, where for many decades have given special work permits to qualified foreigners (Mortensen, 2012). The Canadian migration model is based on a human capital, where they select the immigrants who have the best potential to be succeeded in society both in connection with labor and integration in general (ibid). Human capital in some extent can be compared with Bourdieu's forms of capital, and the selection of Greencard is done through a point system by the Danish government. It is based on five criteria within the migrant must earn a minimum of 100 points to get Greencard. These are education, language, work experience, adaptability, and age²¹.

A Greencard in the US and Canada stands out by granting permanent residency while staying in Denmark is given in three years with a possibility of extension. The state takes through the educational act symbolically violence by defining what is legitimate culture (Bourdieu, 1983).

²¹ New to Denmark.dk

This concept of *symbolic misjudgment*²² of the social agents can be argued that why a criterion is as 'good Danish' can suddenly come to weigh heavily on the labor market. The struggle is seen currently in the state field that how many points have been distributed to the various criteria. Immigration Policy issues as foreigners requiring Danish language, multiculturalism, and integration / assimilation has become a part of the debate. NGHs's forms of capital and the added positive value and recognition depend on what is defined as legitimate ways to fight on in arenas after migrated to Denmark. And the struggles going on in the state field has great importance for NGHs's understanding and practice at work and in the society as a whole. The state creates the legislative framework and sets the power field premises for the other fields. With the introduction of a Greencard, people from other countries have got easier access to work in Denmark, and that means including a change in the character of migration.

Immigration to Denmark is seen increasing. Statistic Denmark (2015) shows that almost more than 106,000 immigrants have come to Denmark in the period from 2001 to 2009 is an increase of approximately 34 percent. In 2000, 4,223 foreigners came to Denmark to work, while the figure in 2010 had risen to 21,411(ibid). Percentage draws immigrants from western countries for the largest increase from 2001 to 2009, which is a 44 percent more immigrant from Western countries to compare to 29 percent more than non-Western countries (ibid).

On the other hand, unemployment has risen from 1.8 percent in 2009 to 4.2 percent in 2010 and over 6 percent in the first quarter of 2012 (DST 2012). Nevertheless, the approach does not subside; the number of highly educated foreigners who have been authorized to work in Denmark after the schemes under the Job Plan increased from 3,616 permits in 2009 to 5,395 in 2010 and most of these permits were notified under the Green Card scheme (US, 2011b).

Moreover, there has also been increased the significant amount of Nepalese population in Denmark. In 2015 (until July) there were 2536 Nepalese living in Denmark which is about 25 times more since 2005 (Statistic Denmark, 2015). Similarly, NGHs are also increased drastically.

²² Bourdieu 1983

Since the introduction of Green-Card Scheme in 2008, there were 482 Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark by 2014 (Tål og Faktapå udlændingeområdet, 2015).

4.2.2 The struggle in the power field

Immigration is a sensitive political issue that plays into the context of my analysis because the rules of the scheme can be tightened and loosened by the political decisions. Mortensen (2012) describes that the Greencard scheme came in 2000 and renewed in 2001 and 2006, but only adopted in 2007. This is due to the political climate that the scheme had adopted when the shortage of the skills aroused. The Rambøll (2010) had evaluated the Greencard scheme with the purpose of providing the answer whether the Greencard scheme acts as a tool to attract and recruit skilled workers. Dealing with his analysis, I have found some trends of his result:

1. Inability to speak The Danish language is the main explanations that the participants do not get jobs corresponding to their education. However, there is no clear connection between language skills and degree of availability.
2. They are predominantly related to services of the Danish welfare state and labor market conditions.
3. The majority of Greencard holders want to stay in Denmark and establish themselves for long.

The challenge in relation to the purpose of the scheme is *that” many Greencard-holders fail to find jobs corresponding to their skills”* (ibid).

4.2.3 Legitimacy of cultural capital

Unskilled and low-skilled migrants are hardly getting access to come to Europe because the labor market demands highly educated, and they do not have a legitimate capital to be part of the field. The Danish government conveys society's dominant culture and the legitimate ways to manage foreign labor through the Agency for International recruitment (Mortensen, 2012). But, the agencies do not inform the migrants about the necessities of legitimate culture, therefore, there has been difficulties in integrating into the labor market/or community.

Denmark has established its institutions in many of the foreign countries like India, Bangladesh, and Nepal in order to attract qualified manpower (ibid) through which the immigrants get access to Denmark. This is a form of institutional cultural capital that might be an entry point for many NGHs like other migrants.

The proficiency in The Danish language along with educational skills is necessary for the Danish labor market as a cultural capital (Mortensen, 2012). There are many NGHs whose cultural capital is not recognized as legitimate in the Danish labor market. In the annual report for 2010 on the assessment and recognition of foreign qualifications, it is clear that the Greencard scheme manages to attract people with social, commercial education and science background (Årsrapport 2011: 11, 14). It is connected with a growing middle-class population in sending countries where the job opportunities are limited.

Integration Ministry had evaluated in 2010 in which it was found that many do not get jobs corresponding with their qualifications. And it was justified that it is due to lack of knowledge of Danish language. Agency for International Education, however, has approved their skills and given them the required 100 point; it is surprising that people cannot get jobs. Thus, the battle of power and state field leads to changes in the scoring system and weighting of each criterion and perhaps change will be made in what is regarded as a legitimate culture.

4.3 Thematic analysis

I will now begin my analysis of the interviews. Based on discussion and analysis, I will build the results and perspectives. There are many problems about the Green Card scheme, which are not yet solved. Therefore the NGHs are passing through many challenges in Denmark. I want in my thematic analysis a more sociological approach to discuss. I would see them "from below" by using narratives of my informants. Themes in the analysis are formed through grounded theory technique and formulated as: expectations of NGHs, the knowledge of the scheme system, arrival in Denmark, experience of the Danish labor market, legitimization or delegitimization of NGHs's capital and perceptions of urban and rural origin of the NGHs in relation to their adaptation strategy in the Danish society.

I will start with placing my informants in the first theme struggle in the social space as an extra theme in order to understand the position of my informants in Danish labor market. The themes will become a bit complex and rich, which will be discussed in the discussion section.

4.3.1 Struggle in the social space

The Danish labor market can be analyzed as a social space where the NGHs occupy a social position. The social space is organized on the basis of the two different principles: a vertical axis denotes the total amount of relevant capital, and a horizontal axis contrasts different types of relevant capitals. The horizontal axis ranges from a cultural capital, the far left to the far right for economic capital. I can now place my informants in an intersecting axis which denotes their shareholding.

I have placed NGHs left in the model because they represent the cultural capital in the form of their education. The cultural capital here denotes institutional cultural capital because they have immigrated to Denmark through the background of educational institute. They have little economic capital in relation to Danish standards, which means that their total capital amount is low (they are therefore placed on the lower part of the vertical axis). All the capital forms are interdependent and one capital can often be a prerequisite for another. For instance, education provides skills and a job where individual's living style such as clothing, eating etc has an effect on a society. Hence, the elements of the society have to confront with each other (Bourdieu 1983).

In order to get the idea of my informant's position I put them in two different axes: Axis 1 goes up (higher amount of total capital) and towards the centre (more symmetrical composition of capital); Axis 2 also moves toward the centre, but goes slightly down (less capital). None of my informants have a nice job that their education entitled. Axis 1 accumulates more capital as they stay in Denmark longer because they have built a personal and professional network. It is because they get more legitimate knowledge of society and build linguistic and cultural competences. On axis 1 I place Bivana, Subil and Durdarshan who came to Denmark in 2010; 2012 and 2013 respectively. I placed Binod; Sarala, and Ganesh, on axis 2, where Binod and Sarala came to Denmark in 2014 and Ganesh came in 2015. Their placement also goes to the

center (more symmetrical composition, because over time they will also achieve a certain degree of social capital and legitimate knowledge), but the total capital stock will be reduced. This can be explained by the fact that they are not yet good at building networks. Figure 2 below is showing the NGHs in the social space.

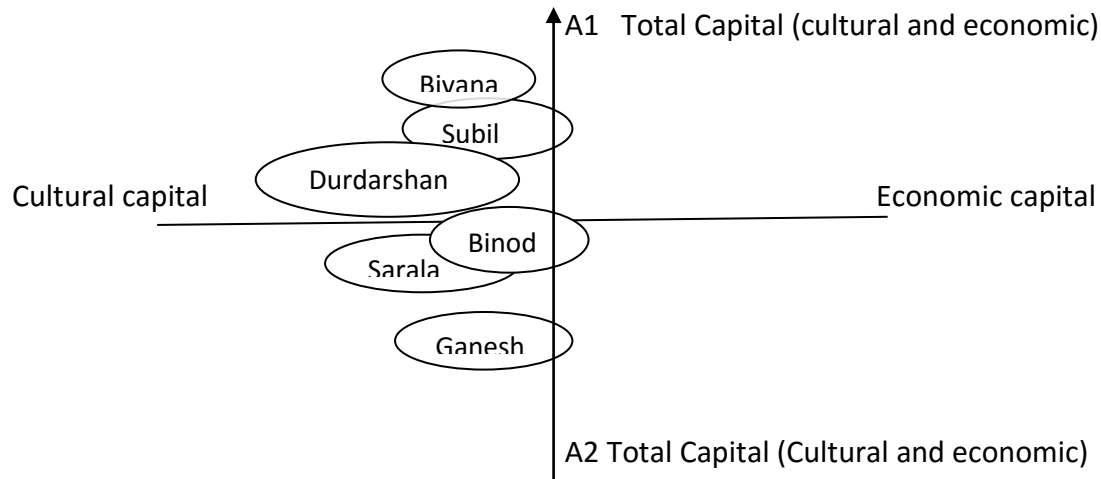


Figure 2: NGHs in Social space. Source: Gerry Veenstra (2007).

In my analysis, my informants are in the rank of cultural capital as being educated migrants. They have limited skills and therefore have less economic capital. The total amount of cultural and economic capital is seen higher among Bivana, Subil, and Durdarshan than Binod, Sarala and Ganesh in the social space (fig. 2). They are placed in this rank on the basis of their duration of stay in Denmark. It shows that longer they stayed is achieving a higher amount of cultural and economic capital. Hence, the amount of total capital is determining their progress towards 'cultural legitimacy'; where my informants are still low in economic capital. When capitals are perceived as legitimate in the arena, they are transformed into well socialized. "Legitimate culture" determines satisfaction, social recognition, status, and prestige (Bourdieu, 1983).

4.3.2 Expectations of NGHs in Denmark

I will deal with NGHs' expectations while staying in Denmark in this theme. The NGHs's primary motivation to migrate to Denmark is seen to increase their capitals. They were also attracted by the idea of living and working in Denmark that the society and the labor market can offer. The secondary cause is they rather like to see the world, get to Europe and settle in a country where

there is no corruption. My informants are part of the middle class in the home country and there is no one who has migrated "in distress". They have all taken a decision to migrate, and they tell that it has been their own choice. All my informants express that they feel understood by their family. Therefore, most of them have brought their family to Denmark (wife and child).

The expectations of NGHs for staying as a Greencard holder are great among NGHs. There is an expectation that the Danish government should have been offered some services for NGHs regarding professional establishment. But, their expectation has not seen fulfilled. My female informant Bivana said that *"I was excited during my initial days in Denmark and expecting some kind of services or offers from the Danish government. But, I did not get even any responses. I think it is too bad. I think like I was just brought and left without any responsibility."*

4.3.3 Knowledge of the Danish labor market and system

I asked about informant's knowledge of Danish labor market before applying in my interviews. My informants were primarily aware of the Greencard scheme through their social capital such as friends, classmates, and family. Some informants have had moderate expectations with respect to the other. One of my female informants Sarala said that *"I had some information that finding a nice job is not for sure, but I thought that there might be a possibility of finding a job. I had also seen many NGHs quitting their good jobs in Nepal and migrating to Denmark (.....) But, I was not aware that the NGHs have to stay only in cleaning jobs, jobs in a canteen and restaurants (.....). I think we need to have complete information about Danish labor market before migrating"*.

"I only thought about whether my points for granting the Greencard will meet or not.(...)/I studied the positive lists for achieving Greencard in Denmark. The positive list indicates experiences that mean the experience will provide opportunity in Denmark. That's why I quitted my good job in Nepal"(Binod).

"I thought that information in New to Denmark website is enough to understand the situation, but there was no one to tell me the ground reality"(Subil).

"I do not understand why Denmark is accepting such a huge amount of people (....).The government should offer a job if there is nothing said about the situation in their home sites. All the websites that I found have similar information. But I had to rely on official website 'new to denmark'.dk (....)(Ganesh).

"The Danish state offering a Greencard should be itself information. Also, the government should convey information to their agencies about Danish labor market"(Durashan).

Hence, the quotes from my all informants are suggesting that there is not enough knowledge about the real situation about Danish labor market. The NGHs talking about 'ground reality' suggests in their meaning that they were expecting easy opportunities in the labor market. However, it was clearly written on the official sites that, *"finding a job in Denmark is migrant's own responsibility"*²³.

4.3.4 Arrival in Denmark

My informants say that there is a problem with the information between state's authorities and foreign workers during arrival. Therefore, the NGHs had to typically seek a job center for information. The job center made them more confused and said that their qualification doesn't match the need of Danish labor market. That made NGHs frustrated and hence it could not be a nice welcome for NGHs, however, the information was true. Bivana says that *"Once, I visited to the job center and they said that I need to have a language proficiency to match my qualification in Denmark. That was of course not possible immediately and I was disappointed with my situation"*.

Some of my informants experience that it would have been very difficult for them if they did not have any friends or family network in Denmark. Binod Says that *"it would have been very nice if the authority would have shown any initiation to welcome us during our arrival in Denmark. But it did not happen. My friends guided me towards Copenhagen city from lufthavn airport"*. The initial days in Denmark could not be fruitful for NGHs because they had to

²³ Newtodenmark.dk

face many disappointments regarding their competencies, qualifications, and opportunities. Sarala says that *"I feel like my qualification is disrespected as I cannot utilize it anymore in Denmark"*. Ganesh shared the similar frustrating response: *"I had signed up through the website Jobindex.dk, but I can only find some vacancies that are only demanding Danish language proficiency"*.

My informants found that the welcoming is not good enough for them, but on the other hand, they are not seen followed to job center and other job websites properly. They are unaware of the service provided by job center and did not follow the job center anymore. Moreover, they are not seen participated in seminars provided by a job center. They thought that first meeting in a job center is an end of help so that they did not participate in CV-courses and did not register or follow on CV databases. However, some of the NGHs were following the websites such as jobnet.dk, jobindex.dk etc., was not effective for the opportunity. Subil and Durdarsan have similarly responded that they have not been benefitted by any institutional authorities in Denmark; however they were in search of such institutions. Subil says that *"I have registered on CV database but never got contacted"*.

4.3.5 Experience in Danish Labor market

Some NGHs are compelled to work with a very low salary and encounter a barrier in the labor market as employers treat them as if they were in Denmark illegally. They rather like to hire them as zero hour contract bases so that they can pay salary with the *"black money"* (nontaxable amount). Their salary is, therefore, low compared to Danish standards. Subil says that *"my employer provides me half in black and half in white which is very low. I have to accept it without any complaint due to fear of losing job (.....).I am trying to find a better opportunity because I know that salary without the tax will not account my income to extend my visa."*

Some of my informants are engaged in physically hard work. The tiredness due to a hard work does not let them take part in other social activities that have been a barrier for integration for NGHs. Durdarshan says that *" My canteen job is physically stressful(.....). I cannot manage time for my friends and relatives due to the tiredness after work (....).Even my language learning has been affected badly"*.

Binod is most frustrated among my informants. He had quitted his good job in his home country to seek a better opportunity in Denmark. He thinks that he cannot establish himself in Denmark because of many barriers such as language, socialization and lack of job opportunities etc. He says that” *I am returning back soon with my family. I don’t think that I can establish myself in Denmark with its very tightening rules which are being changed all the time.*”

Now, I want to move in a deeper step into the discussion of NGHs’s labor market status. In terms of Social groupings, NGHs repeatedly are referred to as a group, working unskilled due to lack of Danish language and involving in low-level jobs. Hence, they become one part of 'unskilled workers' in the society. The word 'unskilled' evoke a group of society with no education and no future in Denmark having fewer jobs.

Rambøll report (2011) focuses on Greencard holder’s satisfaction with pay in Denmark, but not on their overall economic situation. I asked my informants about their economic conditions. They do not have enough savings due to the movement from the global South to the global North means that the volume of their economic capital drops dramatically because the money they took from their home country is devalued in amount in Denmark. All my informants report that they feel their savings are nothing worthy. Moreover, the requirement from the Danish State whether they should have enough money to support themselves for a year (equivalent to start to assist rate) is not realistic in relation to the objective conditions. For none of my informants, it is an amount that is sufficient. Binod says that his financial situation does not live up to the level of Danish life in Denmark. Hence, it has been a huge challenge for NGHs to save money and they wish to send money to home as economic remittances (discussed in the theoretical chapter) in order to improve their family status.

NGHs do not see their income in Denmark as a sustainable income for their family in their home country in their current job status. It is Because Denmark is a very expensive country where they do not have enough chance to save money for sending especially with their current low income. However, the money they are sending (economic remittances) occasionally to their family has been able to fulfill some basic needs in their home country. Subil says that”*It is really*

hard for me to save money in Denmark because of having heavy expenses. But, I have sent some amount at once and my father utilized it partly on making a house.”

The immigrants are understood as members of a particular class in host country (Bourdieu 1979/84). Besides the 'underclass', they are also recognized as 'non-Western immigrants, who are in the negative ring and in debate as a group that cannot be integrated (ibid). Hence, the classification seen is therefore, a part of the power struggle in the social space. In the context of Denmark, Dansk Folke party and socialistic Folke party are recently seen in favor of scraping Greencard and they have made the changes of canceling Greencard scheme for the future²⁴. The majority in the Danish parliament see the Danish Greencard scheme as a failure scheme as they did not find green cardholders are involving in skilled jobs, so they exercise a discursive power(CPH, 25 th post,2016).

4.3.6 Legitimization or delegitimization of NGHs’s capital

Using Bourdieu's concepts I put my study area into an analytical framework, which opens up a power perspective on NGHs’s practice as a job in the Danish labor market. They are dominated in field's position in relation to the field of power. My informants accept that they are not worth anything to Danish companies because they do not speak very good Danish. The dominant culture puts a belief principle that a migrant is integrated (adapted in the society) when he speaks Danish well. 'Language' is one of the criteria in the point system, and there is then no doubt that good language skills, for example, Danish and English are seen as an advantage. The key question is whether it makes a difference to NGHs’s labor market integration.

According to the study of Rambøll (2010), there is no clear relationship between language skills in Danish and degree of availability. Another problem is that Danish is a very difficult language to learn and that some of my informants did not expect, it was necessary to learn Danish. But, others think that language is important. For instance, Sarala said that *“I used to search jobs written in English. But, most of the job vacancies were written in Danish. That is why I had the*

²⁴ (CPH post, 25th April, 2016).

lowest possibility to search for a job."Hence, language is seen as a higher legitimacy in finding jobs in Denmark.

4.3.7 Rural versus urban NGHs

My informants are half from rural and half from the urban origin. I have analyzed the perspectives of these two different groups in order to identify their characteristics in relation to change in habitus in the Danish context. The NGHs come from the urban area are seen more inclined towards utilizing technologies in order to achieve better economic opportunities, for example, searching jobs through Job index.dk and following a job center. They are more likely concerned with economic aspects as they are in search of better salary even though the job type doesn't match their education.

Subil says that *"I found my first job in a restaurant through a friend's network, where my salary was not satisfactory. The job center provided me the links of job searching websites. I have subscribed a link job index.dk through which I can have information about different types of job vacancies time to time"*. Subil's strategy seems smart in finding a better job in Danish labor market. Thus, some of my informants are economically concerned as they are in search of better salary: *"I am now well conscious that I can find a better company to work where the salary and facilities are better"*(Durdarshan).

The concept of Subil and Durdarshan who came from the urban region of the country is seen inclined towards economic capital as their strategies are concerned to find better jobs for economic betterment. In contrast, I found the rural NGHs are lending toward the social capital. They believe that their family and friend's network is valuable for them in Denmark through which they have been benefitted to find a job and other social opportunities. They feel homeliness with their relatives and friends. Bivana says that *"my husband's brother, who was already established in Denmark, helped me to find a job for me in my initial days (....) he also helped me with accommodation and other basic needs"*.

"I participate in Nepalese programs in different cultural occasions, where I can meet other Nepalese that makes me feel homeliness. I have now made many new friends.(....) but I think it

is not possible for me to be completely adapted into Danish society soon as I do not speak the local language (....)”(Sarala).

All the NGHs had decided to move Denmark expecting higher income so that they could send their earning to their homeland. Hence, they expected that economic remittance might improve their family status in their home country. They all have brought their family together for staying longer period. But, difficulties due to the harder rules of the government and other difficulties in the labor market are pushing them towards uncertain future. Binod, in my analysis, who came from the rural region of his country, is seen the most frustrated than other NGHs. *“It is so much difficult for me to fulfill the requirement according to the rule of Danish government in Denmark. I need to earn 317,725. Dkk in a year for extending my resident permit; it is a lot for me (....) especially my current job status cannot meet that requirement. At the same time, I am not being able to save money due to the higher expenses. My wife doesn’t have a full-time job (.....) so; I think Denmark doesn’t want us to stay longer”* (Binod).

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

After the analysis of my interviews, I will discuss my study and link theories to that I have obtained from the informants through highlighting some major points. This chapter in the second section will conclude the study in order to disprove or confirm my early hypothesis. In the last part, I will criticize my study through some limitations and present some possible recommendations for future study.

5.1 Discussion: The analysis results can be discussed through various points that can be discussed in the following:

5.1.1 Challenges in the labor market

The interview allows the researcher to access the interviewee's self-understanding. It also accesses a situation in which self-awareness is created and this self-knowledge has been beneficial in my attempt to uncover a possible link between their professional situation and their psychological condition. I have described Bourdieu's concept on 'Habitus' in the theoretical chapter 3, which I can compare with my informant's situation in Denmark. Highly educated NGHs in their country are in the lower level of job in the Danish labor market having low *symbolic capital*²⁵. They can therefore potentially experience a break with habitus. Change in habitus is not something that happens quickly or smoothly, and the changes will not happen automatically. That has created stress among the NGHs. One aspect of NGHs's mental health is that they cannot afford proper food due to the economic situation. This aspect is to a certain extent supported by my observations in the interview situation where I can observe that informants look worn out. This can also be due to physical hard work.

The purpose of this analysis theme is to analyze NGH's difficult situation. By taking some of the negative personal consequences forwarded by the Danish legislation, I can problematize the current system as a challenge. *"(...) I have a problem with a visa issue. This visa issue is creating*

²⁵ Bourdieu (1983)

a kind of dependency. It's causing stress. These things are not money dependent, but are psychologically always depended on."(Subil).

"I took a risk of resigning from my job in a bank in my home country without knowing whether I could find a good job or not in Denmark. To quit a job just for a strategy purpose is not that common normally in the underdeveloped world because people are already in economic problems" (Durdarshan).

There is a difference between developed countries and developing countries regarding the perceptions of peoples. So, we must understand NGHs from their life status and their motivations for migration. These people take a much higher risk to choose migration. Thus, it shows that there is a big challenge for NGHs in changing habitus in the Danish context.

5.1.2 Networking and integration

I had described in the beginning of Chapter 4 that the amount of capital varies in the social space and the NGHs's stay at Greencard could be divided into two different axes in the social space (fig.2). How much social capital an individual has and how he is able to manage it depends on many factors. Some of the most important factors in this context are habitus, nationality, sex and mental health. The report from Rambøll (2010) described in the previous section indicate that the lack of language skills and network are the two main factors for poor labor market integration.

My informants focused in their narratives that it is a challenge to be migrated and integrated in Denmark for them. There is a cultural difference. An important aspect of the Danish labor market is that most of the jobs are filled through networking. *"At a short term you can survive, but in the long run, if you do not know about the area or culture you cannot make a network in the country. In Nepal, I know the companies, so I can just go straight way to them - even if they do not have a job to offer"*(Bivana).

Rambøll study (2010) shows that just over half of Greencard holders work through a network. His analysis result shows that some have more social capital than others. They have a better network and I can place them higher on the y-axis in the social space (fig.2). Although they do

not have a job corresponding to their qualifications, they have better prospects to increase in the social hierarchy and get a job that gives recognition and prestige. In my analysis, Bivana, Sarala, and Binod to whom I analyzed as rural NGHs are managing their social capital of networking in a proper way. They see the opportunities rather than limitations. All types of relationships along with the quality of the network are important for achieving success.

All of my informants, however, do not have many Danish friends, are positive to interact with their own nationality. They do not think that it is necessary to have strong networking with Danish people for integration. Bivana says that *"I don't have many Danish friends because my schooling is not from Denmark. I think it will take many more years to have many Danish friends."* Bivana and Sarala are actively participating in each event organized by Nepalese organizations. Bivana is an active member of 'Creative Nepalese women group' in Denmark. The group organizes cultural and sports programs time to time. They also initiate fundraising in order to support the needy people of their home country who have been suffered from the natural disaster (see Appendix 2: interview summary).

Moreover, all of my informants have brought their family in Denmark that has been an opportunity to create a better network of the families and their friends. It is due to family gatherings that facilitate the meetings frequently. Ganesh says that *"I think I meet other families of my community to fulfill my wife's desire. I don't think that I would have met so many families frequently if I were living alone."* I found similar thoughts among all my informants that their family has great influence to establish a strong network among Nepalese community in Denmark.

5.1.3 Middle-class migration

NGHs are the part of a growing global middle class. Greencard scheme attracts individuals who are part of a class fraction having very 'institutional cultural capital'. Education is the criterion in the scoring system that gives the most points. My informants say that how the security, welfare services and modernity in Denmark contrast with conditions in their home country as following:

"(...) Conditions in Nepal are not that favorable. Corruption, political instability, and conflict in my country are pushing people out of the country to seek better opportunities. I would like to live in a peaceful and a fair country" (Sarala).

"Denmark is better for my family, especially for my son who can get a better education in a welfare environment. My qualification will provide me a job in my country anytime, but I have selected this country for peace and better future for my son." (Ganesh).

"I know it is very hard for me to prolong my visa, but I will try my best because I have already spent my almost 4 years in Denmark. So, I am not thinking of other countries at the moment" (Subil).

I interpret migration as a form of social mobility when they move from one social system to another. This is not an easy process; partly because their habitus is so strongly rooted in them, partly because they will always be marked by their background. As demonstrated in the analysis, I see all three issues in my interview data. My informants belong to the middle class. A middle class, in addition, to increase its institutional, cultural, and economic capital, generally, migrates to become a part of the Danish welfare state and democracy and freedom. The dream of living a better life in the West is seen among all the NGHs.

5.1.4 Personal consequences for the migrants

My analysis shows that Denmark has recruited people with general skills under the scheme of Greencard. People struggling in the field are not seen satisfied with their job situation because of having many barriers in the Danish labor market. Some of the NGHs, think of themselves not integrated well, are planning to return back without any achievement can be seen as a loss of their valuable time they have already spent in Denmark.

Referring to my informant Binod, he has decided to move another country due to not being able to achieve requirements for an extension. Similarly, Bivana, Sarala, Durdarshan, Subil, and Ganesh are also seen uncertain about their extension. The reason is they have not been able to find skilled work. Therefore, it is necessary to place the responsibility somewhere? The scheme needs to be reformulated and re-established on the basis of a new initiation phase. The political

agenda in 2007 was to strengthen the availability of qualified foreign labor to the Danish labor market and the agenda today should be to integrate.

My study examines the NGHs's situation; how they experience their stay in Denmark, how they feel, what their dreams are and how they navigate a life with full of disappointment. There are some barriers but, some NGHs are good at managing their various forms of capitals. The factor contributing to their current job situation (low skilled) is that they have been unfortunate. Therefore, the NGHs, who had certain expectations in Denmark, have not been met yet. Some informants were primarily unemployed or in unskilled work. So, their total amount of capital has fallen, after they have come to Denmark. The possibility of a rise in the ranking in the social space is difficult for them because their mental health and identity of understanding are affected. So, the possibility of finding a job where they can use qualifications is less. It has personal consequences for the NGHs. It also has consequences for third countries in the form of brain drain.

However, the poor employment figures may not be more reprehensible to think, the result of my study also shows that some NGHs even think that they have a better life in Denmark. A job below their qualifications in Denmark is not necessarily a bad thing for their life situation. They have better working and living conditions than they think they would have in their home country. It is probably good to have the ability to migrate for NGHs. So if we return to, whether it is necessary to place the responsibility somewhere, it would not give something constructive response. Instead, should be looked at, where the improvements could be made. Changing the criteria and disseminating knowledge of the scheme in companies might alleviate the problem.

5.2 Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the situation of NGHs and understand their perceptions in relation to being adapted into Danish society. It is an interest that stems from the group of poor social integration. I have studied at three different levels of analysis according to my problem area: before migration, during migration and after migration. However, the study is more focused to investigate NGHs's situation after migration in Denmark. NGHs come from far with a very different culture, and hence, it is crucial and challenging for

them to adapt in a new cultural context in Denmark. Therefore, it is important that the focus is on adaptation or integration which is the right initiative. The study after analysis has shown that retention and integration need to be reinforced.

My informants face many barriers, and the problems, where lack of network seems to be central in this context. There is a certain degree of uncertainty among NGHs within a foreign environment. Hence, the factors such as language, government rules, lack of job, lack of social network, and lack of possibilities of taking over host culture are the basic factors that are driving Nepalese green cardholders towards uncertainty and keeping them within limited capitals. On the other hand, the government's new rule for requiring certain salary has been also the barrier for them to prolong residence permit. Having just low salary job they have now found and not being able to involve in integration process are barriers in achieving proper integration. Due to this reason, their status of social networking in the new society is not satisfactory.

NGHs struggle in many fields, where they are positioned low. I can argue that they should be taken care in a special way because they are difficult as they come from the different cultural background. The information between authorities and NGHs is not just good everywhere and particularly related to job centers where they did not find a supportive environment. It is an issue that should be investigated. In addition, the criteria should be changed, so the system recruits people who have the opportunity to get a skilled job in Denmark.

Moreover, there are differences in how NGHs understand their stay in Denmark. Someone has it harder than others, and it can be explained by differences in the management of forms of capital. They all come from a middle-class background and with a higher education is making it difficult for them suddenly to recognize the host culture. Especially, the analysis made among rural and urban origin of NGHs shows that rural NGHs are seen more likely inclined towards social relationship and networking with their own community. This social relationship can be seen as social capital through which they are benefitted in finding jobs and other social opportunities. The social capital is also interlinked with cultural capital as the NGHs have access to their cultural activities among their own nationalities. On the contrary, the urban NGHs are

seen less likely involved in the social and cultural activities and are rather economically inclined. They are in search of better salary in the Danish labor market. However, both groups are seen less likely adapted the local culture due to the lack of local networking. They do not think that it is necessary to adapt all the local behaviors in order to integrate into local society.

In conclusion, the stay of NGHs in Denmark is a part of the struggle in the field. The concerned authorities should take initiatives to identify the problems and barriers in the field. The government should conduct and disseminate the knowledge of integration programs among the migrants more effectively so that the barriers could be minimized. Moreover, the recruitment system should be improved so that the highly skilled rather than only highly educated labor could be selected. On the other hand, migrants are equally responsible to chose their destination whether the opportunities can be grabbed effectively in the new context.

5.3. Limitation and Recommendations

Due to the exploratory character of this study, it could only contribute with small insight. Only six informants that have been analyzed in my study might not be enough to generalize. On the other hand, a qualitative study has already demerits of subjective bias. Nevertheless, the study stands on the in-depth study where a small sample is equally valid in order to grasp the result of a particular group. Nevertheless, some critical points are highly important for further studies. I have described in the previous section that the study is only delimited to the perception of Nepalese Greencard holders in Denmark. Hence, it is necessary to be studied more in-depth and from different angles to understand truly how the NGHs develop useful insights for governments and policy makers. For this reason, some limitations of the study and recommendations for future research can be made.

Basically, the limitations are seen regarding on cultural aspects; individual background and duration of stay of the interviewed NGHs for this study. The study has its limitation regarding the culture they have experienced in Denmark. Hence, the NGHs's answer might have been influenced by the Danish culture, which is distinct in characteristics. Hence, the future research can be recommended to compare the findings from another country. It is because the same

research, for example, a country of multicultural society might deliver a different outcome. Similarly, insights of different cultural groups could also be compared within the same research.

Moreover, an individual background of NGHs is equally important to study. The individual might have been influenced by their family and spouse. Hence, the further research could be recommended to include spouses and other family members migrating together with the NGHs to investigate their perception regarding their experiences. Furthermore, the NGHs coming on their own or coming with the whole family could have been also compared.

Eventually, this study is focusing on the Greencard holders, which is not a long-term stay permit. So, the integration or adaptation in the local society is not possible within such a limited period and rather it takes generations. Hence, the further study might have been relevant for the second generations of the migrants.

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Appendix 1: Interview guide

Interview guide <u>Nepalese Greencard holders</u> Questions	Follow up questions
Facts 1.Age 2.Gender 3.Education 4.Nationality 5.Arrival in Denmark 6. Have you brought your family?	-Where in country (Urban/Rural?) -Do you have children? If yes, how many? And what are their ages?
1) <u>Pre-migration</u> 1) Tell me about your life in your home country? 2) Why did you choose to go abroad? 3) What was the main reason for your decision to move to Denmark?	-Everyday life, traditional/modern lifestyle, interests. Contact with people from different countries? (School/traveling/communities/other) -Career, self-realization, security, freedom, upbringing children... -Expectations towards life in Denmark
2) <u>Family</u> 1) Tell me about your family relations? 2) What did your family think about you going abroad? 3) Have your family influenced your decision of going abroad?	Class, occupation, economic situation... Do you have relatives in other places? If yes, describe the nature of contact? If they brought their family with them: How does it affect your relationship? Do you feel responsible for integrating your partner (and children) in the Danish society?
3) <u>Green card</u> 1) What is your current job situation? 2) Can you tell me about the process of applying for a Greencard? 3) What do you think of the Greencard scheme? And has the viewpoint changed over time (pre-migration/0-6 months/6-36 months)? 4) What did you know about the Danish labour	How long have you been in that situation? Where have you heard about the Greencard? Did you do some research on your own? If yes, which sources did you use? Why did you select the GC scheme? Did you consider a residence and work permit based on a job contract (e.g. the positive list

<p>market and job possibilities?</p> <p>5) Can you tell me what happened when you came to Denmark?</p> <p>6) What do you think of the level of information?</p> <p>7) Have you heard about the mentor programs?</p> <p>8) Other networks?</p> <p>9) Do you feel you have gotten the support you wished for/been provided the necessary information?</p> <p>10) What is your economic situation?</p> <p>11) Do you plan to extend your GC if possible?</p>	<p>or the pay limit scheme)? Did you consider the risk of not being able to find a job? Expectations match possibilities? Image of situation in Denmark, true or false?</p> <p>What kind of information did you get when arrived here and before you arrived? Letters emails.</p> <p>From New in Denmark, Job center (job net), Work in Denmark? About how to apply for at job, how to get a network, housing, important things to know about Denmark... In English or Danish?</p> <p>Danish Green Card Association Face book-groups Careerjet.dk, Denmark.net/job, job index</p> <p>Difference in pre-/post-migration periods? Also permanent residence? How would your life be different is you lived in your home country?</p>
<p>4) Transnationalism/Sense of belonging</p> <p>1) Tell me about the contact you have to your home country?</p> <p>2) Do you send/receive money or presents to your family?</p> <p>3) Before you went abroad was it your plan to send money?</p> <p>4) Do you know people in Denmark with the same nationality as you?</p> <p>5) Do you know other persons with a GC?</p> <p>6) Tell me about your everyday life?</p> <p>7) How do you feel about living here?</p>	<p>Decreased or increased since you migrated?</p> <p>If yes: What are the motivations for these exchanges?</p> <p>How does it make you feel? Would you like to send a higher amount?</p> <p>What is the nature of this relation (how often, what do you do)? Are they your 'friends'?</p> <p>Various social/professional networks</p> <p>Feelings of home and longing, emotional attachment, diaspora</p> <p>Do you feel "welcome"?</p>

<p>8) Do you know any Danes?</p> <p>9) Would you say you have changed after coming to Denmark?</p> <p>10) Do you use the same websites as before? News from sender/receiver country, international such as BBC. Do you watch satellite TV? Films, music, books.</p>	<p>Do you feel somewhat integrated?</p> <p>Do you face other problems?</p> <p>Personality / viewpoints about yourself / values / tradition / religion...</p>
<p>5) Mental health</p> <p>1) Tell me about the experience of being unemployed/have an unskilled job?</p> <p>2) Is your partner employed/unemployed?</p> <p>3) Are you able to enjoy your normal activities?</p>	<p>Do you feel constantly under strain? Has the experience of being unemployed/have an unskilled job changed over time? Do you feel your mental health has improved or worsened? (First 0-6 months/after 6 months)</p> <p>-How does it make you feel?</p> <p>Enjoy social reunions, food, books, family contact; go to language school, relaxing. Do you feel happy?</p>
<p>Feedback/Evaluation</p> <p>1) I have no more questions. Is there anything you would like to say or ask before we end the interview?</p> <p>2) How has the experience of talking to me been for you?</p> <p>3) Would you be interested in getting some results from my study in few months time?</p>	<p>(Give an oral summary of the main things I have learned from this interview – which gives the informant a possibility to comment on it or correct me.</p> <p>Browse the interview guide quickly to see if there is anything I missed.)</p>

Appendix 2: Interview summaries

Interview 1: Name: Bivana 27/F, Country/ Region: Rural Nepal

Bivana is migrated to Denmark in 2010 under the Greencard scheme with her husband. She doesn't have any children yet. She is masters in management from her home university. She belongs to the rural part of a far west region of her country. Before migrating, she quitted her project job. She decided to migrate to seek a better opportunity in Denmark; however, she belongs to a middle-class family. The political conflicts and instability of the governments in her home country frustrated her to work in an uncertain environment. Her interest was to involve in a social work that is why she had chosen a project job in Nepal. She had noticed about the good working opportunity through an offer of Danish Greencard scheme.

During her travel to Denmark, she was assisted by her husband's brother who had already well established in Denmark. He managed all the necessities needed in the beginning. Bivana says that *"my husband's brother, who was already established in Denmark, helped me to find a job for me in my initial days (...) he also helped me with accommodation and other basic needs"*. She had expected that the Danish authority will handle her as soon she entered in Denmark. But, she says that no one was there to assist her except her husband's brother. Bivana said that *"I was excited during my initial days in Denmark and expecting some kind of services or offers from the Danish government. But, I did not get even any responses. I think it is too bad. I think like I was just brought and left without any responsibility."*

After a while, she heard about Job center that can assist her to find a job. She visited the job center to get some information, but it did not work. Bivana says that *"Once, I visited the job center and they said that I need to have a language proficiency to match my qualification in Denmark. That was of course not possible immediately and I was disappointed with my situation"*. She thinks that language has been the main barrier in Denmark; however you have some potentiality. She is agreed that Greencard is for skilled manpower, but many unskilled and semi-skilled people have been migrated to Denmark in this scheme. She accepts herself as a semi-skilled manpower. She has a job in a cleaning section in Copenhagen commune that

doesn't match her educational background. She hopes that she will get the better opportunity in the future. So she does not have better income at the moment. She wishes to send some money to home when she is able to save some money from her income. Her husband's brother helped her to find a job; however, she is well known about jobnet.dk to search for jobs in Denmark. She has a strong motivation that she will do better in the future. She says that *"I was so much stressed in the beginning as I did not have a skilled job, but I have transformed myself after a while. My husband also has a job... we are fine now. The income is better in comparison to my home country; however I am involving in a low skilled job"*.

She experiences the different cultural environment in Denmark in relation to eating/drinking habits, dressing, social system, transportation etc. But she experiences freedom in Danish environment where she does not have to have hesitated from her elders that she had to experience in her home country. She is willing to have better knowledge of Danish culture."At a short term you can survive, but in the long run, if you do not know about the area or culture you cannot make a network in the country. In Nepal, I know the companies so I can just go straightway to them - even if they do not to have a job to offer "(Bivana).

Her network is seen limited to her home country nationals. As being interested in social activities she has a strong network of her Nepalese community organizations in Denmark. She is a member of 'Creative Nepalese women'. The organization is active to conduct many cultural programs in different occasions. This has helped her to connect people of her own culture that make her homeliness. Bivana says that *"I don't have many Danish friends because my schooling is not from Denmark. I think it will take many more years to have many Danish friends."*

She expects that the immigrants need to be well facilitated by the Danish government to avoid difficulties in the foreign environment.

Interview 2: Name: Sarala, 26/F Country/Region: Rural Nepal

Sarala belongs to the rural origin of Nepal and came to Denmark in 2014. She was a project leader in an International organization in her home district. She has a master's degree in rural development. She was accepted as a Greencard holder on the basis of her qualification and

experience. Her family supported her during migration; however the decision was made by herself. She lives in Denmark with her husband. She also has a son of one year born in Denmark. She did not have a complete knowledge of Danish labor market before migration. She is aware that finding a job in Denmark is migrant's own responsibility that has mentioned on the website but she had not expected the barriers of Danish labor market as being a different cultural society. Sarala said that *"I had some information that finding a nice job will not be sure (...),. But I thought that there might be a possibility of finding jobs. I had also seen many NGHs quitting their good jobs in Nepal and migrating to Denmark (.....) But, I was not aware that the NGHs have to stay only in cleaning job, jobs in a canteen and restaurants (.....). I think we need to have complete information about Danish labor market before migration"*.

Sarala works as a cleaning assistant in ISS Denmark. Her husband is also working in a restaurant as a kitchen helper. Their income is better in comparison to their home country. But she is not satisfied with her job as she cannot use her education. Sarala says that *"I feel like my qualification is disrespected as I cannot utilize it anymore in Denmark"*. Her friend's network is valuable for her because she had been able to find her job from friend's network. The job searching websites are being useless for her because she lacks The Danish language. Sarala said that *"I used to search jobs written in English. But, most of the job vacancies were written in Danish. That is why I had the lowest possibility to search for a job."*

She has benefitted from friend's network in Denmark so she likes to be connected with Nepalese communities in Denmark. *"I participate in Nepalese programs in different cultural occasions, where I can meet other Nepalese that makes me feel homeliness. I have now made many new friends. It is not possible for me to be completely adapted to Danish society as I do not speak the local language (...)"*(Sarala). She feels comfortable with her own nationality people among them, she is being well socialized. Now she has started Danish language class, where she can meet the people of other nationalities.

She had decided to move to Denmark in 2014 due to lack of more opportunities in Nepal. Political instability, Political power based recruitment system in her country made her think of other options. Finally, she decided to move with her husband.*"(...) Conditions in Nepal are not*

that much favorable. Corruption, political instability, and conflict in my country are pushing people out of the country to seek better opportunities. I would like to live in a peaceful and a fair country” (Sarala). Sarala faced many difficulties in Denmark regarding transportation system accommodation, expensive room rent etc. She spent lots of money that she had brought from Nepal in accommodation, transportation, and foods. She was frustrated in the beginning due to not having any income in this most expensive city.

Interview 3: Name: Binod 34/M, Country/region: Rural Nepal

Binod is a Greencard holder came to Denmark with his wife in 2014. He has a master’s degree in agriculture. He belongs to a rural part of Nepal. He was looking for a better salary job and opportunity in the foreign countries. Meanwhile, he noticed that Denmark is offering a Greencard scheme for highly educated and experienced manpower from other countries. The green card rules were easy and there were not so many criteria to extend and accepting the residence permits in Denmark. So he decided to move to Denmark. It was his own decision after getting some suggestions from his friends who were already in Denmark. He was well motivated that he will find a job related to his profession. He took some loan from a bank for processing and other management in Denmark. He has many friends in Denmark. They assisted him for everything in his requirement during the first arrival in Denmark. Binod Says that” *it would have been very nice if the authority showed any initiation to welcome us during our arrival in Denmark. But it did not happen. My friends guided me towards Copenhagen city from lufthavn airport”*.

He found difficulties in Copenhagen with accommodation and registering CPR. Cold and dark weather in the initial days were not so much exciting. He moved to Denmark for a certain offer, so he thinks that local culture should accept him and vice versa. He says that *“language is necessary to understand local culture.... To be well adapted is not possible within some years. It is a long and slow process.”* The rules and regulation are changing day by day. So he thinks his future is not bright in Denmark. He does not want to spend more time in Denmark. So he is moving soon with his family from Denmark.

He is not being able to improve the language and other requirements because he cannot manage time from his work that he has found in a cloth warehouse. He is not totally satisfied with his job because his job does not utilize his qualification. He cannot meet and interact with Danish people. He can only interact with his Nepalese friends in Denmark.

Before deciding to move to Denmark he thought that his educational qualification will be valid in Denmark. He says that *"I only thought about whether my points for granting the Greencard will meet or not. I also studied the positive lists for achieving Greencard in Denmark. The positive lists indicate experiences that mean the experience will provide opportunity in Denmark. That's why I quitted my good job in Nepal"*.

Binod has decided to move back next year as he is not really satisfied. He says that *"I am returning back soon with my family. I don't think that I can establish myself in Denmark with its very tightening rules which are being changed all the time."*

The new rules of the government to extend the resident permit in Denmark are not in favor of his status in Denmark. He says that *"It is so much difficult for me to fulfill the requirement according to the rule of Danish government. I need to earn 317.725. Dkk in a year for extending my resident permit; it is a lot for me (...) especially my current job status cannot meet that requirement. At the same time, I am not being able to save money due to the higher expenses. My wife doesn't have a full-time job (.....) so; I think Denmark doesn't want us to stay longer"*.

Interview 4: Name: Subil 27/M, Country/Region: Urban Nepal

Subil has decided to move to Denmark through student visa in 2012. He has completed Master's degree from a Danish university and granted a Greencard in Denmark. He is living with his wife. He comes from the urban region of Nepal. He used to involve in a self-business in Nepal. He has now found a job in a restaurant as a kitchen helper. His wife works in a Cleaning company 'Sodexo' as a cleaning assistant. He has decided to move to Denmark for better income. He was motivated to move to Denmark because he wanted to experience his life in a well developed and prosperous society. So he wanted to start from education in Denmark so that he could manage himself for the longer stay in Denmark. But, the change in immigration

rules makes him unsure of staying in Denmark. Even though, he is still hopeful to be extended his stay permit in Denmark.

He says that the immigration rules in Denmark were not so much harder when he had decided to move to Denmark. So, he was motivated by the information on immigration websites while applying. He says that *"I thought that information in New to Denmark website is enough to understand the situation, but there was no one to tell me the ground reality, on the other hand, the situation has been changed regarding visa extension."*

The Danish labor market that Subil found was so much hard to handle. Hence, he had to struggle in finding jobs, satisfactory payment and working conditions etc. Subil says that *"In the initial days, my employer liked to pay me to pay half in black and half in white which is very low. I have to accept it without any complaint due to fear of losing job (.....).I am trying to find a better opportunity because I know that salary without the tax will not account my income to extend my visa further"*.

He knows about job searching websites such as job index.dk; Job net.dk etc. Through which he always tries to find better a job with better salary. He had contacted to the Job center and attended some seminars organized by the job Center. But, he is not satisfied with their service. -Subil says that *"I have registered on CV database but never got contacted"*. It has been hard for him to sustain in Denmark because of higher expenses. So, he cannot save money in expected amount. He says that *"It is really hard for me to save money in Denmark because of having heavy expenses. But, I have sent some amount at once and my father utilized it partly on making a house."*

He has some friends in Denmark. Subil says that *"I found my first job in a restaurant through a friend's network, where my salary was not satisfactory. The job center provided me the links of job searching websites. I have subscribed a link job index.dk through which I can have information about different types of job vacancies time to time"*. He is trying his best in finding a better job so that he could fulfill his requirement in extending his residence permit in Denmark. *"I know it is very hard for me to prolong my visa, but I will try my best because I have already*

spent my almost 4 years in Denmark. So, I am not thinking of other countries at the moment”(Subil).

Because of the harder rules, Subil is a bit stressed because he does not want to waste his last 4 years that he had spent in Denmark. “(...) I have a problem with a visa issue. This visa issue is creating a kind of dependency. It’s causing stress. These things are not money dependent, but are psychologically always depended on.”(Subil). He feels that language has been the main barrier so that he cannot find a better job in Denmark. He wants to be well adapted to Danish society, but he does not have any Danish friend yet. He thinks that his schooling was not from Danish Schools. So, he lacks close friends in Denmark. Culturally adapted in the Danish society is not possible for him soon. He had already spent his 20-25 years in his own culture. But, he is hopeful if he can stay longer in Danish society. He likes to celebrate Danish and international festivals, for example, he likes to celebrate Christmas.

Interview 5: Name: Ganesh 39/M, Country/Region: Urban Nepal

Ganesh belongs to the urban society in Nepal. He came to Denmark in 2014. He is an earthquake engineer in Nepal. He had heard about Danish Greencard that provides better income for highly educated people in Denmark from foreign countries. He consulted in a consultancy in Kathmandu in order to apply for the Greencard in Nepal. After six months he was noticed that he had been accepted in Denmark. He was also motivated by his friends to move to Denmark and grab the opportunity. He had invited his wife and a son after one year of stay in Denmark. But, he could not find a job that matches to his qualification in Denmark. He tried to find a job related to his qualification in the beginning. When he failed to find that kind of job, he decided to do any kind of job to overcome higher expenses in Denmark.

He found the Danish environment very different than his country. Especially, he has seen very backward society in his rural society in Nepal. In contrast, Denmark as a developed society and its social system is very different. To adapt and integrate in Denmark is very complicated. The level of integration does matter. People might be well integrated if they are born in Denmark and stayed for long period. So, he thinks that it is difficult to integrate soon for him in this

developed country. He says that it is a complicated issue, but the next generation might be able to integrate in this society. For him integration and social adaptation is only possible in certain level if he finds a job in his related field that makes him satisfied. He is starting language class as he thinks that language is indispensable to have better understanding of the local society. He says that language is one problem, but institutional system also does matter to be accepted as an employee. He is an engineer from his home country, but he finds differences in skills in Denmark. Therefore, he has not been able find a job in his field in Denmark.

He says that it is difficult for his family to adapt completely. He is confused that why Denmark is accepting the foreigner on the basis of education. *"I do not understand why Denmark is accepting such a huge amount of people (....).The government should offer a job if there is nothing said about the situation in their home sites. All the websites that I found have similar information. But I had to rely on official website 'new to denmark'.dk (....)"*(Ganesh).

Finding a professional job through the vacancies is difficult for him, so he used friend's network. He shared that *"I had signed up through the website Jobindex.dk, but I can only find the job vacancies that are only demanding Danish language proficiency"*. A job he has found now is from friend's network. He works in a cloth warehouse in Nordhavn in computer section. The job and the salary in his current job is however not satisfactory, he looks fine as it is not so much physical job.

He says that establishing local network is very important to be well socialized in any society. But, he has not been able to manage the local network. He has only Nepalese friends in Denmark. He can only communicate in English with local people in Denmark. He says that his wife and his son like to meet other Nepalese family in Denmark. Ganesh says that *"I think I meet other families of my community to fulfill my wife's desire. I don't think that I would have met so many families frequently if I were living alone."*

Ganesh thinks that however the expenses in Denmark are very high; the life is better in Denmark than his home country due to social system in Denmark. So, he is hopeful for his son's future if he can stay longer in Denmark. *"Denmark is better for my family, especially for my son who can*

get a better education in a welfare environment. My qualification will provide me a job in my country anytime, but I have selected this country for peace and better future for my son.”
(Ganesh).

Interview 6: Name: Durdarshan, 35/M, Country/Region: Urban Nepal

Durdarshan came to Denmark in 2013 under the Greencard scheme with his wife. He doesn't have any children. He has decided to apply for Denmark because he had searched about Denmark and found out that Denmark is a nice country in relation to higher human Development index where Denmark is in the 5th position. He had a dream of living in a highly developed European country. His education background was business management, so he had experience in banking sector as a finance controller in his home country. He also took assistance of consultancies in Kathmandu and was suggested that he can be accepted as a Greencard holder in Denmark. He decided to apply in a thought of better opportunity in his sector in Denmark. When he got accepted under the Greencard scheme for Denmark he moved to Denmark with his wife.

He had applied for a job in Denmark more than fifty times, but has not been able to find his education related job. He thinks that it is due to lack of Danish language. Now he is working in a canteen, which he calls it a physical job. He found challenging to be well established in Denmark due to having totally new society and culture. But, he is hopeful to overcome the problems in the future because he has not been so long in Denmark. He is using English language everywhere but he thinks that Danish language is very important. He had been participated in the meetings of Job centre where he had been counseled nicely, but he finds the different in reality.

He thinks that government should have some specific program for Greencard holders, but he does not think that the government has any effective programs. He has to work in a physical work that does not let him to learn more about local culture and language. Hence, he cannot meet any local people. He is somehow more in contact with his own community people. He has also joined a language, but his interaction is only with other country nationals. So, he thinks

that it will take long time to be nicely adapted in the Danish society. *"It is time and sequence flow to be celebrated Danish culture because I may not have time and opportunity to be participated in local festivals."*(Durdarshan). Hence, he is now less likely celebrating the local festivals. Durdarshan says that *"My canteen job is physically stressful (....). I cannot manage time for my friends and relatives due to the tiredness after work (....). Even my language learning has been affected badly"*.

Durdarshan thinks that his education documents were all in English and English language will be accepted in Danish labor market. But, he found the situation different. So, it is important to get well informed before applying. *"The Danish state awarding Greencard should be itself information. Also, the government should convey information to the agencies who are working for recruitment"*(Durdarshan).

But, Durdarshan does not lose the hope of well established and adapted in the Danish society in the future because, he is learning Danish language. He says that he will be able to find a better job in the future because he is continuously searching job finding websites such as jobindex.dk, jonnet.dk etc. He is now more comfortable than his initial days in Denmark. *"I am now well conscious that I can find a better company to work where the salary and facilities are better"*(Durdarshan).

He already took a risk of moving to Denmark when he was also not totally sure about his stability. But his motivation level was higher and he had a strong believe on his qualification. So, he had quitted his nice job in a bank in Kathmandu and moved to Denmark with his wife. He still does not lose hope for the future. Hence, I found Durdarshan as a strongest informant among my all the informants. *"I took a risk of resigning from my job in the bank in my home country without knowing whether I could find a good job or not in Denmark. To quit a job just for a strategy purpose is not that common normally in the underdeveloped world because people are already in economic problems"* (Durdarshan).