

# **THE IMPORTANCE OF CAPITAL:**

*A study on international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish  
labor market*



# **Master's Thesis**

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## **Abstract**

The thesis seeks to explore how the theoretical aspects of Pierre Bourdieu's theory on fields and capital can be used in order to investigate how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment into the Danish labor market. Several studies have claimed that international workers leave Denmark because they do not feel integrated in their workplace. This thesis uses qualitative data to investigate this claim by looking and analyzing different kinds of data. We collected three different sets of qualitative data: a focus group interview with two international newcomers who work in the case company which is located in Denmark; an observation of an introductory meeting in the case company; and a document which offers useful information for international newcomers on how to settle into Denmark. What became visible through the analysis of our data was that our interviewees, in contrast to existing studies, believed that their workplace had done well in socializing and including them into the organization, but that they sometimes felt lonely outside of their work.

Our findings show that the state-owned organizations aiming to help international newcomers settling into the country stress the importance of learning the Danish culture and language, but also that they tend to introduce international newcomers to other international residents. We use Bourdieu's field theory to argue that state-owned organizations impede newcomers' adjustment to the society rather than facilitate it. By introducing international newcomers to other internationals instead of locals, international newcomers could potentially be hindered in properly accustoming to the Danish society and culture, as they would not be exposed to it in ways that only Danes, and people who have previously been exposed to it this way, could offer. With the theory in mind, we also argue, that since the case company is an international and multicultural company, the, as Bourdieu calls it, capital which can be claimed within field of the case company is not applicable to the Danish society outside of the workspace.

The results of our study suggest that non-work socialization and inclusion needs to be addressed alongside workplace integration and inclusion in order to effectively facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the labor market, as we argue that, if we wish for internationals to not leave Denmark within a short amount of time, the socialization and inclusion outside of their workplace should be ensured. The findings of our thesis further suggest that state-owned organizations could assist the process of facilitating newcomers' adjustment better than they already do.

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## Introduction

That the world is becoming more globalized has been a topic discussed for decades, but it is undeniably a phenomenon which is still occurring. Especially companies look for growth and in relation to this often to either expand to other countries, or to expand their local company by hiring international employees (Wendelboe, 2019). There are various benefits related to the hiring of international employees, including language and foreign knowledge, creativity and varied perspectives, along with the possibility of filling roles in fields where there are shortages of in Denmark (Ford, n.a.). Denmark is worldwide known for its knowledge, innovations, and creative thinking processes, and Danish companies and industries have in the recent years managed to develop and grow as a result of this (Qvistgaard, 2018). But now Denmark has reached a point where it can no longer exist without the new input from international employees, and therefore the industries urge to make it as easy as possible to hire internationals (Qvistgaard, 2018). As it is stated in a forecast from the Danish Ministry of Finance, Denmark will by 2025 be in need of 52.000 more international workers to fill all the needed positions to be able to further expand (Hansen, 2018).

But while finding the right candidates for a job can already be difficult, keeping them in the job after recruitment can be an even bigger challenge - and especially so when it comes to international employees. In the spring of 2018, 16.800 unsuccessful recruitments were made in Denmark, in terms of not finding the right candidate for the position, which is a raise of 9% compared to 2017 (Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, 2018). Up to 24% of the companies in Denmark are reported to have problems in their recruitment strategy (Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, 2018). This led to the fact that 15% of the companies had to hire someone whom they knew was not perfect for the position and did not have the profile that they were looking for, but still was hired just for the sake of filling the position (Styrelsen for Arbejdsmarked og Rekruttering, 2018).

However, as mentioned, the challenge lies not only in finding the right candidate, but also in keeping them (Harpelund & Højberg, 2016). As Harpelund and Højberg (2016) write, every fourth new employee quit their job after only having been at the company for one year, and some of them thinking already of looking for a new job after their first day in the company (Harpelund & Højberg, 2016). As this counts for national as well as international employees,



statistics concerning only international employees show that every second international employee leaves the country within five years after their arrival (Fruegaard, 2018). The biggest reason for the receding is that internationals are having a hard time acquiring social contacts (Hansen cited in Fruegaard, 2018). But how can that be in one of the happiest countries in the world?

These questions are some of which this thesis will attempt to answer through research and analyses.

## Literature review

### Socialization

Socialization is a term widely used in an organizational setting and is a concept which can be defined as the: *“process by which an individual acquires the social knowledge and skills necessary to assume an organizational role”* (Van Maanen & Schein, 1977, p. 3). Various earlier studies suggest that socialization and social relations play an important role in the facilitation of performance and learning as well as reducing turnover rates among newcomers in an organization (Korte & Lin, 2013; Adler & Kwon, 2002; Bandiera, Barankay & Rasul, 2008; Coleman, 1988; Ratković-Njegovan & Kostić, 2014). Some literature on socialization claims that the newcomers themselves are responsible for their own socialization and for settling into the organization by proactively taking their own measures to creating social ties and networks within the organization (Ashforth, Sluss & Saks, 2007; Korte, 2009). However, studies like Moreland, Levine, and McMinn’s (2001) suggest that there is more to organizational socialization than the “sink or swim” perspective that to some extent characterizes the idea that socialization is the newcomers’ own responsibility (Moreland, Levine & McMinn, 2001). It is argued that, despite literature focusing on newcomers entering the organization, and on how newcomers adapt to the organization, an opposite perspective might be just as important to consider, as especially social relations and network ties are deemed to facilitate socialization (Moreland et al., 2001; Korte & Lin, 2013; Bauer & Erdogan, 2012; Feldman, 1997). Also the notion of social capital is often mentioned in relation to this topic, stating that social capital has a significant role in the process of socializing new employees into an organization (Nahapiet & Ghoshal, 1998; Bandiera, Barankay & Rasul, 2008; Adler & Kwon, 2002).

Social capital, which has to do with the social structures within the “space” where the actor is located (Adler & Kwon, 2002), relates to organizational socialization processes in the way that in order to fully integrate into an organization, the newcomer must learn and adjust to the social capital of the organization - as well as the organization will need to attempt to facilitate the accessibility of social capital for the newcomer (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Fang, Duffy & Shaw, 2010). This indicates that both actors, the new-coming employee *and* the organization itself, contribute to the success of the socialization process. Veismoradi, Akbari, and Rostami suggested, with their research from 2012, that without social capital, employees within



organizations will not be able to share knowledge or information (Veismoradi, Akbari & Rostami, 2012). This study focused on social capital in learning-organizations, and also stated that social capital is based on individuals' attempts to build trust and mutual effort in terms of cooperation within organizations (Veismoradi et al., 2012).

In a more general sense, social capital is a concept especially used by Pierre Bourdieu, which refers to resources that an individual claims through social interactions in their daily life, and is additionally a resource which helps this individual, for instance, to socialize and facilitate their own inclusion into a "field", which can be described as a setting in which the individual and their social position exists, and in which they interact (Wilken, 2006; Bourdieu, 1986).

While much literature, on socialization within the organizational context, seems to look into local newcomers' learning about the culture of the organization, there are less studies focusing on this matter for international newcomers to the organization (Feldman, 1997; Chao, 1997). It is suggested that the phenomena of entry- and culture shocks when moving to a new country with a culture different from one's home country can affect one's entry to a new organization (Feldman, 1997; Chao, 1997; Feldman & Tompson, 1992). Feldman further sounds a hypothesis that: *"International job changes will have more difficulties adjusting: (a) to the extent that their jobs require extensive interaction with those from other cultures and (b) the greater their cultural distance from their colleagues"* (Feldman, 1997, p. 3). This leads to a question on how to facilitate newcomers' adjustment to a new setting, not only socially, but also organizationally and culturally. To get a better understanding of how to incorporate newcomers in a new environment, newer studies talk about inclusion theories, which will be elucidated in the following part:

## **Inclusion**

In recent studies, a new rhetoric has emerged in the field of diversity: the inclusion of employees in organizations (Roberson, 2006). As Roberson (2006) writes, research until now has been focusing more on diversity rather than inclusion (Roberson, 2006). Many researchers claim that inclusion is just a new word for an old concept, and in this case the old term would be "diversity" (Roberson, 2006). To get an understanding of the differences between diversity and inclusion, and to show that diversity and inclusion are two different concepts, Robertson

compares the meanings of both terms in his study (Robertson, 2006). His findings show that diversity research in organizations focuses mainly on heterogeneity and the demographic compositions of either groups in organizations or the organization as a whole (Roberson, 2006). Opposite to diversity, research on inclusion focuses on employee involvement and the integration of diversity within the organizational context (Roberson, 2006). Research demonstrates that inclusion is not just a change in language, but that the two terms have very different meanings and should not be used interchangeably in future research (Roberson, 2006).

The Oxford Dictionary defines inclusion as *“the action or state of including or being included within a group or structure”* (Oxford Dictionary, 2019), whereas Mor Barak and Cherin (1998) defined inclusion as *“the extent to which individuals can access information and resources, are involved in work groups, and have the ability to influence decision-making processes”* (as cited in Roberson, 2006, p. 215). As the definitions show, the focus of researching inclusion should be on the process that needs to be taken to integrate a person into an organization.

The working environment of the 21<sup>st</sup> century is embossed by an increased number of minorities, ethnic backgrounds and international employees (Roberson, 2006; Downey, Werff, Thomas & Plaut, 2015). Organizations have realized that this variety of sources will lead to a successful and efficiently managed business, because every culture will have different ways of thinking which will stimulate ideas (Roberson, 2006). As cultural and demographic diversity continues to grow as a part of globalization, organizations which want to stay successful, and with them their employees, must be able to interact and make decisions in a more and more complex environment, and this is only possible with the help of diverse perspectives available to organizations (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015; Downey et. al., 2015). In the research of Downey, Werff, Thomas and Plaut inclusion is seen as the base of a diverse and trustful work environment between the employees (Downey et al., 2015). The study demonstrates why inclusion is needed in an organizational context and that an organization which promotes inclusion will create a trusting work environment in a diverse working culture (Downey et al., 2015).

Tinna Nielsen and Lisa Kepinski have researched and focused on practical techniques-management to create an inclusive organization (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). They see their techniques not as a replacement for Inclusion and Diversity strategies, but rather as a supplement for those (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). They divide their inclusion nudges, which

they call inclusion strategies, into three different categories: *motivation, perception and ability/simplicity* (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). Their motivation to create a framework lies in the fact that while many organizations through various strategies manage to make their employees aware of the need for inclusion, they after that point get stuck and the organization will not be able to move forward (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). This is where the inclusion nudges come into play, as they seek to mitigate unconscious associations and with that attempt to change the behavior of the employees and overcome the stagnation point which the organization might be facing (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). Nielsen and Kepinski have created three different inclusion nudges which all are supposed to trigger different systems in the brain. The first one is called “*Feel the need*”-inclusion nudge, which wants to change the employees behavior by letting the employee experience an eye-opening situation, which then leads to the inner motivational change of wanting to change the situation or way how things are done because he sees the need of it (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015).

The second inclusion nudge is called the “*Process*”-inclusion nudge (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). The aim of this inclusion nudge is to help the organization make a more objective decision by altering the whole process of an organizational element. This can for example be the change of the hiring process of new employees to a more “objective” one (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). The third and final nudge developed is the “*Framing*”-inclusion nudge (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). This inclusion nudge was developed due to research offering that many people experience a feeling of fear when hearing terms like diversity, inclusion, and minorities as these terms often suggest for change, which aligns with uncertainty, that most people try to avoid (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). The “*Framing*”-inclusion nudge wants to alter the negative connotation that people have with these kind of terms into positive or at least neutral ones, by for instance changing how data is presented to the employees and changing the language which is used (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015). They state the example “*increasing diversity to reducing homogeneity*” (Nielsen & Kepinski, 2015, p.n.a.)

As the literature review shows, most of the research within socialization focuses on the period of time where new employees enter the organizations. From the research it cannot be seen if a separation between new *international* employees, who are not only new to the organization but also new to the country or new *national* employees who enter “only” a new organization but are acquainted with the culture of the country, happens.

## Problem statement

Through our introduction and literature review, we have identified issues that appear to be evident in the Danish labor market. Research shows that every second international employee leaves the country within five years of employment in an organization located in Denmark, and that one of the reasons for this, according to studies, is that internationals fail to acquire a social network in Denmark. In this research project, we wish to look into what actually is done by organizations and the state in order to socialize and include international newcomers who come to the country for work purposes, and to identify the implications and problematics which could influence the international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market. In order to do this, we wish to look more into the topic of social capital, and how Bourdieu's theoretical perspectives regarding his way of viewing the reality could help us to understand the phenomenon.

As a result of our introduction and literature review, we have derived the following problem formulation, which will serve as the overall guiding question that will be answered through the project, and finally be summarized in the conclusion of the project:

***How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market?***

## Frame of research in relation to curriculum

According to the regulations and curriculum of the Master program of Culture, Communication & Globalization, the thesis subject must possess an international and/or intercultural dimension (Regulations and Curriculum – MA in Culture, Communication and Globalization, 2016). We argue that this research project possesses both an international and intercultural dimension. The international dimension is evident in our case company, which is a company that classifies itself as *international* with an English corporate language as well as 17 different nationalities among the employees. This will be further described later in the research project. The intercultural dimension becomes visible through our data as we interview two internationals living and working in Denmark, who have different nationalities, and thus different cultures, not only to each other, but to Danes in general.

## Reading guide

Following this, the theoretical apparatus for this research project will be introduced. We will first look into the notion of capital as well as the thoughts and theory behind the concept. Subsequently, we will look into organizational culture and discuss various concepts in relation to this, before lastly describing the perspective on culture in this research project.

The methodology chapter will introduce our research design and account for the choices we have made in terms of data collection and methods. Further, this chapter contains our philosophy of science and a description of our paradigmatic stances, followed by a measurement of the research project's trustworthiness and lastly, the limitations that were met in the process of writing this research project.

The analysis will be divided into three parts in order to increase the readability and overview of the chapter. The structure of the analysis will be explained in detail prior to the analysis.

Following the analysis, we will discuss our findings and derive topics of interest related to the case, which will be compared to the theory and discussed in this chapter. Finally, we will conclude on our research and attempt to answer our problem formulation.

# Theoretical apparatus

## Social capital

In referral to socialization, social capital is often mentioned as a factor in the formation of social ties within an organization, and is a term often used in social sciences when explaining the performance of work groups or in order to understand social ties (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). For this research project, we have, through the literature review, looked into different aspects of socialization, and have deemed social capital along with its related concepts to be of great interest for our problem formulation:

*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market?*

The following section will account for various theoretical aspects of the concept of social capital.

In common for all theories on social capital is that social ties and social networks have a certain value, and that is what connects the society together. All theories on social capital suggest that it is the social capital which ties a society together because the social capital is beneficial for people (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). The overall premise is that social ties and networks allow people to achieve goals that are both individual and collective, because the participation in a social network typically will reward one with social capital (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). Three of the most prominent authors in the field are James S. Coleman, Robert D. Putnam, and Pierre Bourdieu, whose theories and views on social capital will be examined and accounted for in the following chapter. This thesis will mostly focus on Bourdieu's theory on social capital as his concepts are what will be used further on in this research project.

## Bourdieu's concepts of capital

Besides social capital, Bourdieu operates with three other capitals as well which are all considered as resources in different forms that need to be possessed and accumulated (Wilken, 2006; Bourdieu, 1986). He distinguishes between four forms which he calls *economic* capital,

*cultural capital, social capital, and finally symbolic capital. Bourdieu's economic capital is defined as a capital "which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights."* (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). *Cultural capital is defined as a capital "which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications."* (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 16). *Cultural capital involves concepts such as knowledge-, language- and educational competences (Wilken, 2006). Finally, the social capital is by Bourdieu designated as a capital which is "made up of social obligations ("connections"), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility."* (Bourdieu, 1896, p. 16). *Social capital thus revolves around social networks, relations with different groups of people such as family, friends, and organizations (Wilken, 2006). Social capital is a resource which is obtained through social interactions with various types of groups, which the individual afterwards will possess and mobilize for their own personal benefits (Wilken, 2006). This is different from Coleman and Putnam who both have suggested that social capital is a collective resource rather than an individual (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). Finally, symbolic capital differs in the way that it refers to the process of converting one's possessed capital to other types of values, such as morale (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013).*

Bourdieu also operates with the term *habitus*. *Habitus deals with the way people act, based on their own understanding of the situation they find themselves in (Wilken, 2006). This signifies that habitus is based on and formed by the experiences that individuals face throughout their life - a product of socialization, and especially the socialization happening in their childhood (Wilken, 2006). About habitus, Bourdieu writes as following:*

*"...social agents are endowed with habitus, inscribed in their bodies by past experiences. These systems of schemes of perception, appreciation and action enable them to perform acts of practical knowledge, based on the identification and recognition of conditional, conventional stimuli to which they are predisposed to react; and without any explicit definition of ends or rational calculation of means, to generate appropriate and endlessly renewed strategies, but within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product and which define them."* (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 138).

Bourdieu elicits that habitus is both individual, collective, and societal (Wilken, 2006). Primarily, it is individual in the way that it accumulates a person's previous experiences, and because no person will have had the exact same history. Further it is collective as it is acquired through social environments, that often are seen in the form of social collectives and/or networks (Wilken, 2006). Finally, habitus is societal because it makes one accept inequalities in the society, or makes one take them for granted (Wilken, 2006). Bourdieu also suggests that habitus is not a state of mind, but rather a state of the body, in the way that the dispositions forming that habitus are acquired, but the process of how they have been acquired may have been suppressed or forgotten. Thus the habitus is a sort of tacit knowledge which the agent may not consciously be able to point out, but will base the form of their habitus (Wilken, 2006). Despite the immediate idea that the dispositions of habitus will not be possible to change, Bourdieu argues that it is possible to see a change in one's habitus. This can happen if major changes occur to the agent's environment, if for instance one is forced to immigrate to a different country, or if other unforeseen or abrupt changes happen (Wilken, 2006).

While the habitus term might facilitate the understanding of the nature of an agent's actions, Bourdieu also operates with the term *fields*, which are social arenas in which agents are located and act, and which can be relevant to understand when looking into Bourdieu's concept of capital. Within these fields, agents play to obtain social hierarchical positions and capital (Wilken, 2006). These fields can be defined broadly as for instance a political field or a religious field but can also be defined in more narrow ways such as for instance a 'Bourdieu's-literature' field or perhaps a fashion field (Wilken, 2006). The constitution of a field happens when multiple agents have shared interests and shared resources (capital) – which may or may not be unconscious – that set up a frame for the field. This "frame" could also be referred to as "rules of the game", which the agent must be aware of and be able to play along with in order to fit into the field (Wilken, 2006). The agent's individual capital thus decides whether or not they will be allowed into the field, meaning that if someone wants to enter a field but does not have a capital which is 'accepted' by the agents already in it, they will not be allowed into the field.

However, it does not mean that there is only harmony within the fields, and Bourdieu says the following about that:



*"The structure of the field is a state of the power relations among the agents or institutions engaged in the struggle, or, to put it another way, a state of the distribution of the specific capital which has been accumulated in the course of previous struggles and which orients subsequent strategies. This structure, which governs the strategies aimed at transforming it, is itself always at stake. The struggles which take place within the field are about the monopoly of the legitimate violence (...) which is characteristic of the field in question, which means, ultimately, the conversation or subversion of the structure of the distribution of the specific capital."* (Bourdieu, 1993, p. 73)

With *specific* capital, Bourdieu refers to the fact that this capital is in relation to the particular field (Bourdieu, 1993). The fields are thus arenas where agents play in order to claim a certain social position and accumulate capital within the field, and although different fields can overlap, Bourdieu states that each field will still be somewhat autonomous with its own set of rules and a shared agreement among the participants of these (Bourdieu, 1986). This also means that each battle which happens within a certain field will never have the same nature as the battle which happens within a different field - battles for capital that happen within one field cannot be compared to others (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

The final term which will be touched upon in current research project is Bourdieu's concept of *social space*. In Bourdieu's analyzes, social space was often conceptualized in terms of fields and analyzed as structural relations (Grenfell & Lebaron & Lebaron, 2014). Social space has not been defined as clearly as Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital, and fields, but still offered a definition of it in one of his works: *"All agents are located in space in such a way that the closer to one another in those two dimensions, the more they have in common; and the more remote they are from one another, the less they have in common."* (Bourdieu, 1996, p. 13-14).

The structural relations of social space show within fields and also outside of fields, where the latter especially will play a part in the analysis of our current research project (Grenfell & Lebaron & Lebaron, 2014). The situation which happens within such space can according to Bourdieu be analyzed by looking at three different levels, which he calls the "Three-Level Field Analysis" (Grenfell & Lebaron & Lebaron, 2014, p. 25).

Bourdieu is widely known for his attempts to combine subjectivism and objectivism, in which both his field and habitus concepts have derived from (Wilken, 2006). This paradigm will be accounted for later in the Methodology chapter.

Bourdieu grew up in a small town in Béarn in France, located far from the intellectual, elitist environment which characterized Paris (Wilken, 2006). He excelled in his studies and was more than once offered scholarships to attend better and prestigious schools that also brought him to the capital of France (Wilken, 2006). But despite the tempting idea that his theories are based on his own experiences considering his mobilization from growing up in a small town to becoming one of the most respected sociologists in France, he argued himself that this is not the case (Wilken, 2006). Instead, he argues that, yes, some of these theoretical insights are rooted in his own experiences, but that he through reflections of his experiences has derived insights which he would use in a reflection of theories, that finally could be translated into theoretical concepts (Wilken, 2006). In relation to this, Bourdieu stresses the importance of being reflexive, as Bourdieu's idea of structures are reproduced and created through social interactions, and through reflections of these (Bourdieu, as cited in Wilken, 2006, p. 41).

### **Three-Level Field Analysis**

Bourdieu was in Loïc Wacquant's work from 1992 asked to sum of the methodological approach of his various concepts, he did so by describing it in three distinct levels (Grenfell & Lebaron & Lebaron, 2014):

*"1. Analyse the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power;"* (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p. 25). The first level has to do with defining and identifying the field in terms of its relations with other fields (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). With power, Bourdieu speaks of the hierarchy and authority of the fields, and this can also help to understand the social space in which the social activities in question show (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014).

*"2. Map out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for legitimate forms of specific authority of which the field is a site;"* (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p. 25). The second level has to do with capital, and deals with how participants of the various fields are positioned in terms of capital (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014). This has to do with which capital can be recognized within the fields, and how these become "visible" when seeing them in relation to the relationships between the participants of the field (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014).

*"3. Analyse the habitus of agents; the systems of dispositions they have acquired by internalizing a deterministic type of social and economic condition."* (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014, p. 25) The third level deals with the individual's habitus in the sense that in order to understand the situation at hand fully, one needs to understand the agents that act within the situation which is achieved by analyzing and defining the habitus of the involved individuals (Grenfell & Lebaron, 2014).

The Three-Level Field Analysis inspires the structure for the analysis for current research project, which will be explained in the next chapter.

### **Critique of Bourdieu**

One critique of Bourdieu, which is often mentioned, is that he seems to overlook the importance of an individual's support from their friends and families (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). Broady (as cited in Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007) offers a viewpoint on social capital which suggests that social capital is a prerequisite for an individual's ability to acclaim other forms of capital as well. Another critique of Bourdieu's theory is that his concepts and terms to some extent can be difficult to operationalize and make measurable to use for quantitative research (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). We argue, however, that Bourdieu's paradigmatic stance suggests that society is built upon objective, social structures, that when adopting this perspective offers a way of operationalizing the terms. Bourdieu's paradigmatic stance will be elaborated later.

### **Other theoretics on social capital**

#### **James S. Coleman**

Whereas Bourdieu operates not only with social capital but other concepts of capital as well, Coleman focuses on the concept of social capital. With his view on the theory, he suggests that an individual's selfish behavior more often than not will result in situations that are disadvantageous not only to themselves, but to people around them as well (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). In response to this, he argues that networks and united institutions can overcome the disadvantageous situations and turn them into something positive instead (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). His definition of social capital is that it:

*“is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements on common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors - whether persons or corporate actors - within the structure”* (Coleman, 1988, p. 98).

In this sense, he agrees with Bourdieu that social ties and networks are beneficial for both the individual and groups. Coleman operates with three different forms of social capital, which each show in their own social structure (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

The first of the three forms is *Obligations, Expectations, and Trustworthiness of Structures*, which is a form of social capital which exists within social structures where there is a system of favors and the repayment of favors (Coleman, 1988). Coleman also explains this form as such: *“If A does something for B and trusts B to reciprocate in the future, this establishes an expectation in A and an obligation on the part of B. This obligation can be conceived as a credit slip held by A for performance by B.”* (Coleman, 1998, p. 102).

The second of Coleman’s forms of capital is *Information Channels*, which shows its importance in the information which lies in social relations, as information is acquired through these (Coleman, 1998).

The third form of social capital in accordance with Coleman is *Norms and Effective Sanctions* (Coleman, 1998). Coleman argues that when a norm exists, it makes a powerful but fragile form of social capital (Coleman, 1998). An example of an effective norm is a norm which lowers the rate of criminality, and thus allows people to walk outside once it is dark (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). In this case, these people’s social capital will increase as the norm will allow them to act individually in a way that might not be possible (or safe) if the norm did not exist (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

### **Critique of Coleman**

One of the major critiques of Coleman’s theory on social capital is that there is no clear operationalization of terms, which makes it difficult to use his theory for research (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). Further, critics argue that Coleman does not distinguish between individual and collective social capital, and that collective social capital in this case is said to be the accumulated amount of individuals’ social capitals (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). This offers the assumption that Coleman’s theory lacks various nuances of social relations.

### **Robert D. Putnam**

Whereas Bourdieu focuses on the accumulated value of capital and views this in relation to power, Putnam focuses on a concept of social capital which is constituted by three components: *moral obligations and norms, trust and social values*, and *social networks* (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). Alike both Bourdieu and Coleman, Putnam also sees social capital as a benefit both for the individual and the community as a whole (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). The individual aspect derives from how individuals form social ties which can benefit the individual in the sense of making friends, finding a new job, etc. (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

In order to back his theory, Putnam has conducted two major empirical studies. The first of these studies is described in the work "*Making Democracy Work - Civic Traditions in Northern Italy*" from 1993, where Putnam based on a statistical analysis of social capital in Northern and Southern Italy concluded that Northern Italy's effective democracy potentially exists due to a history of social relations and committed association activities (Putnam, 1993). The other of his two studies, "*Bowling Alone - The Collapse and Revival of American Community*" from 2000, focuses on showing the importance of trust and networks in one's social life. On the base of his study of American communities, he suggested that the Americans' social capital is decreasing as a result of people wanting to do things on their own rather than as a part of a community (Putnam, 2000). In the study, he reasons that his argument partly is based on a micro level which is the bowling community, where people now rather bowl alone instead of in communities, and that this in a broader, societal setting could mean a detachment from the American, democratic structures (Putnam, 2000; Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

### **Critique of Putnam**

Some critiques of Putnam's theory on social capital relate to his empirical studies, where more critics point out that a decreasing amount of people joining communities is not necessarily a proof of a decreasing social capital (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). In this sense, Putnam is criticized for a black-and-white point of view on the matter of capital that feels oblivious to the idea that societies and people's forms of engaging with communities in general have changed (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007). One point which needs to be pointed out in regard to Putnam is his sometimes *americanized* way of thinking of social capital, which indicates that in order to apply his theory to other cultures, it needs to be kept in mind that his theory is based on American society structures (Hegedal & Rosenmeier, 2007).

## **Use of theory in current research project**

Despite the critique, we suggest that Bourdieu's different concepts of habitus, field, and social capital offer an interesting and nuanced way of perceiving a society, and thus we wish to compare the concepts to our empirical data in order to attempt to understand how the different aspects of Bourdieu's theory may appear in the real world.

Further, since Bourdieu is the only one of the three authors whom clearly describes social capital from a, considerably, individual perspective, we find his viewpoints to have more meaning in relation to our problem formulation:

*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market?*

## Organizational culture

In the following part of the research project we will attempt to define the notion of organizational culture, followed by an introduction to Edgar Schein's Three Levels of Culture, a framework which he developed in order to analyze the organizational culture of organizations.

The term organizational culture is an appellation which has been developed over several decades and still gets a lot of attention within organizational and management research (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Ouchi, 1981). Long before the term of organizational culture became prominent, the concepts of "group norms" and "climate" have been used instead, especially by psychologists (Schein, 1990). Today, according to Dlamini (2014), the term refers to: *"the unique character of an organization that provides the context for action in it; it places the emphasis on the traditions, structure of authority, behaviors, espoused values, language, paradigms and traditions"* (Dlamini, 2014, p. 579). As the definition suggests, it can be said that the concept of organizational culture refers to everything and then again to nothing, in the sense that it appears to cover mostly any aspect of an organization.

When looking into organizational culture, one will come across the term *corporate culture*. Often, both terms are used interchangeably, but there is a difference between them. The term *corporate culture* focuses on for-profit corporations, whereas *organizational culture* refers to all forms of organizations like for example small businesses, governmental organizations and nonprofit organizations (Feigenbaum, 2017). But the term also covers for-profit organizations - it could be said that the term organizational culture is the generic term and corporate culture a sub-term (Feigenbaum, 2017). The term *corporate culture* got especially prominent through the success of Japanese companies and many managers changed their approach towards one focusing on the people (Alvesson, 2002). In our research, we will use the term organizational culture, as the term does not differentiate between the type of organization one is researching.

Organizational cultures are examined to identify "how the things are done" in the organization, and this can be seen by, for instance, how the layout of the office is structured, or by the language that is spoken by the employees, along with the type of jokes that are made within the space (Martin, 2002). But the organizational culture can also be detected by the working policies, the intranet or the employees' earnings and benefits (Martin, 2002). Martin (2002) addresses that a researcher of organizational culture should be aware that an

organization most likely will not only have one culture, which is defined by its participants, but that there due to shifting workplaces or, for instance, home offices, might be different organizational cultures present (Martin, 2002). This needs especially be considered when a researcher only looks at one type of employees or at one department in terms of in how far it is possible of him to talk about the *whole* organizational culture (Martin, 2002).

When looking into organizational culture, the probably most cited person, and the one who defined its research, is Edgar Schein. His definition of culture is that it is a "*learned patterns of beliefs, values, assumptions, and behavioural norms that manifest themselves at different levels of observability*" (Schein, 2016, p. 2). Schein suggests that organizational culture has different categories, which combined form the specific culture of an organization (Schein, 2016). Every organization has its very own defined culture driven by the employees and management (Schein, 2016). A person who wants to ascertain more about the organizational culture of an organization, or a newcomer who strives to become part of the organizational culture, should start by observing the different categories (Schein, 2016). The person will be able to understand some of the categories by observing them, but some of these categories will need to be experienced before they can be understood (Schein, 2016). Schein outlined the research of organizational culture of various researchers into the following categories.

These categories which can be observed and with that understood more easily are:

1. "*Behavioral regularities*" (Schein, 2016, p. 3), like for example which language the employees are using and in which way they are dressed.
2. "*The climate*" (Schein, 2016, p. 3) of the organization which can be seen on the layout of the working space and on the way people interact with each other.
3. "*Formal rituals and celebrations*" (Schein, 2016, p. 4), like for example how Christmas is celebrated, if at all.
4. (and) 5. "*The values and the philosophy of the organization*" (Schein, 2016, p. 4), those are most of the times written down in an employee handbook and will be mostly one of the first things that a new employee gets to know. These also align with the sixth category:
6. "*Identity and image of self*" (Schein, 2016, p. 4).

The next categories are harder to observe and can also not just be explained but have to be experienced (Schein, 2016). In the case of a new employee entering the organization, these categories may take longer to adapt to and become aware of (Schein, 2016). The



7. Category is about “*group norms*” (Schein, 2016, p. 4) of how tasks are handled on a day-to-day basis.

8. (and) 9. These categories are about “*the rules of the game and embedded skills*” (Schein, 2016, p.4), which implies that a newcomer must learn how to become an accepted member of the group he is working in and of the whole organization (Schein, 2016).  
10. This category is about “*habits of mental thinking or linguistic paradigms*” (Schein, 2016, p. 5); what guides the organizational attitudes and their style of language (Schein, 2016).

11. (and) 12. The last two categories are all about the understanding the other members of the organization. The eleventh category has to do with “*the shared meaning*” (Schein, 2016, p. 5), whilst the twelfth category deals with “*the root metaphors*” (Schein, 2016, p. 5).

The categories offer an insight into a macro-culture of the organization and shows both what the culture has learned over the years, as well as from whose viewpoints it has evolved. However, Schein argues that these categories are unsuitable for analyzing an organization’s culture because of their depth and complexity (Schein, 2016). Schein therefore created a dynamic definition of culture:

*“The culture of a group can be defined as the accumulated shared learning of that group as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration; which has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, feel, and behave in relation to those problems. This accumulated learning is a pattern or system of beliefs, values, and behavioral norms that come to be taken for granted as basic assumptions and eventually drop out of awareness.”* (Schein, 2016, p. 6 l. 1-6)

Based on this definition, Schein has developed what he has named as the “*Three Levels of Culture*” (Schein, 2016, p. 18):

“

1. ***Artifacts:***

- *Visible and feelable structures and processes.*
- *Observed behavior*
- *Difficult to decipher*

2. ***Espoused Beliefs and Values***

- *Ideals, goals, values, aspirations*
- *Ideologies*
- *Rationalizations*
- *May or may not be congruent with behavior and other artifacts*

3. ***Basic Underlying Assumptions***

- *Unconscious, taken-for-granted beliefs and values*
- *Determine behaviour, perception, thought, and feeling.” (Schein, 2016, p. 18, l. 1-12).*

The first level are the artifacts that one encounters upon joining a new “group”, or organization. These are the most obvious features such as, for example, the language which the group is talking, or how many members there are in the group. Part of the artifacts is also the “climate” which the group has along with its structural elements (Schein, 2016, p. 18). An important aspect of this level is that it is easy to observe, but not necessarily possible to understand the meaning of the observations (Schein, 2016). In order to understand the whole picture and to avoid misinterpretations based on one’s own pre-understandings and perceptions, one has to get some information from a person inside the group or the researcher has to become part of the group by joining it (Schein, 2016).

The second level is about the espoused beliefs and values (Schein, 2016, p. 19). A group that is recently put together does not yet have any shared beliefs or values, as these will only develop over time (Schein, 2016). A new group starts most likely to focus on the leader and will accept and share his or her beliefs, but when the group starts to create their common beliefs

through, for instance, solving tasks, it is possible that the group's beliefs shift away from the ones the leader has, or they may adopt them and see them as their own beliefs (Schein, 2016).

The third level is about the *"taken-for-granted, and underlying basic assumptions"* (Schein, 2016, p. 22). When a group manages to solve a problem time after time, it might be taken for granted, and might after time be treated as reality. This will be visible in the group as the basic assumptions may be taken for granted and no other solution will be used. Furthermore, the group might find any other way of doing based on other assumptions disturbing and might therefore not accept them (Schein, 2016).

We argue that one critique of Schein's offer on how to analyze organizational culture is that it can be used for creating a cultural framework, but that it will not be possible to detect all aspects of the organizational culture of an organization with the analysis. As Smyth (2015) writes, is Schein's analysis method a clinical tool used to identify and analyze elements of an organizational culture, which will lead to the findings of problems in that to be analyzed organizational culture rather than detecting its whole characteristics including its positive elements (Smyth, 2015). In regard to Bourdieu, whose view on culture is rather reflexive, his view on culture offers the possibility to come back to one's research and look at it from different angles, so that the research never stagnates but rather can be developed over time, which we argue aligns with our problem formulation and research (Tuttle, 2002).

In accordance with Schein, however, Bourdieu also suggests that culture (in this case organizational culture) is based on experiences and underlying structures within the "field", which in this case could be the organization (Wilken, 2006). These structures can be difficult to point out, but are what sets an organization apart from others.

The use of Schein in the current research project is not a statement that we follow his, somewhat homogenous, view on culture in an organizational setting. Instead, we believe it shows how organizational culture *can* be understood, and hereby how Schein understands it, based on his own experiences within the field of organizational culture - or as Bourdieu puts it, through his habitus. Some researchers are more interested in the social patterns of organizations and seek to explore the meanings behind a phenomenon, while others want to explore culture on a wider level and understand culture as a *"system of common symbols and*

*meanings*" (Alvesson, 2002, p. 4). Therefore, according to Alvesson, a cultural understanding could never only focus on the meaning of an individual, but rather on shared orientations. This perspective aligns as well with how Geertz (1973) identifies organizational culture:

*"... the creation of meaning through which human beings interpret their experiences and guide their actions"* (Geertz, 1973, cited in Alvesson, 2002, p. 5).

Those perspectives conform with our stance that a researcher of culture should be aware of where they position themselves and which purpose they aim for. Habermas (1972) differentiates between three basic motives of research interests: the *technical-interest*, the *practical-hermeneutic interest*, and the *emancipatory interest* (Habermas, 1972, cited in Alvesson, 2002). The *technical-interest* aims at researching about causal relationships to achieve wanted outcomes. The *practical-hermeneutic interest* researches about the human existence with the help of communication and the *emancipatory interest* focuses on the internal and external powers that hinders them to act of free will (Alvesson, 2002). In this research project, we have approached the research with a *practical-hermeneutic* approach. This is based on the idea that we through interpretation of communication attempt to improve the understanding of the topic and the different factors that play a part in it.

## Unwritten rules and organizational culture in Denmark

As mentioned in the introduction and literature review, some international newcomers find it difficult to settle into the Danish culture *and* organizational culture. In terms of the Danish organizational culture, Yüksekaya suggests with his work “Uskrevne regler på det danske arbejdsmarked” (Unwritten rules in the Danish labor market) from 2007 that some of the factors to why newcomers, and international newcomers especially, potentially can find it difficult to settle into a Danish organization are the “unwritten rules” and culture of the Danish labor market (Yüksekaya, 2007). The work focuses on immigrants’ way of settling into the Danish labor market, but following will view them as international newcomers, as we suggest the issues pointed out in this work could matter to all international newcomers trying to settle into the Danish work culture.

These unwritten rules are often, by the Danish people that are already within the organization, taken for granted, as they through their daily work have become accustomed to the routines and perhaps subtle guidelines that make up the unwritten rules (Yüksekaya, 2007). Yüksekaya however argues that for especially international newcomers, it can be difficult to even understand what unwritten rules are: *“Danes have also found it difficult to be specific when talking about unwritten rules, but at least they had a mutual frame of reference. That has not been the case with the immigrants.”* (Yüksekaya, 2007, p. 18) (Our own translation).

One of the reasons for this could be the newcomers’ own cultural backgrounds, and that they, for example, from their previous work experiences in their home countries, have been used to think about their job in a different way than Danes perhaps would do (Yüksekaya, 2007). Yüksekaya states that newcomers he has talked to view work as a daily duty, which ends the moment you leave the workplace, while the Danish organizations he has spoken to, often experience that newcomers are not very visible in the social community with Danes within the organization (Yüksekaya, 2007). Whereas a general understanding of Danes is that they view their job as a part of their identity and self-understanding, and also often private details about themselves with colleagues, some international newcomers may have been used to keeping their work life and private life strictly separated, and therefore do not talk about private matters with other colleagues at work. Another reason could be that some internationals would rather build a social network with colleagues with the same cultural

background as themselves rather than engage with the broader social community within the organization (Yüksekkaya, 2007). These different mindsets considering work lives could potentially lead to international newcomers secluding themselves from their Danish colleagues and that way would find it difficult to also get accustomed to the unspoken, unwritten rules (Yüksekkaya, 2007).

Another aspect of the Danish work culture is the consensus culture of the Danish labor market. Consensus in the work environment translates to there being a mutual understanding and agreement between a group of people. This does not necessarily mean that there is complete and total harmony between employer and employee, but rather means that both parts agree on working together in order to solve conflicts and problems in a way that benefits both sides. This is a culture aspect which most Danes have grown up with, and thus have been introduced to unconsciously - they find it natural, and take it for granted. But for international newcomers, who may have a cultural background where the employer and the top of the organizations are very authoritarian, this Danish mindset considering this aspect may not feel as natural to them.

Back to the unwritten rules - what are these subtle and taken for granted guidelines exactly? Yüksekaya offers thirty different unwritten rules which he believes mirror especially important aspects of the Danish labor market and its culture. He has based the rules on interviews with both employers and managers of various Danish organizations, but also with international newcomers to the organizations (Yüksekkaya, 2007). Naturally, these rules become very generalized and are supposed to be understood as a help for newcomers to begin to understand the Danish work culture, and not as an answer sheet on how exactly to behave (Yüksekkaya, 2007). The rules differ within different kinds of organizations, and all rules may not apply to all organizations (Yüksekkaya, 2007):

1 Be humble in the beginning	2 Share your knowledge with your employees	3 Be part of the social community	4 Be professional about work related matters	5 Respond to myths and prejudice within the organization	6 Understand the hidden message
7 Understand irony and humor	8 Understand the flat management structure	9 Greet your colleagues when you arrive and leave	10 Remember that your religion is a private matter	11 Eat lunch with your colleagues	12 Remember that your superior is not your friend
13 Know the line of authority in your organization	14 Know the organization's spirit	15 Learn to handle critique and praise	16 Learn the art of teamwork	17 Respect meeting schedules and your appointments	18 Speak Danish in your organization
19 Ask if you are in doubt about something	20 Make demands to yourself and your employer	21 Comply with the values of the organization	22 Approach conflicts with care	23 Be helpful and solidary	24 Be a good ambassador for your organization
25 Do not be afraid of taking responsibility	26 Be innovative and creative	27 Be independent	28 Be visible in your organization	29 Be flexible and adaptable	30 No rules without exceptions

(Yüksekkaya, 2007, p. 33-47) (Our own translation).

Yüksekkaya (2007) suggests that another factor in the integration of international newcomers into the Danish labor market is the Danish society's integration policies and the presentation of these to international newcomers (Yüksekkaya, 2007). The knowledge which the authorities convey to the newcomers is based on facts and formalities such as the law and general information on how to settle into the society in a formal setting - how to find a place to live, how to find a doctor, etc. (Yüksekkaya, 2007). As it seems, the newcomers are not explicitly introduced to the more tacit knowledge as the matter of "unwritten rules" within the labor



market (Yüksekkaya, 2007). Further, another factor is that they may also find it difficult to understand why they will have to consider these rules in the first place (Yüksekkaya, 2007).



# Methodology

## Methodology

The Methodology chapter of this research project consists of an elaboration of the research design of this project. This research project takes a qualitative approach as it emphasizes on the words to describe and understand the social world, rather than quantification which is done in quantitative research strategies (Bryman, 2012). As the method for collecting our data, we use three different research methods which are often associated with qualitative research: *observation*, *qualitative interviewing* and a *qualitative analysis of documents*. All three methods will be explained in detail later in the research project.

*"In qualitative research, theory is supposed to be an outcome of an investigation rather than something that precedes it."* (Bryman, 2014, p. 384)

We choose the qualitative approach for this project as we want to focus on understanding the different aspects of the collected data by focusing in depth on the data. We have collected three types of data, which all require a different approach in order to analyze the data. With only focusing on one case, we are given the chance to reflect on the data in-depth (Bryman, 2014).

Our approach to the research is an iterative-inductive process, as we start the research with an open mind, and with as few pre-conceptions as possible (O'Reilley, 2009). Naturally, in line with our paradigmatic stance in this research project, it is not possible to completely rid ourselves of our pre-understandings and conceptions on the topic, but we argue that by reflecting and trying to be aware of these, we may be able to avoid some of them. We started our research with a general gathering of information until we knew where we wanted to put our focus, and afterwards looked into which type of information would be needed in order to study this focus. After this step, we were looking for the right research participants in the right organization. We presented our initial thoughts about our topic before we gathered the data. This means that our research was conducted with the participants fully aware of what the data would be used for and what it is about. In relation to the iterative-inductive process, we thus first collected our data and through our data identified different aspects which we found to be

interesting for the topic we had in mind. After this, we looked into different theories which would suit the problem statement and problem formulation *based* on our collected data.

## Philosophy of science

With the use of Bourdieu's theory on social capital in this research project, we will first account for his pragmatic stance of his own researches, before moving on to how this stance affects our project.

In order to better understand Bourdieu's theory and terms, it is necessary to describe his stance regarding his own philosophy of science. Bourdieu identifies his paradigm as *structuralist constructivism*, which, as the name suggests, includes aspects of both structuralism and constructivism (Flecha, Gómez & Puigvert, 2001). Structuralism refers to the presence of objective structures in the social world, which the individual cannot consciously influence (Flecha et al., 2001). It suggests that individuals' behavior is based on these underlying structures, which form patterns, or 'rules' in the society which the individual must follow in order to fit in (Wilken, 2006). Constructivism refers to how the social world is constructed through individuals' own perceptions based on past experiences throughout their lives, and thus takes on a more subjective perspective (Flecha et al., 2001). This means, despite the mostly subjective perspectives in constructivism, Bourdieu stresses that the objective structures from structuralism are just as important to take into consideration, and he thus draws on aspects from both paradigms (Wilken, 2006). At the same time Bourdieu argues, in relation to constructivism, that individuals are not so tied down by the objective structures to an extent where they can not act on their own and reflect on their actions (Wilken, 2006). This is especially seen in Bourdieu's concept of habitus which, as previously described, can be understood as "systems" that based on one's own experiences decides how one acts within a certain situation - but, as Bourdieu suggests, "*within the limits of the structural constraints of which they are the product and which define them.*" (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 138).

In relation to this research project, our approach in terms of the philosophy of science will thus follow Bourdieu's paradigm of structural constructivism. The overall idea of constructivism lies in how the social world and reality is perceived to be a social construct,

constituted by individuals and their actions. By approaching our empirical data with a constructivist view, we wish to critically try to unfold meanings and attempt to look past what usually might appear normal to us (Wenneberg, 2000). The structuralistic aspect will become evident in the way we view especially the notions of habitus, culture and organizational culture, as will be further explained below.

The ontological stance in this research project refers to the way we perceive the social world and what happens in it. According to constructivism, social reality is a construct based of social actors' interactions and past experiences (Bryman, 2016). In the current research project, our ontological stance shows in the way we understand the notions of the social world in which we find our empirical data. For instance, we view organizational culture as an organization-specific culture which is constituted through time by the leaders' (and employees') own understanding and prior experiences with organizational culture, which would melt together to the specific organization's culture. The organization's culture will thus have become a set of rules that only members of the organization will fully understand and will need to follow in order to fit in. With "the rules of the game" perspective, we thus suggest that there are underlying, objective structures in which the individuals can act and reflect.

This leads us to the epistemological stance for this research project, which will take the form of *interpretivism*. This perspective makes it possible to approach data and analyze it based on a certain discourse (for instance, the specific organizational culture), and try to uncover aspects of the situation that go beyond an objective realism that things are what they appear to be. In an epistemological sense, the constructivist view shows in the way we interpret our results (Bryman, 2016). With this stance, we believe that it will not be possible to find an entirely objective answer to our research questions, as we are aware that our own individual perceptions, Danish and German ones, and pre-understandings of concepts will influence our interpretation of our results. We, so to say, become co-constructors of the social situation we are looking into (Bryman, 2016). This means, for instance, that we in the coding process of our empirical data inevitably will choose parts of the data which we find interesting and to have a relevance for what we wish to research - based on our pre-understanding and individual perceptions of the situation. We are further aware that this may cause us to appear biased in the way we approach our data and results, but argue that we, based on theoretical stances and

the readings of already existing research on the topic, still will be able to offer qualified offers to answers to our research questions.

Additionally, we argue that we might be able to have a more varied perspective when it comes to cultural specific topics, as we come from two different cultural backgrounds, Danish and German, and thus might be able to detect and discuss possible occurring culture specific subjectivity, which might not be possible if we were a cultural homogenous research team.

## Case study

Current research project will revolve around a case study. Since we with this research project want to investigate the socialization and inclusion of international newcomers, the use of a case study is a relevant method to use in qualitative research, within social science, as the case study gives us the chance to investigate the development of socialization influenced by the people involved (Yin, 2003).

A case study is by Yin (2003) defined as follows: *“A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real - life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.”* (Yin, 2003, p. 13)

In relation to our research project, the empirical inquiry shows in the form of an interview with two newcomers with non-Danish backgrounds, which seeks to investigate the contemporary phenomenon which is the socialization and inclusion of international newcomers into a workplace and society in a more general spectre. In this sense, our research will thus cover only a small amount of the overall situation, as many factors will naturally be playing a part. What we intend to accomplish is to attempt to uncover some of the aspects which could play a part in the inclusion of international newcomers, although we are aware that it will not be possible to uncover them all. Instead, we wish to focus on what can be derived from our data - our single case study. The “real-life context” would be assumed to be the issue stated earlier in this research project - that employees, and especially international employees, do not stay in their job on a long-time basis, and that there is the possibility that especially the foreign labor force would seek away from the country if they do not feel “at home”. In this research project, the case is about the socialization of international employees into an international company located in Denmark.

Yin (2003) further suggests that case studies are characterized by three conditions: The first condition has to do with the type of research questions which is used in the research (Yin, 2003). Questions that are useful in researches involving case studies are “who,” “what,” “where,” “how,” and “why,” questions (Yin, 2003). With the problem formulation basing the form of current research project, “*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers’ adjustment to the Danish labor market?*”, this condition has been met. The second condition has to do with the extent of control the researcher has over the observed events, in the sense that the researcher should not be able to influence the events that happen in it (Yin, 2003). In regard to current research project, we are aware that we participated in the way that we conducted interviews with the newcomers, but with the questions mostly concerning past experiences, we argue that our research does not intervene with the “natural” flow of the real-life context. The third and final condition which characterizes case studies is that the research needs to focus on a contemporary event (Yin, 2003). Since our research project investigates two international newcomers’ way to settle into the Danish society *and* the labor market, we argue that, as mentioned, the socialization and inclusion of international newcomers to Denmark can be understood as the contemporary event, and also the case, which seeks to be investigated in this research project.

One concern when using single case studies in researches is that the results will not be possible to generalize in a scientific way, as would usually be the goal for quantitative researches (Flyvbjerg, 2006). However, with this research project, which takes a qualitative research method, we argue that it will still be possible to do an analytical generalization based on our results. Analytical generalization has to do with generalizing results based on the applied theoretical framework of the research (Yin, 2003). Further, another form of analytical generalization could potentially show if results and findings were compared to other and similar cases (Yin, 2003).

## Qualitative content analysis

The overall premise of a qualitative content analysis is to bring large amounts of text and data into an organized and feasible collection of results (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). In contrast to viewing content analyses as a rather quantitative method which aims for systematically creating, quantified, replicable results, the qualitative content analysis (also called *ethnographic content analysis*), suggests that the qualitative content analysis focuses on the reflexive and recursive movements which the method offers (Bryman, 2016). This means that the entire process, which entails the steps data collection, data coding, data analysis, and interpretation, happen as an iterative process, in the sense that it is not a rigid process (Bryman, 2016). The qualitative content analysis thus offers the opportunity to be open to new concepts or themes emerging once the analysis of the data begins instead of strictly looking into the initially coded data (Erlingsson & Brysiewicz, 2017). In current research project, the qualitative content analysis shows in the way we handle and process our collection of data. The handling of our collected data will be described following this section. Our data was collected through a theoretical sampling, which by Glaser and Strauss was defined as: *“Theoretical sampling is done in order to discover categories and their properties and to suggest the interrelationships into a theory.”* (Glaser & Strauss as cited in Bryman, 2016, p. 410). This means that the purpose of theoretical sampling is that the selection of data is chosen based on its presumed relevance to the theoretical aspects behind the research question. This indicates, that although we have approached our data with an open mind in the sense of what to expect from it, we have still chosen it because we think it might be of relevance when keeping our research question in mind.

This again offers the iterative process as we will work on “making comparisons” between our data and the theoretical aspects behind our research question in order to come up with the most analytically generalizable results.

## **Presentation of data**

The following section will offer a presentation of the empirical data used in this research project, as well as an explanation of how the data will be processed. We operate with three different sets of data, and three different types of data. One part of the data set is a focus group interview, second part an observation, while the third part of the data set involves a document.

### **Focus group interview**

In order to investigate the notion of international newcomers entering the Danish labor market, we conducted one focus group interview with two international employees in a Denmark-located company. The participants were both female, one Indian whilst the other was Turkish. Both women had originally come to Denmark due to their husbands getting jobs in the country, and had eventually applied for and gotten a job in the case company.

The case company is part of a project which an organization has established in order to bring international employees to the region of Denmark in which the company is located. We were thus allowed to join an agent from the organization as they visited the company in order to interview the two international employees in the company. We were offered to conduct the interview from the organization, and as the interview questions overly seemed to match our initial interests on the topic of newcomers coming to the country, we decided to take the opportunity to interview newcomers about their experiences both on an organizational level, but also on a social level. The interview guide will be presented later in this section.

Originally, the idea behind focus group interviews was to interview a group of people with a known experience within the frame of a topic, and to interview them about the experience in a somewhat unstructured manner (Bryman, 2016). The two interviewees in this research project were naturally known to have an experience with settling into the Danish labor market and society in its whole as they both have been through the process - and perhaps still are going through it. Another benefit of focus group interviews is that the participants can support each other in the sense that they can elaborate on each other's answers, or that another participant's answer might make one wish to explain their own experience if it differs from the others' (Bryman, 2016). A limitation in relation to our research project is that we are only conducting a single interview. This could potentially be a disadvantage as the responses within

this group might be particular to that group. Had we interviewed other people in different groups, there is a possibility that the answers would have shown a different side to the situation, as the responses potentially could have been led in a different direction than the one evident in the conducted interview. The reason for this limitation was mostly due to the busy schedule of the organization and that their employees did not have a lot of time to enter interviews, and the two participants had had the interview scheduled in advance due to the project mentioned earlier.

### **Interview guide**

As mentioned, our interview guide was heavily inspired and consisting of questions already formed to the previously mentioned organization. The following questions were all asked as part of the conducted semi-structured focus group interview, where we would ask the questions but allow the participants to take their answers in any direction they would like for more nuanced answers.

1. How did you learn about this job possibility in Denmark?
2. How much did you know about the country at that time?
3. What was the decisive factor for you to choose this company/ this city/ this area?
4. Describe what happened in between you sent your application and the company offered you an employment contract?
5. In the period before your first working day how was your contact with the employer/HR/ newcomer service from the municipality/workindenmark?
6. What did you do yourself to prepare for the change?
7. Did you seek more information about moving to DK and did you find the information useful?
8. Was there anything that you couldn't find?
9. Do you remember your first day/week at work? What was your impression?
10. Do you feel that you received a good introduction to the company and your responsibilities?
11. Have you been presented with a staff policy or employee handbook? (It's a staff manual, a set of guidelines with principles and rules in a workplace, expected to be observed by the employees)



12. How is it going with your colleagues? Did you greet them? What is your impression?
13. Do you have a mentor?
14. Have you spotted any unwritten rules at your workplace?
15. Now that you have landed in Denmark and at your workplace, how are you doing?
16. Did your HR/boss/newcomer service talk to you since you have started?  
Arranged meeting to discuss your evaluation?
17. Do you know and do you use the offers from your newcomer guide? Are you a member of any new network?
18. How is going with learning Danish language? Have you started before you arrived or after, or maybe still not attending? Why? Any suggestions?
19. Have you got an accompanying family? How has this process been for them? Are they going to join you in DK?
20. What are your thoughts about the future? Future in Denmark, future career... is there anything that you are missing here?

Following the interview, the transcription process started within a few days. This was done in order to transcribe the data while the memory of the interview was still clear, and also to get an overview of the large amount of data that transcribing entails (Bryman, 2016). Following, the empirical data was approached for a coding process. As the first step of the coding process, the transcription was read through by us separately, with few general notes taken if something would strike us as interesting. Bryman (2016) suggests not going too in-depth with notes and comments at first as it could be a benefit as one thus should approach it afterwards with a general understanding of the data material (Bryman, 2016). Afterwards, the transcription was read through again – separately – and this time, notes and comments would be taken in every part of the transcription that were deemed interesting with our overall topic of socialization and culture in mind. The process until this point was done separately in attempt to get as many views on it as possible instead of discussing the possible meanings before having had a chance to go through the transcription individually. After this, the data was read through again jointly, and all notes and comments that previously had been noted were combined to code the data.

Further, the codes were reviewed by looking them through and discussing each code to categorize them into concepts. The concepts are based on repetition among the codes, as shown through the colors below. Through the data, following concepts were found: “Reason for joining organization”, “Recruitment phase”, “Cultural and organizational cultural aspects”, “Socialization within case organization”, and “Socialization outside of case organization”. In order to give the transcription a better overview, each concept has been giving its own color in order to differentiate the concepts from each other when looking through the transcription.

### **Non-participatory observation**

The second part of our data set are notes taken in a non-participatory observation. The observation was done during an introductory presentation of the company for a new employee in the case company. The new employee was a Danish employee, but prior to the presentation, the presenter explained that international newcomers would receive the same introductory presentation of the company as local newcomers. The audible part of presentation was held in Danish whilst the PowerPoint presentation was in English. The presentation included matters such as the company’s spirit and history, as well as core values, employee benefits, and an introduction to the new employee’s training schedule, and where to find important pages in the company intranet.

As neither audio nor video recording was done in order not to overwhelm the newcomer, we separately wrote down notes during the presentation whenever we deemed something interesting. Afterwards, all notes were written out electronically and combined to make sure that we had the notes from both our viewpoints and increase the validity of the observation. Naturally, this brings a limitation in the way that the moment has not been *saved* through an audio or video recording, and thus details in both the conversation but also content may have become lost. However, we argue that since our notes were all over similar, we have to some extent managed to grasp the overall premise of the presentation, which can be used in the following analysis of the data. Alike the transcription of the interview, the notes have been categorized into different themes in order to 1) attempt to understand the organizational culture of the company, and 2) to investigate reoccurring themes in the interview and presentation of the company respectively (Bryman, 2016).

## Document

The final set of data presented for this research project is a document issued by the Danish organization, workindenmark, which is a 76 pages long brochure for newcomers called “*Welcome to Denmark: Useful information which will make it easier for you to settle into your professional and private life in Denmark*”. Workindenmark is part of the Danish Agency of Labour Market and Recruitment (STAR), and the brochure is accessible through their website <http://workindenmark.dk>. With STAR being part of the Ministry of Employment, current document will fall under the categorization of an official document deriving from the state, which leads to a series of considerations which need to be kept in mind when using such document as a source of data. J. Scott (1990) offers four criteria to serve as guidelines when evaluating secondary sources as this current document: *authenticity*, *credibility*, *representativeness*, and *meaning* (Scott, 1990). In referral to this document, it can be argued that it certainly has authenticity in the form of being a state-issued document. With *meaning*, Scott refers to the sense of the text being comprehensible and clear to the reader, which also applies to current document, as it is a light and presumably easily read amount of text. *Credibility* is slightly more difficult to determine, as one needs to consider factors as biasedness from the source of the data (Bryman, 2016).

In our current research project, the data from this document will be used in order to understand the steps and initiatives the organization takes in order to welcome and include international newcomers into the Danish society, and will also be used in attempt to match the information from the interview with the two newcomers with the information in the document. The fourth criteria is *representativeness*, which however in this research project will not be the most important criteria to fulfill. As this research project follows the qualitative method as well as a case study, representativeness in a statistical sense will not be possible (Bryman, 2016). Instead the aim will be to meet an analytical generalizability, a concept which was earlier covered.

Like the notes from our observation, the content of the brochure will be sorted into different categories both in attempt to understand what is done in order to help newcomers who come to Denmark but also to compare it with the other data in this research project in the hopes that our results may end up with a more nuanced view rather than only focusing on the perspectives found in the focus group interview.

## Structure of analysis

As mentioned previously, the analysis in this research project will be inspired by Bourdieu's Three-Level Field Analysis. Following, we will outline the structure of the analysis, as well as explain how each part of the analysis is inspired by Bourdieu's analysis strategy. The structure work alongside with our content analysis as the coding and processing of our empirical data will be used under each section of our analysis. The analysis will consist of three different parts, just as Bourdieu's Three-Level Field Analysis, where the first part will revolve around the definition of the space and fields that our data is part of; the second part will attempt to analyze the various actors' capital and resources, whilst the third part of the analysis will focus on the individuals' habitus.

### *First level: Definition of the field.*

In the first part of our analysis, we will focus on defining the fields, or so to say, discourses, in which individuals play their 'parts'. In order to do this, we will look into our data and attempt to find traits of different fields which are evident through our three different types of data. Once the fields have been defined, we will attempt to characterize them in terms of what the field entails: This part will compare what the data tells us about the fields with our theoretical apparatus, in attempt to better understand the discourses in which the situation we wish to investigate happen. For instance, if we in our data find examples of unwritten rules within the organizations, or fields, that could be translated into the "rules of the game" of that specific field, we will compare it to Bourdieu's theory on fields as well as our theoretical aspects on organizational culture and attempt to identify the field in terms of these aspects combined. Asides from the fields, we also wish to define the social space which the fields play within, and thus will be characterized along with the fields in this part of the analysis.

### *Second level: Definition of capital.*

In the second part of the analysis, we wish to attempt to identify some of the capital which is evident both in the fields and also in the habitus of the individuals. We will in this sense see capital as resources, and in our data try to point out places in which these types of resources may be, perhaps indirectly, evident. We are aware that especially this part in terms of our

philosophy of science could make us appear biased as we will point out capital/resources in our data collection based on what we, with the knowledge from Bourdieu's concepts of capital, find visible. In this project, we thus understand capital as resources of different types - social, cultural, and economic, and will attempt to identify these in our data by pointing out whenever factors such as social ties, education, or perhaps material possessions are mentioned.

*Third level: Definition of habitus.*

In the third part of the analysis, we wish to look into our interview and attempt to identify aspects which could help to understand and say something about the participants' habitus. We are aware that a full understanding of someone's habitus would not be possible with our type of research, as we, first, would need to ask questions more specifically about the participants' lives, but also because we understand habitus to be a concept which is partially subconscious, and not always something someone explicitly can explain. Instead, we wish to identify notions of the participants' habitus such as details about their past or anything else which can be found with Bourdieu's concepts of habitus kept in mind. This will be used, along with the formerly identified capitals, in order to attempt to understand the participants' place in the social space.

Lastly, after separately analysis the three parts, all parts will be combined and compared in attempt to make an overview of the entire setting in terms of field, capital, and habitus. We wish to outline our findings with a model in order to attempt to visualize the various factors which play a part in current situation. This model, along with our findings, will base the ground for the following discussion section.

## Trustworthiness

In this section of the project, we want to evaluate the trustworthiness of our research with the following four criteria used in qualitative research: (1) *credibility*, (2) *transferability*, (3) *dependability*, and (4), *confirmability* (Bryman, 2014). We will look at each criterion separately and evaluate them based on our research project.

### 1. *Credibility*

The credibility accounts for the truth for the researcher's findings, and accounts for the social reality (Bryman 2014). As mentioned in the philosophy of science section, we view the reality as a social construct, where every individual can have an own perception based on their previous experiences and with that of *their* truth. In the case of interviews, one can ask for feedback of the researcher's interpretations (Hirschman, 1986, p. 244). Unfortunately, it has not been possible to get in contact with our two international interviewees from the interview, due to their busy schedules. However, as previously mentioned, we prior to the interview explained the topic and which aspects we were interested in. This way, the interviewees to some extent were aware of the frame of our research.

### 2. *Transferability*

Transferability deals with how far a research and its findings can be used and transferred to another milieu (Bryman, 2014). Because the findings of the qualitative research offer mostly unique aspects of the social world, it is important to know to what extent it can be applicable to other settings, and with that help future research (Bryman, 2014). We argue that our project can theoretically be used in other researches within the field of inclusion and social capital, due to the aspects of analytical generalizability. Future researchers could potentially use our study as inspiration to dive deeper into the topics or use it with different parameters as for example study national social capital instead of international as we did.

### 3. *Dependability*

The third category, dependability, deals with how far other researchers would come to the same results as we did, if they would recreate our research (Bryman, 2014). It demands that all the details of the approach are clear and kept accounted for, so that others potentially

could use the same steps as we did (Bryman, 2014). We as researchers believe that the dependability in our research project is quite high. We write in a detailed manner how we approach our data; explain which theories we are analyzing and why. Another aspect is that we account for our findings and add all our data as an appendix to the research project. Naturally, it will not be possible to end up with the exact same results as us, due to the interpretivist nature of our results and paradigmatic stance.

#### *4. Confirmability*

The confirmability criterion deals with how objective the research is, where one is well aware that it is impossible within social research to be entirely objective. Yet, the aim is to ensure the objectivity as far as possible and that it is not based on the researcher's bias and subjectivity (Bryman, 2014). To ensure as much objectivity as possible, in our project, we apply our theoretical framework to explain how we come to our results, which are explained in detail in the analysis part of this project. Further, we argue that we by reflecting and by being aware of our own preconceptions and pre-understandings, may be able to decrease the amount on bias-ness in our results and interpretations.

### **Limitations**

This research project is limited in regard of time, organizational resources and interview surroundings. As we started the research, we had a timeframe of about four months, which limited us to only look at one organization, as we wanted to go in depth with a single case-study. Secondly, the organization which we worked with had time limited resources at the time, which is the reason why we could only conduct two interviews. Would we have had more time, it might be possible that we could have had the chance to interview more employees to collect more data for our research, and possibly get different viewpoints.

The third limitation to our research is the setting of the interview. During the interview, besides the two employees was the HR manager present, which potentially could have influenced the interviewees in regard to how honest they answered questions about the organization, since it could be that they might have feared future consequences for them when they would have given some negative answers concerning the organization.



Another limitation, concerning our non-participatory observation, is that we were not able to record the introduction meeting, neither with audio nor with video, which could have led to some lost points, which we might have missed by solely taking notes. Lastly, as already mentioned and elaborated in the focus group interview section of this project, it was not possible for us to conduct more than one interview due to time constraints from the company's side.



## Analysis

The first part of our analysis will be two analyses of our second and third data sets, the non-participatory observations, as well as the workindenmark brochure. Following, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter, we will analyze our primary data in the form of our focus group interview, which will follow the structure of Bourdieu's Three Level Field-analysis, in which we will attempt to identify and define fields, capital, and habitus in our data collection. The first part of this will focus on fields, the second part on capital, while the third part will focus on habitus. According to Bourdieu, these three concepts are interrelated, and we are aware that we may not be able to uncover every aspect of each concept. The divisions of fields, capital, and habitus is done for analytical reasons which aims to answer the problem formulation:

*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market.*

### Analysis: Non-participatory observation of the case company

In this part we will give an overview of the finding of the color coding of the non-participatory observation, which can be found in Appendix 2.

We argue that the focus of the presentation lies in informing the new employee about the organizational culture as it fills most of the presentation. The company sees itself as a *"customer driven, international, flexible organization with high mobility"* (Appendix 2, l. 10-14). We also see the company as an organization whose employees are high valued, as they offer various employee goods such as: *"Breakfast and lunch, refreshments, payment of fitness, massage and physiotherapy"* (Appendix 2, l. 25-27). As well as offering *"telephone and broadband for private use and a employee flexibility"* (Appendix 2, l. 28-29) concerning office hours. The second biggest topic, as we found out, is the informing of the onboarding program of new employees. Every employee goes through an onboarding program, where the new employee gets a mentor whom he might ask for help and guidance in the beginning. Additionally, the onboarding includes handing out a schedule about the onboarding activities as well as showing how the intranet works, which operates global and local (Appendix 2, l. 42-44).

The third topic deals with the socialization within the workplace. The case company offers various activities like going to concerts together or to a restaurant, and a friday bar once a month (Appendix 2, l. 30-33). All the events are optional to each employee.

## **Analysis: workindenmark brochure**

Our third set of data appears in the form of the 75-pages brochure from workindenmark, which was previously described in the methodology chapter. As mentioned, the brochure has been coded, and following will thus analyze and attempt to point out aspects which we found interesting with the problem formulation of this research project kept in mind.

On the second page of the document, workindenmark introduces the brochure with a welcoming paragraph:

*"We are pleased that you have chosen to settle in Denmark. Denmark has a lot to offer - a good work-life balance, excellent working conditions based on teamwork and consensus in a flat management structure and free welfare. People living in Denmark are said to be the happiest people in the world."* (Appendix 3, p. 2, l. 3-10)

Further, the second page of the brochure also suggests what the rest of the brochure might include, by writing that:

*"The purpose of this welcome brochure is to answer some of these questions [about social security, registrations of bank accounts, etc.] and to help you get started on your new life in Denmark. If you have questions - don't hesitate to contact us. We are there to help you."* (Appendix 3, p. 2, l. 18-23)

What appears to be the biggest part of the brochure is, as the second page suggested, attempt to explain and show different aspects of the Danish society which the international newcomer must get used to and take care of before they can be properly settled in and be "included" in the society. This includes registering for a social security card, understanding the tax system, as well as safety in the case of for instance losing a job (Appendix 3).

However, as we with our problem formulation are also interested in the socialization of the international newcomers, this was also an aspect we tried looking into. What became visible in this sense was that the focus in this brochure seems to be on the formal, more politically necessary documents and regulations which need to be taken care of upon arriving in the country rather than aspects of socialization. In fact, nearly every page was during our coding categorized into having to do with these “formal necessities”, whilst only one example on one page out of 75 was coded to be about socialization from the perspective of an international newcomer - and only to some extent:

*“All the same [about Danes being perceived to be relaxed, happy, and easy-going], many foreigners find it difficult at first to become acquainted and make friends with Danes outside the workplace.”* (Appendix 3, p. 5, l. 61-65).

We argue that workindenmark with this quote suggests that it is difficult for foreigners to make friends with Danes outside the workplace. What could be questioned is further than despite this claim, workindenmark do not appear to touch upon the topic further, as well as they do not offer a clear solution on how to change that (Appendix 3).

### **Three Level Field-Analysis**

The two interviewees have previously been introduced in the Methodology chapter, but following will sum up the information offered to us prior to the analysis:

The first interviewee (I1 in the transcript) is an Indian woman in her thirties, who has been living in Denmark for about one year. She first came to Denmark because of her husband getting a job in the country, and about six months after her arrival, she was employed in the case company. In the analysis, she will be referred to as the “Indy”.

The second employee (I2 in the transcript) is a Turkish woman, also in her thirties. Alike the Indian interviewee, she also came to Denmark because of her husband’s work in the country, and had also been living in the country for six months before getting her employment at the case company. She is the only one among the two interviewees to who directly mentioned her

educational background, by saying that she has a degree in computer science. In the analysis, she will be referred to as “Turna”.

## Part I: Definition of fields

During the analysis of the fields, we have identified four different fields. In order to increase the readability of the analysis, the examples will be categorized by the field which they aim to characterize, and lastly, the four fields will be summarized and visualized into what will be a part of our created model to better understand our outcomings. We begin with the “case company”-field, followed by the “political”-field, the “Danish society”-field, and lastly, the “International society”-field.

### “Case company”-field

#### *Example 1*

*“I1: i had heard good about this company so i asked whether she knows if there are any openings”*  
(Appendix 1, l. 8-9).

This example offers the first feature about the case company, and with that about the “case company”-field, in the way that Indy says that she has heard good things about it. By saying that she has heard good things about the company, it can be argued that she is indirectly suggesting that the company has a good reputation. This can help defining the “case company”-field in terms of how it could be assumed that it is in good standing amongst other, similar companies and how people not connected to it might see the case company.

#### *Example 2*

*“ I1: (...) and then i actually had heard a lot of good things about this company from my friend and she told me what our policies are here (.) and how the work environment is and i thought this is something i want to try because back then i was working (.) before coming to here i was working*

*in india (.) so i was working (.) i mean it was not that uh employ friendly \*laughs\**" (Appendix 1, l. 69-74).

Alike the first example, this quote also offers an indirect indication that the company has a good reputation, as Indy repeats that she had heard a lot of good things about the company prior to joining it. Further, by comparing the policies of the company to what she has been used to in her home country, and her saying that these policies are aspects that made the company something which she wanted to try out, we argue that she attributes the company and its policies with positive connotations and something that she had not experienced beforehand. In relation to this, the interviewee further comments on the policies in the next example:

### *Example 3*

*"I1: and then i got to know the working hours here and the policies and what employ-beneficial things this company does and (.) yeah (.) maybe that was a decisive factor in this [decision to apply for the position]"* (Appendix 1, l. 78-80).

In relation to the previous example, Indy once again comments on policies and employer benefits in the company, and also mentions how these were a decisive factor in her decision for choosing to apply for a job at the case company. She does not explicitly describe the different employer benefits that the company has, but looking into our second data set, the non-participatory observation of an introductory meeting for a new employee at the company, some of these benefits are explained. As previously mentioned, the benefits include breakfast and lunch, free refreshments, fitness, massage, and physiotherapy (Appendix 2, l. 24-27). Further, the case company offers its employees telephone and broadband to use in their private homes (Appendix 2, l. 28-29). These policies are mentioned in this quote as well, and while she does not explicitly name the policies, our observation offers an insight into these: Some of the policies in the company that were mentioned in the introductory meeting were that the company is customer driven, that the company's corporate language is English, and that it is a flexible organization with high mobility (Appendix 2, l. 10-14). Last notion refers to the company's policy on flexibility in terms of, for instance, allowing the employees to work from home if this suits them better (Appendix 2, l. 14).

#### Example 4

*"I1: yeah yeah (.) so it's a bit relaxed here (.) it doesn't feel like we are doing so much in the day (.) it's relaxing and we have good work-life balance here" (Appendix 1, l. 90-92).*

This example once again, albeit indirectly, tells something about the case company and its organizational culture, which we argue also helps to define the "case company"-field. Turna says that *"it's a bit relaxed here"*, and that *"we have good work-life balance here"*, which could refer to the amount of hours they are working. This could be related to the flexibility of the organization, which was mentioned in the introductory meeting (Appendix 2, l. 14), but it could also refer to another one of the employee benefits which was mentioned in the introductory meeting: *"25 annual leave days and five additional days once one has been working at the company for nine months"* (Appendix 2, l. 31).

This could indicate that the case company - at least from its own (the introductory meeting) and the interviewees' (employees) perspectives - is a well-balanced organization which cares for its employees. Therefore, we suggest that those can be seen as characteristics of the "case company"-field.

#### Example 5

*"I2: before we started here we got detailed information for the first three weeks (.) every details about the (.) it was really good actually (.) who will be our mentor and managers and every details about the company (.) it was really good" (Appendix 1, l. 141 - 144)*

Alike the previous examples, we argue that example 5 further indicates that the interviewees believe that the case company is a company which cares about its employees, and the onboarding of these, from the way they spent their first three weeks at the company and getting introduced to their mentors, and receiving information about the company from the company. This could moreover indicate that the interviewees have become aware of some of the structures and "rules of the game" which are evident within this field, as they have been taught these by their mentors and managers and thus have learned them through experiences.

### Example 6

*"I1: uh (.) the first thing that comes to my mind is work life balance (.) it's really really really (.) i never found this kind of stability in my working career till now (.) i had read a lot about this that in denmark you have good working hours good working environment and it's not like boss is boss and employees are [employees]" (Appendix 1, l. 235- 240).*

Prior to this example, the interviewees were asked about their research on the Danish country and its culture before coming to Denmark, and if they had encountered anything that they had realized without having been able to read about it. Once again, the work-life balance is mentioned as something which the interviewees appreciate a lot. Therefore, we argue, that this is an important feature of the "case company"-field.

The second half of the quote mentions that they had read about Denmark and what defines its work culture. As we view Denmark as the social space in which the fields we are defining are evident, we argue that what she has read about Denmark helps our research to further define the social space.

The last part in which the interviewee says: *"it's not like boss is boss and employees are employees"* (Appendix 1, l. 239-240) is further commented on this the next example:

*"I1: yeah transparency (.) the way of treating their employees is very good (.) so yeah i had read about this and i think i realise this now that i'm working here that it is true \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 242 - 244).*

This suggests that what they have read online about leader-employee relationships in Danish organizations actually translates to their real-life experiences in their own Danish work life at the case company. They have read about it, and now realize that it is true. The following example further underlines this assumption:

*"I2: \*laughs\* yeah you can easily talk with your manager or your boss about anything or another colleague and it's really good (.) in turkey it's totally different you should call your manager like sir and it's difficult to explain yourself or getting a vacation or (.) it's really difficult in turkey" (Appendix 1, l. 247-251).*

With this, we argue that they suggest that the relationship between the employees and their superiors in the case company is good, and that it to some degree is an informal relationship between the two parts. We argue that it can be understood as informal, for instance, by the way they say: *“you can easily talk with your manager or your boss about anything”* (Appendix 1, l. 247-248), which we claim can be seen as additional features of the “case company”-field.

### *Example 7*

*I1: it's very great (.) i mean it's not (.) you're not afraid of saying and putting your opinion out in front of everybody and it's like (.) yeah (.) you have an opinion and you can say it (.) it's not like that okay you're just a fresher you have just started you cannot say because the others are seniors and then they're your boss and i don't have that feel (.) it's good*

*I2: yeah yeah yeah (.) if something's wrong you can say no*

*I1: yeah yeah i know (.) the main thing you can say no here \*laughs\** (Appendix 1, l. 255-262)

This is a continuation of the previous example, but what is interesting in this quote is the emphasis that you in the case company are allowed to state your opinion and are, importantly, allowed to say no. Indy lastly says: *“the main thing you can say no here”* (Appendix 1, l. 262). This, we argue, also helps to define the organizational culture within this organization, and thus also helps to define the field and its “rules”. Saying “no” could thus be understood to be one of the “rules of the game”, as Bourdieu suggests, in the case company, and also in the field in which it resides. Following quote offers a continuation of this:

*I2: yeah i had an interview in ( different company name ) and they asked at the sixth time same question (.) can you say no (.) yes i can say no \*laughs\* and they had other tricky questions (.) like you are applied senior developer what i say (.) can you be a junior (.) i said no (.) ah yeah that was the tricky question \*laughs\** (Appendix 1, l. 267-271)

While this is not meant for the case company, we argue that also this example helps to understand the social space and overall setting for this case. The interviewee mentions that she also at a job interview in another Danish company was asked about the matter of *no*, along with



other, similar, “tricky” questions. Thus, it can be argued that this is also something which helps to define Danish organizational culture in general, as this could be something more companies than the two currently mentioned are interested in. In the theoretical apparatus, we outlined various “unwritten rules” which by the author had been identified through research of various Danish organizations. While these rules are meant in a general way, some support the assumptions made about Danish organizational culture in this research project. The 20th rule is called “*Make demands to yourself and your employer*”, (Yüksekkaya, 2007, p 43; Also see p. 26 in this project) which, when comparing to this research project, potentially could be understood in a way that the employee *should* be able to make demands in the sense that they do not simply allow their superior to “boss them around”, and that they are allowed to say no.

#### *Example 8*

*“I1: ahh (.) yes ahh (.) we knew what we, what is our position and what are our responsibilities but we did not start right away we had a three weeks of [training]” (Appendix 1, l. 305 -307).*

The question which led to this quote was whether the interviewees prior to their first day at their job were aware of their responsibilities and their work tasks. Like previously mentioned, and like the following quote suggests, both interviewees had a three weeks training period before they started their actual work tasks, in which they in teams had to work on, for instances, cases which would help them prepare for their job tasks:

*“I1: whatever we are gonna do they gave us a training and we were maybe five six people and we got a training from them (.) and then after the training we started real work.*

*I2: we had small tasks also (.) or (.) like real cases.” (Appendix 1, l. 309 - 312).*

As seen in the following quote, they, besides their three weeks of training, also received documents with information on the case company’s guidelines and policies:

*“R1: were you ever presented with like the staff policy or did you receive like an employee handbook or something?*

*I2: eh*

*I1: eh (.)*

*R1: like guidelines and policies within the company?*

*I1: ahh yeahh we really received a lot of things [\*laughs\*]*

*I2: [\*laughs\*] probably*

*I1: yes in contract we had some guidelines and than the general guideline i guess aah (.) is there presented in our (.) how [ is it called?]" (Appendix 1, l. 322-331).*

The interviewees presumably received a lot of information on the company, but cannot specifically point out what exactly they have received information about. In line 327, Indy says “*ahh yeahh we really receive a lot of things*” (Appendix 1, l. 327) before laughing, which potentially could be analyzed to mean that she feels she received *too* many documents, as laughter is often seen as a way of humorizing one’s words. They do not explicitly say what the documents are about, but during the introductory meeting we were observing, it was mentioned that every new employee receives an online package (Appendix 2). And while the interviewees may think they received a lot of documents (perhaps too many), it, in the sense of the field, offers the assumption that the case company wants to prepare their employees and potentially prepare them for the “rules of the game” within the field. This can further be assumed from the following quote:

*“I1: so each and every team told us about what they are doing so yes we knew what and we just shook hands and introduced us as (.) it was pretty much a good introduction [yeah]" (Appendix 1, l. 352-354).*

This underlines the previous assumptions that the case company wants to prepare their employees to their job and also to the “rules of the game”, that also refer to the organizational culture of the case company.

### *Example 9*

*“R1: have you spotted any unwritten rules (.) at this company? Like you mentioned that you had read like the policies and then the rules in the workplace but have you (.) have you noticed any (.)*

*I2: nothing unusual*

*I1: unwritten rules? \*giggling\* ah no" (Appendix 1, l. 370-374).*

As the interviewees were asked about the “unwritten rules”, which are perceived to be common in the Danish working society, and whether they had experienced some of these “unwritten rules” at the case company. The interviewees had not experienced any, or at least only things which Turna would put as “*nothing unusual*” (Appendix 1, l. 373). In contrast to Turna, Indy asked a counter-question “unwritten rules?” followed by a giggling (Appendix 1, l. 347). The counter-question followed by the giggling could be potentially perceived as an insinuation that she had never heard of the term before, but also that she might be too shy to ask a direct question to get a definition of the term. In line 282, Interviewee 2 says: “mh not sure really” (Appendix 1, l. 382), potentially admitting that she had not heard of the term before although that she prior to his had said that she had noticed “*nothing unusual*” (Appendix 1, l. 373). This could potentially mean that she did not want to admit that she does not know what the term means before Interviewee 1 had asked the counter question, implying that Interviewee 1 as well had never heard of the term before. The reason for the hesitation of admitting the lack of knowledge about the term “unwritten rules” could potentially have been caused by the presence of one of the HR employees of the case company. The topic is further discussed in the next quote:

*I2: mh not sure really*

*I1: oh \*laughs\* nothing in weird [sense]*

*I2: [yeah ]*

*I1: i think (.) whatever culture is here therefore ( ) maybe saying good morning to everyone sitting with whoever is there on the table you can go and sit with them and have breakfast. In my country it was not like that we had some group of friends or something and we used to hang out together (.) only that group of people (.) but here you do not have that thing you can just go (.) ahh if somebody is sitting alone you can just join them and if a group of people are sitting there you can just go and join them. it is not like ok who are you(.) you are not welcomed here (.) it is not that (.) and (.) ahh yea*

*I2: no nothing (.)*

*I1: nothing weird (.) whatever it is it's in a good way*

*R1: so you wouldn't call it rules?*

*I2: no (.) not really*

*I1: no (.) it's like (.) it educates (.) good educates (.) what is the word i can't remember (.) but (.) everything is good"* (Appendix 1, l. 382- 399)

The interview continues with a laugh and the statement from Indy: *"nothing in weird"* (Appendix 1, l. 383). This statement could potentially suggest that everything at the case company is as they have been used to from other organizations that they have previously been working for. Furthermore, they bring up the term "culture", which could potentially be understood as them linking "unwritten rules" to organizational culture, to some extent. They then continue with giving examples of how they perceive the organizational culture at the case organization and compare it to the organizational culture of their home countries *"saying good morning to everyone, sitting with whoever is there on the table... in my country it was not like that"* (Appendix 1, l. 385-387.) What can be seen here is, that the interviewees mentioning only differences and not one example of similarities. Interviewee 1 ends stating examples with *"nothing weird, whatever it is it's in a good way."* (Appendix 1, l. 395), potentially implying again that she does not know what "unwritten rules" are, but in either way perceive it to be positive. This could be argued to be a contradiction as it should not be possible to see something as positive if one does not know what it indicates. Following, R1 asks if they would not call them rules, and the interviewees reply with: *"no, not really, it educates"* (Appendix 1, 397+398.). Here it can be argued that if they see the organizational culture, of the case company, as something which educates, potentially meaning that they learn something new; something that brings them forward and helps to understand the organizational culture better. This could potentially lead to a better understanding of the field, implying that they did not have that type of knowledge beforehand, but that they are likely to be able to understand the field by experiencing it.

In terms of fields, the previous example shows that the interviewees are not familiar with the term "unwritten rules". While we argue that unwritten rules are part of a company's "rules of the game", we do not suggest that the case company does not have any unwritten rules, but rather that, since the interviewees do not fully understand the term, simply are not able to point them out.

### Example 10

*"I1: so after the training they asked us to present whatever we had learned (.) so based on that they gave some remarks (.) and then after going into actual team and working for some month (.) then they also gave us some remarks or evaluation*

*I2: yeah also now we have some goals for the next period (.) yea" (Appendix 1, l. 517 -521).*

This underlines the previous assumptions of the case company and their goal to teach the new employees the "rules of the game". The first quote shows that they first get some training before the case company lets them fully start working in their respective teams: ("after the training") (Appendix 1, l. 517). The interviewees also state that they had *"to present what they had learned"* (Appendix 1, l. 518), which could possibly be understood as being able to reflect on oneself and stating one's own opinion, which was already previously mentioned in Example 7 as a feature of both the case company's organizational culture but also of what potentially could help define the perception of Danish organizational culture in a more "general" spectre. A second characteristic which is introduced in this example is the fact that the interviewees explain that they have been evaluated by the case company upon finishing their training in the company. During this evaluation *"they gave us some remarks"* (Appendix 1, l. 518 + l. 520). Additionally to giving remarks and feedback it can potentially be argued that "giving goals" to one's employees could also be a characteristic of the case company's organizational culture as the employees in the case company got some for a specific period "now we have some goals for the next period" (Appendix 1, l. 521). This aligns with our observation where the case company stated that they have *"2-4 performance reviews"* (Appendix 2, l. 19) as well as what workindenmark writes about the Danish working culture *"They [the Danish organizations] place high priority on skills development"* (Appendix 3, p. 5). Another interpretation for this quote could be that the case company offers its employees "space" to reflect on their own learning and let themselves make their own goals for the next time to come, instead of the company giving them goals that they must achieve.

Following the analysis of "case company"-field, will we now look into the "political"-field and attempt to define it with the help of various examples.

## **“Political”-field**

### *Example 1*

*“I1: yeah (.) work in denmark (.) uh there is a seminar or workshop and i went to a few of their workshops from them because i was searching for a job here for maybe five months so or six months (.) and then during that time i used to go the commune and give my application (.) i had given my application (.) i had given my resume to work in denmark workshop also (.) so yeah i got some help from them as well” (Appendix 1, l. 169-175)*

In this example, we are introduced to what we argue is the “political”-field. Workindenmark is as mentioned in the Methodology chapter a state-owned organization which seeks to help international newcomers to, both settle into Denmark, as well as to find a job in the country. Our third set of data is as mentioned a 75 pages brochure brought by the workindenmark organization, which claims to offer following help to newcomers: *“Workindenmark job search services focus on 4 areas: making your qualifications visible, job search seminars, e-learning programme and individual job search counselling.”* (Appendix 3, p. 61). As the interviewee says that they received help from the organization, it can be assumed that this is some of the help that she was mentioning, as it aligns with previously mentioned aspects of the organization in the analysis of the workindenmark brochure (Appendix 3).

### *Example 2*

*“(…) i had five years’ experience about that area and i explained myself and she said eh you don't know danish lifestyle and danish work style (.) and you should start kind of call center or seller or as like an intern” (Appendix 1, l. 180 -183).*

This example also relates to the second of the two already identified fields, as she is still referring to the workindenmark organization (Appendix 1). Turna is explaining that she had difficulties finding a job in Denmark, and that the organization supposed to help her find one told her to start with a job at a call center or as an intern because she *“does not know Danish lifestyle nor work style!”* (Appendix 1, l. 181-182). The next quote is in relation to this:

*"(...) and then that job center called me at least a few times and they were really insisting (.) they tried to explain you cannot find any job in denmark you cannot find it's really difficult they said (.) and then i found here and i said i found a job and it's good and they want to learn the name of the company (.) and i said why (.) why do you want to learn (.) and they were really insisting and i said it's here and i found there (.) and yeah it's not a good \*laughs\* I1: \*laughs\* actually in that seminar they insist taking your internship (.)"* (Appendix 1, l. 193 - 202).

This example could indirectly suggest two things: firstly, that the state-owned organization wants international newcomers to start out with jobs like call centers or (unpaid) internships since the newcomers neither have knowledge about the Danish lifestyle or work style. This view can also be argued to be supported by following quote: *"I1: yeah (.) you cannot get a job simply because you don't know danish"* (Appendix 1, l. 211-212). This suggests that one of the "rules of the game" within this field is that all newcomers should know or learn Danish, as well as start out by having an internship or a job where one does not need special qualifications in order to become fully included into the field.

Secondly, it suggests that the interviewee managed to get her job at the case company without the help from the job center or workindenmark, which suggests that it is possible to find a job without help from this field, although the participants of the "political"-field may suggest otherwise, judging by the interviewee's explanation.

### *Example 3*

*"R1: so outside of work are you members of any networks like social (.) like social networks.*

*I2: the newcomer service*

*I1: ((name of cafe))?*

*I2: actually it's really good, they help us a lot about everything, finding house or creating networks society (.) they introduced another turkish people (.) it was really good (.) they helped a lot about everything"* (Appendix 1, l. 522-529).

In this example, the interviewees report on their experiences with a second identified organization within the "political"-field, which the interviewees mention a part of the municipality, the newcomer service. Indy starts with what can be argued as an overall evaluation of the service they received and goes on with specific examples: *"actually it's really*



*good, they help us a lot about everything*" (Appendix 1, l. 526) The service included offering help with for instance *"finding house or creating networks society"* (Appendix 1, l. 527). Turna then mentions: *"they introduced another turkish people"* (Appendix 1, l. 528). Here could be argued that the newcomer service introduced her only to Turkish people, since she does not mention getting introduced to any Danish networks or Danish people. It could be possibly suggested that it is hard to get internationals integrated in Danish networks. This argument gets supported by workindenmark as they write *"many foreigners find it difficult at first to become acquainted and make friends with Danes outside the workplace"* (Appendix 3, p. 5) and *"Danes are a very homogenous society...foreigners are a relatively new phenomenon in Denmark"* (Appendix 3, p. 6), which could be an identification of the "mutual perceptions" within this specific field, and thus how the participants in this field (Danes) view the aspects of international newcomers coming to the country. We argue, further, that it also offers a description of Denmark which offers a third field in this analysis, one which deals with Denmark in terms of social interactions and society - the "Danish society"-field. In this quote, it is insinuated that Denmark is a homogenous society, which could be a characterization of this field, while it also suggests that this is an assumption people might share even outside of the field in which workindenmark is a part. With this, we offer that this new, thirdly identified field potentially could be interrelated with the field which includes the state-owned organizations.

*"I1: so they tell us about everything like (.) what you can do basically living here (.) where you can find jobs not much about jobs, but then what activities you can do in here (.) if you need hospital or general information about [name of city]."* (Appendix 1, 541 - 544).

In the following part of the example, Indy continues with what can be argued being a more detailed description of the "political"-field: *"they [the municipality's newcomer service] tell us about everything..what you can do basically living here..what activities you can do here...general information"* (Appendix 1, l. 541-544). What we argue as interesting is also her mentioning first *"where you can find jobs not much about jobs"* (Appendix 1, l. 542) but in the same sentence reclaiming her statement. We suggest that this could be interpreted as that one would expect the municipality helping to find a job, but which is not a task that they are helping with. This statement can be confirmed as workindenmark does not mention in their brochure that the municipalities are helping with finding a job but they are rather concerned with *"advice*



*concerning residence permit, social security, tax, recognition of qualification, insurance and many other questions that may arise when moving to Denmark*" (Appendix 3, p. 9), which we argue is therefore also a feature of the "political"-field.

*"I2: for me (.) it was before coming to Denmark (.) we sent a mail to her and she explained everything (.) she helped everything about company (.) about country (.) she found some turkish people for us and she said they can help you"* (Appendix 1, l. 552-555).

In this part the statements of Indy get confirmed by Turna as she has made the same experiences with the municipality. She was contacting them before her arrival via mail and *"she [employer at the municipality] helped everything about company, about country"* (Appendix 1, l. 553 -554) and got the details of people already living in Denmark *"she found some turkish people for us and she said they can help you"* (Appendix 1, l. 554 - 555). Here we suggest that what happens within the "political"-field is perceived as helpful concerning Turna, as it attempts to socialize her with other people from Turkey who are already living in the area.

We further suggest that Turna saying that she was introduced to other Turkish people by the municipality refers to the fourth field, "international society"-field. The reason for this suggestion is that she arguably has gained social bonds with other Turkish people within Denmark and *not* Danish people. This will further be described in the analysis of the "international society"-field.

#### *Example 4*

*"R1: so you mentioned that you are learning danish (.) are both of you learning danish right now?"*

*I2: yea*

*I1: yea (.) but we discontinued the class now because we are going to have some teacher here in our company"* (Appendix 1, l. 565-566).

Here we are introduced to challenges that might occur when learning Danish and trying to become a part of the "political"-field. The interviewees state that they were both learning Danish but had stopped going to classes: *"yeah, but we discontinued the class now because we are going to have some teacher here in our company"* (Appendix 1, l. 565+566). The fact that

they started learning Danish could be argued to be that they are aware of “the rules of the game” of the field, and thus want to try to be able to be “part of the game”. We argue that this suggests the importance of learning Danish to be able to be part of the “Danish society”-field (and the “political”-field). That learning Danish is important part of the political field is also stated in the workindenmark brochure: “*Many Danes feel that to be ‘properly’ Danish a person must above all master the Danish language*” (Appendix 3, p. 5) as well as in previous examples. It could possibly be argued that the interviewees are fully aware of the necessity of learning Danish since they state that they will continue learning Danish with the help of the case company “*we are going to have some teachers here in our company*” (Appendix 1, l. 565 +566) and very explicitly why they stopped the Danish class “*they changed seven times my teacher...i couldn’t follow... he [the teacher] never spoke english..it was really difficult*” (Appendix 1, 572-574). This is seen in the following quote:

*“I2: they changed seven times my teacher in six months (.) it’s it was too much and every time (.) something changed and i couldn’t follow them (.) because i don’t know i think my last teacher i guess (.) he never spoke english (.) he does speak Danish (.) he tries to explain past tense (.) but i cannot understand you should try and say something in english for understanding it (.) it was really difficult”* (Appendix 1, l. 570-575).

### Example 5

*“I1: my husband was working here two years prior to our marriage so he had been here for around three years three and a half years or something (.) so i actually do not know how it went for him (.) i didn’t ask him this question \*laughs\* but i think it was good ahm he works for (( other company name )) so they have arranged everything for him (.) actually do not know \*laughs\* but i think it went easy (.) it was not much trouble*

*I2: for us also (.) it was ok they arranged everything for getting that yellow card or residence or creating bank account (.) they helped a lot about it and they had temporary house for newcomers and we lived there for a month and we found our real home (.) it was good (.) probably he felt like that.”* (Appendix 1, l. 605-616).

In this example, we learn more about the interviewees' arrival in Denmark, and with that also how the social space is perceived by a newcomer. Overall, it can be assumed that, at least the interviewee's husband found it easy to enter the social space of Denmark as she states: *"i didn't ask him this question, but i think it was good"* (Appendix 1, l. 607) and continues with giving reasons why she assumes that it was good *"they [husbands company] have arranged everything for him... it went easy, it was not much trouble"* (Appendix 1, l. 609-611). The same experiences are shared by Interviewee 2 who says *"for us also they arranged everything"* (Appendix 1, l. 612). This offers the assumption that the "political"-field, which the state-owned organizations are part of and which helped them settle into Denmark (and thus the social space) are helpful and did a lot for them to ensure a smooth settling into the country.

### **"Danish society"-field**

#### *Example 1*

*"R1: now you say that you really like denmark is there anything in Denmark that you are missing?"*

*I1: i would say just the people*

*I2: and food sometimes \*laughs\**

*I1: yeah food also \*laughs\* how can i forget food*

*I2: definitely food*

*I2: i don't want to go outside for eating now*

*I1: we are bored of those options now because we have*

*I2: hamburgers and pizza (.) it's not for me"* (Appendix 1, l. 662- 670).

This example describes what the interviewees are missing in Denmark. Indy mentions *"just the people"* (Appendix 1, l. 664) whereas Turna mentions *"and food sometimes"* (Appendix 1, l. 665). Food seems to be a big part since Interviewee 1 adds *"how can i forget food"* (Appendix 1, l. 666). We argue that this again is something which could help describe the third field in this analysis in which our data plays its parts. In Example 3 of the "political"-field analysis, it was mentioned that *"Danes are a very homogenous society (...)"* (Appendix 3, p. 6), which we suggest could also explain why the interviewees would say that *"we are bored of those options now because we have"* (Appendix 1, l. 669) as well as *"hamburgers and pizza (.) it's not for me"*

(Appendix 1, l. 670). This could potentially be understood as the interviewees believing that there is not a big variety of food choices in Denmark, which is something the (perhaps homogenous) population of this “Danish society”-field have a mutual understanding and accept of. Perhaps Danes (the participants of this field) prefer these choices and that there “is no need” for bigger variety.

### **“International society”-field**

In referral to Example 3 in the “political”-field, we argue that, as mentioned, there is also evidence of an “international society”-field. This field appears to be interrelated with the “political”-field as Turna mentions that she by the organization in the “political”-field has been introduced to other Turkish people, which indicates that there is a field in which non-Danes (or possibly Danes mixed with international residents) interact.

Another example of the “International society”-field shows in the following:

#### *Example 1*

*“I2: ahh outside (insitually) i join drawing class in the library and another ceramic workshop in ((name of place)) (.) yea and i am drawing something at home i am cross-stitching (.) sewing this kind of things (.) i have a good friends (.) french and italian and we are doing things together”* (Appendix 1, l. 466 - 470).

Here as well does Turna suggest that she has non-Danes friends, which thus also indicates that she is socializing with other internationals residing in Denmark. This, we argue, also shows an example of the “*international society*”-field, as it can be assumed that both the French and Italian friend have different cultural backgrounds than herself.

Next we will elaborate on the social space in which all four previous mentioned fields are evident.

## Social space

### Example 1

*"R1: so (.) now that you are in denmark and you are working here at this company (.) like how are you doing? how do you feel living in Denmark?"*

*I2: it's happy (.) it's [calm]*

*I1: [\*laughs\*] yeah (.) happy country (.) happy people*

*I2: it's little bit sometimes quiet \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 400-406).*

In this example, we are more in depth introduced to Denmark as a social space and how the interviewees experience that social space from their own perspective. The first point they are mentioning after being asked how they feel about living in Denmark is that *"it's happy, it's calm"* (Appendix 1, l. 403) continued with *"happy country, happy people"* (Appendix 1, l. 404 + 405). This is similar to how workindenmark portrays Denmark: *"...that Danes are very contented people"* (Appendix 3, p. 4). Here it could possibly be argued that the interviewees see and understand the social space in the same way as workindenmark, and the field that organization is a part of, does.

*"I1: yea sometimes (.) yeah maybe it's a small city or something and you do not have and the weather is actually a main problem (.)because the weather is bad and nobody comes outside everybody is at in their homes and all (.) in our countries where there is always good (.) so everybody is outside \*laughs\* here it's little bit quiet around and (.) sometimes we find it difficult to spend our leisure time." (Appendix 1, l. 410-415).*

The next point which they are mentioning is the quietness of the social space and they try to reasoning that point with two examples *"yeah, maybe it's a small city"* (Appendix 1, l. 409) possibly indicating that there might be a chance that, if they would live in a bigger city, it would not be as quiet as it is now living in a small city. It could also indicate that the weather is the reason that many people are spending more time inside rather than outside: *"because the weather is bad, nobody comes outside.."* (Appendix 1, l. 411). Those two arguments could potentially be seen as two characteristics of the social space. The first one being quietness and the second is having to deal with different weather conditions - good ones and bad ones. The

next quote: "... in our countries, where there is always good [weather] so everybody is outside" (Appendix 1, l. 411+ 412) could possibly show and confirm that quietness and different weather conditions are a characteristic to Denmark and thus its social space. We argue that the weather itself is not what characterizes the social space, but rather the feelings and perceptions it brings to the individuals residing in it.

### Summary of the definition of fields

Through the first part of the analysis, we have identified four fields which we believe are visible in the current case. Following will show our definitions of the four fields we look into in this research project, as well as a definition of the social space in which these are evident.

#### *"Case company"-field*

The first of these four fields is the case company, and the organizational culture which by the interviewees is experienced in it. We argue that the *"case company"-field* is a field by itself as with our philosophy of science *and* Bourdieusian perspective cannot "generalize" it terms of aligning it with the "general" aspects of Danish organizational culture. Further, the case company, as previously mentioned, defines itself as an *international* company. Based on our data material, we identified different aspects which seemed to characterize the case company. These aspects were factors like a good reputation, which potentially could mean that the case company has a good reputation in the society as people speak good of it and its good employee benefits, as well as a well-balanced organizational culture (according to the interviewees). By well-balanced, we refer to the way the interviewees say that they have a good work-life balance, that the work hours are good, and that they feel comfortable in the case company and with their work tasks. The "rules of the game" within this field involve agreeing that the company uses English as its corporate language, understanding that the relationship between employees and employers are not meant to be strictly formal as the company sees itself as a "family", as well as the "rule" that the employer must be able to know how to say no and stand up for themselves.

### *“Political”-field*

The second of the two fields we have identified is what we have decided to call the *political* field. The reason for this is that the state-owned organizations which are mentioned in the data material are by us perceived to have “rules” which are set by the state and government - thus, they are not private organizations. They offer help with mostly formal aspects in regard to helping international newcomers settle into Denmark such as helping them with getting their social security cards, housing, and so on. These aspects have previously been mentioned in this research project (see p. 45). Like other fields, this field also has “rules”, of some which we based on the analysis have identified: in order to be able to participate in this political field, one must agree that knowing about Danish lifestyle and Danish organizational culture is very important in order to find a job in Denmark. Further, a rule is also that “*you cannot get a job simply because you do not know Danish.*” (Appendix 1, l. 211-212).

### *“Danish society”-field*

As the third identified field the socialization outside of previously mentioned organizational fields become visible. Although this field could sound similar to the definition of the social space, we argue that it is still different as we view the field as something its participants act *within*. We further argue that this field seems to be interrelated with the “political”-field to some extent, as we argue that some of the aspects visible in the data material for the “political”-field also could be used to characterize the “Danish society”-field. This will be elaborated further later in the discussion part of our project, as attempt visualize the different fields and their connections to each other. One of the “rules of the game” in this field which had been identified to be (perhaps the perception) that the Danish culture is rather homogenous, which in our analysis has been suggested by the way the interviewees comment on the lack of varieties in restaurant and food choices.

### *“International society”-field*

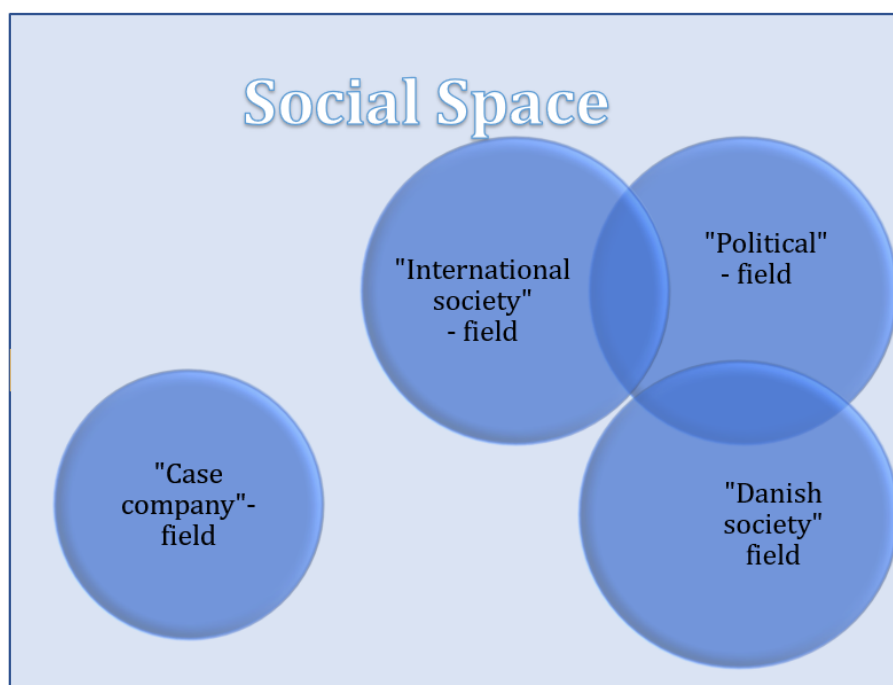
Through our analysis, we have identified a fourth field. Alike the “Danish society”-field, this field also has to do with the socialization outside of the “case company”-field. This field differs from the “Danish society”-field as it focuses on the socialization of non-Danes in the social space. Through the analysis, we have identified that the interviewees state that the state-

owned organization, the “political”-field, introduced them to other international people to socialize with upon arrival. The “rules of the game” have been difficult to identify through our data, but it could be assumed that they at least differ from the “Danish society”-field since it is a more multicultural field, based on the different national backgrounds that we have identified to be part of this “community” (Turkish, French, and Italian). We further argue that the “international society”-field and the “political”-field are interrelated. This is suggested from the way that some of the interviewees’ social bonds are formed because they have been introduced to other international residents living in Denmark *through* the “political”-field.

### *Social space*

In this research project, we view social space as Denmark, as we perceive this to be the overall setting in which all four fields are evident in. All fields are related to Denmark in the sense that they are all physically evident in the country but also because we through the analysis have spotted aspects which in all fields are used to “generalize” Denmark.

To get a better understanding of our analysis and the identified field, we summarize our first findings in a model, which we will later on build upon and develop:



(Figure 1: Model of fields)



## Part II: Definition of capital

In this part of the analysis, we will define the capital which can be found within each field, followed by a summary and overview of this. We are aware that there may be more examples of capital within each field than the ones we identify, but that we through our analysis will attempt to identify which capital appears to be the most important within each field. We further stress that we are also aware that capital can overlap with other fields, but that our focus will be on the capital that is important within each field. Possible overlaps, or why the capital cannot overlap with other fields will be a topic for the discussion part of this project.

### Capital within the “case company”-field

#### *Example 1*

*“I1: \*laughs\* yeah i think so (.) uh (.) actually one of my indian friends is working here (.) so i met her someday and i (.) i told her that i was looking for a job (.) and then (.) do you have any openings in your (.) i did know that she works in this company so (.) i had heard good about this company so i asked whether she knows if there are any openings (.) and she said yes (.) so i applied here (.)” (Appendix 1, l. 4-9).*

In example 1 we get introduced to a part of the social capital of interviewee. After she by us had been asked how she heard had first heard about the case company, she mentioned that “one of my indian friends is working here” (Appendix 1, l. 5). This suggests that she has a social capital in form of an Indian friend, who already works at the case company, and thus could give her the tip of applying to the same company, which in the end even gave her the job at the case company. Here it can possibly be argued that the social capital led also to an economical capital in form of a job leading to an incoming salary. We further suggest that this also indicates that Indy has social capital in the “international society”-field, which will be elaborated later.

#### *Example 2*

*“I1: \*laughs\* yeah yeah (.) but we must agree that we got to know a lot [about the organizational culture of Denmark] after joining this company (.)” (Appendix 1, l. 51-22).*

In this example, Indy says that they (her and Turna) had learned a lot about the organizational culture of Denmark after they had joined the case company, which potentially suggests that they through experiences and social interactions have come to know more about the culture of the case company, and that way also have increased their social capital, especially when it comes to Danish organizational culture, which was the foregoing topic of the interview. In the next quote we can see what might be the reason for the gaining of their new knowledge:

*“ I1: cause we are pretty much participating in all the event they hold and all (.)” (Appendix 1, l. 55-56).*

By stating that “we are pretty much participating in all the event they hold” (Appendix 1, l. 55), we argue that the interviewee is suggesting that she is interested in and open to meet new people and that she is trying to achieve this by participating in every event that the case company offers. We would argue that because she is open to the Danish culture and wants to get a deeper understanding of the Danish working culture, she enables herself to gain social capital through her social behavior. We further argue that this could also be a sign of cultural capital within the “case company”-field, since it has to do with the case company’s “culture”, which could be suggested to be constituted by cultural capital, which the new employees learn about through their experiences within the company.

### *Example 3*

*“69 I1: (...) and then i actually had  
70 heard a lot of good things about this company from my friend and she  
71 told me what our policies are here (.)” (Appendix 1).*

In this example, we are again introduced to the friend of Indy, who is part of her social capital in the “international society”-field (which will be elaborated later). With this example, we argue that Indy is offered insight into the case company’s policies prior to joining the company *“she told me what our [the case company’s] policies are here”* (Appendix 1, l.70-71). This could potentially mean that she has gained some cultural capital in the sense of understanding the field and some of the “rules of the game” which reside in it - prior to joining

the case company. This could be possible since her friend is already a participant of the “case company”-field and through interaction with Indy, teaches her and offers her cultural capital eligible for the “case company”-field. Furthermore, she had the chance to get a better overview of the company, which could have possibly could have influenced her decision to apply to the case company.

#### *Example 4*

*“R1: did your team like in your (.) when you just started here (.) did the company or your team organize any social events?”*

*I2: yes*

*I1: yes*

*I2: lots [\*laughs\*]*

*I1: [\*laughs\*] we had a team event soon after we joined (.) right?*

*I2: yeah*

*I1: team event we had and yeah*

*I2: we had summer party and christmas party and some other events for all [ company also]*

*I1: [we had a lot of events here]*

*I2: yeah] for our team ones (.)” (Appendix 1, l. 356 - 368).*

In this example, the interviewees elaborate on what was mentioned in Example 2 of the definition of capital within the “case company”-field, by giving examples of opportunities which the case company offers its employees to expand their social capital within its field: “*we had summer party and christmas party..*” (Appendix 1, l. 365). Besides social capital, we further argue that this could be a sign of cultural capital, as these parties are something which potentially could help to define the organizational culture within this company. As the quote above shows, Indy says “lots” and laughs (Appendix 1, l. 360) after being asked if the case company offers and plans events for them. We argue that the laugh both could be a positive reaction and show that they have a good time during those events and are likely like to socialize with their colleagues. The laugh could also be argued to work as a kind of emphasis on the fact they make *lots* of events in which the employees can join and socialize - and thus, claim social capital.

### Example 5

*"I1: yeah we are hesitant to (.) invite them home (.) because we do not know if they would like it or not (.) whether they will eat our food (.) it's a different all together different thing (.) right (.) so whatever we will present them or (.) ahm let them eat (.) will they like it (.) we do not know \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 481-485).*

In this example, Indy mentions that they (both her and Turna) *"are hesitant to invite them [colleagues] home"* (Appendix 1, l. 481). Instead of showing social capital, we argue that this example can be seen as a *lack* of certain form of social capital in the "Danish society"-field, and thus outside of the "case company"-field. This could be a form of social capital which is otherwise appreciated within a Danish context. Although Indy has social capital within the case company field, we argue that this could be a sign that the social capital obtained in the case company field is not applicable to their socialization outside of work. As a reason to why she is hesitant to invite her colleagues to her own home, she mentions cultural differences, which we argue can also be seen as a lack of cultural capital within the Danish society field as she says *"we do not know if they would like it or not"* and additionally *"will they like it [the food]"* (Appendix 1, l. 482-485).

In the following quote, she further mentions the personal relationship between them [her and Turna] and their coworkers: *"we do not know them that much"* (Appendix 1, l. 491) which is accompanied by a laugh, which we argue could suggest that she is insecure about the topic. We further argue that this is underlined by her saying that *"we are hesitant to call them home or ask them if we should go out sometime"* (Appendix 1, l. 492)

*"I1: \*laughs\* yea (.) so yes (.) it's like (.) we actually do not know that much ahh we do not know them that much (.) but ahh (.) so we are hesitant to call them home or ask them if we should go out sometime"* (Appendix 1, l. 490-492).

However, despite this, as the following quote suggests, they still feel that their coworkers are interested in their cultures, which once again could be a sign that they have social capital within the "case company"-field, even if they perhaps do not have as much outside of it:

*"I1: \*laughs\* they are curious to know about our culture also" (Appendix 1, l. 502)*

#### *Example 6*

*"I2: (...) actually i searched and i found on the internet because of the (.) job ( ) (.) it's really similar to my past background" (Appendix 1, l. 14-16).*

In this example, Turna says that, when she found the job at the case company online, it appeared to be "really" similar to her past background. This suggests that Turna has prior experience with a job with a similar description as the one the case company offers, and could also suggest that she is educated within the field. Thus, this could translate to cultural capital, since cultural capital, as mentioned previously, links to resources which are built of the individual's cultural competences - hereunder, job experience and education. The next quote further underlines Turna's cultural capital:

*"(...) I2: and the company is (.) it's almost the same as my background (.) we are doing almost the same things (.) it's really good for me actually \*laughs\* and i didn't know anything about the company before i applied the job and i learned everything here during the presentation and yeah (.)" (Appendix 1, l. 82-86).*

In this quote, Turna again mentions that the case company is very similar to a prior experience in her work life, and that her job tasks in the case company are similar to what she has experienced in her past as well. The interviewee says that: *"it's really good for me actually \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 84)*, which suggests that she is comfortable with her job tasks. We argue that it suggests this, as her laughter could insinuate that she might be trying to downplay the fact that she finds her tasks easy, or at least doable. We further argue that this is thus also something which shows her cultural capital, as the fact that she does not find her tasks difficult is because she has experience with similar tasks within the field of the case company, as it is relevant and similar with past experiences and other similar fields.

### Example 7

*"I2: yeah especially for us it is really good (.) the events (.) we can easily make friends and share our life styles and we can learn some details about danes (.)" (Appendix 1, l. 57-59).*

In this example, Turna talks about events planned by the case company and their colleagues. Turna says that: "we can easily make friends and share our life styles and we can learn some details about Danes" (Appendix 1, l. 58-59), which both suggests that they are able to make friends with their colleagues during these events, and that they are able to learn something about Danes (and possibly the culture in Denmark). We argue that this is also a sign of social capital, as these events offer social bonds to be created among the colleagues in a (potentially) informal manner. We further argue that these social ties and thus social capital are created and accumulated within the field of the "case company", as the events are involving their workplace and colleagues.

Similarly, the following quote touches some of the same aspects:

*"(...) in my team they a ( ) they are always ask something about turkish lifestyle or \*laughs\* yeah it's good for me" (Appendix 1, l. 499-501).*

This quote also offers the assumption that Turna has gained social capital within the field of the case company, as it can be suggested that her colleagues are interested in hearing and learning about Turkish lifestyle, which would lead to the social interaction and forming of ties among the colleagues within this organizational setting.

### Example 8

*"I2: mentor helped a lot (.) she is still helping \*laughs\*." (Appendix 1, l. 318).*

In this example, Turna mentions that she during her first while at the company received a lot of helps from her appointed mentor, and that she is still helping her. This suggests that her mentor is helping her settle into the organization, and that she through this interaction claims social capital which we argue potentially could help her settle into the field of the case company with more ease.

## Capital within the “political”-field

### *Example 1*

*“I2: i explained myself (.) i am a computer engineer (.) i had five years experience about that area and i explained myself and she said eh you don't know danish lifestyle and danish work style” (Appendix 1, l. 180-182).*

In this example, Turna talks about a situation with the Danish organization which seeks to help international newcomers find jobs, and about how she felt like the organization did not help her much, and also rejected her statements about her education by (according to the interviewee) saying: “eh you don’t know Danish lifestyle and Danish work style” (Appendix 1, l. 181-182). We deem this example interesting because of two aspects: first, we once again see the Turna’s cultural capital as she mentions that she is a computer engineer, which refers to her educational background. This example however suggests that her own cultural capital is not eligible within the “political”-field, as it appears to be dismissed. Secondly, we argue that this could suggest that Turna lacks capital that is useful within this organization’s field, and that knowing Danish lifestyle and Danish workstyle is something that she needs in order to have her already existing capital “approved” by this organization and field. Knowing Danish lifestyle and Danish workstyle are some of the “rules of the game” for the “political”-field, and appear to be more important than Turna’s own prior work experiences.

### *Example 2*

*“I2: actually it’s really good, they help us a lot about everything, finding house or creating networks society (.) they introduced another turkish people (.) it was really good (.) they helped a lot about everything” (Appendix 1, l. 526-529).*

In this example, Turna again talks about the state-owned organization which helped them settle into the country upon arrival. They helped with finding a house, and to increase their social network by introducing them to other Turkish people. This suggests that the interviewee has social capital among the other Turkish people that the organization has introduced her to. This is an aspect which will be elaborated further in the “international

society"-field. We however argue that current example insinuates that the organization has helped Turna claim economic capital within its field as she states that they have helped her find a home, and thus increase her materialistic values in the country.

### Capital within the "Danish society"-field

#### *Example 1*

*"I1: when my husband (.) can teach my husband something here (.) you can do this (.) you have to do this"* (Appendix 1, l. 453-454).

We argue that this example has to do with Indy's social capital by her stating that she has a husband, which can be argued to be part of her social capital. She also says that she *"can teach my husband something here"* (Appendix 1, l. 453-454). We argue that she, firstly, likes to teach her husband something that he does not already know, but, secondly, with the word "here", which we assume refers to Denmark, might insinuate that she could not teach her husband the same thing in India. This could, potentially, have to do with the cultures of Denmark and India are different, and that her newly claimed cultural capital (by living in Denmark) can be used in order to teach her husband new things. With that we argue that her statement also implies that she has learned already something new to her own cultural capital, and possible capital which is eligible in the "Danish society"-field by living in Denmark and that she can even pass that knowledge on to her husband.

#### *Example 2*

*"I1: i actually don't know how it is in a bigger city (.) so i don't think it is bad (.) it is good for us (.) there is no particular reason to leave (.) and go ahm apart from having some other activities social activities"* (Appendix 1, l. 644-647).

In this example, the interviewees were asked if they wanted to move to a bigger city of Denmark, to which Indy answered: *"its [their current city is] good for us"* (Appendix 1, l. 645), which we argue could suggest that she feels overall good about how the situation is right now. However, she mentions one point: *"apart from having some other activities social activities"*



(Appendix 1, l. 646-647). This could potentially suggest that *if* the social capital is not fulfilled with activities that it might be a reason to move and this shows how important the social capital is.

### *Example 3*

*R1: now you say that you really like denmark is there anything in denmark that you are missing?*

*I1: i would say just the people*

*I2: and food sometimes \*laughs\**

*I1: yeah food also \*laughs\* how can i forget food*

*I2: definitely food"* (Appendix 1, l. 662-667).

In this example, the interviewees were asked whether there was anything in Denmark that they are missing. To this, Indy answers: *"just the people"* (Appendix 1, l. 664), which we argue could insinuate that she either misses having a lot of people around her, or that she is lacking social capital in the "Danish society"-field. Further, she agrees that food is also something that she is missing: *"yeah food also"* (Appendix 1, l. 666) after Turna mentions it, accompanying it with a laugh. This could potentially say something about her cultural capital, as it could insinuate that she has been used to other, perhaps more varied, choices of food, or at least food from her home country.

### *Example 4*

*"R2: did you ever go to a colleague of yours' home or did you ever invite a colleague home to yours?*

*I2: no*

*I1: not yet \*laughs\**

*I2: actually maybe we don't know [it's normal or not]*

*I1: [i can (.) ya ]*

*I2: in turkey it's quite normal (.) your friends generally are from*

*I1: your workplace*

*I2: yeah, it's quite normal (.) but i am not sure how is it in denmark"* (Appendix 1, l. 471-480)

This example also deals with socialization outside of the case company and the organizational culture there. Turna says that she has never visited any of her colleagues

privately, and that she also has never invited any of them to her own home. The reason for this, using her words, could be: *“actually maybe we don’t know if it’s normal or not”* (Appendix 1, l. 475), and also says that *“in turkey it’s quite normal (.) your friends generally are from your workplace”* (Appendix 1, l. 477-478), before finally saying that: *“it’s quite normal (.) but i am not sure how is it in denmark”* (Appendix 1, l. 479-480). This could, arguably, suggest that Turna does not have a lot of social capital in the “Danish society”-field and outside of the workplace and the socialization and organizational culture which is evident in there. This will be elaborated on further as well as discussed later in this project.

### **Capital within the “international society”-field**

#### *Example 1*

*“I2: ahh outside (insitually) i join drawing class in the library and another ceramic workshop in ((name of place)) (.) yea and i am drawing something at home i am cross-stitching (.) sewing this kind of things (.) i have a good friends (.) french and italian and we are doing things together”* (Appendix 1, l. 466-470).

In this example, Turna talks about joining social initiatives outside of the case company: “i join drawing class in the library and another ceramic workshop in [name of place]” (Appendix 1, l. 467-468). We argue that this suggests that she is gaining social capital outside of the case company, and thus also social capital which potentially can be used in other fields than the one of the case company.

The interviewee further says that she has good friends outside of the company: “i have good friends (.) french and italian and we are doing things together” (Appendix 1, l. 469-470). Similarly, this again suggests that Turna has social capital which she has claimed outside of the field of the case company, as she has befriended both a French and an Italian person - who presumably are similar to herself as it can be assumed that those are also international newcomers in Denmark.

In relation to Example 3 of the capital within the “political”-field, we argue that this also shows evidence of Interviewee 2’s social capital in the “international society”-field, as she has been introduced to other Turkish people living in Denmark.

Further, in Example 1 of the capital within the “case company”-field, Indy mentions that she first heard about the company through a friend who worked there. We argue, that this also insinuates that she has a social network outside of the company, which thus would make part of her social capital within the “international society”-field.

### *Example 3*

“I1: (...) *and then i again got a reference from my friend and i applied again*” (Appendix 1, l. 101-102).

Prior to this example, Indy mentioned that she had already once, unsuccessfully, applied to the case company but only managed to get the job after she applied again: *“got a reference from my friend i applied again”* (Appendix 1, l. 102).

Here we argue that if it was not for the social capital that she has claimed through her bond with her friend, Indy might not have applied again, which could have resulted in no job, and with no job, it can be argued that she would have also lost some economical capital or at least not gained new economical capital.

## **Summary of the definition of capital within the fields**

### *Capital within the “case company”-field*

Through the analysis which has sought to identify different forms of capital within the “case company”-field, we argue that we have identified both social capital, cultural capital, and economic capital. The social capital is especially evident as the interviewees more than once mention that the case company offered and planned various social events for them to join, which they claimed helped them get close to their colleagues and ensure a good relationship

with them. The cultural capital became evident when the interviewees spoke about their first while at the company, where first had to undergo training in teams in order to become accustomed to the workplace. This is something that we argue helped teaching them the “rules of the game” of this field, as they through interaction and experience were introduced to the organizational culture, as well as its policies on how to “act” in the company. Lastly, we argue that economic capital is evident as well in the “case company”-field. We suggest this as the interviewees are participants of this field first and foremost because they are employees in the case company, which also means that they must receive a salary, and thus economic capital.

### *Capital within the “political”-field*

Through our data, we have primarily been identifying cultural capital as well as economic capital within the “political”-field. These capital are mostly evident in the way that organizations within the “political”-field which aim to help integrate international newcomers by helping them with formalities such as getting their social security cards, accommodation as well as helping them get jobs. The last part however had through our analysis appeared to be one of the issues with the “political”-field, as they seemingly only want to help newcomers get jobs if they otherwise accept the “rules of the field”, which as mentioned show as knowing Danish, as well as Danish work and life style. In terms of social capital, this is mostly mentioned in relation to the other identified fields; “Danish society”-field and “international society”-field, and will be elaborated in these. Thus, lastly, we argue that cultural capital appears to be the most important capital in the “political”-field.

### *Capital within the “Danish society”-field*

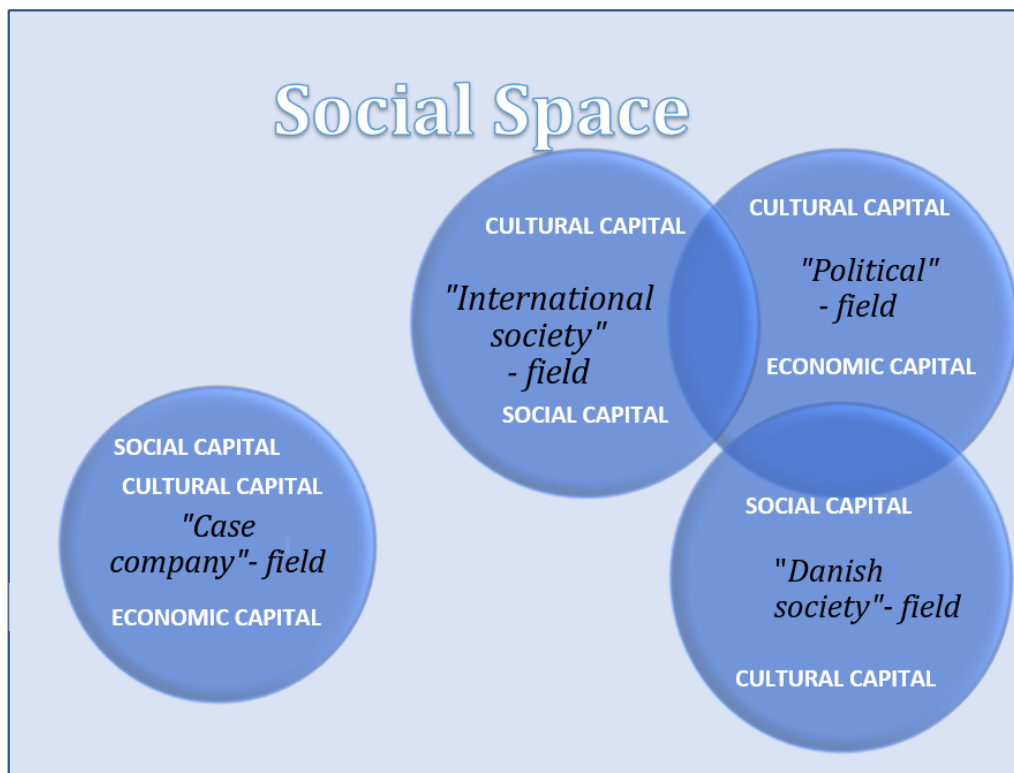
Through our analysis, we argue that the most visible capital in the “Danish society”-field is cultural capital. Especially in Example 1 does Indy mention that she has been able to teach her husband something in Denmark, which we suggest could insinuate that she has (perhaps indirectly, and through experience) has learned something about the Danish culture, and thus, cultural capital, which she is now passing on to her husband. In regard to social capital, rather than us identifying a lot of examples of the interviewees and their social capital within the field, we instead identified examples that stated the opposite. The interviewees appear to have

difficulties claiming social capital within this field, and do not know how to spend their leisure time, along with the fact that they are unsure if it is “normal” to for instance invite their colleagues home. Potentially, this could be linked to the “political”-field’s tendency to lead international newcomers to the “international society”-field instead.

### *Capital within the “International society”-field*

The capital which appears to be the most visible in the “international society”-field is social capital. This is based on the interviewees’ mentions of friends that they have made outside of the case company and “case company”-field, who they spend time with in their leisure time. The friend that have been mentioned have both been Indian and Turkish, like the interviewees, but also French and Italian, which further suggests a cultural capital within the “international society”-field, as it further insinuates that there is an international “community” in which international residents can socialize with each other.

As an addition to the previously introduced model, we are now able to add which capital appears to be the most evident in each field:



(Figure 2: Model of fields and capital)

### Part III: Definition of habitus

The third part of the analysis will be divided into two parts; one part focusing on the Indy and her habitus, whilst the other part will focus on the Turna's habitus. As an addition to this, we will further point out aspects of their individual capital which does not necessarily fit into one of the mentioned fields, but rather capital which could say something about their habitus. Although it potentially could be difficult to identify aspects of their habitus, some aspects we argue have been clear from the beginning of the analysis, and these aspects will be repeated in the beginning of each of the following two sections.

#### Interviewee 1: Indy

"Indy" is as mentioned an Indian woman in her thirties, who has been living in Denmark for about one year. She first moved to the country because her husband got a job in Denmark, and she was following employed in the case company about six months after her arrival in Denmark.

##### *Indy 1 Example 1*

*"yeah (.) i can say maybe (.) thirty forty percent (.) i'm not very sure how much that knowledge is but yeah \*laughs\* (.) we know some things about denmark (.)"* (Appendix 1, l. 44-46)

In the first example we argue that we get introduced to Indy's habitus. The topic of the quote is how much knowledge the interviewees have regarding Danish culture, to which Indy answers: *"maybe thirty forty percent"* (Appendix 1, l. 44). This is the knowledge that she herself believes that she has about Denmark and its culture, after she has been living in Denmark for about a year. As she says herself, she knows about 30 percent of Denmark's culture, which we argue implies that she knows that there is more about the Danish culture and that she is able to gain more knowledge on the topic. We however still argue that this relates to habitus in the sense that she through some experiences (through experiences) have come to know about the Danish culture which thus has become part of her habitus.

##### *Indy 1 Example 2*

*"(...) and then i actually had heard a lot of good things about this company from my friend and she told me what our policies are here (.) and how the work environment is and i thought this is*

*something i want to try because back then i was working (.) before coming to here i was working in india (.) so i was working (.) i mean it was not that uh employ friendly \*laughs\** (Appendix 1, l. 69-74)

In this example, Interviewee 1 explains that her previous workplace in India “*was not that employ friendly \*laughs\**” (Appendix 1, l. 74) and says that after she had heard about the policies and work environment of the case company: “*this is something i want to try*” (Appendix 1, l. 72). We argue that her description of her workplace back in India says something about her habitus in the sense that she has experienced it to be not so good, as she did not find it “employ friendly”. This thus insinuates that, although she does not specifically mention *how* it was not “employ friendly”, there are aspects of the organizational culture back in India which she did not like. By saying that she wanted to try out something new after hearing about the policies and work environment of the case company, we suggest that she could potentially expand her habitus by “trying something new” as the work environment at the case company would be sure to give her new and different experiences from what she had been used to in India.

We additionally argue that the laugh she adds after saying that her workplace back in India was not employ friendly potentially could indicate that she is only now aware of how not employer friendly her old workplace was and that she had during the time being at the case company learned how a working environment can differ. The topic is further touched upon in the next quote:

*“I1: uh (.) the first thing that comes to my mind is work life balance(.) it's really really really (.) i never found this kind of stability in my working career till now (.) i had read a lot about this that in denmark you have good working hours good working environment and it's not like boss is boss and employees are”* (Appendix 1, l. 235-239).

We argue that her previous argument is supported by her next: “*i never found this kind of stability in my working career till now*” (Appendix 1, l. 236-237), which we suggest shows that she was able to expand her habitus and now also knows about the Danish work-life balance, and thus also can compare it to her home country.

### Indy 1 Example 3

*"(...) in our countries weather there is always good (.) so everybody is outside \*laughs\* here it's little bit quiet around and (.) sometimes we find it difficult to spend our leisure time."* (Appendix 1, l. 412-415)

This example tells us that the weather in Indy's home country is "always good", and that the weather is a reason to why people spend a lot of time outside, where she now *"find it difficult to spend our leisure time"* (Appendix 1, l. 414-415). We argue, that since she makes a comparison to her home country offers us to learn something about her habitus, which in this case could be how she used spend her leisure time by being outside and being social with others.

### Indy 1 Example 4

*"I1: yes \*laughs\* we actually living in here ahh taught us to do everything ourselves like we did not do ahh we had maids in our countries (.) so if we didn't even had time we used to get maids and they used to do some things for us (.) here you have to do"* (Appendix 1, l.443-446).

In this quote, Indy describes how her life had been back in India regarding housework and *"we did not do ahh we had maids in our countries"* (Appendix 1, l. 444-445). This shows that she was used to not having to do any housework, whereas here in Denmark *"you have to"* (Appendix 1, l. 446). This also shows that there has been a change in her habitus as she says: *"actually living in here ahh taught us to do everything ourselves"* (Appendix 1, l. 443). We argue that the change is seen in the way that she admits that she has learned something new about having to do things herself, as she does not have maids in Denmark. It could also suggest that her social class back in India was higher than it is in Denmark, as she had been used to having maids in her home. The following quote touches the same topic:

*"I1: \*laughs\* that's a good thing (.) actually (.) i actually feel it's a good thing (.) when my husband (.) can teach my husband something here (.) you can do this (.) you have to do this"* (Appendix 1, l. 450-452)

In this quote, we get an insight into how the relationship to her husband regarding housework has been as she states that she *"feel it's a good thing"* (Appendix 1, l. 451) that she



can “*teach my husband something here*”(Appendix 1, l. 451-452). We argue that this is again a comparison to her previous life in India, as we argue she with “here” refers to Denmark. Because they had maids in India, as the previous quote mentioned, she was not able to teach her husband something in that area, but since they do not have maids in Denmark, she now gets the opportunity to and sees it as a “*good thing*” (Appendix 1, l. 450). Similar to the previous quote, we argue that this could also insinuate a shift in her habitus as she is getting used to doing things differently than she was used to back in India.

### *Indy Example 5*

“ I1: *yeah we are hesitant to (.) invite them home (.) because we do not know if they would like it or not (.) whether they will eat our food (.) it’s a different all together different thing (.) right (.) so whatever we will present them or (.) ahm let them eat (.) will they like it (.) we do not know \*laughs\**” (Appendix 1, l. 481-485)

In this example, the interviewees were asked if they ever invited their colleagues to their homes, or if they ever went to a colleague’s home, to which Indy replied: “*we are hesitant to invite them home, because we do not know if they would like it or not. whether they will eat our food*” (Appendix 1, l. 481-482). We argue that the words “we are hesitant, we don’t know, it’s a different” are indicators of insecurity and show that they do not know how to handle the situation, and thus might find it difficult to act upon it as they do not want break any “norms” or break any “rules of the games” because they do not want to appear rude. We argue that we in this example are introduced to their habitus in the sense that they face a situation where they are not sure how to act in. Habitus is about acting based on one’s perception and past experiences with similar situations, but as Interviewee 1 does not have experience with inviting Danish colleagues home, she does not know how to act in this situation.

### Indy Example 6

*“ R1: about your thought about your future (.) do you see your future here in Denmark (.) both work wise and private life*

*I1: yeah probably (.) yes the life here is a lot easier” (Appendix 1, l. 617-620).*

This example showcases how Indy thinks about her future in Denmark, to which that she “*probably*” (Appendix 1, l. 619) can see herself staying in Denmark and then states that “*the life here is a lot easier*” (Appendix 1, l. 620). We argue that this could show something about her habitus since she makes a comparison to her previous life back in India, where things, according to her words, seem to be harder than they are now while living in Denmark.

### Indy Example 7

*“I1: the life here is a lot easier (.) a lot easier (.) you have almost everything here (.) i sometimes think we should go back to our country because we miss our friends and parents and people (.) i do (.) because i go there once a year (.) so it's difficult to stay without them (.) she lives nearby (.) she almost goes there each month \*laughs\*” (Appendix 1, l 620-625).*

In this example, Indy offers a reason to why she one day might leave Denmark *if* she decided to: “*because we miss our friends and parents and people*” (Appendix 1, l. 622). This suggests that she has social capital outside of Denmark back in her home country, India, in the form of social ties with her family and friends, as well as acquaintances. It also might suggest that Indy appreciates the social capital, and that it to her could be more important than her job safety and economic capital, since she states that a potential reason for her leaving Denmark would be that she misses her family a lot. In regard to habitus, we argue that this could insinuate that she through her life has always been very appreciative of her family and friends around her in her social life, and that this is something that she now finds it difficult to be without.

She further mentions that she occasionally travels back to her home country:

*“I1: yeah (.) for me i go twice a year now (.) but then it's not something bad here that i don't want to live here because i miss my country (.) my family (.) but i think we are gonna stay here for almost*

*now two three years (that is fixed) but then we can think of living here more time*" (Appendix 1, l. 631-635).

Indy thus states that she visits her home country twice a year: *"for me i go twice a year now"* (Appendix 1, l. 631). This once again can be seen as an example of her social capital.

#### *Indy Example 8*

*"R1: now you say that you really like denmark is there anything in Denmark that you are missing?*

*I1: i would say just the people*

*I2: and food sometimes \*laughs\**

*I1: yeah food also \*laughs\* how can i forget food*

*I2: definitely food"* (Appendix 1, l. 662- 667).

In this example, we argue that we get some insight into Indy's habitus as she describes what she has been missing while living in Denmark, to which she answers that she misses *"just the people"* (Appendix 1, l. 664). We argue that this could suggest that she had a good social life back in India and that she is still in contact with them, which tells us something about her habitus. Further she mentions that she misses the food (presumably from her home country) which also indicates a part of her habitus as it suggests that the food from her home country is something she has been eating a lot - and likes a lot, considering that she misses it.

#### **Interviewee 2: Turna**

Turna is as previously mentioned a Turkish woman, who is also in her thirties. She came to Denmark because of her husband's job in the country, and had been living in the Denmark for about six months before getting her employment in the case company. She is the only one among the two interviewees who has directly mentioned her educational background, by saying that she has a degree in computer science. Between the two interviewees, Turna has given more mentions of social bonds both with other Turkish people, but also with a French and an Italian person.

### *Turna Example 1*

*"I2: first when we came here (.) went to Denmark (.) because of our husbands (.)" (Appendix 1, l. 10-11).*

The first example is a quote in which Turna says that they (speaking on behalf of both herself and Indy) came to Denmark because of their husbands. This insinuates that she has social capital through their marriage as marriage creates a bond, and thus a social interaction. The social bond created through their marriage is not only between her and her husband, but also (presumably) with her husband's social circle, which potentially could broaden her own social circle, and thus offer her that social capital. However, besides her husband who is also living in Denmark, it can be assumed that the rest of her social circle (for this capital) is not physically available to her. In regard to habitus, we argue that this helps to indicate her habitus as she makes it clear that she has a husband, which naturally has left an effect on her life and choices in it.

### *Turna Example 2*

*"(...) actually i searched and i found on the internet because of the (.) job ( ) (.) it's really similar to my past background" (Appendix 1, l. 14-16)*

We believe that this example tells us something about Turna's habitus, as she comments on her prior work experiences, which is something that adds to her habitus. As it is not possible to specifically point out which parts of the job of the case company are similar to her past work experiences and background, we can only assume that this is in fact something that is part of her habitus.

The next quote underlines that this must be something which is part of her habitus as she, once again, mentions that her job tasks at the case company are very similar to what she has been working with in the past:

*"(...) and the company is (.) it's almost the same as my background (.) we are doing almost the same things (.) it's really good for me actually \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 82-84).*

### *Turna Example 3*

*"(...) it's good for me (.) and also the same thing for me i came from Turkey and we had very stressful and long time for (.) yeah it's stressful definitely"* (Appendix 1, l. 86-89)

In this example, the context is a continuation of the previous quote, and in which she comments on perceiving Denmark to have a relaxed organizational culture. What is interesting in regard to habitus in this case is that she compares it to prior experiences back in Turkey, which she characterizes as stressful. We argue that this, perhaps albeit indirectly, tells us something about her habitus and that she through her past work-related experiences has found it stressful to work in her own country. As habitus is the way an individual acts based on what they have experienced in the past, this example could also show that she thinks the case company's organizational culture is good *because* she compares it to her previous, stressful experiences.

Also in the following quote does Turna compare her experiences in Denmark with Turkey:

*"I2: \*laughs\* yeah you can easily talk with your manager or your boss about anything or another colleague and it's really good (.) in Turkey it's totally different you should call your manager like sir and it's difficult to explain yourself or getting a vacation or (.) it's really difficult in Turkey"* (Appendix 1, l. 247-251).

While this quote talks about how the organizational culture of the case company makes it easy for the employees to talk to their superiors or managers, it also says that it is very different from what she was used to back in Turkey. Thus, in terms of habitus, this quote is interesting in the way that she says that based on her experiences, "it's difficult to explain yourself or getting a vacation or (.) it's really difficult in turkey" (Appendix 1, l. 250-251). Thus, we argue, that these experiences, which make up part of her habitus, are the reason why she says and acts like the organizational culture in the case company is very good.

#### *Turna Example 4*

*"i explained myself (.) i am a computer engineer (.) i had five years experience about that area and i explained myself and she said eh you don't know Danish lifestyle and danish work style"* (Appendix 1, 180-182)

This example tells us something about Turna's habitus in relation to her educational background in terms of experience, as she explains that she has five years of experience in the field after having finished an education of computer engineering. Oppositely, this example also indirectly shows that - according to the state-owned organization she is talking about in the quote - she does not have experience within Denmark and its organizational culture, and while it does not say anything about her habitus, it rather says something about what it is lacking (according to the organization).

#### *Turna Example 5*

*"I2: yeah i had an interview in (different company name) and they asked at the sixth time same question (.) can you say no (.) yes i can say no \*laughs\* and they had other tricky questions (.) like you are applied senior developer what i say (.) can you be a junior (.) i said no (.) ah yeah that was the tricky question \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, 267-271)*

In this example, Turna mentions a job interview in another company, where the company was especially interested in her ability to say no by asking her "tricky" questions. Again in this quote does Turna laugh: "yes i can say no \*laughs\*" (Appendix 1, l. 268-269), which potentially could insinuate that she does not have a problem saying no, and that she finds it to be a perhaps trivial question. We also argue that this suggests that the interviewee perhaps through prior experiences in similar fields with similar "rules" or organizational culture has - perhaps unconsciously - learned how to say no, which thus in this case makes it easy for her to say so. This could be a sign of capital. Both cultural capital, as it could link to her educational and/or work experiences, but also social capital, as it is possible that she through social interactions has learned to say no.

### Turna Example 6

*"I2: actually (.) we don't know how we spend our leisure times (.) don't have (.) we didn't have enough time when we were in Turkey or India" (Appendix 1, l. 424-428).*

In this example, Turna again mentions aspects of her background in her home country, Turkey. She is explaining that she finds it difficult to spend her leisure time in Denmark, as she does not know *how* to spend it. The reason for this, as she says, is because she did not have enough time for leisure time when she was living in Turkey. We argue that this can potentially be identified as part of her habitus, since her past experiences of not having much free time to spend now result in her finding it difficult to spend her leisure time.

The following quote also suggests this:

*"I2: in turkey it's quite normal (.) your friends generally are from*

*I1: your workplace*

*I2: yeah, it's quite normal (.) but i am not sure how is it in Denmark" (Appendix 1, l. 477-479).*

Through her past experiences with her social life back in Turkey, where her friends generally would come from her workplace, Turna is finding it difficult to assess how it is in Denmark. It is not possible for us to point out what aspects are the cause of her confusion in relation to this, but we argue that the fact that she finds it difficult says something about her habitus and the fact that Denmark and the work culture there is not the same as what she has been used to in Turkey.

### Turna Example 7

*"I2: \*laughs\* yeah (.) i travel a lot (.) i visit my parents almost every month maybe a little bit more \*laughs\* it is quite easy for me to go home" (Appendix 1, l. 626-630).*

This example, we suggest, refers to Turna's social capital. She visits her parents (at least) every month, which suggests that she has a close bond with her family to an extent where she wants to visit them at least once a month despite them living in a different country. In regard to her habitus, this could potentially suggest that she has previously been used to spending a



lot of time with her parents and that she now finds it difficult to not live close to them - and thus, in order to stay “true” to her habitus, wants to visit them often.



## Discussion

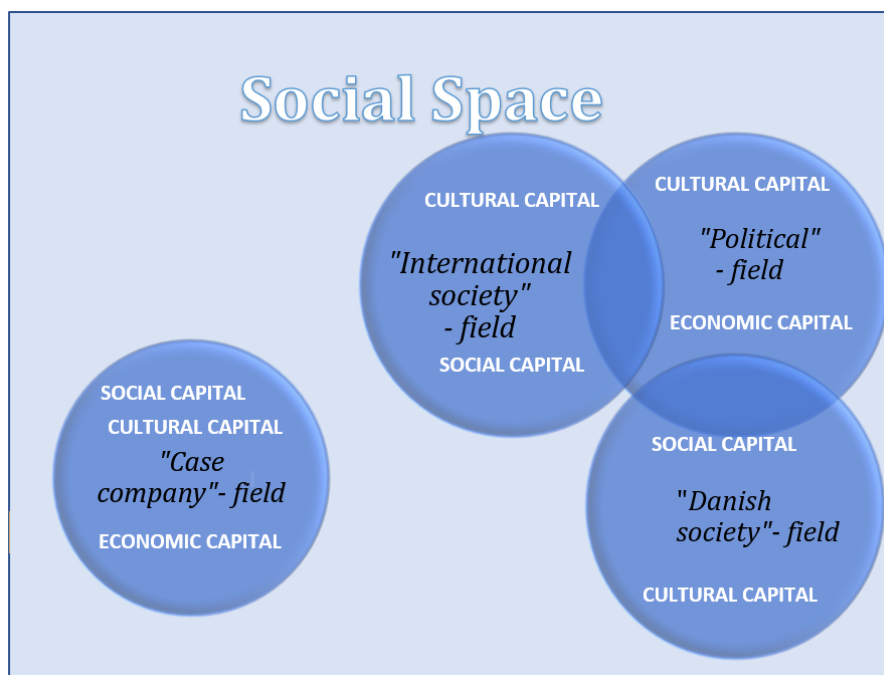
The first part of the discussion will be an overview of our analytical results, visualized with a model of the social space and the fields and capital which reside in it. The model will be discussed in terms of how the different fields interact with each other.

Following we will discuss two aspects which we find especially important for this research with our problem formulation in mind:

*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market?*

Firstly, we wish to discuss the importance of socialization not only within the organizational culture and fields, but also outside of these. Secondly, we will discuss the implications of our results which show that there appears to be a lack of socialization of international newcomers within the "political"-field, and what the complications could be in regard to this.

## Discussion of findings



(Figure 2: Model of fields and capital)

The model, which already has been presented in the analysis, visualizes our results in regard to the identified fields and capital residing within the Danish society as a social space. We want to stress that we are aware that all fields potentially could be interrelated with each other to different extents than what our analysis and results show, but that we in this research project want to focus on what we have derived through our results. Naturally there would be more aspects to consider regarding this topic, but we have decided to want to go in-depth with what has become evident through the analysis.

What we pointed out through the analysis was that it seems that both the “international society”-field and the “Danish society”-field appear to be interrelated with the “political”-field based on the way that they seem to somehow overlap with each other. In regard to the “international society”-field, we argued that it interacts with the “political”-field in the way that the organizations residing within the “political”-field appear to “delegate” the socialization of international newcomers to the “international society”-field. The “Danish society”-field interacts with the “political”-field in the way that we through our analysis have identified some of the “rules of the game” in both fields to be similar - they both view knowing the Danish culture and language as important rules in order to be able to fully participate in the field.

Opposite from these three fields, the “case company”-field does not seem to be interrelated with any of them. This could be argued to be because the case company views itself as international and multicultural, based on aspects such as using English as their corporate language as well as having 17 different nationalities among their employees. Further, which was seen in the analysis, our Turkish employee managed to get a job at the company after she in the “political”-field had been told that she would not be able to get a job in Denmark as long as she did not know Danish or knew about the culture and work culture of the country. However, the fact that she did manage to get the job despite this shows that the case company and the field it resides in does not appear to agree with the “rules of the game” of the “political”-field, and also that Turna’s individual capital perhaps fit better to the “rules of the game” within the “case company”-field.

One of the aspects which we through the analysis found the most interesting in regard to our problem formulation was the way there seemed to be a lack of social capital which was useful for international newcomers within the “political”-field upon their arrival. As mentioned,

we argue that it appears that the field attempts to delegate the socialization to other fields in order to itself focus on formalities and legal regulations that are necessary during the first part of a newcomer's time in the country. These aspects, and the implications they may cause, will be discussed in the following.

## **Socialization inside and outside of the workplace**

In the analysis, we found a few aspects especially interesting in terms of socialization and inclusion. The interviewees spoke well of the case company and the social events, which they, based on our interpretations, found to offer them a lot of social ties and bonds within the organizational spectre. But what also became visible through our analysis is the aspect that despite the socialization and inclusion the interviewees indicated to have within the organization, they pointed out to feel rather 'alone' or 'separated' from the society, outside of the organization. This is not something they say directly, but with phrases such as "it's a bit lonely" and stating that they are not sure about the Danish culture in terms of for instance inviting colleagues over to their houses, we argue it indicates that there is a difference between the socialization within the workplace and outside of it.

This also aligns with the theoretical aspects of this research project - that the social capital they claim within the field of the workplace is not applicable to the other fields in the social space mentioned in this research project. According to Bourdieu, this could be because the fields have different "rules", and that the capital which they claim within the "case company"-field do not overlap with the capital they claim within, for example, the "political"-field. The reason for this could be, for instance, that both the "political"-field and the "Danish society"-field are based on what could possibly be labelled as "Danish culture", whereas the "case company"-field is more based on the fact that it is a multinational and multicultural company. This argument derives from the fact that the company has employees of 17 different nationalities, along with the fact that the corporate language is set to be English. This could, potentially, insinuate that it might be easier for an international employee to feel included in a space like this, as they would be surrounded by people in the same situation as themselves. In relation to Bourdieu, this could be because the international employee in a multinational organization claims capital which is focused on this kind of setting - thus, they do not learn

about *Danish* culture or organizational culture, which is part of the “rules of the game” in especially the “political”-field as well as the “Danish society”-field.

In the introduction of this research project, it was mentioned that studies show that about one in four employees quit their jobs before one year at the company, where we through our literature review suggested that this is because international newcomers find it difficult to socialize in the Danish society. As Yüksekaya states, as mentioned in our theoretical apparatus, this could be because they are not aware of the “unwritten rules” of the Danish organizational culture, as well as the Danish culture in general. Something we found out through the analysis aligned with this, as it turned out the international newcomers who we interviewed, did not know anything about so-called “unwritten rules”. In fact, it appeared that they misunderstood the question about “unwritten rules”, as they were quick to say that *no*, they had not noticed “anything bad”. This insinuates that they might put negative connotations to the word “rules”, while it from a Danish perspective is something much more neutral and not “bad”. It could also be that they *have* noticed some of the “unwritten rules” in the organization, but that it is such a tacit knowledge that they have not consciously acknowledged, but, in relation to Bourdieu, it could also relate back to the difference in the fields, and how they perhaps have yet to have experienced these “unwritten rules” and thus have not grown accustomed to them yet. Through our analysis we have identified various factors that we believe offer insinuations of the case company doing well in socializing and including their (international) employees into the company and the organizational culture. Naturally, we can only base this on our interviewees’ own experiences, and we are aware that we interpret based on this. Factors like the events planned by the company, as well as mentions of other employees being interested in and asking about the interviewees’ national cultures offer what we believe could be indications of a good social culture within the case company. According to socialization and inclusion theories, we argue that the case company is actually doing a good job. For the socialization, we through our literature review identified different characteristics which would facilitate the socialization. Among these were social relations and ties within the organization. Through our interview, the interviewees stated that the company planned a lot of social events and that they feel like there is a good social environment in the company. The theory states, as well, that the newcomers need to be proactive themselves and that they cannot expect that socialization will just be handed over to them. In our case, the interviewees told us that they were actively participating in the events offered to them by the company and that they enjoyed these events.

For inclusion, as mentioned in the literature review, there is a focus on employee involvement and the integration of diversity within the organizational context, which we also suggest is visible in the case company. The employees are working in teams, and the English corporate language could insinuate an integration of diversity.

The socialization and inclusion within the case company thus appears to be good - but with the interviewees stating that they feel lonely and restless in the private life, there seems to be something missing in the “bigger picture”.

What we want to discuss is, thus, is it enough for the international newcomer to have a good socialization and inclusion within their workspace if they still feel that the society outside out of it is difficult to settle into and feel entirely comfortable in? In the case of our interviewees, they both came to Denmark with their husbands and it could be assumed that they at least have them to count on for social needs, but this is not the case for every international newcomer who moves to the country for work purposes. Thus, we argue, that an international newcomer who moves to the country on their own would, to an even bigger extent, need the socialization and inclusion outside of the workplace just as much as they need it inside the workplace, since the two different fields require different forms of socialization and inclusion. These thoughts are again based on our theoretical perspectives that suggest that the different aspects of the fields offer different types of social capital that are not applicable to other fields. In referral to Bourdieu for this research project, the capital which the interviewees claim within the “case company”-field is not applicable to other fields. This means that despite how well the case company integrates them in regard to socialization and inclusion theories, they will still find it difficult to properly settle into the society outside of the case company, as the resources which they earn through the socialization and inclusion cannot be used outside of the case company. Broadening it to a more societal perspective, we argue that this could potentially mean that international newcomers, especially those who may have moved to the country on their own, might find it difficult to settle into the society outside of the workplace, and potentially could be more likely to want to leave within a year. The interviewees have both lived in Denmark for around a year already and are still not sure about what is “normal or not” in terms of Danes’ private lives. If it had not been for their social “safety” (and social capital) of their husbands, it is not impossible that they might have found it difficult to settle in and might not want to stay in Denmark for a longer period of time.

## Implications of socialization in the “political”-field

We view the “political”-field as one of first “arenas” which an international newcomer will meet once arriving to Denmark, as the newcomers in this field are offered help with with practical issues that newcomers are facing; such as opening a bank account and registering for a social security number. We offer that this suggests that the “political”-field with their help and providing of information set a framework which helps international newcomers to be integrated and included in Denmark. From the feedback of the two interviewees, we suggest that they view the “political”-field, or more precisely, the organizations representing the field, as a welcoming, as they did not have any immediate negative associations with it. Only Turna who had a bad experience within the field regarding her job search spoke negatively of it.

As mentioned in the analysis, it appears that the “political”-field focuses more on the formal documents and regulations which are necessary in order to settle into the society of Denmark, whilst the aspects considering the socialization of newcomers seems to not be a priority.

But how can this be? Through the analysis of the workindenmark brochure, it became evident that this is an implication which they are aware of, as they write that: *“it is hard to become friends with a Dane outside the workplace”* (Appendix 3, p. 5). Through the introduction and literature review, various statements considering the importance of socialization in the society were mentioned, and the lack of socialization and inclusion of international newcomers was also stated as one of the main reasons to why many international newcomers choose to leave the country again after a relatively short amount of time.

We see the need that, if the field wants to change from only focusing on cultural and economic capital and the formal and legal necessities, the “political”-field should also put more focus on the social capital and the socialization of international newcomers into what could be defined as the “Danish society”. As we perceive it through our analysis, it is uncertain within the “political”-field *how* this socialization can actually happen. The “political”-field suggests that international newcomers must know the Danish language and become familiar with the Danish culture and lifestyle before they can be properly settled in, but at the same time, they introduce international newcomers to people from the same cultural background, which potentially could lead them to the “international society”-field, instead of the “Danish society”-field. This was for

instance seen as our Turkish interviewee stated that she upon arrival was introduced to other Turkish people in the area instead of Danish people. One might think that it should not be important that the newcomers socialize with people from their own background instead of Danes, but as our research shows, from a Bourdieusian perspective (Bourdieu, 2000), it could potentially offer complications since the way to gain knowledge about a culture and the “rules of the game” within the specific fields is to interact and experience. This is something we view as problematic as actors in the “political”-field instead should try to facilitate the socialization and inclusion to the Danish society by letting the international newcomers socialize with Danes who through interactions can expose them to the Danish culture instead of introducing them to other people from their own countries and thus create a “bubble” with their own culture within the Danish culture. If the “political”-field continues to introduce the international newcomers to the “international society”-field instead of the “Danish society”-field they might even create a bigger gap between the two instead of relating the two fields and trying to have the “borders” as blurry as possible. As Bourdieu suggests, again, individuals only learn by experiencing and by being exposed to different situations in the fields. This could, arguably, be a reason to why our interviewees, and possibly more international newcomers as well, find it difficult to become a proper part of the “Danish society”-field.

Additionally, we argue that there appears to be another controversy regarding the “political”-field and the socialization and inclusion of international newcomers.

With our Bourdieusian perspective, we suggest that every individual has a different habitus and thus a different cultural “backpack” upon arrival in the country. Therefore, we question the approach that the “political”-field, at least to our knowledge, seems to want to welcome every international newcomer, who moves to the country for work purposes, in the same way - despite these newcomers’ individual cultural and educational background. In the analysis, our Turkish interviewee expresses frustration about the organization “dismissing” her educational background as they instead stress the importance of knowing Danish culture and work culture before being able to work in a Danish company and as we argue denied her the access to a job suiting her educational background. Thus, we suggest, that if the “political”-field would want to focus more on the socialization and inclusion of newcomers, perhaps the newcomers’ individual habitus and educational competences should be taken more into consideration instead of being dismissed because the person does not know Danish. Further,



considering the fact that the “political”-field wants international newcomers to get used to Danish lifestyle and language, we argue that they could benefit more from introducing international newcomers to Danes instead of introducing them to people of the same cultural background and thus let them end up in the previously mentioned “bubble”.



## Conclusion

The purpose of this research project has been to examine the way international newcomers adjust to the Danish labor market through socialization and inclusion. In regard to this, we have conducted a focus group interview with two international residents living in Denmark, as well as a non-participatory observation of an introductory meeting for a new employee in the case company. Lastly, we obtained a document in the form of a brochure from the Danish organization workindenmark. All three sets of data have been analyzed in order to help with answering our problem formulation:

*How might a Bourdieusian perspective assist us to understand how to facilitate international newcomers' adjustment to the Danish labor market?*

The Bourdieusian perspective assists us in the way that it becomes evident that even when looking into the Danish labor market and newcomers' adjustment into this, it is necessary to look beyond the labor market. By adopting Bourdieu's perspective and theoretical concepts of capital, fields, and habitus, we were enabled to go in-depth with our research.

One of the paradoxes which have been approached in this research project is that studies show that many, especially international newcomers, leave the country and their job within a short time of employment. Some of these studies blame the lack of organizational socialization for this. However, based our interview with two international residents, from India and Turkey respectively, we argue that there has been a good socialization within their workspace, in the form of good colleagues as well as social events that they had been participating in. What was interesting however, was that the interviewees instead pointed out that they sometimes felt lonely *outside* of work, and that they were unsure of how to "do" things in Denmark - what are the norms, are they allowed to invite their colleagues home to their private homes?

With the Bourdieusian perspective, we argued that the reason for this could be related to Bourdieu's concepts of fields and capital. The capital within the field of the interviewees' workplace (the "case company"-field) is different from the capital which is needed within the fields outside of it (the "political"-field, and the "Danish society"-field). This indicates, that even

though the interviewees have claimed social capital within the field of the case company, it might not be applicable to the other fields that constitute the Danish society, and as a result, they might feel lonely or bored. Another reason is that the case company is an international company with 17 different nationalities, and thus the interviewees would not be as exposed to Danish culture and language as they might have been had it been a strictly Danish company. This also relates to capital and fields in the way that our interviewees may not have claimed enough cultural capital which can be used in the more *Danish* parts of the society within the “political”-field and the “Danish society”-field respectively.

Thus, conclusively, the Bourdieusian perspective has enabled us to understand that although the focus in studies might be on the integration of international newcomers into the labor market, the inclusion and socialization into the society outside of the workplace might be just as important to consider. In order to facilitate international newcomers’ adjustment to the Danish labor market, the state and its organizations aiming to help newcomers settle in should attempt to make it easier for internationals to settle into the country. Through our analysis, it became visible that the state tended to introduce international to *other* internationals. This would, from a Bourdieusian perspective, mean that they potentially could end up in a “bubble” with other internationals instead of being properly exposed to and taught Danish culture, which only Danes could offer. Thus, although the socialization and inclusion of international newcomers is important, it is just as important that newcomers feel welcome and integrated into the society in general instead of solely focusing on the labor market.

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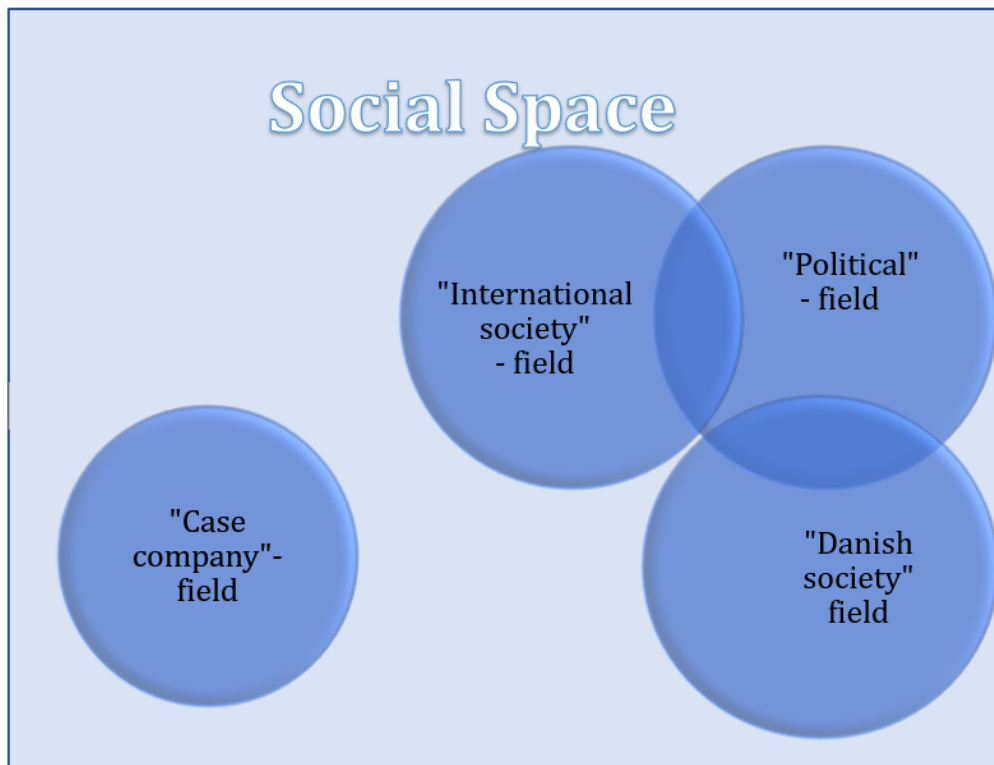
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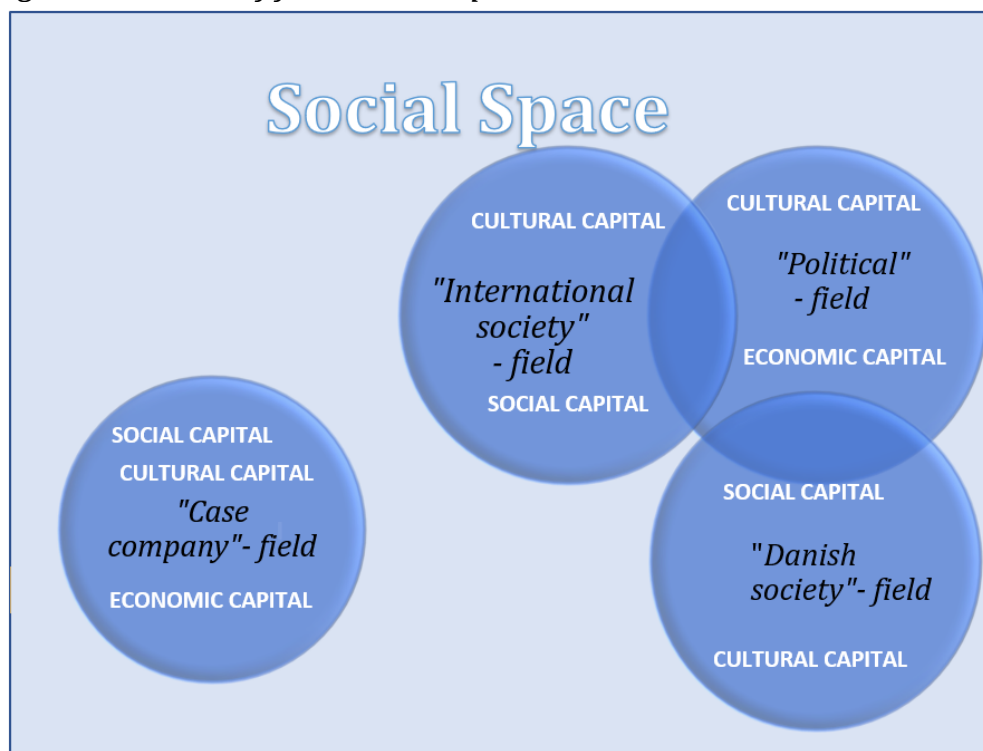
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## List of figures

*Figure 1: Model of fields:*



*Figure 2: Model of fields and capital:*





## Appendix

*Appendix 1: Transcript of focus group interview*

*Appendix 2: Notes from introductory meeting at case company*

*Appendix 3: workindenmark brochure*