



**“WHERE DO I BELONG?”
A BOURDIEUSIAN PERSPECTIVE ON
LABOUR MARKET PRACTICES OF
FOREIGN-BORN WOMEN
IN THE NETHERLANDS AND SWEDEN**

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This thesis is part of the Master's Degree program Development and Rural Innovation with Knowledge, Technology, and Innovation Chair Group (Course code CPT-80833) at Wageningen University & Research, the Netherlands.

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Acronyms

AFM	<i>Arbetsförmedlingen</i> (Swedish Public Employment Service)
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages
CSO	Civil society organizations
DUO	<i>Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs</i> (The Education Executive Agency)
EU	European Union
HAVO	<i>Hoger algemeen voortgezet onderwijs</i> (Higher General Continued Education)
HBO	<i>Hoger beroepsonderwijs</i> (Higher Professional Education at Universities of Applied Science)
IDW	<i>Internationale Diplomawaardering</i> (International Diploma Evaluation)
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
KNM	<i>Kennis Nederlandse Maatschappij</i> (Knowledge of Dutch Society)
MBO	<i>Middelbaar beroepsonderwijs</i> (Vocational Education and Training)
MINE	Mentorship Inspiration Networking Education
NGO	Non-government organizations
NT2	<i>Nederlands als 2e taal Staatsexamen</i> (Dutch as a Second Language State Examination)
ONA	<i>Oriëntatie op de Nederlandse Arbeidsmarkt</i> (Orientation on the Dutch Labour Market)
SFI	Swedish for Immigrants
UAF	<i>Stichting Vluchtelingen-Studenten</i>

	(Foundation for Refugee Students)
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
VIP	<i>Vluchtelingen Investeren in Participeren</i> (Refugees Invest in Participating)
VWN	<i>VluchtelingenWerk Nederland</i> (Dutch Council for Refugees)
WO	<i>Wetenschappelijk onderwijs</i> (Research-Oriented Education at Research Universities)
YT	Yalla Trappan



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Summary

The foreign-born women (refugee and family reunification migrants) in the Netherlands and Sweden are far from the labour market and face a high rate of unemployment and underemployment when compared with other social groups. The thesis primarily aimed to explore the women's experiences with and practices of the labour market in their host country to understand their lower rate of participation.

Most post-migration studies use either human capital or social capital approach, or structural constraints to study labour market participation. This study used Bourdieu's practice theory as a theoretical framework to study these several approaches in a common framework. Bourdieu argues that actors orient their actions as per their position in and principles of the 'field' (the social space where the action occurs) and they afford this position by accumulating 'capital' (the valued resources of an individual) recognized in the field, and perpetually transform them to improve their position in the field. The main research question that guided this study is: *How do capital and field affect the labour market practices of foreign-born women?*

A multiple method approach is used for data collection including observation of participants and key events, a total of 24 narrative and semi-structured interviews of multiple stakeholders, and policy analysis at local and national levels. The fieldwork was done in Gelderland in the Netherlands and Malmö in Sweden with the local institutional bases - VluchtelingenWerk Nederland and Yalla Trappan respectively. The analysis was qualitative and the coding was done using NVivo software.

The study identifies the several capital types of foreign-born women, the logic of the field that influences their labour market participation, and the capital conversion to advance their position in the field. Upon migration, the women face deactivation of their existing capital in the new labour market field creating a barrier in their labour market participation. The cultural, social, and dream capitals are mainly identified as important to advance the women's position in the labour market while the symbolic capital is identified to have both positive and negative influences. The study also identifies a post-migration structural field, mainly comprising the structural programs for the foreign-born people, that enables the gaining of capital mix relevant for the new labour market field. The NGO's and CSO's also emerged as actors that reduce the gap between the two fields and help in increasing the capitals for the women.

Across Europe, the migrants born outside of the European Union (EU) are less employed than the native population, and the rate of unemployment is higher for female migrants when compared to male migrants. Also, when compared with EU-born migrant women, the non-EU born migrant women have a higher unemployment rate (Rubin, Rendall, Rabinovich, Tsang & Janta, 2008). In 2019, according to the EU Labour Force Survey, an average of 55.9% of non-EU born migrant women were employed across Europe which is 15% lower when compared with the EU-born migrant women and 19.9% lower when compared with non-EU born migrant men (Eurostat, 2019). The average employment rate for refugee women is even lower at 45% and also they are more likely to work part-time when compared with employed native women and EU-born migrant women (Liebig & Tronstad, 2018; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017).

Several studies reveal occupational segregation and concentration in labour market based on gender, racial, ethnic identities, etc. Globally, most of the migrant women workers are majorly employed in service sectors such as domestic, catering, and healthcare. (Rubin et al., 2008). In Europe, two-fifth of all migrant women are concentrated in two service sectors - sales and services elementary occupations, and personal and protective services – that typically require low skills. Further, there is a higher concentration of non-EU born migrant women in these sectors compared to EU-born migrant women. Besides unemployment, the underemployment rate is also higher for non-EU born migrant women when compared to other social groups (Rubin et al., 2008).

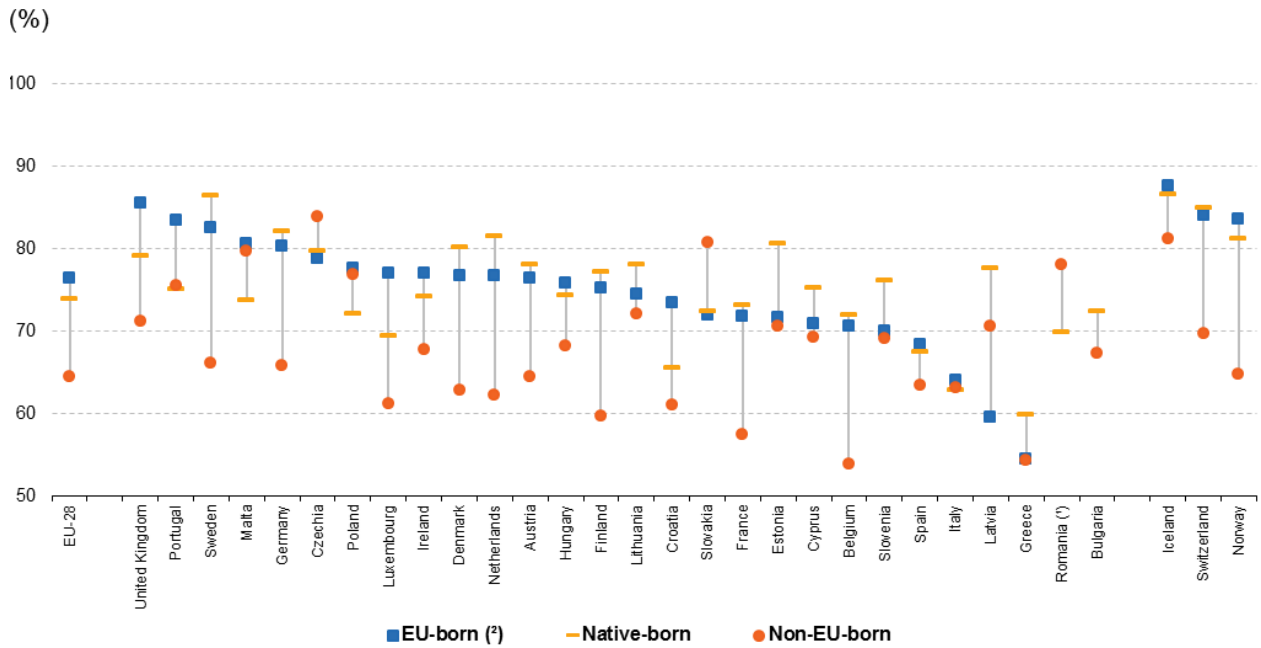
There are several categories in the total migrant group depending on the nature of migration. These may include labour migrants (economic reasons for migration) and also migrants of non-economic nature such as refugees and family reunification migrants (humanitarian, political, war/conflict, and climatic reasons for migration). The non-economic migrants are “less positively selected for labour market inclusion” and have even lower unemployment rates (Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). Categorically, the structural and legal conditions for entry, reception, and integration also vary for labour migrants when compared with refugees and family reunification migrants.

In sum, the social group of non-EU born refugee and family unification migrants are farthest from the labour market in the host countries and face several dimensions of labour market disadvantage associated with their non-EU origins, female gender, structural conditions as non-economic migrants. The study focuses on these two migrant groups empirically as the main unit of analysis. For ease of usage, henceforth, the term “foreign-born women” will be used to indicate the target group. The main characteristics of foreign-born women are that they are 1) non-EU born 2) first-generation refugees and family

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reunification migrants (who are often family members of refugees) 3) have a legal residence permit to stay in the host countries 4) ideally are new arrivals or part of contemporary migration flow. This specific term was derived from the popular reference of this social group in the programs and initiatives that were studied for this research in the Netherlands and Sweden.

Figure 1.1: *Employment rates for the population aged 20-64 years by country of birth in 2018. Source: Eurostat (Retrieved from [here](#) and source dataset is accessible [here](#))*



(*) Non-EU born: low reliability
 (†) Other than in the reporting Member State
 Source: Eurostat (online data code: ifsa_ergacob)

Before we move further, we reflect on the meanings and differences of the social groups - refugee, migrant, and family reunified migrant. As per the 1951 Geneva Convention, a refugee can be defined as “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion.” (UNHCR, 2010). When a refugee flees from their country, then they seek sanctuary in another country by requesting for an asylum. A migrant is a person who chooses to move to another country for work, study, family reunion, or other reasons (UNHCR, 2016) and unlike refugees can choose to return to their home country without any impediment. UNHCR promotes reunification of separated refugee families under the principle of the unity of family especially when “the head of the family has fulfilled the necessary conditions for admission to a particular country” (UNHCR, 1983). Reunification may extend to nuclear

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families including husband, wife, dependent children, and other dependent members of the family unit such as dependent parents, relatives, etc.

The study tries to capture the perspectives and experiences of foreign-born women to understand the reasons for their low participation level in the labour market of their host countries and the strategies they use to increase their participation. Traditionally, the nation-state perspective is given more weightage and the locally contextualized people-oriented perspectives are not sufficiently highlighted in practice, policy initiatives, and academic debates related to labour market integration. This is problematic, more so for foreign-born women who are more vulnerable to exclusion in labour market. How do the foreign-born women perceive and interact with the structural conditions and programs for labour market integration? How do they participate or increase their participation in labour market in the post-migration context? These questions were the starting point for the study.

The majority of labour market integration studies follow the framework of the human capital approach as a dominant paradigm (Chiswick, 2005; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). High levels of the human capital for an individual such as formal education, job experience, skills, learning capabilities, language competence, etc. are determinant for better labour market performance in host countries. However, when migrating to another country, all the acquired knowledge and skills may not transfer absolutely or sufficiently to the host country. For example, language proficiency in Arabic may not be relevant in the Netherlands which is a predominantly Dutch-speaking country. In the last few decades, there has been an increase in usage of the social capital approach which shows that a high level of heterogeneous social networks can be a strong determinant of labour market access and upward mobility (Portes, 1995). For example, a social network can enhance access to information for available vacancies or a better chance of getting a job through referrals. Other studies look at institutional factors and structural constraints such as admission status to understand labour market integration (Kogan, Kalter, Liebau, & Cohen, 2011).

Scientifically, there are only a few studies that combine both the human and social capital approach (Kanas, 2011; Byoun, 2014) and structural conditions (Kogan et al., 2011) in labour market integration studies. This thesis research uses the background of Practice Theory by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) to create a holistic model to understand the labour market practices of foreign-born women and combines capital approach including human and social capital together with enabling and impeding structural conditions in the host country. To be specific, this is done using the concepts of *capital* which are tangible and intangible resources acquired by an individual, and *field* which are social-relational space where an action occurs with a functional logic as a theoretical framework. The case studies are based in the local context of 3 municipalities in Gelderland, the Netherlands, and Malmö city in Sweden and are discussed in the next section.

1.1 Context in the Netherlands and Sweden

Across Europe, the official responsibility of reception and integration is broadly divided between the central agency or ministry and the local municipalities respectively. The integration activities for newcomers in local municipalities aim to enhance the knowledge of society, knowledge of the local language, and integration with the local labor market. Despite shared responsibility and central framework in Europe, there exists a large gap in knowledge and experience among and within different member states on how to integrate foreign-born women in their labour markets (European Migration Network, 2017). Martiniello (2013) urged scholars for promoting comparison between places in migration studies, especially locally contextualized city-to-city comparisons. The study follows a transnational comparative approach using small and medium-sized cities in the Netherlands and Sweden. They were systematically chosen for the transnational comparison.

Rubin et al. (2008) classify four country groups based on labour market participation of migrant women in the EU labour force which are as follows:

1. Old migrant-receiving countries including Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and Austria
2. New migrant-receiving countries including Greece, Spain, and Portugal
3. Nordic countries including Denmark and Sweden
4. Accession countries including Cyprus, Czech Republic, and Hungary

Of the four-country groups, the participation of foreign-born women is lower for old migrant-receiving countries and Nordic countries, higher for the new migrant-receiving country, and mixed for accession countries when compared with native women during initial years of arrival (Rubin et al., 2008). The trends of labour market participation of foreign-born women are similar for both the Netherlands and Sweden. Both these countries have a long history of immigration and in 2015 during the Syrian War, they received a high inflow of refugees and subsequent inflow of family reunion migrants in comparison to several other European countries (Government of the Netherlands, 2016). Lastly, both countries have a large population speaking English as their second language. This weighs as an important factor to be able to conduct fieldwork in English. The next sub-sections will describe in detail the immigration context for both countries and the fieldsites.

Netherlands immigration and fieldsite

The nature of migration in the Netherlands has been of four types – humanitarian migration, family reunification migration, intra-European labour migration, and migration from former colonies. The refugees and immigrants have been attracted to the Netherlands

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since the 16th century due to its tolerance, prosperity, and humanitarian attitude. It has accepted refugees on the ground of religion, politics, and conflict from the 17th century to the early 20th century. After World War II and towards the end of Dutch colonial heritage, immigrants arrived in the country from its former colonies, mainly from Indonesia (Selm, 2019).

Between 1945 and the oil crisis of 1974, the arrival rate of refugees was very low and the country mainly received temporary workers from Mediterranean countries through labour recruitment programs. However, the temporary migration turned out to be more permanent, and post 1975, most immigration was for family reunification. The asylum seeker application rose from 4,500 in 1985 to 45,000 in 1998. The arrival trend fell after the 1990s due to increased restrictions and protection measures, and the resettlement program for refugees gained more attention (Selm, 2019). Ghorashi (2005) says that the policies in the 1980s were not very restrictive and allowed the newcomers to swiftly be part of Dutch society but the restrictive asylum policies post-1990s reinforced a negative image of refugees in general and women in particular by making them dependent on the state.

The Netherlands received about 44,000 asylum seekers applications mainly including Syrians, Eritrean, and Iranians during the contemporary migration wave in 2015. In the following years, the number of asylum seekers applications reduced, and the number of family reunification applications rose (Selm, 2019). Of all the refugees who came to the Netherlands after 2014, only 11% of them got a job after 2.5 years. (Vluchtelingen Werk Nederland, 2019). In 2018, about 12% of people living in the Netherlands were foreign-born and the unemployment rate of foreign-born women was 7.9% as compared to 6.1% for foreign-born men (OECD, n.d.).

Gelderland is the largest province in the Netherlands, an industrial region with food, healthcare, logistics, and electronics as key industries. In 2018, the unemployment rate in Gelderland was 3.3% though specific data is not available for foreign-born women. Originally, the study was based only on the Nijmegen municipality due to its comparable size with Malmö in Sweden. The focus shifted to three municipalities of Gelderland – Elst, Wageningen, and Nijmegen due to limiting conditions of access and availability for data collection during the fieldwork. Elst and Wageningen are small-sized cities while Nijmegen is a medium-sized city. All three municipalities received a large inflow of refugees and family reunification migrants from 2014 onwards for resettlement and local integration as a part of central reception and integration framework. As of 2017, 40% of refugees in Nijmegen are Syrians and 16% are Eritreans (Silva, 2017). However, gathering recent data specific to municipalities was fairly challenging due to language barriers, confidential nature of data, and lack of academic articles that focuses specifically on Elst, Wageningen, and Nijmegen. The institutional and structural conditions post-migration is derived from the national system and paired with initiatives of the local institutional base VluchtelingenWerk

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Nederland (VWN) or the Dutch Council for Refugees. More information about the organization and its activities are detailed in Box 1.1.

Box 1.1

About VluchtelingenWerk Nederland

VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN) or the Dutch Council for Refugees assists and represents the interest of asylum seekers and refugees for asylum procedure, family unification, reception, supervision of children, and also guidance for language, work, and integration. VWN works as a social partner with the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and has over 35 years of experience with it supporting and guiding refugees in the Netherlands. The job coaches at VWN guide refugees to find a job as quickly as possible and work in close cooperation with employers, companies, and municipalities (Vluchtelingen Werk Nederland, 2019). This is generally difficult due to less knowledge of Dutch work culture, lack of networks, and non-recognition of diplomas from the country of origin. One of its programs called *Vluchtelingen Investeren in Participeren* (VIP) or Refugees Investing in Participating aims specifically to promote the participation of refugees in labour market by directly aiming for jobs or pursuing further education.

Sweden immigration and fieldsite

The nature of migration in Sweden is of three types – refugees, family reunion migrants, and labour migrants. Until the mid-1970s, market demand attracted labour migrants from neighboring countries and it was supported by gradually liberalizing immigration policies. From the mid-1970s until the mid-1990s, the immigration policies were restrictive due to the oil crisis and low demand in labour market. At this time, Sweden mainly received refugees and family migrants from within and outside of Europe and this marked the period of active labour market policy to increase employment especially for disadvantaged groups. The inflow of intra-European migrants grew significantly in 1995 when Sweden became part of the EU.

In 2010, an introduction program reform formalized the focus on labour market integration of refugees and reunited families (through language training, civic orientation, and labour market activities) and transferred integration responsibility to the Public Employment Service. Between 2014 and 2017, Sweden received 273,117 asylum applications and accepted more refugees per capita than any other European country. Among these, only 22% of newly arrived men and 8% of women were employed after 1-2 years of introductory programs (Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017).

Malmö is a medium-sized city in the south of Sweden with three major job sectors - trade and communication, corporate service and finance, and healthcare and welfare. About 31% of Malmö's inhabitants are born outside Sweden (Perjo & Berlina, 2016) and in 2011,

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Malmö had a 5.9% unemployment rate as compared to a 3.5% national average and 15% unemployment for non-EU born migrant compared to 10% for EU-born migrant (Larsson, 2014). The city has high residential segregation predominantly based on areas with the Swedish and Nordic population versus areas with other immigrant populations. The neighborhoods with a high immigrant population are characterized by rental apartments, low-income groups, and higher unemployment rates among inhabitants. Some places have a visibly diverse population and often receive negative media attention. Studies based on Sweden also suggests that it can get harder for people to get back to employment if they are living in neighborhoods that have a high number of unemployed people (Andersson, Bråmås & Hogdal, 2008).

Similar to the Netherlands, the institutional and structural conditions post-migration are derived from the national system and the local institutional base Yalla Trappan (YT) which works as a work-integrating social enterprise Yalla Trappan (YT). It is located in Rosengård neighborhood which is known for its high-density immigrant population (about 86%) from Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, and former Yugoslavia (Reilly, 2012). Besides YT, several other grass-roots initiatives are also based in this neighborhood. More information about the organization and its activities are detailed in Box 1.2.

Box 1.2

About Yalla Trappan

Yalla Trappan (YT) is a work-integrating social enterprise and a co-operative that educate, employ, and empower women with an immigrant background who have little to no formal education and work experience. The initiative originally started as three Malmö labour integration projects by Swedish Workers' Educational Association (WEA) between 2005 to 2010. Towards the end of the final project in 2010, Yalla Trappan was founded as a permanent co-operative association (Perjo & Berlina, 2016). The organization aims to “promote increased employment and reduced exclusion within the group of foreign-born women who are far from the labor market” (Yalla Trappan, n.d.)

The enterprise has commercial activities in three main work sectors 1) catering kitchen and restaurant 2) clothing design and sewing studio, and 3) cleaning and conference services. These services help the organization financially and in creating jobs. Apart from commercial activities, the organization has project-based activities in association with the Malmö municipality through which it receives trainees for these three work sectors. The training provides industry-oriented skill training, language training, career training, and knowledge of work culture and labour market to foreign-born women who are far from labour market. It aims to improve the self-esteem and confidence of the women alongside knowledge and skill development (Yalla Trappan, n.d.)

1.2 Research objective and relevance

Research objective

There are two primary objectives of the study. The first objective is to broaden the theoretical understanding and literature work on the less explored relationship of Bourdieu's practice theory and migration studies. The second objective is to provide knowledge/experience/lessons learned about real-time practices of the women for more efficient initiatives and policy decisions. The overall research question that has guided this study is as follows.

How do capital and field affect the labour market practices of foreign-born women?

Social and scientific relevance

Migration caused by labour, humanitarian, political, war, conflict and climatic reasons across different times and geographic locations forms an integral part of demographic change in Europe. The integration of migrants has become a key issue for scholars and policymakers due to large migration flows in history and contemporary times (European Migration Network, 2017). After the Syrian war in 2015 and the sharp increase in refugees and subsequently family reunification migrants (often women and children), it has become pertinent, more than ever, to deepen academic knowledge about the dynamics of socio-economic integration in host countries.

The EU labour market is also experiencing a high demand for both skilled and unskilled labour across many job sectors. Despite that, the rate of unemployment and underemployment of foreign-born women is higher than other social groups and they are generally concentrated in limited and/or low-skilled service job sectors. This makes them prone to social exclusion, marginalization, limiting chances of human and professional development, and in more broadly, reduces their agency and power in decision-making. These vulnerabilities are also true for the foreign-born women in the Netherlands and Sweden, one of the most gender-equal regions in the world. They have the potential of making a significant economic contribution to their family, community, and host country well beyond the current limitations in opportunity shaped gender, migration, and non-EU disadvantage. A gendered approach to studying labour market practices is a step forward to 1) bridge the demand and supply gap for foreign-born women in host countries 2) address issues gender-based inequality and social injustice in local initiatives and policy contexts.

From a scientific perspective, limited studies have focused on the gender aspect of labour market integration and migration studies in general and this study adds to the limited gender-based literature. This study also adds to the less used narrative approach for

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comparing transnational scenarios by giving equal, if not more, weightage to perspectives and experiences of the foreign-born women along with nation-state perspectives. Migration studies dominantly use the human capital approach with the more recent developments in social capital approaches and the structural conditions for labour market participation. There are only limited studies that use Practice Theory in migration studies (Bauder, 2005; Erel, 2010; Föbker, 2019). By using capital and field concepts as a holistic model, the study also adds to the limited scientific literature exploring practice theory in migration studies.

Overall, the research aims to increase the participation of foreign-born women in the labour market and add to the knowledge gaps in terms of gender and practice theory in the migration literature.

1.3 Chapters Overview

This thesis report comprises of 6 chapters in total. Chapter 1 has so far introduced the underlying problem and context of the study. Chapter 2 provides a deeper understanding of the theoretical framework, mainly about the concepts of field and capital. It also includes basic concepts and approaches to migration studies and labour market integration. Specific research questions are mentioned at the end of this chapter. Chapter 3 mainly elaborates on the methodology for data collection and analysis used for both cases. It also includes overall research design, fieldwork overview, and ethical considerations. Chapter 4 shares findings and insights from the Netherlands fieldwork with two main sub-sections. First describes the logic of the field and the second describes the capital usage and conversion by foreign-born women. Chapter 5 share the fieldwork findings and insights from Sweden and follows a similar pattern as the previous chapter. Chapter 6 discusses and compares field conditions and the capital usage of the foreign-born women in the two cases and reflects on the overall research process and future research directions.

The study uses concepts of field and capital from practice theory as a theoretical framework on the background of migration studies concepts and approaches. It identifies and analyzes 1) accumulated capital mix of foreign-born women 2) the logic of the labour market field that enables or impedes their participation and 3) the nature of capital conversion to advance their position in the field. This chapter begins with a brief reflection on the post-migration studies concepts with focus on integration and the gendered and translocal approaches. Next, there is a discussion on how human and social capital model has been used to study labour market integration. Then, the chapter discusses capital, field, and their interaction conceptually and ends by stating the specific research questions that guided the research.

2.1 Post-migration studies concepts and approaches

Integration as an acculturation strategy

Scholars of migration studies employ a variety of concepts to rationalize the interaction of newly arrived migrant groups in host societies. For this study, we look at Berry's (2001) model of acculturation strategies influenced by both incoming social groups and the host country. Acculturation can be understood as the process of interaction or adjustment with a culture other than your own. The four types of acculturation strategies that the incoming social group uses include *integration*, *assimilation*, *separation*, and *marginalization*. During integration, the individual maintains their cultural identity and also adopts the culture of the host country (Berry, 2001). Assimilation is a linear process where individuals absorb the cultural practices of the host country and give up their cultural identity as a homogenizing process (Harder et al., 2018). Separation is when the individual maintains their cultural identity and does not get involved with the host culture. In the case of marginalization, the individual does not fully identify with either their own culture or that of the host country due to either cultural loss or discrimination (Berry, 2001).

Berry (2001) also indicates four orientations that the host countries adopt and support the acculturation strategies including *multiculturalism*, *melting pot*, *segregation*, and *exclusion*. Multiculturalism can be understood as cultural pluralism that promotes heterogeneity, diversity, equal rights, and equal opportunities among various cultural groups (UK Essays, 2017). The strategies in host society can be termed as a melting pot when it seeks assimilation, segregation when forcing separation, and exclusion when imposing marginalization. (Berry, 2001)

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Of these 4 types, integration is the most commonly applied and adaptive strategy by individuals and host countries. The refugees and family reunion migrants coming to the Netherlands and Sweden are also institutionally required to follow their country's socio-economic integration program which primarily includes gaining knowledge of the local language, society, and labour market. Integration has multiple definitions emerging in studies and often have overlapping boundaries with each other. It is a long-term, dynamic, and multi-faceted process and the interaction between the incoming group and the host country determines the outcome of integration.

The incoming social group acquires knowledge and capacity for successful participation in the host country. "Knowledge entails aspects such as fluency in the national language and ability to navigate the host country's labor market, political system, and social institutions. Capacity refers to the mental, social, and economic resources immigrants have to invest in their futures" (Harder, Figueroa, Gillum, Hangartner, Laitin & Hainmueller, 2018, p11484). The host country receives, welcomes, and meets the needs of the incoming social group through its public institutions. The following are classical dimensions for integration in the host country 1) Cultural dimension - knowledge of the language, society, norms, and values of host society 2) Social dimension - social ties with the native population, access and rights to education/ welfare/ housing/ health in host society 3) Economic dimension - access to labour market 4) Political dimension – understanding and engaging in political activity in the host country, and/or right to vote 5) Psychological or identificational dimension - feeling of connection or sense of belonging in the host country (Harder et al., 2018; UK Essays, 2017).

Gendered and translocal approaches

Migration studies are broadly classified in terms of migration dynamics (flow and movement) and post-migration establishment in the host country (acculturation). Scholars of comparative migration studies promote comparisons between social groups especially women and places especially city-to-city (Stanfijeld II, 1993; Mahler & Pessar 2006; Martiniello, 2013). According to Mahler & Pessar (2006), historically the issue and position of gender in migration and post-migration studies have been neglected. They argue that despite the emergence of feminist migration studies, there is still a need for gender mainstreaming approach and gender comparative research in migration studies. Also, traditionally, the perspectives and experiences of the nation-state are the main focus of research than the locally contextualized perspective (Martiniello, 2013). Stanfijeld II (1993) suggests comparative social science work is the best because when making explanations or predictions as the "arguments are strongest when we are able to bring to the table evidence drawn from more than one case" (p 25). This study is based only on the post-migration context with gendered (foreign-born women as a social group) and translocal approach (Gelderland and Malmö).

2.2 Labour market integration approaches

There are limited studies that combine practice theory for labour market integration. Cultural, social and economic capital have helped in identifying the immigrant's practices and associated power dynamics (Bauder, 2005; Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007; Erel, 2010; Nowicka, 2015; Föbker, 2019). After migration, individuals may experience de-skilling or devaluation of human capital, and loss of social capital (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007; Kanas & Tubergen, 2009) because accumulated capital can be country and location-specific (Bauder, 2015). Generally, migrants renegotiate and convert their capital in host countries (Erel, 2010; Nowicka, 2015). In the case of highly skilled migrant, selective parts of the cultural capital can be globally recognized such as knowledge of Information Technology, medical expertise, etc. (Weiss, 2005).

In the past few decades, there has been growth in the research body on labour market integration of immigrants in host countries. The majority of these studies follow the framework of human capital approach as a dominant paradigm (Chiswick, 2005; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). This approach argues that immigrants with a high stock of human capital will integrate quickly into the labour market in the host country. The human capital indicators are an individual's educational level, work experience, language proficiency, etc. These assumptions are not true for all immigrant groups and all countries.

In some countries, upon migration, the educational level and work experience can directly influence the labour market participation. For other countries, these knowledge and skills are either difficult to transfer or less valued (Kanas & Tubergen, 2009; Irastorza & Bevelander, 2017). This is due to differences in the educational system, lower relevance given to foreign credentials especially when obtained from a developing country (Kogan et al., 2011), and depends on the country where one is migrating (Chiswick, 1978). Native language proficiency also plays an important role in labour market participation. Some studies even suggest that high education may be valued by the employer only when supported by the knowledge of the local language (Kossoudji, 1988)

In the last few decades, there has been an increase in the usage of the social capital approach where social networks are determinant of labour market access and upward mobility (Portes, 1995). This may include access to information on vacancies, referrals, etc. For jobseekers, this makes the job search process more accessible or efficient. For employers, this may reduce uncertainty related to knowledge and skills. Immediately after migration, there is a loss of social capital which not only affects access and information about the local labour market but also the support for households and children (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007). The latter may especially prevent or delay labour market participation for women.

Every country has some centrally organized laws and policies that set predefined criteria for access and participation in the labour market (Riaño & Baghdadi, 2007). Several studies

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also look at institutional factors and/or structural constraints such as admission status, legal rules, etc. to identify practices of access and participation in the labour market (Kogan et al., 2011). For example, Föbker (2019) studied the challenges of accompanying partners or family migrants (women) in the UK to enter labour market and how their strategies are affected by the interplay of structural conditions and individual choice on the degree of participation. Informal and intangible factors such as internal motivation or risk-taking behavior are also reported as factors for labour market success (Chiswick, 2005; Çakmak, Lie & Selwyn, 2018).

In conclusion, the labour market integration is dependent only on an individual's resources such as language skills, educational level, work experience, social networks and motivation, and the interlinkages between these resources with the structural constraints legal structure, market regulations, etc. in host societies. These indicators have mostly been studied in isolation and very few studies combine the human-social capital approach (Kanas, 2011; Byoun, 2014) and structural conditions (Kogan et al., 2011) to understand labour market integration. Practice theory provides a theoretical framework that helps in binding and rationalizing all these indicators together and is discussed in the next section.

2.3 Theoretical understanding of capital and field

Practice Theory (Bourdieu, 1984) establishes that social practices are resulting from an actor's habitus, their accumulated capital, and their position in the field. Habitus can be defined as a system of dispositions that forms the practical knowledge and cognitive system of social actors and generates perceptions, appreciations, actions, and influences the way of being, acting, and thinking through a constant process of socialization (Wacquant, 2005). While fields can be seen as arenas for action by relationally situated actors, capitals are a combination of valued resources that actors can acquire or mobilize to determine their position and hence, power in the field (Bourdieu, 1984). The following formula highlights their relationship:

$$[(\text{HABITUS}) (\text{CAPITAL})] + \text{FIELD} = \text{PRACTICES} \quad (\text{Bourdieu, 1984, p101})$$

Bourdieu argues that to understand a social phenomenon, it is important to not only examine what and how the event happened but also the logic of the field in which the event occurred. It is also important to map the objective relations between various actors in the field which are defined by the activated cumulative of various capital types. Further, the actors constantly accumulate and convert their capital to compete for power and dominance in the field. This study is limited to the use of practice theory with an empirical focus on capital and field due to direct relevance and will now be discussed in detail.

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Capital

Capitals of an individual are the resources, labour or potential capacity in the objectified or embodied form which are accumulated over time which enables them to “produce profits and to reproduce itself in identical or expanded form” (Bourdieu, 1986, p241). All human actions are interest-driven for which they try to maximize and accumulate the resources in the form of various capitals resulting in a social struggle to achieve dominance in the field. This is because the accumulation of different forms of capital over time creates certain types of hierarchies and social-relational power in the field (Navarro, 2006).

The concept of capital emphasizes the importance of the activated sum of capital whose value is recognized as per the defining principles or logic of the field in which it functions. Such capital attributes a value or currency of exchange to the actor that helps in establishing a position with respect to other actors (Grenfell, 2008). Capital can be classified into four different types - economic capital (accumulated wealth), cultural capital (accumulated cultural attributes in embodied, objectified and institutionalized form), social capital (networks of relationships) and symbolic capital (accumulated prestige through knowledge or recognition) (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu, 1993).

1. *Economic capital* consists of accumulated financial assets and wealth which “immediately and directly convert into money and maybe institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p243). Greater economic capital directly indicates more power and status in the social field.
2. *Cultural capital* consists of cultural knowledge, skills, or dispositions that can exist in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized form. Accumulation of cultural capital always requires investment in terms of time or money and unlike economic capital, the value of cultural capital does not depend on the quantity of capital rather its high rate of transmission.

The embodied cultural capital is the cultural competence or dispositions in mind and body or reflects as mental and physical features such as taste, gesture, values, speech, etc. by socialization in a culture or tradition. This accumulation is essentially done by personal work (self-improvement) and personal investment (time) and cannot be transmitted immediately as in case of economic capital. This embodiment is a result of converting external wealth as an integral part of a person either unconsciously, deliberately, or as a precondition of ones’ society and social class (Bourdieu, 1986).

The objectified cultural capital is represented by the possession of valuable cultural material objects and media that can be materially transmitted such as writings, paintings, artifacts, etc. However, it is to be noted that though cultural goods can

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be possessed materially, it needs to be appropriated and invested by actors in the field (Bourdieu, 1986).

The institutionalized cultural capital typically refers to certified knowledge and skills such as academic qualification that gives an independent, officially recognized, and legally guaranteed value to an actor's cultural competence. The institutional recognition makes it possible to compare qualification holders and establishing a suitable rate for conversion of cultural capital to economic capital in labour market. The material and symbolic profits may vary depending on the scarcity or inflation of the qualification in the structure of labour market (Bourdieu, 1986). In this study, the human capital is equated typically as cultural capital.

3. *Social capital* consists of actual or potential collectively owned resources connected with a network of mutual acquaintances or institutionalized relationships. The collective ownership can be socially guaranteed when linked with membership to a formalized group and gives access to material and symbolic exchanges of resources. The network of relationships involves establishing and reproducing social relations by continuous investment and exchanges of time, energy or economic capital. The mobilization of resources through networks ensures reduced transaction costs and can act as a social safety net (Bourdieu, 1986).

The accumulation of social capital is not natural and requires a strategic investment of both economic and cultural capital to institutionalize relationships. Further, the amount of social capital depends on the size of connected networks and total capital volume (economic, cultural, and symbolic) possessed by the actor (Bourdieu, 1986). The actor also needs to establish several heterogeneous social networks to increase the exposure of more valuable resources, ideas, and information. Additionally, social capital can act as both positive (bringing access to resources and exchange) and negative social capital (exclusion of outsiders and restrictions associated with the group) (Portes, 1998)

4. *Symbolic capital* consists of accumulated prestige, legitimacy, value, and honour acquired through knowledge or recognition. It is acquired by investing time, energy, and wealth and rich symbolic capital helps in establishing and expanding social networks (Bourdieu, 1993).
5. *Dream capital* consists of all resources available on actors mind such as passion, ideas, dreams, hopes, motivation, etc. that serves as a desire or ambition to work. This is not part of Bourdieu's capital types but is recognized in the theoretical framework as studies have shown that dreams and self-motivation affects the labour market participation (Chiswick, 2005; Çakmak et al., 2018)

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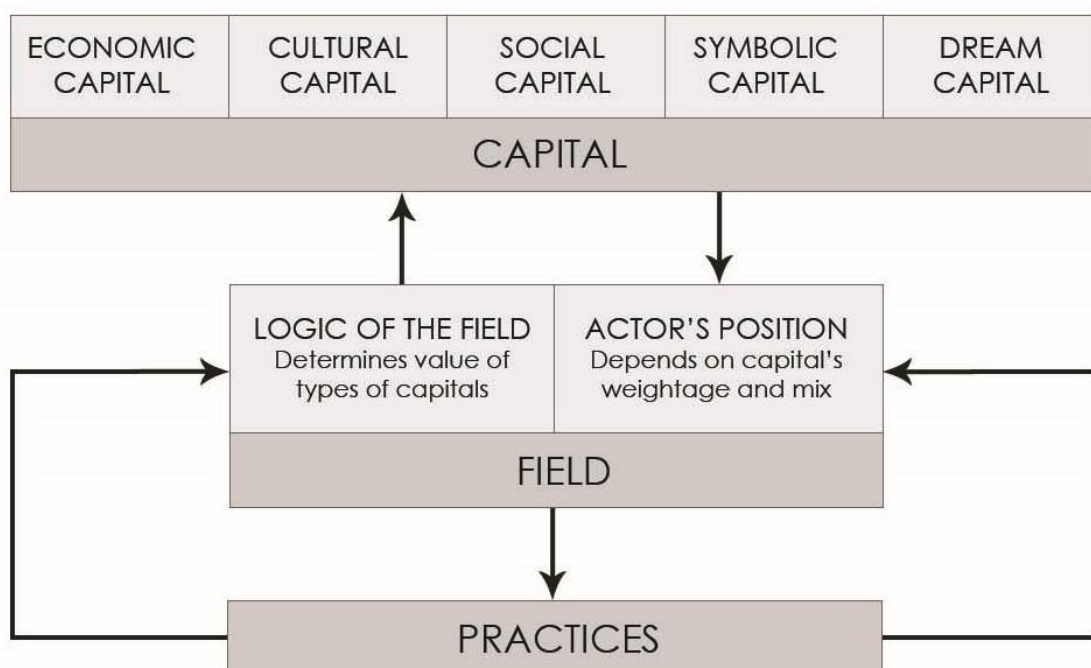
Field

Field is a multi-dimensional concept of distributional spaces where social actors are relationally positioned based on the amount and weight of the various types of capitals they possess in their current situation (Bourdieu, 1998). These distributional spaces are “network or configuration of objective relations between positions” (Wacquant & Bourdieu 1992, p97) characterized by constant struggle and competition among agents for the status and monopoly in the corresponding social space.

Fields are dynamic and have their own internal logic or regulatory principles that creates preconditions for action in the field and the actors adjust to the demands in the field. Bourdieu frequently uses the analogy of a football game to explain the concept of field. The football field have boundaries and internal divisions, there are rules of the game, the players need to possess basic skills to play in the game, and each player plays or acts as per their position in the field. The logic of the field can be understood as the feel of the game (Bourdieu, 1998).

A field should not be examined in isolation but in relation to other fields. It is important more so with the field of power which comprises of multiple fields such as bureaucratic, political, cultural, and economic fields among others (Bourdieu, 1998). Grenfell (2008) further suggests that political actors such as the government and other bureaucratic institutions are the most powerful actors in the field of power. Figure 2.1 below shows the overall theoretical framework and how it was used for guiding the study. It also shows the relationship between capital, field and practices as discussed before.

Figure 2.1: *Theoretical framework showing the interplay between capital, field, and practices (Source: Author)*



2.4 Research Questions

The main research question that has guided this study is:

How do capital and field affect the labour market practices of foreign-born women?

The study identifies and analyses 1) accumulated capital types- social, cultural, symbolic, economic, and dream capital - of the foreign-born women 2) the logic of the field that enables or impedes their participation and 3) the nature of capital conversion to advance their position in the field. Accordingly, the main research question is divided into three specific research questions which are as follows:

- *How do the labour market field and its logic affect the labour market participation of foreign-born women?*
- *What is the nature of the capital types accumulated by foreign-born women?*
- *How do foreign-born women use and convert their capital types to advance their position in the labour market field?*

3.1 Overview of research design, methodology, and fieldwork

To study the complex social practices by social actors requires emergent, interpretative and contextual research. The research design for the given research questions will be of qualitative nature, based on constructivist ontology and interpretative epistemology which recognize that the nature of reality is multiple and socially constructed. The knowledge is generated through meaning-making and is contextual in terms of time and space (Mason, 2002). Here, the perceptions, meanings, and understanding of the people will be treated as one of the primary sources of data. The main unit of analysis is the foreign-born women of Malmö and Gelderland who are far from the local labour market and the main unit of inquiry is the labour market practices of these women. The research phase was divided into three phases – proposal, fieldwork, and report writing, the details of which are given in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1

Thesis Research Phases		
Proposal (May-Jun 2019)	Fieldwork (Jul-Oct 2019)	Writing (Nov 2019-Feb 2020)
Literature Review	Observation	Data analysis
Research Proposal	Interviews and transcribing	Writing of thesis report
Organize field visit/contacts	Policy Analysis	

Methodology

A multiple method approach is used for data collection including ethnographic observation of participants and key events, interviewing multiple stakeholders, and policy analysis at the local and national levels. The aim here is to collect data that is triangulated at the data source and collection method. It also helps in maintaining consistency and strengthening the validity of the collected data across the case studies.

The first primary data collection method used is an ethnographic approach to general and participant observation. General observation extends to key events in the field site where I participated either passively or actively depending on the nature of the event. More direct and obtrusive participant observation was conducted by attending up to 3 training sessions for labour market integration by VWN for refugees in Gelderland and YT for foreign-born women in Malmö. Besides the institutional permission, during the first training session, all the participants were informed about the research topic, my observation of activities and participants during the sessions, and then requested permission for doing the same.

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Similarly, permission was taken for private key events but not for public events. Multiple sessions were attended to deepen the observations, build trust, familiarity, and finding relevant people for interviews. The observations were recorded in the form of scratch notes first that were converted to descriptive field notes. The language of communication during these sessions was Dutch and Swedish, and a supporting staff guided me through the details of the sessions.

The second primary data collection method used is interviewing foreign-born women and other stakeholders. The interviewees were conveniently sampled as per their availability and access. Multiple stakeholders were interviewed for a maximum variation to extract contextual, subjective, and nuanced perspectives. The interviewees were divided into three tiers - first, foreign-born women who are non-European refugees or family reunified migrant; second, societal actors including VWN, YI, and other locally-based civil society organizations, non-government organizations and employers; and third, state actors including local municipality staff and policymakers (See Table 3.2). For qualitative research, there are no specific rules on the sample size, and it can be determined by available time, resource, and research question. Morse (2000), suggests approximately 30-50 participants for ethnographic research. For each case, three weeks were roughly dedicated for interviews which allowed enough time for at least 12 interviews with about 4 interviews per week. Approximately, one full day was required to conduct and transcribe one interview. The general division of interviewees was kept at 5 with women, 5 with societal actors, and 2 with state actors. Some interviews were conducted informally and varied as per field situations and on-site interactions.

Table 3.2

Overview of interviewees as per stakeholder type					
	Type	Approach	Gelderland	Malmö	Total
I	Refugee	Narrative	5	3	8
	Family reunified migrant	Narrative		2	2
II	Organization/Initiative	Semi-structured	3	3	6
	Employer	Semi-structured	2	2	4
III	Govt. officer	Semi-structured	1	2	3
	Policy consultant	Semi-structured	1		1
Total			12	12	24

There were two types of interview approaches – narrative for women and semi-structured for others. In the case of narrative interviews, the women were given a broad question of open-ended, story-telling nature about their journey and activities of participating in the local labour market. It aimed at understanding their professional background, labour market differences from their country of origin, structural constraints after migration, and their activities to participate in the local labour market. A conscious effort was made to

keep this approach flexible on case to case basis to ensure comfort and minimize the language barrier when describing their experiences. For example, whenever necessary more 'how' questions were raised to keep building the details of the story or venture underrepresented aspects. These interviews were mainly conversational, interactional, and descriptive. In the case of semi-structured interviews, a set of pre-determined questions were asked depending on the type of stakeholder added with occasional follow-up questions. It aimed to know more about how the local labour market functions, what are the structural conditions for labour market integration for foreign-born women, and how these women participate in the labour market.

The key informants and organizations were identified and formally contacted for both cases before the fieldwork. Other interviewees were identified during the fieldwork by snowballing through key informants, key events, and training sessions. The main language of the interview was English, and this was informed and discussed before the interviews. The native Dutch and Swedes speak English as a second language and so, it was not difficult to conduct interviews with them. In the case of foreign-born women, language dynamics vary. Besides their native language (generally not English), they were learning Dutch or Swedish as a second language. Some interviews were conducted directly in shared languages - English and Urdu – and others with the help of a translator. A conscious decision was made to not choose only English-speaking women to avoid bias. Before the interview, everyone was informed about the research and purpose of the interview and were requested to record the interview for transcription later. Where the translator was involved, the English translation as communicated was transcribed. Verbal consent was taken from all interviewees and was recorded during the interview. In the report, only the names of the women are changed to protect their identity and personal details while for the other stakeholders the real names are used and the permission for this was taken during the interview. All interviews were situational and interactional to allow in-depth exchanges and to bring out the contextual knowledge and experience (Mason, 2002).

The third and secondary data collection method was to analyze policy documents at the local and national levels. This was done with a traditional orientation (Browne, Coffey, Cook, Meiklejohn & Palermo, 2019) to provide objective and value-free policy analysis while focusing analytically on facts, identifying problems, and their solutions. These mainly complement the primary data about the logic of the local labor market field and structural conditions for labour market integration. Besides the formal government policy documents, various other sources were used for understanding relevant policy measures. These included scholarly writings that focused on policies, relevant projects, proposals, declarations, web material, and outreach material from local government, VWN, and YT.

Fieldwork overview

The fieldwork was conducted from July to mid-August in Gelderland, and from September to mid-October in Malmö. In general, the first three weeks of the fieldwork were dedicated

to observation and policy analysis. Observation of key events was spread across the fieldwork duration. This time was also used to meet the key informants and finding relevant interviewees. The next three weeks were dedicated to interviewing different stakeholders and transcribing the interviews. The final week was reserved as a buffer for organizing and rationalizing the collected data and to finish any left-over work.

Table 3.3

General Fieldwork Overview					
	Time	Interviews	Training sessions	Key events	Policy Analysis
Gelderland (Netherlands)	July to mid-August 2019 (6 weeks)	12	VWN (3)	Workshop (1)	Yes
Malmö (Sweden)	September to October 2019 (8 weeks)	12	YT (2)	Public talk (1), language class (1)	Yes
Total	14 weeks	24	5	3	

3.2 Data collection for Gelderland and Malmö

Gelderland

VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN) or the Dutch Council for Refugees is a partner of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and has over 35 years of experience in supporting and guiding refugees in the Netherlands. They recently started a program called Vluchtelingen Investeren in Participeren (VIP) with regular classes for refugees to bridge the gap between refugees and the labour market in the Netherlands. These VIP sessions were the main entry points for participant observations in Gelderland and three sessions of three hours each were attended. They were about learning core professional competencies such as presenting, making a resume, assessing vacancies, applying for jobs, etc. I also attended one key event on integrating female newcomers in Gelderland which was organized by the Open Embassy organization.

The 12 formal interviews were divided among the stakeholders - 5 foreign-born women (42%), 2 staff members from VWN (16.5%), 2 local employers (16.5%), 2 experts including cross-cultural specialist and a policy consultant (16.5%) and 1 government official (8.5%). (See Table 3.4). The interviewed women have an average age of 35 years and all have a refugee background as VWN typically focuses on refugees. They have their origins in Syria, Pakistan, and the Philippines (60% from the Middle East and 40% from Asia). All these women are currently living with their families and all are mothers except for the youngest Syrian refugee. None of the interviewed women were working or interning except that one

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will soon start her master's studies. The profile of the foreign-born women is summarized in Table 3.5.

Table 3.4

Interviewee Profile from Gelderland, the Netherlands	
Interviewee Type	Interviewee Profile
Foreign-born women	Syrian refugee 1 Syrian refugee 2 Syrian refugee 3 Pakistani refugee Filipino refugee
Civil-Society Organizations	Wageningen Team Leader, VluchtelingenWerk Nederland Project Leader, VluchtelingenWerk Oost Nederland
Employer	Personal Banking Adviser, ABN AMRO Wageningen Founder, KnowWhy Consultancy
Experts	Founder, Care Communication (Company for cross-cultural communication) and Head, Internationale Vrouwen Groep Founder and CEO, Open Embassy
Government Officer	Correspondent, Wageningen Municipality

Table 3.5

Profile of the foreign-born women in Gelderland, the Netherlands					
Name	Status	Country	Arrival year	Work Status	Age
Gulafshan	Refugee	Syria	2016	Not working	41
Rukhsar	Refugee	Syria	2017	Masters student	28
Sara	Refugee	Syria	2014	Not working	37
Saniya	Refugee	Pakistan	2015	Not working	33
Janice	Refugee	Philippines	2014	Not working	34

The policy-related information was obtained from the policy document or web material from various sources such as website of Government of the Netherlands (Ministry of Justice and Security), Immigration and Naturalisation Service, Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs (Education Implementation Office), etc. Additionally, reports, scholarly papers, and news articles from non-government sources such as Country Factsheet by European Migration

Network (2015) and the Organization of Asylum and Migration Policies in the Netherlands by European Migration Network (2017).

Malmö

Yalla Trappan is a work integrating social enterprise that employs, educates, and empowers foreign-born women who have little to no formal education and work experience and are far from the local labour market. They provide training in three work areas – cooking, sewing, and cleaning focusing on industry-oriented skills, language, and knowledge of work culture and labour market. Two full-day training sessions, one in the sewing studio, and another in the catering kitchen of YT were used for participant observations in Malmö. I also attended two key events. First, a public talk by the President of Cultural Committee in Malmö organized by an NGO - Winnet on several topics including culture and health for foreign-born people in Malmö. Second, a hands-on language class by Swedish language school - Kvarnby Folkhögskola where students perform farm activities in the premise of another social enterprise - Botildenborg.

5 foreign-born women (42%), 3 members from civil society organizations including YT (25%), 2 employers (16%), and 2 government officials (16%) were interviewed in Malmö (See Table 3.6). 3 refugee women and 2 family reunification migrants were interviewed and their average age is 46 years. They have origins from Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, and Gambia (60% from the Middle East, 20% from Asia, and 20% from Africa). All these women are currently living with their families and all of them are mothers except for one Syrian refugee. Currently, 3 women have a permanent job and 2 women are doing an internship in Malmö. The profile of sample women is summarized in Table 3.7.

Initially, I tried to limit the unit of analysis to refugee women (more evident in the sample of Gelderland) but later expanded it to foreign-born women as the structural conditions after migration and local initiatives give similar treatment to refugees and family reunification migrants in both countries. For example, in the case of government facilities, Swedish for Immigrants (discussed in Chapter 5) is an important language training program in Sweden that targets both refugees and immigrants (“Swedish for immigrants”, n.d.). Fadi from Malmö Municipality also agrees that their local labour market integration “focus is on foreign-born people” and their programs do not “specify strictly to refugees” (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019). Also, the training sessions in catering, cleaning, and sewing at YT focuses more generally on foreign-born women who are far from the local labour market (Aiesha, September 2019). The foreign-born individuals are considered as a broad social group despite varying legal status.

The policy-related information was obtained through policy documents or web material from the website of Government Offices of Sweden (Migration and Asylum, Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality), Swedish Public Employment Service, and Swedish

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Migration Agency. Reports and news articles were also studied from non-governmental sources such as the OECD Country Report on the Swedish Migrant Integration system.

Table 3.6

Interviewee Profile from Malmö, Sweden	
Interviewee Type	Interviewee Profile
Foreign-born women	Syrian refugee Pakistani refugee Iraqi refugee Lebanese immigrant Gambian immigrant
Civil-Society Organizations	Project Leader of Cleaning Program, Yalla Trappan (Social Enterprise) Trainer at Sewing Studio, Yalla Trappan (Social Enterprise) Project Leader of Future Community Leader, Winnet (NGO)
Employer	Project manager of Plant site Rosengård, Botildenborg (Social Enterprise) Advisor, Tillväxt Malmö (Business Accelerator Group)
Government Officer	2 Trade and Industry Officers, Malmö Stad (Municipality) Project Manager, Tillväxtverket (Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth)

Table 3.7

Profile of the foreign-born women in Malmö, Sweden					
Name	Status	Country	Year of arrival	Work Status	Age
Oriol	Refugee	Syria	2014	Employed	39
Aliya	Refugee	Pakistan	2017	Intern at Yalla Trappan	43
Hadia	Family reunified migrant	Iraq	2004	Intern at Yalla Trappan	58
Farida	Refugee	Lebanon	2008	Employed	50
Naffie	Family reunified migrant	Gambia	2015	Employed	40

3.3 Data analysis methodology

The research will have qualitative data analysis using an interpretative approach for an analytical understanding of practices. The study has an idiographic focus as it is done for a given sample population and the analysis will be a thick description with perspectives and context. The analysis is a mix of inductive and deductive processes. It follows the deductive approach by following the capital and field theory by Bourdieu (1986) and follows an inductive approach at the data analysis stage to recognize themes and patterns in data.

Various steps were followed for analysis. The first step was ‘pre-analysis’ where the collected data was reviewed and examined. Here, the interviews with the women and participant observations gave insights about their capital usage and conversion. Other interviews and policy analyses gave insights about the labour market field and also the post-migration field that pre-defines structural conditions for labour market integration of foreign-born women. Next, the data is divided into ‘meaning units’ through general coding in NVivo software, and two parallel coding groups were created for the Netherlands and Sweden. For both cases, the interviews were coded in repeated themes - about labour market, integration system, professional backgrounds, stereotypes, motivation, and others. These meaning units were then rearranged and renamed as per the most commonly occurring concepts from theoretical framework – the logic of the field, cultural capital, social capital, and others. Finally, these were compared across the two cases for similarities and differences in field conditions and capital usage.

3.4 Ethical consideration

Ethical considerations are of utmost importance during the whole course of research in all forms of interactions either formal or informal. The nature of the relationship between the subject and the researcher have been interactive, cooperative, and participatory. Mason (2002) emphasize that informed consent should be obtained during all such interactions involving a transparent and upfront declaration of the identity of the researcher, the scope of research, the motive of the intended interaction, and the dissemination of the outcome of this interaction in an accessible language so that the individual can make an informed decision on their participation and the terms of such participation.

At the core of this research was the emphasis given to informed consent whenever a participant was involved either when establishing the first point of contact, during participant observations, or while taking interviews. In the case of interviews, informed consent is additionally taken for recording the interviews, citing their name, and directly using quotes in the report. Care was taken to ensure that consent is an ongoing

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consideration, especially for participant observation as multiple sessions were involved, throughout the interaction and afterward. In many cases, there was a language barrier while providing this information but at all times a volunteer, translator, or supporting staff was available to translate this information.

Besides informed consent as the most basic form of ethical consideration, attention is also given to reflexivity. Being an international student in the Netherlands gives me a unique vantage point to connect with certain challenges faced in a new country and ask a certain type of questions but my position in this research is neither that of a complete insider or outsider. A reflexive position is taken throughout the research process to check the context of the knowledge generated to account for the bias coming from own values, beliefs, perspectives, and preconceptions (Mason, 2002). This is done by reflexive note-taking at various stages to constantly reflect on the methodological decisions and the reasons for choosing them.

The institutional gatekeepers, though encouraging and supportive throughout, had a more powerful position over me and my requests were accommodated on a case to case basis. While attending the training sessions, the participants were quite curious as to why I was there, where I am from, what is my age, etc. Despite being an outsider, I looked the same as everyone, which made them feel that I was a new participant in their group. This curiosity helped me to open up quickly and made easier to approach people. Another important ethical consideration is to ensure the credibility and integrity of the data collected and produced in this research by thoroughly following the academic principles of the research. An effort has been made to use multiple methods and multiple data sources to triangulate the data at a multi-scalar level. Finally, acts of reciprocity that can go beyond the scope of this research will be made actively. This may include dissemination of knowledge generated in an accessible format for institutions and the academic community.

4

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The chapter is divided into two sections – logic of the field and capital usage and conversion. The first section presents descriptive data on labour market field mainly including the Civic Integration program that the refugees have to follow and also highlights the importance of Dutch language, recognized diploma, and networking to access the labour market. All women interviewed here were refugees and so the reference is given directly to them. The second section presents data on capital types, their usage, and conversion. Most women identified aspects of cultural and social capital as the most important resources for the local labour market. The cultural capital is described in terms of diplomas, work experience, and the decisions for work path in the future for low-skilled to high-skilled women. Social capital is described in terms of the process of building personal, professional, and institutional networks. This section concludes with examples of other types of capital including symbolic, economic, and dream capital.

4.1 Logic of the field

Civic Integration Program

The Civic Integration Act by the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment obliges people from non-European countries (with exceptions) who immigrate to the Netherlands for *inburgering* or civic integration that include learning the Dutch language and about its society and work culture. The people who are exempted from taking the civic integration program includes:

1. European nationals
2. Children under 18
3. People in retirement age
4. Lived in the Netherlands for at least 8 years during compulsory school age
5. Those with evidence of education and training at a Dutch institution in the Dutch language through diploma, certification, etc.
6. Those in the country for a temporary purpose such as study, work, exchange program, etc. (Government of the Netherlands, 2019)

The sample population of foreign-born women (refugees and family reunification migrants) are subject to the integration requirement and are obliged to follow *inburgering* upon their arrival in the Netherlands. The *Dienst Uitvoering Onderwijs* (DUO) or the Education Executive Agency is responsible for enforcement of the act and upon arrival to the country sends an integration requirement notice to concerned people with details. The

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recipients are obliged to obtain a diploma by giving an *inburgeringsexamen* or civic integration exam in a maximum of 3 years after receiving the letter from DUO to show that they have officially integrated (DUO, n.d.). The students have the option to self-prepare and DUO provides practice exams, however, most do a course in a school. Many schools provide these courses for a fee and going to an approved school has incentives attached to it. DUO provides loans of €10,000 to students to participate in these schools, take courses, buy books and give exams. The student does not get the money directly and DUO pays the bill to schools directly. If the student passes all the exams in 3 years, then the loan is waived off. Failure to do so attracts a fine and the student gets 2 more years to get the diploma (DUO, n.d.).

The student gives three exams to obtain the integration diploma and also have to sign a participation statement. The first exam is for the Dutch language where the student show competence in speaking, listening, reading, and writing at the A2 level. There are a total of six levels as per Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) where A1 is beginner, A2 is elementary, B1 is intermediate, B2 is upper-intermediate, C1 is advanced and C2 is proficient. As an alternative, the students may give *Nederlands als 2e taal* (NT2) *Staatsexamen* or Dutch as a Second Language State Examination. It consists of two programs which are tailored towards the educational system of the Netherlands and have different language level - B1 level for work or vocational training and B2 level for pursuing education in universities of applied science or research (DUO, n.d.)

Table 4.1

Components of integration exam in the Netherlands	
Name	Details
Participation statement	Signed and registered at the municipality
Language exams	A2 level speaking, listening, reading, and writing
or	
NT2	B1 or B2 level speaking, listening, reading, and writing
KNM	45 min (watch a film and answer questions)
ONA	Assignment (portfolio), 64-hr course or 40-min interview

The second section includes an exam of *Kennis Nederlandse Maatschappij* (KNM) or Knowledge of Dutch Society such as the health system or tax system. The third is *Oriëntatie op de Nederlandse Arbeidsmarkt* (ONA) or Orientation on the Dutch Labour Market which is about work culture and how to find work in the Netherlands. It was added to the integration system in January 2015. This exam includes two components, one, assignments (like a portfolio), two, either a 64-hour ONA course or a 40-minute interview. The people who have already acquired jobs are exempted from giving this exam (DUO, n.d.) The civic integration system may change and a bill drafting is under process to ensure participants can find work quickly and alongside inburgering. These include 1) pathway for learning language and work (paid or unpaid) at the same time 2) pathway for young people to gain

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qualifications quickly 3) special pathway for self-reliance for those, not part of above two (Government of the Netherlands, 2019).

Language

The knowledge of Dutch language - speaking, listening, reading, and writing – is the most predominant aspect of the civic integration program. It is one of the most important aspect for getting access to labour market and Dutch society in general. Higher levels such as B1 and B2 are recognized as important if the student wishes to work or pursue higher education in the Netherlands. Attention has also been given on the importance of involving employers in the linguistic integration of its employees. For example, in January 2015, as a part of ‘Focus on the language’ initiative of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment, 29 Dutch employers signed an agreement to encourage the development of language skills of its employees by creating activities with government’s support (European Migration Network, 2015)

Ways of recognizing skills

To get access to regulated jobs in the Netherlands, a minimum educational level and formally recognized diploma can play an important role (Annet, July 2019; Marieke, August 2019). There are multiple paths to higher education in the Netherlands and it stems from different divisions in secondary educational structure. These paths include *middelbaar beroepsonderwijs* (MBO) or Vocational Education and Training and two different types for higher education, one, *hoger beroepsonderwijs* (HBO) or Higher Professional Education at Universities of Applied Science and two, *wetenschappelijk onderwijs* (WO) or Research-Oriented Education at Research Universities (Nuffic, n.d.). In NT2, the language level B1 corresponds with MBO and B2 corresponds with HBO and WO.

For the refugees who want to study in the Netherlands, DUO provides study finance through gifts, provisional loan, and regular loan to students younger than 30 years to pursue an officially recognized study program. If older than 30 years, then there is a possibility of finance, and personalized planning can be discussed with the local municipality and *Stichting Vluchtelingen-Studenten* (UAF) or Foundation for Refugee Students. UAF aims to bridge the gap between refugees, educational institutions, and employers. It provides support to refugees who wish to pursue higher education by advising on the choice of programs and financial support for preparing or during study programs such as paying for the application, specialized language course, tuition fee, books, travel, etc. (UAF, n.d.)

For the refugees with a foreign diploma, *Internationale Diplomawaardering* (IDW) provides the service of credential evaluation or indicating the educational level of the foreign diploma as compared to study levels of different paths in the Dutch educational system. The service is provided free of cost to participants of inburgering who will be taking the ONA exam.

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This can be an important way to prove eligibility for job positions or at which level a student can enroll to study in the Netherlands. Credential evaluation is not done for work experience (Internationale Diplomawaardering, n.d.).

Networking through volunteering and internship

ONA and VIP programs both highlight in their program the importance of networking to find a job and encourage participants to expand their network through internships and volunteering. Melissa, the project leader at VWN, remarks that during a *stagiaire* or internship, one gets to network and “show their skills more than learning skills” which can form a good impression in front of the potential employer. (Melissa, August 2019). A large number of the Dutch population is involved in volunteering which is free work without pay and this presents a good opportunity for foreigners to know and work with the Dutch people to increase their chance of finding a job. According to Zennu, a cross-cultural communication specialist, in most of the organizations in the Netherlands, if there is a job opening then their first choice will be a volunteer who has shown good skills and qualities during work. Though she also says that for many non-Europeans coming from different cultures doing work without payment most of the time is not acceptable (Zennu, July 2019)

Box 4.1

Understanding the Vluchtelingen Investeren in Participeren Program of VWN

As mentioned previously, Vluchtelingen Investeren in Participeren (VIP) project of VWN aims to promote the participation of refugees in labour market through jobs, training, or education. It involves trainers, employers, and local government working together to bridge the gap between refugees and the Dutch labour market through group training, offering individual customization, and offering an internship or volunteer work with the business community. The refugee needs to speak some Dutch to follow VIP and get consent from Town Hall. The project initially ran from October 2015 until the end of 2017 as a national project in 57 municipalities and benefitted 1575 refugees. It is co-financed by the ‘Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund’ and Rabobank Foundation (Vluchtelingen Werk Nederland, 2019).

From the beginning of 2018, VIP2 started and continued to follow the methodologies of the previous VIP project. It runs in around 30 municipalities and 2,000 refugees are participating in it. VIP2 prepares participants for the Dutch labour market and to gain self-confidence. The methodology of VIP2 consists of three main routes:

1. *Group training:* Here participants learn core competencies such as presenting yourself, making a resume, market assessing vacancies, applying for jobs, etc. There are 8 –10 training sessions for 3 hours, tailored for the needs of both participants and employers.

2. *One-to-one coaching:* Here participants and personal work coaches work together on personal goals and the realization of the individual action plan. The coach also guides the participant during an internship or volunteer work.
3. *Gain practical experience:* Here participants engage with the business world and learn about Dutch corporate culture, the professional language, network with employers, and get an introduction to the workplace through field trips. This may end with a chance of volunteering or internship (Vluchtelingen Werk Nederland, 2019).

The work coach takes care of group training and one on one coaching and various companies coordinate with the VIP2 program to help refugees in gaining practical experience. The companies also benefit as they can get a new motivated staff, fulfill corporate social responsibility, get diversity in the workplace, and also get guidance from VWN.

4.2 Capital usage and conversion

In the previous section, we identified the knowledge of Dutch language, proving industry-oriented skills (through education, work experience, internship, or training), and networking as important conditions for finding work. These are mainly the embodied and institutionalized cultural capital and social capital that require huge time and energy investment to accumulate. This section describes mainly the usage and conversion of these two capitals along with examples of other capital types. From the interviews, it was identified that the pathway to finding work in the Netherlands is very long, starting with following inburgering to break the language barrier and ultimately gaining practical experience through training or internship in an organization. All the women in the sample being refugees have completed or are following inburgering. It is important to note that refugees need to finish inburgering before they can apply for a job.

Cultural Capital

Language

Qualifying advanced levels of Dutch language education was commonly accepted as one of the most important assets when applying for a job as a refugee. None of the women had prior knowledge of the language and many women reported having difficulty in either learning the language or meeting language expectations due to several factors that are discussed below.

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Several women reported that they find learning the language to be difficult at an individual level. In some cases, this is due to old age and other cases, when the women already knew the English and faced confusion in learning Dutch due to linguistic similarities and resulting mix-ups. Gulafshan (July 2019), a Syrian refugee who came to the Netherlands in 2016 with her husband and three children says that is difficult in her age to learn Dutch up to B2 language level as it is like learning the language completely similar to the people who are born in the Netherlands. She believes that the exam setup in inburgering “does not give a real chance” to the people who are not from the Netherlands but instead make it very difficult. Rukhsar (July 2019), another Syrian refugee who came to the Netherlands in 2017 through family reunification, remarks that “after I studied Dutch my English has become worse because they are so confusing”.

Many women described a lack of opportunities to speak the language for practical use and develop the language outside of the classroom environment. Saniya (July 2019), a Pakistani refugee who came to the Netherlands in 2015, says that learning the language for her is like absorbing language and but she finds no room for taking it out. In other words, she says “incoming is free but there is no outgoing”. She finds her current level of understanding Dutch at 100% but the level of speaking at 60% and adds that she sees language learning not as a tool for integration but as a way to enforce assimilation on the refugees.

“For the labor market, they say, comes with the B2 level. A person who’s already learning the language, until and unless he/she will not speak then how will they get better at the language? For me, integration is not all about learning the language. There is a difference between integration and assimilation. While integrating the refugees, the state always forgets that the refugees have their own unique cultural identity and we can integrate but we cannot be assimilated.” (Saniya, July 2019)

For quick learners, another kind of systemic barrier can pose difficulty in taking advanced classes and improving their language efficiency further. DUO provides a loan for learning the language and the students have to make a personal online account with details of the money left in their account. When the student gives the inburgering exam, they can no longer use the remaining fund for pursuing higher levels. This can prevent students from learning advanced levels of Dutch or delay in giving of inburgering exam to first participate in B1, B2 levels. Janice (August 2019), who is from the Philippines came to the Netherlands in 2016 as a family reunification migrant on account of her husband who is a Palestinian refugee. She has finished her B2 level and would like to go for C1 level but cannot do so as DUO has stopped her loan now and she can no longer use that money for taking extra classes.

For some professions which involves more customer interaction, it becomes imperative to be fluent in the language usage. Thus, for certain professional fields, the expectations

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involved with language level are very high that often requires more time and energy. Rukhsar, worked for 4 years as a medical representative in a pharmaceutical company in Syria for promotion for medicines. For pursuing a similar profession in the Netherlands, she has been advised by her coaches and friends that her Dutch “has to be perfect” as she will have to deal with Dutch doctors, pharmacists, clients, and so on (Rukhsar, July 2019)

Some women face hindrance in learning the language by going for educational courses due to restrictions surrounding them in their family or community. Some women mentioned incidences around them when the husbands of other women did not allow or limited the frequency of their wives to attend the language classes. One of the interviewees, Sara (July 2019), who is a Syrian refugee and came to the Netherlands in 2016 with her husband and three children, reported that she had to stay in her house and could not attend school after she got pregnant. She was going to language school regularly but when she got pregnant, she stopped going to school until the child was born and did not attend school after that as well. Sara felt a strong urge to learn the language “like it’s my own” as a first step to get acquainted with everyone. She began learning the language on her own and now can read, write and speak Dutch fluently. Describing her experience of learning the language on her own, she says

“When I put on the television and I did not listen to Arabic but only Dutch and English as that is what I wanted to learn. I also got newspapers and spelled it out while reading until I started to understand it. I also visited restaurants, not for the food but to get a chance to speak to someone maybe while ordering” (Sara, July 2019)

Diploma and work experience

One of the basic requirements to qualify for a job vacancy is a formally recognized educational qualification. The pathway to get a job is to apply for an internship (which is generally unpaid) in an organization with the possibility of it converting into a job. The interviewed women had varying formal and informal skills and qualifications and for sake of discussion have been broadly classified as low-skilled and high-skilled. Many women with less or no formal education can be left at a disadvantaged position as it can be difficult to overcome the bureaucratic educational borders. This is the case for Sara who does not have higher vocational education which limits her options of the occupational sector. In the case of women who have a foreign diploma, it can be evaluated by IDW at a lower level in the Dutch educational structure. Here, the women either choose to work at a lower level against their current skills, pursue higher education in the Netherlands, or change the career path altogether.

Gulafshan (July 2019) worked as a teacher in Syria for students of middle school and high school and have relevant diplomas for the same from Syria. Upon assessment of her former diploma, her qualifications are “considered at a lower level against the Dutch counterpart”.

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She has been advised to study from the second year of HAVO, which is Higher General Continued Education or high school. She is motivated to follow this path and do things right. She will study again from high school to university education to be able to qualify for teaching jobs in the Netherlands. However, she will also have to pass the B2 language level before she can start HAVO which significantly adds to the time when she can finish all these levels and start teaching.

With Rukhsar (July 2019), who is Bachelor for Pharmacy (5 years education) and Master in Microbiology (2 years education) from Syria, her qualifications were partially recognized by IDW (only bachelor and not masters). Her Masters in Microbiology was not valid if she wants to practice pharmacy and have to obtain another diploma. The path to achieving this is very long as she is first required to have C1-C2 level in Dutch and then apply for a master's course in Dutch. She alternatively decided to pursue a Research Masters in Pharmacy which is for 2 years and in English.

“I think it is not easy at all especially in higher education. I think it is easy to find work as I say in restaurant cafe but to find work in a company, a pharmaceutical company, I haven't heard about a woman who worked in a pharmaceutical company and working in a shop that suits your degree” (Rukhsar, July 2019)

For Saniya, who already had a foreign master's diploma and further pursued another master's course in Amsterdam, her credentials were sufficiently recognized. Though finding a relevant job matching her qualifications and expectations was not easy. When she finally got an interview call for an internship or job, she says that she was rejected and the interviewee said that she is not “a suitable candidate due to her huge work experience” for a job which is very basic.

Fluidity in the work path

Most of the interviewed women had considerations of changing their professional career path to accommodate easily and quickly in the labour market mainly due to language, lack of a relevant diploma, or reduce the time to enter the labour market. For example, Janice (August 2019) is interested to work in the back office of the local municipality primarily due to language. Also, Rukhsar (July 2019) decided to pursue a Research Masters in English due to convenience and lesser study duration. It is important to also note that some women make a career decision due to personal conditions in their family especially if they have children. The responsibility of taking care of a child may culturally fall upon these women making it difficult for them to commit a large amount of time for studies such as a master's program. Rukhsar says that it is advantageous for her that she does not have any children yet and she can give full commitment to her master's study which otherwise she claims is difficult for her friends with children. She says,

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“I have 2 friends with similar qualifications as mine, one is about 37 and the other is about 35 both of them have children so they do not have enough time to study or to do masters like me so they have decided to do MBO, it is like an institute for pharmacist assistant” (Rukhsar, July 2019)

Some women also considered a change in their career path to pursue other interests outside their professional domain. These interests could not be pursued earlier either due to societal barriers or due to a lack of job demand in their native country. For example, Rukhsar says she could not pursue her dream of doing Research in Pharmacy as there were not many opportunities for that and there was a higher demand in the marketing sector. Coming to the Netherlands, now she feels she can pursue what she likes. Even more interesting is Sara’s case who could not pursue higher education or work in Syria and Saudi Arabia where she previously had resided. She wants to start a snack joint and do humanitarian work simultaneously. She was actively involved in local medical supply and distribution during the Syrian War and would like to continue working with Syrian doctors even now by setting up a Foundation.

Social Capital

Integration is a combined effort of several organizations in the Netherlands including VWN, DUO, UAF, etc. Due to a lack of social network upon arrival to the Netherlands, most women recognized the institutional networks to be very important for developing cultural competence including Dutch language and knowledge of Dutch society and the labour market. In some instances, personal networking has been useful in deciding the action for professional choices.

Institutional networks

Upon arrival, all the refugees have to register with VWN and provide their background details and qualifications. They are provided with a contact person, who advises and supports them during asylum procedures, legal matters, and integration in general. Rukhsar (July 2019) says that “you don’t know a lot of laws when you come to the Netherlands and you need help to understand these laws. The first way to understand these is to communicate with VWN”. They are also contacted automatically by DUO to start the inburgering process as a pre-condition to a residence in the Netherlands and connected with institutions offering the courses (VWN is one such institution). All the women have followed or are following inburgering and DUO provided them with loans to pursue it. The contact with VWN is established upon arrival in the country and with DUO when granted refugee status and qualify for starting inburgering.

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Figure 4.1: Participant observation during the VIP program at VWN in Elst



Besides these structural conditions, organizations such as VWN and UAF provides additional programs and support that improve the access for internship and job vacancy. The VIP program of VWN in addition to labour market training also helps the refugees in finding an internship. Gulafshan (July 2019) says that she joined the VIP program as she wants to “prepare for other alternative options or additional help in case she does not qualify for the B2 level exam” that she recently gave. UAF provides advice and financial support to refugees who want to study in the Netherlands. The interested participants first have to qualify a test to get their clientship. Rukhsar (July 2019) applied for masters study in the Netherlands and describes her experience with UAF:

“They helped me in preparing for the IELTS exam and also paid the exam fee, 60% as loan and 40% as a gift. You apply for it online and they invite you for an assessment on previous education, IQ test, test on the Dutch language level. You also have to send three study plans A, B, C, and if they are convinced they will accept you as a member and help you financially. Most refugees ask them for help with the IELTS preparation course and exam as it is expensive.” (Rukhsar, July 2019)

Some women expressed their dissatisfaction with VWN’s lack of concrete effort in connecting refugees with relevant jobs and internship opportunities based on their qualifications. Saniya (July 2019) says that so many things can be done for us by VWN as it is the first point of contact – “they know who is coming, what is their background, what are their qualifications, then they should connect us to relevant organizations but we don’t get that kind of help”. She also believes that the organizations working for the integration of refugees, in general, give more attention to Syrians and Eritreans as they are too many in numbers. Rukhsar (July 2019) often feels that she is being treated like a “stupid person”

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as she uses simple Dutch words to communicate and also at some point by her contact person which now affects their communication. She says this is a real problem for many refugees like her and that she feels “more pressure to perform well”.

Personal and professional networks

Most women have actively tried to build personal and professional networks through volunteering, online sharing groups, and participating in formal and informal events. Rukhsar made her decision of doing English Research Masters without trying to look for a job after on advice of other refugees from her professional field and also after seeing the personal struggles of her husband to find a job. These were either her previous friends who also came to the Netherlands or through Facebook Groups of refugees with a similar professional background. She shares her experience:

“It took a lot of time to know all this information and it wasn't easy at all. On Facebook, there are a lot of groups for Syrian refugee students and we shared our experiences. I also called my friend who is doing a Masters in Pharmacy here and she told me everything about how to evaluate your diploma, how is the Masters in Pharmacy like, and of course it helped me. Now I share these experiences with other pharmacists. I feel like I have to tell them what I know so I contact them on Facebook. I know the feeling because when I came here I needed someone who can tell me this” (Rukhsar, July 2019)

Personal networking was observed not just for labour market participation but also due to personal conditions. Sara (July 2019) who is currently undergoing a divorce wants to have more people around her, build a new life in the Netherlands, feel at home and start her Foundation to supply medical supplies in Syria. She organizes a lot of activities to strengthen her network as “everyone tells me it’s very hard to get in contact with neighbors, with other people”. This for her has also been counter-intuitive as she is disappointed that other refugees around her expect help from her but never ask what they could do for her. Saniya and Rukhsar also reported feeling lonely and depressed after they arrived in the Netherlands due to sudden cut-off from their family and social circles. Some women reported that they witness cases around them when family dynamics can reduce activities of the women either due to household responsibilities especially when families have children and in cases when their husband wants to keep their wives in the house and are afraid to let them go out. (Sara, July 2019). Rukhsar (July 2019) recalls her work as a translator in VWN and how a husband dominated decision-making for her wife:

“they offered up to 2 -3 volunteering work to her and every time her husband refused for it and decided which work she should do. Her husband refused to let her visit the organization alone and when I was talking to her and translating, she didn't answer her husband was answering all the questions. He decided. So, I think there are many problems like these here when men dominated decisions.” (Rukhsar, July 2019)

Other Capitals

Symbolic capital

Some women believe to be treated differently sometimes due to their identity and status which may not directly affect their labour market activities but can lower their confidence. For example, Gulafshan (July 2019) believes it may be difficult for her to find a job in schools near her house as she visibly looks different as she is a Muslim and wears a hijab. Rukhsar (July 2019) believes that when she is treated differently due to her language skills and level, it affected her communication with important institutional contacts.

Economic capital

All the refugees receive a living allowance and DUO provides conditional loans for inburgering. Economic resources were not reported to be relevant for finding an internship or job but it may affect the continuation of unpaid volunteering activities. Having volunteered in multiple organizations, Saniya (July 2019) says she is fed up with volunteering culture and says that “A jobless person cannot volunteer again and again. They should be accommodated with some small amount of money at least or a small contribution. Unfortunately, it is not happening”. Gulafshan (July 2019) wants to pursue higher education in the Netherlands and says that her family does not have money to support this as she is more than 30 years old. Refugees between 20 to 30 years of age get financial support from DUO but refugees older than 30 years do not get this. Though service and support can be available from UAF, it is not a guarantee.

Dream capital

Motivation is also accounted as an important factor to speed up the pace and reduce time in gaining local cultural competence and build networks. Sara (July 2019) presents a strong case for this as due to conditions in her personal life, she is motivated to build a new life personally and professionally for herself in the Netherlands. She acquired fluency in Dutch herself when she was unable to attend sessions physically after her pregnancy was over. She also organizes regular activities to build and maintain a relationship with other refugees and the Dutch population in her neighborhood.

The chapter presents the findings from Sweden and is divided into two sections similar to the previous chapter. The first section presents descriptive data on the logic of the field and includes the Establishment Program for refugees or their relatives, Swedish for Immigrants language program. Next, we discuss the role of language, educational qualifications, validation service for formally recognizing the skills, volunteering as a stepping stone for getting jobs, and the importance of networking. The second section will include capital types, their usage, and their changing form for the sample women in Malmö including cultural, social, and other capital types.

5.1 Logic of the field

Establishment Program

The Establishment Program provides support to those who have been granted a residence permit as refugees or their relatives in Sweden who are of age between 20 and 65 years. *Arbetsförmedlingen* (AFM) or Swedish Public Employment Service is responsible for enforcing it. The program is voluntary and aims to make the newly-arrived refugees learn Swedish quickly, find a job, or advance to studies to be able to support themselves and be self-sufficient as quickly as possible. This is done through tailor-made education and activities based on individual professional experience, educational level, and interests and primarily focuses on basic knowledge of Swedish language, society, and labour market. It is free for participants and funded by local municipalities (*Arbetsförmedlingen*, n.d.).

The training for Swedish language and society is provided under Swedish for Immigrants (SFI), a national program for all immigrants in Sweden who have a residence permit and a national registration number. It consists of multiple levels and the duration of these levels varies depending on the participant's educational level, future plans, etc. (See Table 5.1). The three levels include Study Path 1 with course A, B, C and D for participants with little or no education from their native country; Study Path 2 with courses B, C, and D for participants with 5-11 years of education but are unfamiliar with Latin alphabets; and Study Path 3 with courses C and D for participants with 12 or more years of education and want to pursue further education in Sweden. Study Path 1 helps in basic reading and writing in Swedish for those who have difficulty for the same in their native language. Study Path 2 helps in language training at a slow or normal study pace. Study Path 3 helps in language training at a fast study pace (Luleå Kommun, 2019).

Table 5.1

SFI courses		
Name	Level	Criteria for following the course
Study Path 1	A, B, C, D	little or no education
Study Path 2	B, C, D	5-11 years of education but unfamiliar with Latin alphabets
Study Path 3	C, D	participants with 12 or more years of education and want to pursue further education in Sweden

The courses are flexible and are individualized through a personal consultation with the teacher. They are planned normally for 40 hours per week but depending on several conditions it is possible to follow them 100%, 50%, or 25%. There is also an option for distance learning and flexible education in case the student also wants to do a part-time job, internship, volunteering, or is unable to attend classes due to personal situation, illness, etc. (Arbetsförmedlingen, n.d.). It is also possible to follow SFI with a vocational orientation that focuses on professional language for those who want to combine language training with labour market education.

AFM in general helps the employers in finding candidates for a given job and in connecting natives and foreign-born individuals who are far from the labour market with the available job opportunities. It provides an *etablerings handläggare* or an establishment broker to all its registered members including all refugees under the establishment program. They offer support, advice, and coaching for study path, career choices, job-seeking activities, and establishing employer contacts. By co-planning activities and interventions, *handläggare* helps individuals to transition into the labour market as per their background, interest, and job availability. The activities may include but are not limited to an internship, work experience placement, advice on starting a business, vocational education to build your skills, validation of skills, etc. (Arbetsförmedlingen, n.d.).

Language

The knowledge of Swedish language – speaking, listening, reading, and writing – is a dominant aspect of the Establishment Program, and similar to the Netherlands is one of the most important factors for finding jobs. The Study Path 3, similar to B1 and B2 levels in *inburgeren*, are designated for those who wish to pursue higher education in Sweden. The interviewees from Malmö municipality and trainers from YT also acknowledged the Swedish language to be the most important entry point for both the Swedish labour market and society. Aiesha, the trainer from YT's Sewing Studio, says that sometimes “the women cannot even go anywhere by themselves because of language.” (Aiesha, September 2019).

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Ways of recognizing skills

Similar to the Netherlands, a minimum level of education proved by a formally recognized diploma is a prerequisite to apply for regulated jobs in Sweden (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019; Nina, October 2019). Higher education in Sweden is similar to the study levels followed worldwide including undergraduate level, master's level, and doctoral level. For the foreign-born women who want to study in Sweden and have valid Swedish resident permit (granted other than for purpose of study) are not obliged to pay application or tuition fee.

AFM provides a validation service in Sweden that is helpful for people with foreign-diploma and work experience to get their knowledge and skills formally recognized through a structured assessment and evaluation. The assessment is done through practical and theoretical tests (Arbetsformedlingen-Validering. n.d.). It provides a certificate or grade recognized in Sweden that describes how a person's previous education corresponds to the Swedish education system. They also provide an opportunity to convert informal skills as a professional one. Recommendations are additionally provided on how to add on to the skillset (Arbetsformedlingen-Validering, n.d.). Validation service boosts access to the labour market and when pursuing a supplementary education.

Networking through volunteering and internship

Networking is one of the topmost factors for getting hired in Sweden. Fadi, the Trade and Industry Officer at Malmö municipality points out that, "7 out of 10 jobs go to networks, so if you don't have a network it would be very hard for you to access labour market" (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019). For foreign-born women, networks can be built by volunteering with local organizations and interning with a local employer and these are planned and encouraged by the handläggare. As per the regional leader of 'Network, Activity, Participation' project in Malmö, the local labor market is interested in innovative integration approaches such as that of YT as their programs are geared towards providing practical training experience as a step towards local labour market (See Box 5.1).

Box 5.1

Understanding the training programs of Yalla Trappan

YT employs, educates, and empowers foreign-born women who have little to no formal education and work experience. It has two main aspects, one, commercial activities, and second, project-based training in association with the Malmö municipality. The project methods focus on 'learning by doing' and revolves around approaches such as responsibility, participation, cooperation, etc. as a perpetual learning and development process (Yalla Trappan, n.d.).

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The training is provided for industry-oriented skills in catering kitchen and restaurant, sewing studio, and cleaning services. The training duration is 6 months for kitchen and cleaning, and 4 months for sewing. The support and guidance aim to ultimately build the individual participant's self-esteem, confidence, and independence (Sevinc, October 2019). The activities in the training include:

1. *Skill training* – The skill training is primarily industry-oriented and progresses from introductory training to working on client-based tasks. For example, the women work in stores of commercial partners such as IKEA and H&M for three weeks as part of their training.
2. *Language training* – The trainees are encouraged to speak the Swedish language in the workplace giving them an opportunity and space to make mistakes without hesitation. The language training is also tailored to the specific work area, such as in case of catering, the women will firstly learn the names of equipment they will be using or the food they will be cooking.
3. *Knowledge of work culture and labour market*- This includes the training in soft skills such as the way of communication with boss/ colleague/ client, team-work, networking, taking initiatives, etc. It also includes the rights, duties, obligations, privileges, etc. associated with working with an employer in Sweden
4. *Career training* – Mentorship and guidance are provided in making and building a CV, doing practice interviews, and on pursuing professional interests.

The idea of the training is to provide a platform to formalize the skill that the women have already acquired through household-work and create a professional identity for local employers. The shared mentorship along with individually tailored action plan help in identifying professional interests of an individual and how to work towards it. All this knowledge also translates tangibly in their CV and in the form of a skill map that is shared with AFM and Malmö municipality. A training certificate is provided towards the end of training giving a sense of accomplishment to the participants (Sevinc, October 2019). The women also get a chance to build professional networks.

5.2 Capital usage and conversion

Similar to the Netherlands, the knowledge of Swedish language, proving industry-oriented skills (through education, work experience, internship, or training), and networking to find work are recognized as one of the most dominant aspects to find regulated jobs in Sweden. This section describes the cultural, social, and other capitals of the women, their usage, and conversion. In general, all the interviewed women aimed to do an internship in a professional organization that can be translated into a job.

Cultural Capital

Language

All the women in the sample emphasized the importance of learning the Swedish language and reported no prior knowledge of the language at the time of arrival in the country. All the women had followed or are following the language courses with SFI. Several women reported that they could not learn the language properly through SFI schools. This can be due to many reasons such as lack of quality in schools, conventional classroom learning structure, lack of practical use of language, and linguistic barriers due to grouping within classrooms.

Fadi & Olsa (October 2109) from Malmö municipality say that in their experience they have seen a lot of people running along with the progress in SFI but when they come out, they don't know how to speak Swedish. In other words, the language capital is institutionalized but not embodied. From a technical point of view, the reason for this may be that many SFI schools do not focus much on quality and the knowledge of language development is from the 1970s and is not up to date. Hadia (October 2019), who is from Iraq came to Sweden as a refugee 15 years back after her husband got his visa, says that classroom education does not encourage learning outside the classroom in a real environment with Swedish people and so it is possible to forget what is learned if the knowledge is not used in practice.

“When I was doing SFI, I was only going from home to school. If you meet people we can develop language but when I was studying SFI, I had only some people to talk with. After school, I was quiet and not talking with anyone so when you are studying you must meet people to develop your language. We didn't have any contact with Swedish people to learn the Swedish language. I studied for many years but if I cannot speak to Swedish people it then it's already gone, if I don't talk.” (Hadia, October 2019)

Some women commented that when a large number of people in the classroom are from the same ethnicity such as Arabic speaking, they resort to speaking their common language in groups reducing the opportunities for others to speak in Swedish within the classroom as well. For the same reason, the training sessions of YT made it compulsory for women to talk only in Swedish, even if broken or incorrect, to avoid grouping barrier and for participants to challenge themselves. The strategy proved to be helpful for women to quickly learn the language for practical usage. This was confirmed by Naffie (October 2019), a trainee turned employee at YT's Cleaning Service, who is originally from Gambia and now a Swedish citizen. She came to Sweden in 2015 to live with her husband and now have a child. She claims that she started speaking more Swedish since she got associated with YT “as everyone speaks Swedish” and that it helped in improving her language skills significantly (Naffie, October 2019).

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Besides the barrier in learning languages, the women may face difficulty in finding internships or jobs because they are not fluent enough in Swedish language (Jeanette, September 2019) or they do not have an accent similar to those of Swedes (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019). The idea of learning the language while doing a job and not simply through SFI school is gaining more popularity in Malmö. Fadi & Olsa (October 2019) resonate with this approach and believes that even though SFI schools are part of the solution but the best solution is to let students be a part of the company environment where they can learn the language through working. Olsa says that in her experience she has seen “people learn faster if you give them a job, extremely faster than SFI” (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019).

Recognizing the success of this approach, the language school Kvarnby Folkhogskola started including hands-on farming work class at the social enterprise, Botildenborg in Malmö for one day in a week to make the language learning more interactive and introduce the student to urban farming practices. Aliya (September 2019), a Pakistani refugee who came to Sweden in 2017 with her husband and two children is currently at language level D and goes to Kvarnby Folkhogskola. She says that the sessions at Botildenborg on Friday’s give her some "activation that is otherwise not experienced in the classroom." She shares her experience with these sessions:

“From school, every Friday we go to *utbildning* (training). It is outside of the study, every Friday for three hours from 9:00 am to 12:00 pm. It is for growing plants and we are given information on plants in Swedish - what is this thing, how is it grown, if you don’t find a job anywhere then you can also go here and then if possible they can provide you with a job also.” (Aliya, September 2019)

Diploma and work experience

Similar to the Netherlands, the main priority for all women was to find an internship that may lead to a job but the border of recognized diploma (local or foreign) can play a crucial role in qualifying for a job opening or lead to a complete change in the professional field. The low-skilled and low-educated foreign-born women were at a disadvantaged position when finding a job and there is also a lack of availability of low-skilled jobs in Malmö. Fadi says that the labour market in Sweden is “quite advanced and high-tech oriented” which requires a high level of education making it an issue when the municipality receives a large number of people without a high level of education (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019).

For Naffie (October 2019) who now works for YT’s Cleaning Service says that while she worked as a hairdresser in Gambia for many years, she was unable to certify this to AFM and they could not help her much with finding a job in that field. Some women also expressed that amid the lesser number of job availability working hard and being

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professional as an outsider can have a big impact on who gets the job. Naffie shares her experience:

“AFM helped me in getting in *praktit* (internship), but if you go to *praktit*, then you must prove yourself and do a good job. You also need to have patience with people as we are so many there for *praktit*. Just work hard, respect time, job, and other people. If they tell you, that you start at 8 am, then you have to come here before 8. If they say you have to finish by 3 pm, then you stay till 3 pm. Do your job properly and do what is asked and then go home. That’s it!” (Naffie, October 2019)

Pursuing vocational training through programs such as that of YT helps in gaining professional skills and identity to skills informally obtained through household work, voluntary work, hobby, etc. Such training focuses on empowering and orienting these skills according to the Swedish labour market. Aiesha (September 2019) says that they record the skills of all trainees so “if we have any demand or requirement in future we know who we can hire”. Additionally, certification and skill mapping of women post-training are shared with AFM which symbolizes the professional development of women (Aiesha, September 2019; Sevinc, October 2019).

In other cases, the women who were able to prove their qualifications and work experience to AFM were able to find an internship much more quickly. Aliya who came to Sweden in 2017 and worked as a Games teacher for over 1600 students from elementary to secondary school in Pakistan for many years. She found an internship in a school soon after she settled as she shared “all the professional information to handläggare with all the contact information and other details”. She says that the process was smooth and prompt for her (Aliya, September 2019).

It may, however, not provide the same advantageous position to all the women who obtained these skills abroad. Despite validation, their diploma and work experience abroad may not be valued by the employer the same way as their Swedish counterpart. Oriel, who is a Syrian refugee and has worked as a Credit Relationship Manager for many years, claims that employers in Sweden often don’t trust the documents from refugees as a lot of people “faked their certificate, grades, sometimes even work experience” creating an air of mistrust around foreign diploma and recommendation. This can be of double disadvantage for someone like Oriel who from a war-torn country making it near impossible for the employer to track the background, qualifications, and recommendation. She remarks:

“Here, in Sweden, they see me as a foreigner, I worked in a bank named People's, who know People's here, it doesn't exist in Europe. The University where I studied no one knows about it even if it is really hard to get good grades in this University. They have no track of your history. I fully understand that. If we talk about another country, they need to know the background in general but for us, we don’t have any

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credibility to our background so I understand. Even if I tell them, I did this and that, there is no one to call and check about this. If it was in Syria, they would just pick up the phone and ask - *Do you know this company? Give me a callback.*” (Oriel, September 2019)

For most women, AFM proved helpful in guiding and finding opportunities for training except for Oriel who was highly-skilled. She studied at Malmö University in 2014 and after her graduation acquired the status of a refugee as she could not go back to Syria anymore. She did not find the course useful for her professional or personal growth. When she started applying at the rate of 100 applications a month, then she finally got an internship at E.On company. She expressed strongly that mentors from organizations such as AFM and programs such as MINE and Mitt Liv (who help highly-skilled refugees to find jobs in Sweden) were mostly “clueless” how to help her and provided options such as company visits that she considered “waste of time” (Oriel, September 2019).

Fluidity in the work path

Most interviewed women considered adapting or switching their career path to match their background, skills, interest, and availability of jobs. There were several reasons for their decision either lack of qualification, low demand for their professional field, differences in working style in Sweden, or despair when could not find work of their choice. Naffie could not work as a hairdresser due to a lack of certification and clientele of African diaspora who have certain hair types of her specialization, so she accepted a job at YT’s cleaning services (Naffie, October 2019).

Hadia who was an accountant in Iraq switched to cooking and sewing jobs for several reasons including a computerized working style in Sweden and lower adaptability due to old age. Recognizing that getting minimum education is important even for less-skilled jobs and initially being offered a job as a cleaner, she decided to pursue more education to transition to professions that interested her. After finishing SFI, she completed 1.5 years in elementary education, 2 years for a restaurant course, and another 2 years for a sewing course.

“I used to work as an accountant but it is hard for me because when I came here, I was 43 years old, and working as an accountant at that age was hard for me. Our system in Iraq was very different and we didn’t have a laptop and we used to do everything manually, so that is why everything was hard for me. Here in Sweden, there was everything in a computer. I worked in a restaurant because I like to cook. Then, I did a sewing job because I like it as well and in Iraq, I used to sew clothes for my child.” (Hadia, October 2019)

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Oriel despite foreign and Swedish diploma and work experience as Credit Relationship Manager did not receive an interview call for any of her applications and was ready to accept any opportunity. When she finally got an interview in a company she readily accepted the internship and later a job offer in an administrative position which is completely different from her previous work (Oriel, September 2019).

Social Capital

Networking at personal, professional, and institutional levels was found to be crucial in many ways and at different levels in finding jobs and upward mobility in labour market. For all the sample women, networking has been useful either directly or indirectly in finding an internship, job, or developing skills to support professional development. Three of five women in the sample arrived in Sweden with their families and did not have any existing networks or relationships in the country. The other two women are family reunification migrants and their husbands had already been living in Sweden for some years for either work or as refugees.

Institutional networks

Upon arrival, all the women were assigned a handläggare from AFM who provided them guidance and support right from getting admission to SFI schools to transition into the labour market. They also provided advice and coaching for study path, career choices, job-seeking activities, and establishing employer contacts. AFM has established networks with local employers and civil society organizations which they use to match the demand and supply in the local labour market (Arbetsförmedlingen, n.d.). This institutional network with AFM is established right after arrival in Sweden.

Figure 5.1: Site visit at the sewing studio of Yalla Trappan in Malmö



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Many women reported that they found an internship through networking efforts of their handläggare. For example, Aliya's handläggare initially managed to get her a six-month traineeship at YT's Catering Kitchen and later, another internship as a games teacher in a local school. She describes here:

“I was a games teacher back in Pakistan and that is why I like to work. Even after having children, I liked it and wanted to continue working. When I came here and met my handläggare, in my first meeting only I told her that I want to work here as well and do not want to just sit at home and take money from the Swedish government. Then they sent me for Yalla Trappan's course in catering. When I was residing in Oxie, she referred me to a school there and sent me for an interview. Cassandra, who is a teacher at Oxie's school interviewed me and later asked me to come from 04 November to the school for training.” (Aliya, September 2019)

In other cases, the women get employed in the organization where they finish their training or internship. Naffie (October 2019) was sent for training at YT's Cleaning service in 2018 for 6 months by her handläggare which towards the end seamlessly transitioned into a permanent job. It is important to note that confirmation of the internship does not guarantee that it will lead to employment. This is recognized by YT and so they also work towards career counseling and mapping skills of women and giving to be prepared in case a vacancy opens up within their organization or other organization in network of AFM.

Personal and professional networks

Unlike the institutional network, all the women believed that it took them some time to build up a personal and professional network. Foreign-born nationals are most likely at risk of being residentially segregated in Malmö in immigrant neighborhoods where most other people are unemployed. This leads to isolation from native Swedes and makes it difficult to build a network with them unless through active networking or volunteering activities (Anna, October 2019). Oriël (September 2019) and her husband, for example, went out of their way and adopted an “affluent lifestyle to confirm their narrative” of their background and life in Syria to build interpersonal trust and networks with Swedish people. All the women agreed that networks with family, friends, and other professionals in their work field can be very useful to find an internship, job, or raise an informal step to the labour market.

Firstly, family relationships or a network of friends can prove to be useful in gaining relevant work experience provided they have a relatively better position in labour market. For example, Naffie, found temporary work as a hairdresser in a salon next to her SFI school through one of her friends. This has been true more so in the case of Farida (September 2019), who is from Lebanon and came to Sweden in 1986 with her husband and two children. Now a mother of six, she has been living in Malmö since 2008. She says

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that being regularly involved in her husband's restaurant business for years made it convenient for her to start working at YT's kitchen.

“In 1986, I came to North Sweden with my husband and two children. My husband had a restaurant. I helped with the children and sometimes also helped in the restaurant whenever needed. When I started working here in the kitchen, it was a bit easy for me because I have helped in my husband's restaurant work earlier.” (Farida, September 2019)

Networking professionally with other fellow employees or senior members of an organization when working as an intern or employer can directly result in a permanent job or open opportunities for mobility in jobs. For the sample women, professional networking is generally established through personal and institutional network. For example, Hadia after finishing her cooking and sewing courses got her first job in a restaurant through a friend when a vacancy opened in her friend's workplace. She expanded her cooking skills and network on the job which helped her in finding her next employment. She recounts her experience of the transition:

“I used to cook full-time for the camp (of refugees) and there was one woman who cooked Thai food for that restaurant. I used to watch her cooking while working and just by watching I learned to cook Thai food. When my cooking job was finished in that restaurant, I found another job in a private restaurant in Arlov through the woman who cooked Thai food and now I cook Thai food there.” (Hadia, October 2019)

Though all women recognized the need for networking of some sort, their opinion varied on which kind of network was important and worked for them. For example, Aliya (September 2019) has a good experience with her handläggare and feels that the institutional support provided by the government is “the most important way to find a job”. She also reported having a good network of friends and family in Malmö, however, did not believe that such personal networks are useful in finding a job and believes that the government facilities are sufficient for it (Aliya, September 2019). Oriel on the contrary believes that institutional networking is of no use to her to get an internship or job and instead worked towards building personal networks with Swedish people.

Other Capitals

Symbolic capital

Besides the cultural and social capital, it is worth noting that the identity or legal status of the women either as refugee or family migrant is pivotal to access to the Establishment Program, attend SFI school, and get access to services provided by programs of YT, MINE, Mitt Liv, etc. This can be identified as the symbolic capital which works in favour of women and provides conditions for them to build their cultural and social capital. This

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symbolic capital on the other hand risk the women to get “trapped in stereotypes” of being low-skilled, low-educated, and unfit for labour market resulting in missed opportunities and lowered self-esteem for some women (Oriel, September 2019). Fadi says that in his experience of working with labour market projects in Malmö, “there is a much bigger scale of discrimination in hiring people who are different from us” (Fadi & Olsa, October 2019). He further adds that media and political discourse have a big role in homogenizing the foreign-born group and strengthening the stereotypes which harm the image of the whole social group in the labour market.

Economic capital

All the women and their families receive a living allowance and in the case of a family with children or when pursuing education the amount of money is significantly higher. The study for SFI school and otherwise are either free, funded or subsidized. None of the women said that money helped in any way in their job search although if their spouse is working, then it can provide a sense of relief when it comes to looking for a job (Hadia, October 2019). Only in case of Oriel, she used her savings to build a social status similar to Swedish people around them to build a personal network. She says,

“It helps a lot by the way. The Swedish people even though they don’t admit that it helps with the background because we wanted to create a kind of background to ourselves. So we were living in a very expensive neighborhood, we bought a car and we kept our apartment as nice as it should. At least the image should match the background. It helped!” (Oriel, September 2019)

Dream capital

Lastly, the women often mentioned how their self-motivation, dedication, professional aspiration, and personal desire to succeed drives them to work harder and perform better either for language training or for employment activities. Hadia, for example, learned cooking Thai food out of her curiosity and without regular training, a new skill which eventually helped her get a new job. Oriel mentioned that she was strongly motivated to not have a child before finding a job as she recognized the professional disadvantage that she may have to face as she has already been far from the labour market for too long. Here, the motivation to secure and constantly perform well in labour market influenced their actions.

Based on the findings from the Netherlands and Sweden, this chapter analyses the nature and relationship of fields and capitals and how they shape the labour market practices of the foreign-born women. It also shares insights with the post-migration studies concepts and approaches. It ends with a conclusion, policy recommendations, and limitations of the research. Thereby, this chapter will jointly discuss the specific research questions:

- How do the labour market field and its logic affect the labour market participation of foreign-born women?
- What is the nature of the capital types accumulated by foreign-born women?
- How do foreign-born women use and convert their capital types to advance their position in the labour market field?

6.1 Discussion of labour market practices of foreign-born women

While the logic of the field has been described through integration programs, language, recognizable skills, and networking for labour market participation, it is important to note that there are two different fields of action, which are called here as *labour market field* and *post-migration structural field*. Upon arrival to the host country, the foreign-born women do not directly enter the labour market field due to their admission status. They are obliged to follow the Civic Integration Program in the Netherlands and the Establishment Program in Sweden as part of centrally organized laws and policies for refugees and family reunification migrants. These programs are classified as the post-migration structural field. They have structural and procedural conditions for cultural, social, and economic dimensions of integration in the host country. The labour market field is the space where different social groups including foreign-born women and native populations perform labour market activities such as employment, internships, volunteering, etc.

The logic of the labour market field is broadly similar for Gelderland and Malmö due to similar working conditions in north-western European countries. It is strongly and directly influenced by the country's educational field. In general, participation in this field in any country demands fluency in the local language, and educational qualification and work experience recognized in the country. A heterogenous networking with relevant institutions, other professionals, and the local population can significantly improve access and upward mobility in the field especially for non-natives. The logic of the post-migration structural field is similar for Gelderland and Malmö in terms of integration program contents that focuses on training the women for local language, and the knowledge of host

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society and labour market. There are however, many differences in how these programs are organized in the two countries.

The Civic Integration Program is a compulsory 3-year course during which the women are not allowed to work and have to wait for 3 years to actually be able to access the labour market. DUO enforces it and offers a study loan which is waived off only when the course is completed on time. The focus of the women goes in finishing the course on time and while this helps in building locally recognized capital, it creates a professional disadvantage to be out of work for a long time especially for those who are quick learners. The Establishment program is a 2-year free, voluntary, flexible, and individualized course enforced by AFM during which the women are also permitted to start working from day one. The primary goal is for the women to get employed as soon as possible and the program can be customized as per individual situation. This helps in personalizing the experience for both quick and slow learners.

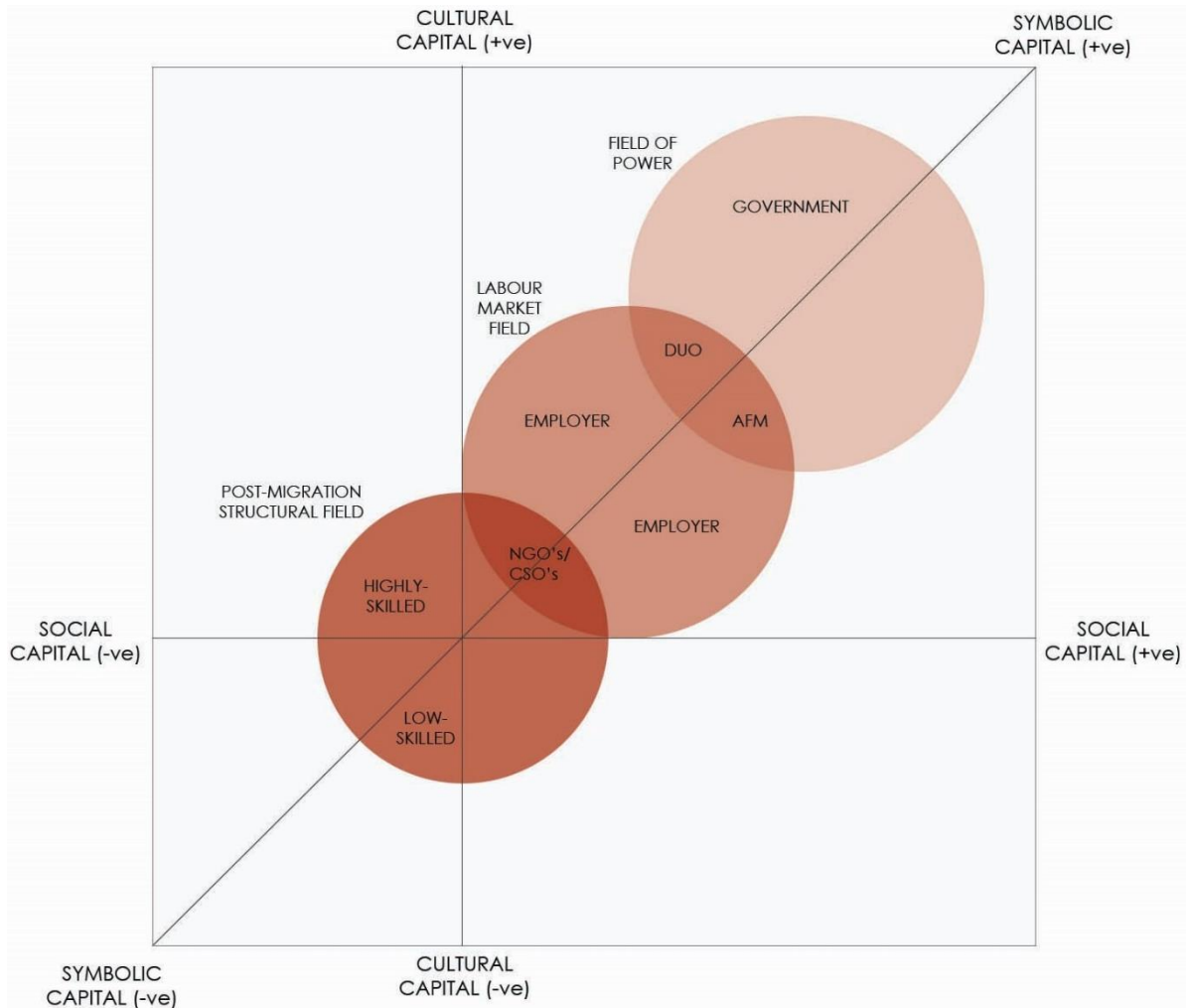
While DUO and AFM are public institution actors responsible for enforcing the regulations, the post-migration structural field is directly influenced by the political decisions of the Dutch and Swedish government which are primary actors in the field of power. The post-migration structural field directly influences the decisions and practices of the foreign-born women in the labour market field. All the fields affect each other and this relationship can be seen in Figure 6.1. The fields can be identified as the circular regions of different size, different colour intensity and aligned in a hierarchy on the axis of symbolic capital. While the presence of symbolic capital axis is mainly to indicate the position of various actors but it also serves as a good representation of how the various fields act in relation to each other.

The bigger size and the higher alignment of the field of power indicate that it is the most powerful field as the actors in the field, Dutch and Swedish government are the decision makers to define the principles of the post-migration structural field. These decisions are enforced through public institutions such as DUO and AFM who intend to bring the foreign-born women closer to the labour market field. The post-migration structural field has the small size and is positioned lower along the symbolic capital axis. This field is limited to only certain social groups and directly affects the low and highly skilled women. The intensity of the colour is also used to indicate which field affects and influences practice of the women more directly. Hence, the post-migration structural field has the darkest colour intensity.

In the case of Malmö, the labour market fields and the post-migration structural field are identified to be closer when compared with Gelderland because of the flexible conditions of the integration program and the innovative effort of several organizations. In Gelderland, the acculturation strategy seem to work as a melting pot case.

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Figure 6.1: Relationship between various actors in the labour market field and post-migration structural field under the influence of cumulative of social, cultural, symbolic capital (Source: Author)



The labour market field in both cases mainly requires high values in cultural capitals including formally recognized educational credentials, work experience, local language proficiency and social capitals including a mix of personal, professional, and institutional networks for access and upward mobility in labour market. Symbolic capital works positively for the women in the post-migration structural field. Their admission status as a refugee or family reunion migrants entitles them to access the 1) integration programs for developing their cultural capital and 2) mentors who constantly provide guidance and institutional networking. The same symbolic capital, however, works negatively in the labour market field due to general stereotypes associated with their identity. Lastly, the higher value of dream capital where the individuals are highly self-motivated by choice or by necessity resulted in building the cultural and social capital at a much quicker pace.

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Upon migration, the previously accumulated cultural and social capital of the women is at risk of devaluation or complete loss in the host country especially in terms of language and networks. Validation services translate and rate foreign diplomas and work experience corresponding to the local standards and is a way of activating cultural capital in the host country. In Sweden, this service also available for both diplomas and informal skills while in the Netherlands, it is limited to only diplomas. This may result in the recognition at the same level or at a lower level. The foreign born women based on their recognizable skills in the host country can be categorized as low-skilled and highly-skilled.

The Figure 6.1 shows high-skilled and low-skilled women as distinct actors and position them as per their initial capital values upon arrival to the host country. Both the categories are marked by negative social capital as they have less (institutional) to no social capital at the initial stages of their arrival. Both the categories are also positioned lower in their cultural capital values due to lack of language proficiency and lack of or low recognized skills. The high-skilled women are positioned higher than the low-skilled women as they have an advantage of their qualifications being recognized in the host country. This is however, not to say that the high-skilled women are at a more advantaged in labour market. The low-skilled women have often been able to find a job more easily compared to high-skilled women based on specific labour market field conditions and the highly-skilled women may also be more prone to rejection due to negative symbolic capital.

The analysis also shows that the presence of a variety of grassroot organizations, initiatives, experimentation spaces, social enterprises, etc. play an important role in supporting the women to not only gain the cultural capital, and social capital but also act as a direct linking pin for the labour market through their innovative models. In Malmö, social enterprises directly employ or provide work experience (such as Yalla Trappa, Botildenborg, Highway to Business, MINE, Mitt Liv, etc). In Gelderland, non-government organizations and civil society organizations are involved that provide counseling, financial support, or networking opportunities to access system facilities (such as VWN, UAF, International Vrouwen Group). They act as a catalyst to accelerate the capital conversion of women, especially on case to case basis or as per the demand.

Upon arrival, the women mainly follow the integration programs of the country to convert and increase their capital mix. In Figure 6.1, this can be seen as a positive linear progression along the symbolic capital axis with the increase in cultural and social capital. The general aim is to move higher along this axis with a good capital mix that they make a comfortable entry to the labour market field. The activities that enable them to increase their capital are generally governed by the rules of the post-migration field. The other factor that helps in reducing the gap between the women and the labour market field is the catalytic pull of NGO's and CSO's that are positioned at the intersection of the two fields in figure 6.1. An individual's dream capital also defines the rate of acceleration in increasing the capital mix and thus, reducing the gap with labour market field.

6.2 Conclusion

The study worked on the main research question: *How do capital and field affect the labour market practices of foreign-born women?* to understand their lower rate of participation in the labour market. Most of the women (refugee and family unification migrants) after migration experience a devaluation or deactivation of their capital mix due to the different logic of the field in the host country. They mainly aim to increase their cultural and social capital mix as a necessary condition for labour market participation. The study identifies a post-migration structural field, which involves an internal logic of systematic procedures and programs for the integration of the foreign-born people, that enables the women to gain and increase the capital mix as conducive for the local labour market. The rules of this field directly affect the actions and decisions of the women to approach the labour market and it acts as a step or gateway to the labour market. The NGO's and CSO's are additional actors that reduce the gap between the two fields and help in increasing the capitals for the women.

Most post-migration studies use either human/cultural capital or social capital approach, or structural constraints to study labour market participation. This study utilizes Bourdieu's practice theory as a theoretical framework to study these several approaches in a common framework. While the study continues to highlight the importance of cultural and social capital in increasing labour market participation, it also identifies that the symbolic capital can work both positively and negatively depending on the different fields. It worked positively to increase the cultural and social capital mix in the post-migration structural field but can work negatively when actually trying to find work in labour market field. It also highlights the dream capital approach to show that some individuals can increase their labour market participation than others even when external conditions are similar.

The study also makes a distinction between the structural constraints of the labour market and migration procedures to be followed by the foreign-born people. It identifies the post-migration structural field with its own logic (different for different host countries) and how it can be a defining factor that enables or impedes access to the labour market field despite increasing capital mix. The study contributes the post-migration studies by providing a central framework of studying various existing approaches and also factoring the additional symbolic and dream capital approaches. It also contributes to Bourdieu's practice theory by adding to the knowledge and logic of the post-migration structural field and the negatively affecting symbolic capital.

The high rate of unemployment and underemployment for the foreign-born women can be attributed to many factors of the field. While the women experience devaluation in their capitals when they arrive in the host country, the long waiting time before entering the labour market, such as in the case of Gelderland, can result in depreciation of their

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professional skills. Gaining extra education in addition to following the integration program also discourages them to either settle for a lower-skilled job or change their professions to locally available jobs to reduce the time gap to start working. Also, the flexibility of the integration program to accommodate the special needs and conditions of the women such as more responsibility towards household and child care can be important for the women to spend quality time for capital gaining activities.

To improve the employment conditions of the women and increase their participation in the labour market, there are a few recommendations as follows. Firstly, the rules of the post-migration structural field can be made more flexible that can be partially customized as per personal needs. This can be done both structure-wise and content-wise. For example, integration programs flexible to the needs of slow and fast learners or different structural pathways for low and high skilled women. Secondly, empowering the local NGO's and CSO's through increased collaborations and resource mobilizations as they are pivotal in bridging and accelerating the mobility to the labour market. They can provide innovative programs tailored to the different needs of the women and this can help in maximizing their opportunities. For example, some programs can support women who have childcare responsibilities and would like to pursue higher education, or programs for improved childcare facilities so it does not become discouraging for women from approaching labour market. Thirdly, to bring the post-migration structural field closer to the labour market field in a structural way for in the long-term. For example, increasing opportunities for women to navigate the labour market right from the beginning.

Limitations

Several limitations were identified with this study. The language of communication poses the first limitation. I believed that my identity as a non-European would be a good entry point when approaching the women but lacking a shared language made it difficult to familiarize and gain trust during the training sessions. Second, the target group of foreign-born women is a broad category with a lot of heterogeneity within this group but the research does not account for specific ethnic identity and socio-cultural norms of the native country. The general research of this broad social category does not give space for deepening the knowledge into any specific ethnic, racial group.

Third, the scope of the study is limited to theories of field and capital. As per practice theory, habitus also forms an important aspect for informing actors' practices in combination with field and capital but has not been used for this research due to the limited time for fieldwork. This can be an additional variable that is not accounted for in the scope of the research mainly to accommodate the research timeframe. Finally, the research mainly looks at the post-migration context and does not account for influencing variables during the migration flow when overlooked from the comparative migration studies perspective. The migration flow itself (here for non-economic reasons) and the time spent in the host

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country before acquiring the legal residence can also have some (unidentified) implications on their labour market practices.

Future research

The limitations help in identifying potential research questions for future research and to build on this research. With habitus as an important variable to further understand practices of foreign-born women, this can be translated into the second-level of this research. This level can be guided by research questions such as - How does habitus affect the labour market practices of foreign-born women? Additional research accounting for the effects of migration flow along with the post-migration context will help in further deepening the knowledge on labour market practices.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Participant observation format

Location

Date

Time

Description of activities:

Mundane activities, behavior, social interaction, spatial arrangement and physical environment

Descriptive notes	Analytical notes
What you have seen, smelled, heard	Interpretation

Methodological Notes: What went well, what not so well, what can I do differently next time, how I may have influenced events

Personal Reflection: Day's experience, emotions and thoughts

Questions and remarks: Learning of the day, reflexive clues, further inquiry, to-do's

Add photographs

Appendix 2: Interview guides

Sample of the narrative interview with the women

Interview X

Location

Date

Time

Introduction

About myself and research

Permission to record interview and their names on report (verbal consent is recorded)

Confirm interviewee details

- Name, age

- Native country, current professional status
- Contact details

Narrative Opening Statement

Can you tell me about your 1) life before and after coming to Sweden and 2) journey of finding a job in Sweden.

If detailed questioning needed:

- Life back in your country - socially and workwise
- In Sweden as immigrant or refugee? Current status?
- How was life in Sweden when you came and how is life now?
- What is your journey of finding a job in Sweden? **What skills and resources you had and what were expected from you? How did you acquire new skills?**
- How is Swedish labour market is different from your country? Work culture.
- Did you take SFI or SFX? +ve and –ve
- Policies supportive or not for labour market integration. “Depreciation of human skill and capital in the process)

Sample of the semi-structured interview with the civil society organizations

Interview X

Location

Date

Time

Introduction

About myself and research

Permission to record interview and their names on report (verbal consent is recorded)

Confirm interviewee details

- Name, age
- Native country, current professional status
- Contact details

Questions:

1. Winnet as an organization and its work with women?
 - What does your work entail?
 - Specific focus for refugee women?
 - Specific focus for labor market?
2. What labor market knowledge is needed especially for women? - differences

- What skills and resources you had and what was expected from you?
 - How did you acquire new skills?
 - What factors here in Malmö are helping them integrate in labour market?
3. SFI course for immigrants – Swedish language, society, and labor market – how is it helpful?
 - Any experience with SFX – Swedish for vocational educated – to shorten the time for work
 - Any shortcomings, especially for women? “Depreciation of human skill and capital in the process
 4. Would you like to add anything?

Sample of the semi-structured interview with employers

Interview X

Location

Date

Time

Introduction

About myself and research

Permission to record interview and their names on report (verbal consent is recorded)

Confirm interviewee details

- Name, age
- Native country, current professional status
- Contact details

Questions:

1. About you and your profession
2. Typical things/culture about your profession like group dynamics, communication, hierarchies
3. How does your workday look like?
4. What criteria/qualifications you need to get this kind of job? Would it be the same for a refugee (women)
5. Have you worked or interacted with any refugee so far? How was your experience with that?

Sample of the semi-structured interview with government officials

Interview X

Location

Date

Time

Introduction

About myself and research

Permission to record interview and their names on report (verbal consent is recorded)

Confirm interviewee details

- Name, age
- Native country, current professional status
- Contact details

Questions:

1. Malmo municipalities work with refugees/labor market?
 - Any special program for women?
 - Collaboration with civil society?
 2. Women farthest from labour market, so why do you think that is the case? What are the challenges and opportunities for them?
 - What skills do they have and how you try to bring new skills?
 3. Highway to business – for entrepreneurs
 - How do you do that? Same as Tillvaxt Malmo?
 - More entrepreneurs among refugees? Women?
 4. Centrally organized or Malmo municipality can have own programs/laws?
 - If yes, what Malmo Stad do differently?
 - Is it democratic? Refugee given platform to speak
 5. SFI requires language, about society and labour market. What is taught about labor market, why is it important?
 - In what ways Swedish labour market different from other countries?
 - Previous experience - Does it help in bridging the gap between refugees and labor market and society by large?
 - Besides language, is there exam for society and labour market?
 - Is this compulsory? Why not?
 6. Temporary measures to significantly reduce the number of people seeking asylum in Sweden (in line with minimum standards). Also, range of measures to increase returns. Why has Sweden adopted restrictive policy?
 7. Would you like to add more to the topic?
-