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Maintaining Social Boundaries Through Equal Treatment

A Qualitative Study on the Integration of Immigrants at a Swedish Workplace

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Abstract

In recent years several different labour market initiatives have been established in Sweden in order to encourage companies to take their responsibility for the integration of the record number of immigrants. The current literature within the field of labour market integration largely has been studying the efforts before immigrants get a position within a company while workplace integration has not received as much attention. This paper thus focused on what happens after employment through studying the workplace integration of immigrant-engineers at a Swedish engineering consultancy company. When interviewing individuals from the integration project at the company it became possible to illustrate the dominating practices related to workplace integration. From the data it was possible to see how processes for managing the integration were developing into an organisational routine for handling this new group of organisational members. The concept of boundaries contributed by showing how the company, through aiming for equal treatment in their integration processes, was creating a difference between the immigrants and other employees and hence maintaining the societal social boundaries.

Introduction

The world today is witnessing the highest ever-recorded levels of human displacement. Totally 65.3 million people have been forced to leave their homes and almost one third of these are refugees (UNCHR, 2016). As a consequence of this Sweden received almost 163 000 asylum seekers in 2015, which was twice as many as during the year before (Migrationsverket, 2017). Additionally, in order to put the numbers even more in perspective, Sweden received 12% of the total amount of asylum seekers in the EU during 2015; most when calculated per capita and third most in total numbers (Eurostat, 2016).

Currently the Swedish Public Employment Office expects that a lot of the asylum seekers from 2015 will get registered in their establishment program during spring and summer 2017. One of the biggest challenges that the Public Employment Office encounter is to create

means to harness the skills and experiences that the immigrants have brought to Sweden (Regeringen, 2015). In order to foster the integration of the immigrants, the Swedish government has introduced a number of labour market initiatives. One of these is the national gathering called Sweden Together. The Swedish prime minister initiated the program in October 2015 with the purpose of creating better circumstances for immigrant jobseekers through involving private corporations (Regeringen, 2015). Essentially, Sweden Together does not contribute with any new innovative ideas for labour market integration. However it is an umbrella term for the efforts that the Public Employment Office provides in order to integrate immigrants in the labour market, for example through offering internships or assessment of competence. Commissioned by the government, the Public Employment Office provides the companies that participate in Sweden Together the extra support they need in order to broaden and diversify their recruitment. In practice companies often start out by welcoming the immigrants as interns, where a prospective employment is based on the success of the internship. While the number of labour market initiatives has increased, integration has become an increasingly sensitive topic in Sweden and in media it has even been referred to as a taboo (Paterson, 2014, 16th of June). At the kick-off for the research program “Organising labour market integration of immigrants” at Gothenburg Research Institute, Sofia Appelgren, CEO at Mitt Liv, argued that Swedes are afraid of talking about integration due to a fear of saying something wrong (School of Business, Economics and Law, University of Gothenburg, 17th of May 2017). Furthermore she argued that in order to succeed with labour market integration Swedes have to be open-minded and have freedom of action. Much has been said about labour market integration in the literature and in the following a review of previous studies will be presented. From the review two themes emerged: challenges and possibilities, and the following paragraphs thus present these two lines of argument.

One of the main challenges for integration of immigrants is their limited knowledge of the national language. Many studies have accentuated the importance of knowing the language of the new home country in order to get integrated in the labour market (e.g. Delander Hammarstedt, Månsson and Nyberg 2005; Chiswick, 1991). Besides excluding an immigrant from the labour market, a lack of language skills can furthermore be a problem for making the right evaluation of the immigrant’s qualifications (Andersson, Fejes and Ahn, 2004; Diedrich, 2013). The evaluation process per se is a second challenge that has been addressed in literature (Andersson and Osman, 2008). A Swedish study suggests that procedural effectiveness is prioritised instead of a more comprehensive understanding of the education and competence that the immigrant holds. (Diedrich, Eriksson-Zetterquist and Styhre, 2011). Besides being ineffective, the long process of validation contributes to immigrants being excluded from the labour market (Psoinos, 2007). A third challenge that contributes to labour market exclusion is discrimination, due to for example informal recruitment (Rydgren, 2004; Behtoui, 2008). In the process of going from arrival in Sweden to being employed, research indicates a fourth challenge (Diedrich and Styhre, 2008). Moving through the system at the Swedish Migration Board, the Public Employment Service, the Refugee Units, and the Adult Education Administration the system makes the immigrant face at least four different roles. This process is both confusing for the individual and ineffective in terms of its administrative purpose (Diedrich and Styhre, 2008). A possibility with employing a diverse workforce,

which has been mentioned in the literature, is the fact that it might be an opportunity for the company. Through embracing diversity, individual differences can turn into an asset, which induces innovativeness and efficiency (e.g. Van Knippenberg and Haslam, 2003; Arredondo, 1996:17). As demonstrated here, most research within labour market integration has focused attention to the organising in the time before immigrants gets an internship or employment. Hence my research sets out to study the next step in the process of labour market integration, organisation of the workplace integration. Thus the focus of the study is on the organisational integration, rather than the processes that lead the immigrant to an internship or employment and hence this study is filling a gap in the current literature.

In this study a practice perspective is applied as a lens through which the empirical phenomenon will be studied. Such a perspective focuses attention to practices rather than for example the individuals in the organisation (Nicolini and Monteiro, 2017). The focus is thus on the dynamic between the idea about and the practice of workplace integration of immigrants (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). Boundaries between groups, activities and objects are often a consequence of organisational routines and hence I will study how the organisational routine is making demarcations (Lamont, Beljean and Clair, 2014). Hence the aim of this study is to investigate how practices for integration are organised within an organisation and how boundaries and boundary work is inherent in these practices. This will be done through a case study at an engineering consultancy business that participates in the Sweden Together initiative. Through addressing the micro-level practices in the organisation of workplace integration it becomes possible to address large-scale issues such as labour market integration and societal boundaries (Nicolini, 2016). The study has firstly shown how a routine for organising the workplace integration is developing and hence challenging existing organisational structures. Boundaries between individuals, activities and groups are in turn created and recreated through the organising processes, enforcing certain practices over others. Secondly the study has shown how the social boundaries in society are maintained through equal treatment of immigrants and other employees within the organisation.

Theoretical Framework

Boundaries and Boundary Work

The concept of boundaries is a part of the classical toolkit within social sciences (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Boundaries are establishing categories of objects, people and activities through making demarcations between these, a definition of reality, which individuals and groups can agree upon (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Lamont (1992) argued that we define who we are in the relation to others through drawing inferences on our similarity and differences (Lamont, 1992). When social groups are interacting, the boundaries between them are often enhanced (Lan, 2003). Boundaries among people and groups are often mirrored by an uneven distribution of material and nonmaterial resources and hence social opportunities. The concept of boundaries is often used when studying individuals with different gender, sexual orientation or profession (Burri, 2008; Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Boundaries has also been a common concept in studies about integration, where it is widely

discussed how boundaries are created between them and us (Lamont and Molnár, 2002).

Lamont and Molnár (2002) have suggested a separation between social and symbolic boundaries. On the one hand social boundaries are widely agreed upon between people such as the boundaries in the relationship between the doctor and his/her patient, the child and the parent or between different nationalities. Hence a social boundary is a division between them and us, which exist on an intersubjective level. Symbolic boundaries in turn are necessary for the social boundaries to exist, but however not sufficient for their survival. When social actors conceptualise the social boundaries through categorising objects, people, practices, time and space they are conceptualising symbolic boundaries. These symbolic boundaries are often used to enforce, maintain and normalise social boundaries. Examples of what can be symbolic boundaries are legal regulations, brands and accents. Another example is a taboo, which works as a symbolic boundary and in turn enforces the social boundary (Epstein, 1992).

According to Lindberg and Walter (2012) boundaries are often taken for given in everyday organising, however while things change in the organisation the boundaries are questioned. When changing boundaries actors are engaging in boundary work. Originally the concept of boundary work was developed to increase the understanding of the efforts to demarcate “science” from “non-science” (Gieryn, 1983) but today it is applied within multiple disciplines (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Boundary work can be defined as “the strategies, principles, and practices we use to create, maintain and modify cultural categories” (Nippert-Eng, 1995). In a study of the relationship between migrant domestic workers and their employers Lan (2003) demonstrated how the negotiation of social boundaries is performed through daily practices and rituals. The author found that the employers are determining to what extent they want to include the domestic workers in the family and whether the cultural differences are to be highlighted or downplayed. From these two decisions different kinds of boundary work will occur in the relationship between the actors. The workers in turn also negotiate the boundaries between themselves and their employer. Burri (2008) demonstrated how radiologists applied distinction practices and boundary work in order to improve the prestige of their profession. This with the aim of ensuring the future of their profession when new imaging technologies such as MRI was implemented in medicine.

Different kinds of boundary work are performed simultaneously and within the same processes (Lindberg, Walter and Raviola, 2017). One type of boundary work is boundary spanning, which is about breaking through established boundaries and hence creates new (Zietma and Lawrence, 2010). When studying boundary spanning the processes and artefacts that aim to cross boundaries and establish a common ground are hence of interest (Carlile, 2002). Boundaries are changeable through both conscious and unconscious actions (Nippert-Eng, 1995:12). Hence actors are not always aware that they participate in boundary work when they perform certain practices. This is in line with Lan (2003) who argued that boundary work not necessarily is intentional but more often individuals act upon tacit knowledge that form their perception of selves and others. Boundaries and practices are thus interdependent (Zietma and Lawrence, 2010). Boundaries delimit the legitimate practices and practices in turn support particular boundaries. One way, in which boundaries are created and recreated are through practices in standardised routines and taken-for-granted actions

(Lamont et al., 2014). Since routines often are performed in relation to on-going activities, the boundary work is a side effect.

Organisational Routines

A routine is “a repetitive, recognisable pattern of interdependent actions, involving multiple actors” (Feldman and Pentland 2003:96). Thus the focus in the theory of routines is on studying both actions and recognisable patterns. In an organisational setting routines are common organisational practices used to enforce the strategy and directions set by management (Feldman, 2015). Previous research has studied routines as static entities (March and Simon, 1958). However through applying Giddens (1984) structuration theory to routines Feldman and Pentland (2003) have pointed at the dynamic, which routines embody. From a routine dynamic perspective routines are continuously changing in a flow of connected ideas, actions and outcomes. Through acknowledging the duality it becomes evident that routines are a source of organisational flexibility as well as stability. The structure in the routine is called the ostensive aspects in Feldman and Pentland’s terminology whereas agency is the performative aspects (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). In line with the duality of structure and agency in Giddens structuration theory the ostensive and performative parts of the routine are recursively related. Thus the performance creates and recreates the ostensive aspect, which in turn constrains and enables the performance (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). In the following these two interdependent aspects of a routine will be presented.

The ostensive aspects are in the very idea of the routine. This can for example be the written documents, standard operating procedures or other stable elements (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). This part of the routines, like structures, guides, account and refer performance of the routine. However different people have different views, thus there is no single objective ostensive account for a routine but a variety of different perspectives. The significance of the ostensive aspects of a routine does not become apparent unless it is performed. Performance on the other hand is the enactment of a routine situated in an institutional, organisational and personal context (Feldman, 2000). People can always chose to perform differently than the structure suggests, hence either changing or confirming the structure. Through engaging in routines people has an effect on the structures that constrain and enable the routine. Thus performances create, maintain and modify the ostensive aspects (Feldman and Pentland, 2003). Feldman (2016) suggests a deepened commitment to the role of actions in organisational routines. The ostensive part is not just an idea and hence it should be studied as a pattern that is constituted by actions. Through changing the name from ostensive aspects to ostensive patterning the focus is moved away from patterning being something that is just going on in the head towards being something that is embodied. Using such terms creating a routine becomes about creating recognisability and patterns in actions (Feldman, 2016).

Like practices, routines are situated in time and space. The organisational context in which routines are embedded might either constrain or enable its on-going change (Howard-Grenville, 2005). The organisational context consists of different artefacts, expectations and other structures that guide actions. Cultural norms about appropriate behaviour might for example only enable certain kinds of actions and thus constrain the change of a routine. Howard-Grenville (2005) argued that routines could be embedded to different degrees. A

weakly embedded routine does not overlap with as many organisational structures and is thus easier to change. Through knowing the organisational culture and what Howard-Grenville (2005) calls the routine's embeddedness in these cultural structures, it becomes possible to change the routines in a desirable direction (Bertels, Howard-Grenville and Pek, 2016).

Although the practices are the focus when studying routines, the actor should not be forgotten. As mentioned earlier different people have different views and the same routine thus may have different meanings and call out for different actions (Spee et al, 2016). For example transferring routines from one organisational department to another requires enactment and recreation rather than straightforward replication (D'Adderio and Pollock, 2014). In an empirical study Berente, Lyytinen, Yoo and King (2016) observed how an effort to implement controls across an entire organisation resulted in a range of unanticipated local adaptations. Thus bridging of perceptions is required in order to generate an overall understanding of a routine. In practice this is done through asking for the apprehension of the routine at different organisational levels. Different parts of the organisation might enact separated areas of the same routines and these differences in perceptions might raise conflict (Salvato and Rerup, 2011). Hence attention ought to be given to both the organisational context and the individuals when studying the emerging processes for organising workplace integration.

Methodology

The aim of this study was to analyse the organising of workplace integration at an engineering consultancy business through studying the practices of groups and individuals. Applying a practice perspective ensured that the complexity of the phenomenon was not reduced. Through studying a case with a qualitative method it became possible to see how the organisation of workplace integration was performed in practice while going in-depth with the phenomenon (Silverman, 2013). A common misunderstanding in relation to case studies is that it is not possible to generalise the results and hence that case studies does not contribute to scientific development. Flyvbjerg (2006) however argued that this is a myth, which is underestimating the value of relevant examples. When searching for a case company for this study there were two main requirements that guided the selection. First of all I wanted to study a company that participated in the labour market initiative Sweden Together and secondly a company that took in highly skilled immigrants. The engineering-consultancy company, which I choose to study, fulfilled these requirements and after meeting with the company I found their integration project to be an interesting case. The company was founded in Sweden and has more than 70 years of experience from the industry. As one of the greater engineering consultancy businesses in Sweden, the company had 1 900 employees out of which 1 600 were distributed across about 30 Swedish offices (Company website, n.d.). Henceforth the company will be referred to as Ensoc, which is a merger between the two words "engineer" and "society" and the project with taking in immigrants will be referred to as the integration project.

The national initiative Sweden Together was intended for newly arrived individuals and hence studying the workplace integration of this group was also the intention of this study. However, when I conducted my data I realised that several of the immigrants where not

newly arrived in the correct sense of the word. According to the Swedish Migration Board a person is newly arrived in Sweden when he/she has received residence permit due to being a refugee or having other reasons for needing protection. Also relatives of these individuals are considered to be newly arrived. An individual is newly arrived during the time he/she is within the Public Employment Office's establishment program, thus between two and three years (Migrationsverket, 2016). Due to this finding, this group has been referred to as immigrants instead of newly arrived in the study in order to communicate that it is a diverse group of individuals with different backgrounds. It is however important to emphasise that labour market integration of these individuals, who are not newly arrived, is economically and socially equally important.

In order to study a socially constructed phenomenon one can choose from several different qualitative research instruments. Interviews and to some extent observations were found to be favourable for the aim of this study. Through interviewing actors who were involved in the routines it became possible to get the individual's point of view and to focus the data collection on the topics that evolved during the study. Hence the researcher can get more details about interesting topics through probing (Morris, 2015). A Drawback from interviews is that the interviewees tend to try to please the interviewer with their answers (Silverman, 2013). Additionally, interviews are only giving the researcher the respondents' account of what they are doing in practice. Observations on the other hand makes it possible for the researcher to observe what is taken for given in the organisation and collect empirical data in its real context. Two disadvantages with observations however are that the data can be viewed as too subjective and that it is time consuming to make the observations (Silverman, 2013). Besides the interviews and observations a number of internal documents from Ensoc have been used as secondary data to complement the study.

Data Collection

The main part of the observations in this study was performed during three meetings considering the project. Through participating in the meetings I got an understanding of what topics they discuss in the project and hence stayed up to date with its development. During the meetings I was passive and took notes hence the observations had the form of non-participant stationary observations (Czarniawska, 2014). Since meetings are stationary it is easier to observe than an everyday situation. Furthermore non-participant observations make it possible to focus on the observations without acting at the same time hence simplifying the observations. Additionally the meetings were conducted through Skype; hence I did not have to observe any body language. The data from these observations was subsequently inspiring the construction of the interview questions. The internal documents that contributed to the data in the study had the form of different organisational guidelines and Power Point presentations.

Ensoc's national contact person at the Public Employment Office was interviewed in the beginning of this project. The primary aim of this meeting was to get an outside perspective on the project in general and on the matching process in particular. The respondents from Ensoc were chosen together with the CEO-assistant at the company. After discussing with her which individuals I found it interesting to interview, she gave me a list with suggestions where after I contacted 24 of them through e-mail. 21 of the recipients confirmed that they

wanted to participate in an interview (Table 1). Eleven of the interviews were conducted in person and the remaining through telephone or Skype. In order to conduct the interviews in person I visited the offices in Stockholm, Gothenburg and Helsingborg. I found it to be easier to conduct the interviews in person since the personal contact and the small talk enabled the overall interview. All interviews lasted between 20-60 minutes and were audio recorded as per agreement with the individual respondent.

Group	Respondents
Immigrant	7
Department manager/Supervisor/Colleague	7
Regional project manager	3
HR/Administration	4

Table 1.

The conducted interviews were all semi-structured, leaving out space for probing and following up on interesting topics (Morris, 2015). The interview-guides were different for each interview. Due to accumulated knowledge, observations and on-going analysis of the data the focus of the study developed along the way rather than followed a predetermined plan. Furthermore the four groups of respondents got questions in different areas depending on the relation they had to the project. I tried to unravel what practices the respondents were doing when working with the organisation of workplace integration.

Data Analysis

After each interview the audio-recordings were transcribed and coded. The first ten interviews were coded in its entirety, whereas only relevant parts of the remaining eleven were coded. The quality of an interview with one of the immigrants was unfortunately too poor to include it in the study. This one immigrant wanted to speak English during the interview, and unfortunately we misunderstood each other a lot, which in turn was a treat to the reliability of the transcriptions. The interview was held through Skype and it can be discussed whether it would have been easier to manage the language barrier in person.

The analysis of collected data was, as mentioned, an on-going process starting already after the first interview. When analysing the data some elements from grounded theory were used. Grounded theory is a useful tool one can apply when making sense of organisations due to its ability to facilitate understanding and capture complexity (Martin and Turner, 1986). The approach offers a systematic way to deal with and analyse large amounts of nonstandard qualitative data. This is done through keeping a close relationship between theory, data collection and analysis (Strauss and Corbin, 1998). As recommended by Martin and Turner (1986) I analysed the data through moving from data to abstract categories, labels and concepts. Through the on-going analysis of the data it became possible to get themes confirmed and developed by the respondents and I often discussed emerging themes with them. Few things are irreversible when working with grounded theory (Martin and Turner, 1986), thus the different steps was not chronological but interrelated. Finally the different categories, labels and concepts developed into groups of concepts. It became evident that the empirical data could be divided into the idea about and the practice of integration. The three

main themes that emerged from the data were the challenges in the recruitment process; different approaches to workplace introduction; and additional paperwork.

Ethical Considerations

As mentioned earlier, labour market integration was a sensitive field in Sweden at the time of the study and it was thus especially important to make some ethical considerations before entering this field. When conducting interviews there is an asymmetrical power relation between the interviewer and the interviewee (Kvale, 2006). The interviewer is the one with an interest in the interview and thus also the one who rules the interview. Furthermore the researcher is the only one who will interpret the interview subsequently. Following the recommendations by Kvale (2006) this power difference was acknowledged during all interviews in order to manage the asymmetry. In practice this was first of all done through making sure that the respondents did not feel evaluated, through involving them in the aim of the study. Furthermore, through actively confronting the respondent's answers and uncover assumptions the asymmetry was further equalised. Additionally all respondents were anonymous and got the possibility to approve quotes before these were used in the study. Another action that was taken in order to keep the respondents anonymous was changing the name of the company.

When interviewing the immigrants I encountered some linguistic challenges. In the beginning of the interviews the immigrants could choose between speaking Swedish or English, a choice which I offered them in order for them to feel more secure during the interview. Six out of the seven interviews were conducted in Swedish while the seventh was in English. During the interviews I noticed that the immigrants often misunderstood the questions and otherwise answered very briefly. As mentioned, I had to exclude one of the interviews due to too many misunderstandings. Furthermore, when the questions related to the integration and inclusion at Ensoc, they were all very positive and the most common answer was "very good". In an effort to find a cause for this, three thoughts are to be mentioned. First of all the immigrants' first language was neither Swedish nor English, thus they had access to a considerably limited vocabulary. Secondly the immigrants communicated that they were very thankful towards Ensoc for giving them the opportunity of an internship, hence this gratitude made them unwilling to say anything negative about how the company had handled the integration. Finally the asymmetric relation should be considered. Since the immigrants were dependent upon Ensoc it was not in their interest to mediate any negative viewpoints. Thus I will argue that I encountered some challenges with giving the immigrants a strong and true voice in this project.

Empirical findings

The presentation of the empirical findings is divided into two main sections. The first section describes the idea behind the integration project at Ensoc whereas the second section discloses how the project has been unfolding in practice. Although the idea and the practice was continuously interrelated and thus cannot be separated, such a division is done for analytical purposes.

The Idea of Workplace Integration of Immigrants at Ensoc

During fall 2015 the refugee crises was a hot topic at many locations in Sweden as well as at Ensoc. In the recent years Ensoc had been facing troubles with recruitment of talented engineers, which however was a general problem in the Swedish engineering industry. Thus with the record numbers of immigrants Ensoc quickly saw an opportunity to recruit talent and hence decided to make a proper investment of time in such a project. As one of the department managers said:

Now we have a number of outermost competent individuals in this country, then it is given that we have to make the most out of it. I mean; we are sitting here screaming that we do not have personnel enough!

The acknowledgement of the need to take advantage of the immigrants' skills was common among the respondents. All of the respondents saw the immigration as a possibility for the company and for the industry as a whole. Besides the general lack of engineers a couple of other aspects contributed to the establishment of the integration project at Ensoc. First of all one of Ensoc's larger customers, started to require integration of immigrants to be a part of larger projects. Hence Ensoc would enlarge their chances of winning the procurement processes if they included integration work in the tender for larger projects. Secondly Ensoc saw that they had a social responsibility to contribute to the integration of immigrants due to the relatively large size of the company. On this background the CEO decided that Ensoc should participate in the national initiative Sweden Together and in December 2016 Ensoc signed a letter of intent describing their cooperation with the Public Employment Office. The letter declared that Ensoc mainly would offer internships with professional competence assessment. The letter briefly described the background for the cooperation as well as how the project was going to be organised. The letter stated that the Public Employment Office's role would be to regularly present a selection of candidates for Ensoc. Aiming at taking in ten immigrants each year, Ensoc declared that they intended to start the project in January 2016. While eight immigrants got an internship at Ensoc in 2016, the company decided to put in additional effort and thus aim at taking in 40 interns during 2017. To reach this goal Ensoc decided to not only look for engineers but also for interns to handle easier office support tasks such as receiving and handling mail and packages, maintaining coffee machines and office supplies. These interns would not get evaluated for employment, but simply get the possibility to acquire an experience from the Swedish labour market, a first line on their Swedish resumes. Hence the aim of this part of the project was not to recruit talent, but rather to contribute to society.

At the same time as Ensoc signed the letter of intention with the Public Employment Office a project group was appointed for managing the integration project. The group consisted of seven employees including the HR director, the CEO-assistant and one operational employee from each of the five geographical regions: North, South, East, West and Centre. These five operational employees in turn were appointed regional project managers in their respective geographical region and the manager of the Western region was appointed national project manager as well. The members in the project group were mainly chosen based on their

personal interest, hence the majority of the members in the group were personally engaged in the project.

The project group was the primus motor for the integration project at Ensoc. Without the project group, there would not have been much of a project. Every second week the group had a recurrent meeting during which they discussed the current challenges and the status in the project. Due to the geographical distribution of the members in the group, the meetings were conducted through Skype. The project manager opened each meeting with asking each regional project manager and HR professional about his or her current status in the project. The regional project managers typically told if they had received any new applicants or interns from the Public Employment Office or from other contacts. HR's status updates were mainly concentrated on current administrative challenges in the project. After the status updates the project manager typically raised a discussion about current issues or activities within the project. One of the regional project managers described the aim of the meetings as follows:

It is good, because it puts some pressure on me. If we did not have the meetings and everything then maybe I would be more dejected... But I think it is good for us, since it is not the main project for anyone of us, it is a good way to keep up the steam. Because it is not fun to sit at the meetings three times in a row and say nothing new, nothing new, nothing new.

All of the members of the project group found that the meetings were encouraging them in their work. Through discussing current issues and finding solutions to these the project group was pushing the project forward. Since the integration project was something that the entire group did in addition to their usual tasks, the recurrent meetings promoted the project with energy for proceeding as well as courage when the project was encountering challenges. Additionally, the regional project managers had similar roles in their regions and hence could share experiences.

The Intermediating Role of the Regional Project Managers

As stated in the national letter of intention, the role of the Public Employment Office was to supply Ensoc with a selection of candidates, which laid the foundation for the recruitment process at Ensoc. The selections of the resumes that were sent to the company were selected based on the characteristics that Ensoc and the Public Employment Office had agreed upon. The distribution was done locally in each region; hence the five regional project managers received the resumes from their local contact person at the Public Employment Office. The majority of the immigrants that were sent to Ensoc were enrolled in an initiative called The Short Way. This initiative was a labour market education for foreign academics that was combining theoretical education and practical experience. When the regional project managers received the resumes they first of all sorted the resumes in order to exclude irrelevant candidates. The sorting was performed based on the candidates' backgrounds. Since the Public Employment Office did not have the same knowledge about the engineering profession they could only perform the rough sorting of the candidates. When there were only relevant candidates left the regional project managers redistributed the resumes to the

department managers in the organisation who were the ones to make the recruitment decision. A regional project manager described the process as follows.

They (the Public Employment Office) send resumes and some texts to me and I in turn look at whom these are suitable to send to. I mean if it is a building constructor I will send it to the building people and if it is an environment engineer then I will send it to the environment people and so on.

To whom the regional project managers distributed the resumes depended on two things, the professional background of the candidates and the department manager's willingness to take in interns. Thus if a regional project manager knew a specific department manager on a personal level it was more likely that this department manager would receive resumes. Hence the role of the regional project managers within the integration project was to intermediate between the Public Employment Office and the department managers at Ensoc. As one of the regional project managers said:

My task is to find engineers who would fit in with us through having a continuous contact to the Public Employment Office. And thereafter I try to convince the managers to let the candidate get an interview and then I cannot do much more.

The role of the regional project managers thus seemed very demarcated. The managers had their geographical areas and the tasks clearly divided between them, the Public Employment Office, the department managers and HR. When the regional project managers had left the resumes with the department managers they often tried to convince the managers that it would be beneficial for them to take in an intern. However when a department manager had taken in an intern the regional project managers had performed their part of the job.

Workplace Introduction and Additional Paperwork

When a department manager decided to take in an intern he/she did not get any specific information from the project group about how the introduction process was supposed to be performed. Instead the general process for introducing employees was followed. When Ensoc welcomed new members in the organisation, HR had made a standard introduction checklist as guidance in the individual departments. Each region in turn had its own version of the checklist where they had developed it to fit their region. The checklist was used for introducing both employees and interns. One of the department managers said:

We have our way to do it. Within Ensoc there is an introduction plan which you, kind of a standard checklist actually, which you, as a manager, follows.

The checklist consisted of things to consider before the first day of work, during the first day, during the first week and during the first two weeks. For example the department manager needed to designate a supervisor to the new organisational member before the first workday. Designating a supervisor was furthermore one of the requirements from the Public Employment Office that needed to be fulfilled in order for Ensoc to take in interns. The

choice of supervisor for the immigrants was based on competence and the professional interests of the new person. The checklist furthermore included activities such as getting to know the IT-systems, the colleagues and the lunchroom. Hence the standard introduction process has practical as well as social characteristics. The designated supervisor and the department manager were responsible for all of the activities on the checklist. That Ensoc applied this standard checklist to the introduction of the immigrants reflects an idea about similarity, among the immigrants as well as in relations to other employees in the organisation. Based on this idea, taking in immigrants should be similar to taking in any other intern or employee.

When an employee started at Ensoc, work permits, residence permits etc. was normally not something that had to be handled. However, when taking in immigrants these things had to be considered in the organisation. When the integration project was initiated at Ensoc there was confusion at first since so many new formal regulations had to be considered. The additional paperwork was not something that hitherto had been given too much attention in the organisation hence a need for standardised processes arose. As one of the HR professionals explained:

What I experienced when I started was that enthusiasm and will had taken over the project at the expense of the paperwork. They wanted so much but had forgotten that it is a process and that we have to keep track of the papers, permits etc. So that is concretely what we in HR have been doing, trying to steer and create a process and not just letting it be a project that people fall into.

As the idea about integration developed the project group decided to engage additional professionals from HR in the group. This in order to broaden the knowledge in the project group and ensure cooperation between the operation and the administration. Hence in the beginning of 2017 three employees from HR were enrolled in the project group in order to manage the additional paperwork. When HR entered the group they saw a great need of standardised processes for handling the additional paperwork. One of the HR professionals explained:

The formalities are on our table. Control of work permits, residence permits, forms, permissions and decisions from the Public Employment Office. All of the formal stuff connected to employment really but also internships.

HR thus became responsible for the legal formalities. Due to the risk of severe consequences for the immigrants if paperwork was handled incorrectly it was considered important to have a clear division of the administrative tasks. Approximately a year after the integration project was initiated at Ensoc, HR started to develop a checklist to use when taking in immigrants. Allocating the correct information for the checklist was not easy, mainly due a lack of information on the authorities' homepages as well as long response times when contacting them. Furthermore HR faced some challenges in getting clear answers, which in turn resulted in even longer waiting time. HR at Ensoc however developed two different checklists, one for internal use within HR and one to distribute among the department managers who were

taking in immigrants. In general HR told the department managers that they had to contact HR when they want to take in immigrants, this in order to have a dialog around the different regulations that would affect the recruitment. Since mistakes in the administrative handling of work permits etc. could be devastating for the immigrants this process had a serious characteristic and the respondents all showed a great respect for it.

In general the formalities was based on what kind of residence permit the immigrant had. If they did not have any permit a certain process would start where Ensoc tried to help them get a permit. If there was no permit or if the permit was limited and did not fit with the position at Ensoc the position had to be advertised on the Migration Boards homepage. If the immigrant had some kind of residence permit it was another process. Another challenge with organising the paperwork was that Ensoc had to report to the tax authorities if they hired someone who had a third country nationality. One of the HR professionals explained the challenges this constitutes:

Should we ask everyone we hire to show some kind of identification document or are we just going to assume that we should ask those who have an atypical Swedish name? However your name can be Lotta Andersson although you are from the US thus it is difficult to make a selection really.

Troubles then arose in the process of recognising these people without discriminating anyone. Simply asking people who had a foreign name would risk discriminating this group as well as excluding individuals who actually had a Swedish sounding name but a third country nationality. The legal requirements hence complicated the organisation of the integration and contributed with additional paperwork.

The Practice of Organising Workplace Integration of Immigrants at Ensoc

The Fight for Billable Hours in a Caring and Open Organisation

In the recruitment process the regional project managers were supposed to receive resumes from the Public Employment Office, which they in turn should distribute out into the organisation. In practice however this process did not work as smooth as planned. One reason for this was the geographical distribution of the offices, which implied that some of the regional project managers found it challenging to sell in immigrant's resumes at offices, which were further away. Furthermore, the regional project managers did not always know the department managers at the offices in their region, which was additionally aggravating their task. Another challenge for the recruitment process was the relationship to the Public Employment Office. A couple of the regional project managers described how it was difficult because the Public Employment Office did not have the industry-specific knowledge that was needed in order to match candidates with Ensoc. Another challenge was the quality of the resumes. One of the regional project managers said that he/she often had to send the resumes back and ask for more details in order to be able to determine whether the candidate would fit into the organisation or not. Another one of the regional project managers said:

I think that they have too low requirements for the jobseeker's resumes. I think that they should require that they write much better and more detailed resumes - that should not be difficult. I have seen so many lousy resumes, which tells me nothing.

In order for the regional project managers to be able to sort among the resumes, the standard of the resumes hence should increase. The main challenge for the regional project managers was however to get the department managers' attention. When distributing the resumes the regional project managers often got very limited response from the department managers. One regional project manager explained how he had distributed 18 resumes that he found relevant in the organisation and then had not heard a word from any of the recipients. A common explanation that many of the respondents gave to this was that the majority of the department managers were overloaded with work. Hence taking in immigrants was not prioritised since it would take additional time to supervise an intern. Furthermore, since Ensoc was a consultancy business everything was measured in billable hours and supervising immigrants was considered an expense. As one of the regional project managers explained:

We live so to speak for selling hours, which is what you do as a consultant. We have an obligation to have a certain percentage of occupation per week or whatever. And then you ask them to put in someone who demands time.

At the same time all of the respondents in the study described the organisational culture at Ensoc as open and familiar. The members of the organisation supported each other and cared for each other. In spite of the relatively large size of the company it had a flat organisation where professional development was fostered and the atmosphere was warm and tolerant. Hence there was a tension between on the one hand the focus on billable hours and on the other hand the warm and open organisational culture.

In an effort to convince the department managers to take in interns the regional project managers told them that there was not that much extra work with taking in an intern, hence suggesting equal treatment of immigrants and other new employees. As mentioned in the description of the idea, none of the regional project managers were in the integration project fulltime hence their primary work tasks were prioritised. This second priority to the project was evident in the way the regional project managers tried to handle the work with convincing the department managers to take in interns. One regional project manager for example was considering recruiting an immigrant in his/her own department in order to avoid any more hassle with trying to convince others to recruit. As one of the regional project managers put it:

The challenge is to make people realise that it is a helping hand and not an additional load that we are sending to them.

When asking the individuals in the organisation what they knew about the Integration project at Ensoc few had any clear answers. Some of the respondents had read about the project on the company intranet and thus had a vague idea about the project. A few respondents knew a

little bit more about the project and some had not heard about it all. When recalling that all respondents in this project were interviewed because they had some connection to an immigrant as department manager, supervisor or colleague, this was a surprising finding. Not even the immigrants themselves knew about the initiative. A HR professional expressed it like this:

We do not have any incentive. That we are going to take in immigrants is a decision from management and also that we are going to take in many more than we did last year... We have a hard time pushing because we also have a reality, which says no!

In general the respondents were very uncertain about the means and ends with the project, which might be part of an explanation to the challenges with the realisation of the idea. Through not preparing the department managers and involving them in the project, they do not get the opportunity to budget and plan for it.

Different Approaches to Workplace Introduction

Besides lacking an incentive for participating several department managers also expressed that they lacked guidance in how to handle the integration of the immigrants. The way in which the immigrants were introduced can be divided into two different approaches to integration. For clarity it ought to be mentioned that these two approaches have been simplified in order to demonstrate the significant differences in the points of view.

On the one hand some of the supervisors and managers argued that there ought not to be made any difference between immigrants and other employees, thus the introduction should be the same for everyone. According to several respondents giving some kind of special treatment might have the consequence of creating a difference. The only area this group mentioned as different was when it came to the language where the immigrants might need some extra help. For instance one respondent explained how an immigrant needed extra support when writing reports, then they needed to check not just the substance but also the language. In general however this group of respondents stressed the importance of not making any difference when introducing the immigrant compared to introducing other employees. One of the department managers explained:

I think that... that if you kind off stand out and then also is treated differently, although this is basically not a negative special treatment, then you will also be different in a way. And therefore I think it is better to offer the same prerequisites for everyone.

A general argument from this point of view was that we create a difference between immigrants and other employees if we treat the two groups differently. Hence these respondents also stressed that there were no considerable differences between an engineer from Sweden and one from for example Iran. Among the respondents who said that they had not made any difference when introducing immigrants, were also the respondents who expressed a preference of not talking about integration in general. A concern with being

perceived as xenophobic might be the explanation to why these individuals systematically avoided talking about for example cultural differences. One of the department managers even stressed that the only difference were external things such as the name. In general when asked about challenges or differences this group gave short and seemingly unreflective answers.

On the other hand, some of the supervisors and managers argued that the immigrants both needed and received extra supervision compared to what was included in the standard introduction checklist. This extra supervision was used to explain things that were different in Sweden than in their home countries, when it came to work as well as society in general. A supervisor explained why extra time was needed when introducing an immigrant:

What is noticeable is the Swedish society and things you do that you call Swedish. For example he asked me one day about his tax declaration... If you have grown up in Sweden these things are very, very natural, but for others who have not yet encountered it, they might not know what it is. Thus that has been the biggest difference... Things that are in the Swedish society, which I have noticed I have had to explain.

Hence extra time was needed to help the immigrants understand things such as how to find housing and make a tax declaration. Furthermore teaching an immigrant the Swedish language demanded extra time. Additionally several of the supervisors had small lectures with the interns, with the goal of introducing them to the Swedish engineering industry. For example the lectures could be about legal frameworks or suppliers in Sweden. One of the supervisors said that he/she had used 30 % of his/her time during the first couple of weeks to introduce an immigrant to the workplace. When asked about the economic cost of such devotion to supervision he/she said that it was not a choice he had made, but rather a necessity in order to give the immigrant the best prerequisites. Some of the department managers and supervisors who were interviewed in this study expressed a desire for getting some kind of manual or guidelines for the introduction work in order to structure and target the introduction process.

All of the immigrants who participated in this study were, as mentioned earlier, positive towards Ensoc and the introduction they had received. However when asked how the introduction was conducted in practice, remarkable differences in the introduction could be identified. A couple of the respondents argued that they had not had any supervision at all or had been supervised to a very limited extent. These immigrants had instead been introduced by all of the employees in the department. One of the immigrants explained:

It was a bit stressful in the beginning you could say. Because one thinks that you are an intern and for example the fact that you do not speak Swedish that well does not matter at all. Thus for my colleagues it took some time to realise that for me it is a bit, it takes more time to understand things in the beginning, due to the language.

While the colleagues had good intentions when they aimed at treating the immigrant as they treat any other new employee, it created stress for the immigrant. All of the colleagues had been welcoming and helpful. However it was clear from talking to the immigrants that not having a close relationship with a supervisor had made them more uncertain in their work, not least during the first couple of weeks at the company. Uncertainty seems reasonable considering that the internship was the first experience of the Swedish labour market for several of the immigrants. Other immigrants explained how they had received a lot of supervision, which extended outside what had to do with the job. They described how their colleagues and supervisors had been supporting them with personal matters as well. One of the immigrants said:

Here at Ensoc, I feel that I have received a lot of supervision, especially from my supervisor. Actually he does not only help me here at Ensoc, he helps me in my life here in Sweden. Thus he has started to become more of a friend than a supervisor. He really helps me a lot, not just in work related areas but also in life, in everything.

It was clear from talking to the immigrants who had a close relationship to a supervisor that this was a security for them during their first time with the company. If they had any questions, regarding work-related or more private issues, they knew that they had a contact person who would take the time to help them.

All of the immigrants who participated in the study expressed some kind of uncertainty when talking about their first time at Ensoc, whether they had received a lot of supervision or not. In contradiction to individuals who have been born in Sweden the immigrants in this study did not have a well-developed Swedish safety net. Furthermore they had all sacrificed a lot in order to move to Sweden, which might increase the uncertainty connected to entering a new workplace. When an immigrant got an internship at Ensoc they had often been through a long process of different efforts from the Public Employment Office. Hence when they finally were offered an internship it was considered to be an outstanding opportunity, which in turn made the immigrants devoted to put in a real effort. Several of the respondents explained how they felt extremely lucky that they got the opportunity, not least when they compared themselves to less fortunate neighbours and friends. As mentioned earlier, an internship was initially three months and might be prolonged for maximum six months. Thereafter, and if the department managers wanted to continue, the immigrant got hired for a trial period for maximum six months and this in turn might end up with a permanent employment. All of these steps also fostered uncertainty for the immigrant who never could sit back but instead had to perform his/her best at all times. This was a lot of time compared to a standard trial period in Sweden, which is maximum six months. The long period of uncertainty was affecting the immigrants. As one of the immigrants explained:

I am a bit worried now. I am thinking and pondering. I wonder... I asked my bosses to let me know if I can stay or not, they said that they will think about it.

Feeling unproductive was another aspect that was contributing to the immigrants' uncertainty. Several of the immigrants had great work experience from their home countries and thus felt very unsatisfied when not being able to contribute in the same way during their first time at Ensoc. One immigrant said the following about his first couple of months at the company:

I was so nervous during the first couple of days and troubled because it felt impossible to communicate. When I was in school I felt that I was good at Swedish because I compared myself to the other students and the teacher said that I was the best so I felt that I was good. But when I came here and started to talk with my colleagues I felt that I could not communicate.

Although the immigrants felt that they were good at Swedish compared to other immigrants, the confrontation with the language at a Swedish workplace lowered their self-esteem. Participating in meetings without being able to understand what the others discuss was a common frustration in this context. Furthermore the difficulties with writing e-mails and making phone-calls were frequently mentioned among the immigrants. Hence not knowing the language was another element that created uncertainty for the immigrants.

Discussion

The empirical data has shown that there was an idea about the integration project at Ensoc, which stood in contrast to the practice of the actual organising of workplace integration. The project group was at the core of the project and hence it was in this group that the idea about the project was constituted. Through presenting the idea and the practice separately it became possible to see where the two diverged and hence where challenges as well as new ideas and practices emerged. Two of the main empirical findings ought to be mentioned. The first was that the regional project managers had an intermediating role in the idea of the recruitment process, standing in between the Public Employment Office and the department managers. In practice however this was creating challenges for the regional project managers and for the success of the integration project, mainly due to a tension in the organisation. While the organisational culture was open, warm and caring, the department managers were on a constant hunt for billable hours and hence there was a tension between different organisational values. Secondly the idea about the integration project reflected an idea about similarity. When a department manager took in an intern he/she was supposed to introduce the immigrant, as was any other employee. In practice however great differences were made, where some immigrants got a lot of additional supervision. Almost all immigrants who participated in the study expressed uncertainty when talking about their internship at Ensoc. However it was clear from the empirical data that those who received less or no supervision were also the ones expressing the most of such negative emotions.

Organisational Routines Make Demarcations Between Individuals and Activities

At the time of my study, I will argue that Ensoc was in a process of developing a routine to organise the integration of immigrants and that routine was emerging from the interrelation

between idea and practice. For the aim of developing a routine for integration different existing processes and structures were applied as well as new were emerging. The structures for the cooperation with the Public Employment Office were an example of a new process that needed to be developed. Since employing immigrants imposed extra work upon the organisation, due to legal requirements such as work permit, immigrants were not as easy to recruit as other employees. From these created and recreated processes and structures a routine for organising the integration of the immigrants in the organisation was evolving as an on-going accomplishment. Hence through emphasising the practices in the integration project at Ensoc it became possible to study how a recognisable pattern of practices was developing from practicing the ideas (Feldman, 2016). However the development of a pattern was challenged by other structures in the organisation.

The pattern of practices that developed at Ensoc needed to adapt to the organisational context as well as to the immigrants. I will argue that it in particular was the recruitment process, which constituted a challenge in adapting to the organisational context. Since processes in an organisation are embedded in other organisational structures, including cultural structures, which reflect norms of appropriate behaviour, particular sequences of actions at Ensoc were enabled (Howard-Greenville, 2005). Some of these cultural structures reinforced the enactment of the integration processes while others constrained. It can be argued that a part of the organisational culture at Ensoc was the aim for billable hours and that this constrained the integration processes. In the organisational culture at Ensoc it was problematic to demand the department managers to take in interns who were not in their budget. One of the HR professionals was in line with this when arguing that the department managers lacked incentive for participating in the integration project. Another part of the organisational culture was warm, open and caring and it can be argued that this part reinforced the integration and was what started the project in the first place. Hence the lacks of a shared incentive made the different actors approach the integration project with different intensions and hence the integration process was put to multiple different ends (Howard-Greenville, 2005). Different individuals may see different ends to be of importance when they enact parts of a routine and the routine in turn then calls for different actions (Spee et al, 2016). From this it can be argued that the structures in the organisation were not aligned, which in turn was creating struggles with the development of a process for the organising of integration. Hence the processes and structures for integration can only be understood in the larger context of the work itself and in this larger context billable hours were central for the organisational culture at Ensoc.

When creating processes and routines for the aim of organising the integration of immigrants at Ensoc I will argue that boundaries between different categories and activities were established. This is in line with Lamont et al. (2014) who argued that routines, due to their organising nature, are creating and recreating boundaries between individuals, activities and groups. Hence routines demarcate boundaries, which encourage certain actors and activities while hampering others. In the integration project at Ensoc this became clear in several aspects. When the project group developed the recruitment process, boundaries were demarcating the roles of different actors. For example the regional project managers described how they could not affect the department managers decision about whether to take in immigrants or not, hence there was a clear boundary between these two actors. The

recruitment process however was not aligned with existing processes for recruitment as well as with the organisational culture. I will argue that the organisational culture put boundaries between activities and hence favoured organisational activities that were billable. Since boundaries are affecting the distribution of material and non-material resources, the boundaries gave precedence to billable activities (Lamont et al., 2014). Hence taking in immigrants, which was not a billable activity, was not as encouraged in the organisational culture and the actors thus lacked incentive. Hence I will argue in line with Zietma and Lawrence (2010) that boundaries delimit which practices that were legitimate at Ensoc. Demarcating boundaries between activities also creates boundaries between the two groups of individuals, immigrants and other employees. Hence I will argue in line with Lindberg et al. (2017) that different kinds of boundary work are performed at the same time and within the same processes. This study has contributed with an empirical example of how a routine with time was evolving from the interrelation between idea and practice and how other structures in the organisation challenged the developing routine. Additionally the data has shown that boundary demarcations were inherent in the on-going accomplishment of the routine.

Maintaining Social Boundaries Through Equal Treatment

When the integration of immigrants was organised at Ensoc, it was considerably different how they were introduced and hence how much supervision they received. Some of the department managers and supervisors thought it could be harmful to give the immigrants a special treatment since this would make them different compared to other employees. Others saw that the immigrants had other prerequisites and hence needed extra help in the beginning. I will argue that through treating immigrants and other employees equally the actors were involved in boundary work, which create, maintain and modify boundaries between these two groups (Nippert-Eng, 1995).

During the conduction of the study I observed that cultural differences often were confused with individual differences and hence the respondents showed a general reluctance towards discussing differences in general. It is however indisputable that the immigrants did not have the same prerequisites when entering a Swedish workplace as did individuals who have been educated and has professional experience from Sweden. For example did the immigrants who participated in this study have a limited knowledge of Swedish, which in turn made it difficult for them to communicate during their first time at Ensoc. Individuals who have grown up in Sweden have knowledge about the Swedish society and the industry in Sweden and hence are differently equipped to take on a job at a Swedish company. While it can be argued that it is common that new employees experiences some level of uncertainty but I will stress that the immigrants, not least due to their lack of social security in Sweden, were more exposed too such negative emotions. Furthermore I will argue that the immigrants, due to their different prerequisites, need extra supervision and comfort during their first time at a Swedish company. Through not giving the immigrants any special treatment the social boundaries between immigrants and other employees were strengthened. Not knowing the Swedish language, the norms in society and the engineering industry were all examples on symbolic boundaries that enforced and maintained the social boundary (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Additionally it can be argued that the project group encouraged equal treatment since

the group had not decided upon any specific processes the integration process ought to follow. Hence the social boundary was strengthened although this was not the intended object of the project group (Nicolini and Moteiro, 2017; Nippert-Eng, 1995). All of the respondents in this study showed great respect and care for the immigrants, hence I will argue that the boundary work at Ensoc was carried out without an awareness of the symbolic significance of the processes.

In cooperating with the authorities demarcations between Ensoc's and the authorities' responsibility were constantly created and recreated. From my empirical data I will argue that the processes at the authorities were aiming for procedural effectiveness, but not for making it easy for the companies to hire immigrants. I am thus arguing in line with Diedrich, et al. (2011) who said that prioritising procedural effectiveness when organising labour market integration has severe consequences for the immigrants. These processes in turn encouraged boundaries between groups and hence discouraged cooperation (Lamont et al., 2014). This is in line with Lamont et al. (2014) who argued that the state might be the most institutional actor when it comes to the distribution of resources and hence the macro patterns in society. Through the distribution of material and non-material resources different social groups are recognised and this in turn creates and legitimises boundaries. Hence the ways in which the labour market initiatives at the Public Employment Office were constituted had consequences for the social boundaries in society as well as in the organisation.

At the time of this study the integration debate in Sweden was controversial and dominated by a fear of saying or acting in a wrong way. This discourse in turn has paralysed the debate and made the political climate afraid of discussing integration. As the headline in a daily newspaper debate article wrote "Fear of being stamped as racist is preventing debate about integration" (Selimovic, 2012, 21th of October). In Denmark they have even made a radio show about Swedish taboos where especially the integration debate has received considerable attention (Paterson, 2014, 16th of June). I will argue that this societal tendency was reflected in Ensoc's integration project where a concern with being judged as xenophobic prohibited equality. Several of the respondents at Ensoc were eager to explain that they had not made any difference when introducing the immigrants and the sensitivity in the topic was clear during the majority of the interviews. During an interview with an immigrant I asked him about how he had been socially included at Ensoc. "You mean racism?" he answered with laugh. Several such episodes, where the immigrants touched upon sensitive topics, occurred during the interviews and I will argue that it demonstrates awareness about the societal debate. Hence the organisation was concerned with treating everyone equally and the immigrants were attentive to this concern. Through treating the integration debate as a taboo I will argue that the social boundary between immigrants and others was enforced (Epstein, 1992). Hence the taboo worked as a symbolic boundary, which enforced societal boundaries and excluded certain groups while including others. The fact that the immigrants and the other employees shared the same profession is an example of boundary work through boundary spanning between the two groups, due to a common interest (Beckhy 2003). Hence the demarcations between the two groups was not only maintained, but also challenged in the organisation.

From studying the practices within the integration project at Ensoc it became possible to see how the macro structures and social boundary between them and us was manifested in the

practices in a specific corporation (Nicolini, 2016). From this it can be concluded that applying equal treatment of immigrants and other employees with the purpose of ensuring equality, in fact was becoming the root of inequality. Hence the social boundary that exists between immigrants and non-immigrants in the society was unconsciously enforced at Ensoc through symbolic boundary work (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). Hence I will argue that Ensoc was maintaining social boundaries through equal treatment. A practical implication from this study thus would be to create awareness about the consequences of equal treatment and dare to implement processes that take the immigrants different prerequisites into account.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate how practices for integration were organised within an organisation and how boundaries and boundary work were inherent in these practices. In order to answer this the workplace integration of immigrants at a Swedish engineering-consultancy business has been studied. Ensoc participated in the national initiative Sweden Together, which was a labour market initiative that was managed by the Public Employment Office. The initial aim of Ensoc's integration project was to offer internships for engineers in order to validate their professional background and subsequently decide about employment. While the company took in eight interns during 2016 they had a goal of taking in 40 during 2017. Through interviewing 21 individuals with different roles in the integration project it became possible to analyse the practices related to the integration of immigrants at Ensoc.

When the study was conducted the integration project at Ensoc had been going on for just over a year. During this time processes for managing the project had been emerging and I have argued that with time these processes would develop into an organisational routine. The study has shown that Ensoc used existent processes as well as new and that the routine was emerging from the interaction between the idea and the practices. Several tensions in the relationship between idea and practice were highlighted. The recruitment process received most attention due to the challenges that Ensoc was encountering with getting department managers involved in the project. While Ensoc has a warm, open and caring organisational culture, there was a contradictory focus on billable hours. I have argued that cultural structures in the organisation were both constraining and reinforcing the development of an organisational routine for integration. When the routine for organising the integration was evolving, I have argued that several boundaries were inherent in this process due to the nature of routines. These boundaries legitimises certain practices while not other. Additionally several different boundaries exist within the same process. Hence this study has contributed with an empirical example of how a routine for organising integration is evolving and how this is challenging existing structures within the organisation. Furthermore the study has shown how boundaries are created and recreated between activities, groups and individuals, hence encouraging certain practices while discouraging others.

The study furthermore demonstrated how the social boundary between immigrants and other employees is maintained in the organisation. For example due to a lack of guidelines for the introduction of immigrants, some got a special treatment whereas other immigrants were treated equal to any other new employees. Since the immigrants had other prerequisites in areas such as language and knowledge about the industry, this was creating uncertainty for

the individual immigrant and enforcing the symbolic boundaries between them and other employees. Hence through equal treatment the organisation was maintaining the social boundary between the immigrants and the other employees. I have argued that symbolic boundaries at Ensoc were manifesting the social boundaries in society. Through drawing a parallel to the Swedish taboo concerning integration it became possible to see how the social boundaries in society were getting manifested through symbolic boundaries within the organisation. Hence through studying the practices on a micro-level it became possible to contribute to the knowledge about social boundaries in society and hence a macro-level phenomenon.

A practical implication can be drawn from this study. Through fostering an open dialogue about the societal taboos an efficient integration process would be promoted without fear of making a difference between individuals. Managers who want to take in immigrants should aim for understanding the individual prerequisites in order to foster efficient integration and create processes for organising the integration. Hence I have argued that it is not until a difference is made that an equal integration process becomes possible.

This research has contributed to research about labour market integration through opening up for what happens after the immigrant was recruited. Previous research have focused attention to the time before the immigrants gets recruited by a company. Hence the importance of knowing the Swedish language, validation of professional background and discrimination are examples of topics what has received attention. This study has contributed with insights to how the workplace integration was carried out in practice; how a routine for the integration was developing and how social boundaries were affecting the integration.

A central limitation to this study was the failed attempt to give the immigrants a voice. Since the study aimed at studying how the immigrants were integrated their voice was essential for the study, hence the reliability can be questioned. Another limitation was the fact that both engineers and individuals for less qualified work were recruited as a part of Ensoc's integration project. However, since so few interns had been recruited into the less qualified positions when the data for this project was collected, this project was limited to studying the integration of the engineers. Hence it should be acknowledged that there can be differences in workplace integration of highly skilled professionals and those who are recruited for less qualified jobs.

This study opens up for several interesting topics for future research. First of all, while this study indicates that social boundaries in society are reflected in the organisation of integration within a company, it would be interesting to develop this line in future studies. Furthermore through observations it would become possible to gain deeper insights into an organisation's integration project. Through relationship building the researcher hence can open up for the societal taboos concerning integration as well as give the immigrants a voice. Secondly it would be interesting to study the relationship between the authorities and the companies who participates in the labour market initiatives. Through using the concept of boundary work it becomes possible to study how boundaries are manifested between the two actors and how this in turn, as demonstrated in this study, has negative consequences for the workplace integration. Finally it would be interesting to analyse companies that have incorporated more systematic processes for integration through for example offering specific

educations for immigrants. Hence a comparison of different approaches to workplace integration in practice would be interesting to further add to the research within the field.

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