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Master of Social Sciences in Cultural Sociology

Social Transformation Processes



Unravelling social ties

A study of how social capital is built against the backdrop of
the Esbjerg Municipality Newcomer Service's initiatives

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I hereby solemnly declare that I have personally and independently prepared this paper. All quotations in the text have been marked as such, and the paper or considerable parts of it have not previously been subject to any examination or assessment.

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Abstract

Social capital is an intangible asset that can be used by social actors to attain advantages. Ascending to a job position; mobilizing neighbors to work for the greater good of the community, such as watching over its members; helping fellow church members. These are examples of how social connections can be capitalized to benefit its possessors. Another area in which social capital can have an important role is integration of migrants. Building connections in the host country provide foreigners with a network of support. Expanding on these connections could potentialize their opportunities in the new social space and boost integration. Social capital studies frequently focus on its consequences; a small part of the literature, however, is dedicated to how and with what motivation social capital is built. This knowledge could serve as guidance for effective public policies that intend to enhance or promote social capital, for example. That is what this thesis intends to do, with the purpose of investigating how the initiatives hosted by the Newcomer Service impact its target network: Esbjerg International Community. From the understanding of how social capital is built by members of Esbjerg International Community it will be possible to see what is the impact the Newcomer Service's initiatives have on it. In order to do so, mixed methods research will be used. An online questionnaire will be handed out to Esbjerg International Community's virtual space and subsequent in-depth interviews will be applied to selected respondents of the questionnaire. The results will provide basis for recommendations so that Esbjerg Newcomer Service can improve its initiatives, designing more precise strategies to help newcomers build their network in the social space of the host country and, eventually, become integrated.

*For Lucas, who had to share the first
months of his life with this thesis.*

Thank you...

...and sorry about the stress, little boy.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background

The city of Esbjerg is host to a growing international community. The Newcomer Service, part of Esbjerg Municipality, is dedicated to welcoming new dwellers, both Danish and international (Energy Metropolis, 2016). The service is responsible for initiatives that aim to connect these newcomers through the network “Esbjerg International Community”. Upon arrival, newcomers are invited to join this community and take part in the activities it promotes. This practice is believed to provide the first steps to integration in the host country, working as a gateway for newcomers to build their social capital in Esbjerg (personal communication, P. Enemark and N. Hogan, June 13th, 2016).

Social capital is the intangible asset that comprises a social actor’s connections, a network of social ties that can be capitalized by individuals to attain benefits — to get ahead professionally, for example. Social capital can also be responsible for constraining individuals’ behavior — for example, in a neighborhood with high social capital, the watching eyes of its dwellers might keep kids from misbehaving. The idea that social capital can be an instrument to promote migrant integration is not new to public policy. As Nannestad explains, “a growing body of studies has confirmed that there is indeed a relationship between the level of social capital endowment [...] in a country and a wide array of economic and social outcomes, from economic prosperity and growth to governability” (Nannestad, 2010, p. 311). It is, therefore, in the best interest of Esbjerg that the Newcomer Service should promote such initiatives.

Studies that concentrate on integration and prosperity of the host society are more commonly focused on the outcomes of social capital, its consequences, and not on its sources (Woolcock, 1998; Portes, 1998). Initiatives as those of the Newcomer Service, however, would benefit more of understanding how social capital is built and what can impact connections formed in the host country. While social capital building results in integration, which is the main goal, governmental programs aimed at helping foreigners build a network function as instruments to achieve this goal, which justifies the need to better grasp processes that initiatives like “Esbjerg International Community” desire to affect.

The challenge of building social capital in the host country, however, rests upon the fact that migrants are faced with a social space that is new to them, where social representations are different than those from their home country. Their volume and composition of cultural, economic and social capital are not seen from the same perspective in the host country as they were at home. Umut Erel, in a study of how highly skilled Turkish women use their cultural

capital to integrate in the job market in Germany and in Britain, concluded that migrants, upon arrival, do not transpose their cultural capital to the host country and try to find where it best fits, but actually engage in mechanisms to validate this capital, adapting it to the new social space, thus creating “new forms of cultural capital in the countries of residence” (Erel, 2010, p. 649).

Although Erel’s study undertakes the perspective of women and focuses on cultural capital, it provides an interesting angle for the study of social capital building in a new social space: when they engage in mechanisms to validate capital volume and composition, foreigners are given a better perspective of the social space of the host country and of how they can assert themselves in this space.

Upon relocation or migration, individuals’ social capital, accrued in the country of origin, is restricted or left behind. The connections they built and that served them a purpose are not useful in the host country. Building social capital is of particular importance for individuals to assert themselves in the new space of life-styles, since representations are dependent not only on the individual’s position, but on how other individuals perceive him in the social space. It can also be a determining factor for whether the individual chooses to stay permanently in the host country or not.

The matter of permanence in the host country is particularly relevant for the purpose of the Newcomer Service. The municipality of Esbjerg is growing fast and experiencing a need for workers. The Newcomer Service’s objective to help foreigners to integrate is part of the strategy to retain this workforce, with initiatives aimed not only at the workers themselves, but at their families (Energy Metropolis, 2016). This scenario makes Esbjerg International Community a dynamic case for the study of social capital building in the space of life-styles of the host country.

Umut Erel’s study uncovered how migrant Turkish women validated their cultural capital in the space of life-styles of the host society and how these mechanisms resulted in the recognition of their cultural credentials, which kept them from having to accept job positions that underappreciated their skillset

This thesis intends to analyze how internationals build social capital when they are new to the space of life-styles and must negotiate their position in the social space of the host community. In light of the Newcomer Service’s initiatives, which aim to promote social capital that will eventually lead to integration, it is relevant to identify what influences social capital building. This is particularly important for the effectiveness of top-down programs that have the purpose of increasing social capital among its foreigners. It is also relevant from an academic perspective, since social capital studies are usually concentrated in its consequences and,

predominantly, its “good side” (Woolcock, 1998; Portes, 1998). Studies of how social ties are built and what impacts this process are not frequently seen.

1.2. Theory Framework

For the development of the research and the analysis, three main social capital theorists will serve as the framework for this paper. These are: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam.

From Pierre Bourdieu, the main contribution is the dynamic of the space of life-styles and how social actors are represented in it (Bourdieu, 1986). The concepts of the four forms of capital, the definition of habitus and social space, and how individuals differentiate themselves in the represented social world will be deeply explored. The main purpose is to demonstrate how Bourdieu’s theory explains how foreigners navigate the new space of life-styles to build social capital.

Bourdieu’s work focuses on social capital as an instrument for reproduction of inequality, as well as an asset of the more privileged social classes. In order to analyze the case of the international community in the city of Esbjerg, it is important to steer away from this notion, since, for the space of social differentiation of the host country, the representations of the social world and the definition of habitus have different parameters than they had in the social space of the country of origin.

James Coleman (1988) acknowledges that social capital also contains benefits that are not exclusive to the more privileged classes. His studies also reflect a background in rational choice theory, which contributes to emphasize the concept of social capital as beneficial ties between individuals. Although Bourdieu does describe the usefulness of the ties for the constitution of social capital, the fact that he does not envision social mobility for individuals whose set of constituted practices and tastes, or habitus, originates from a determined social class may prove to be hindering for this research. This is due to the fact that the habitus of members of the international community, as previously stated, was constituted in the country of origin, meaning that the notion of social class and social mobility from Bourdieu’s work cannot be verified in the case studied.

The work of Coleman, however, is widely founded in the family as a primordial form of social structure. Besides, Coleman claims that constructed forms of social organization, such as the school, are weaker than the primordial one. Despite the focus on the familiar structure as the most important and strongest form of social capital, Coleman’s understanding of its constructed forms can prove useful for this research when considered that the initial efforts to

engage newly arrived individuals is made by the Newcomer Service, an institutionalized construction meant to put relocated people in contact.

At last, the work of Robert Putnam will also serve as theoretical basis for this thesis. Contributions of Putnam to the concept of social capital are particularly important when he talks about bonding and bridging forms of social capital (Putnam, 2000). While Bourdieu (1986) restricted the benefits of social capital to the privileged classes and Coleman (1988) focused his analysis on the family structure, Putnam's research on the decline of social capital in American suburbs (Putnam, 2000) may present more similarities with the case studied in the city of Esbjerg, mainly due to the heterogeneous nature of the individuals and the outcomes of forming social connections in a community of neighbors, of people that live in the same city and visit the same places.

1.3. Problem Statement

As previously explained, relocated individuals are faced with a new space of social differentiation, in which they must negotiate their existing forms of capital as well as build social capital. These processes in the host country take place despite the fact that the referential frame that guides social actors' forms of capital is no longer present.

In light of the above described problem, this study intends to investigate and describe the process through which newcomers in Esbjerg constitute their social ties in the host country. More specifically, the research will intend to answer the following question:

How do institutionalized initiatives, such as those of the Esbjerg Newcomer Service, impact social capital building by relocated citizens in their new host country?

1.4. Methodology

Research for this thesis was performed from a mixed methods approach.

Two methods of data collection were used: an online questionnaire to be answered by members of Esbjerg International Community's virtual space and in-depth interviews to further investigate foreigners' perspectives on the space of life-styles of the host country as well to strengthen the validity of the research.

The online questionnaire was posted on Esbjerg International Community's virtual space and yielded 58 complete answer sheets. The in-depth interviews were made with four selected respondents from the online questionnaire, according to four different profiles that I was able to identify after an analysis of the complete answer sheets.

1.5. Structure

Chapter two consists on the **Theoretical Framework**. In it I provide a deeper analysis of the chosen theorists that ground this study.

Chapter three consists on the **Literature Review**. In it I critically analyze works related to the subject of this thesis.

Chapter three describes **Methods**. In it I walk the reader through the process of elaboration of the questionnaire and the interview guide, lay out the analysis methods and describe research limitations. A validity assessment and a reflection upon ethical issues close this chapter.

Chapter four consists of an **Analysis** of the data collected. In this chapter I present the research findings, intertwining results from the qualitative part with those from the online questionnaire.

Chapter five is a **Discussion**, in which the findings and its practical and theoretical implications will be put under scrutiny and critically assessed.

In chapter six I present the **Conclusion** and the **Perspectives**.

2. Theoretical framework: from social networks to capital

The initiative to connect internationals through a network first set up by Esbjerg's Newcomer Service is meant to promote integration in the city, not only between internationals, but between internationals and Danes. The connections made within this network serve a purpose, then, not only to the individuals who make them, but to the municipality as well. The ties formed in the context of the international community have a useful nature for its members in, for example, forming a network of acquaintances that can help with job search in the host country, or providing information about housing or taxes through informal channels. It is possible to say that the social connections built by members of the Esbjerg International Community can be capitalized into benefits for its subjects. This characteristic of the social network influenced this research to look into the given case from the perspective of social capital theory.

Social capital is the capital of social connections (Bourdieu, 1980), it is an intangible asset that, in an individual level, allows its holders to make use of their network of acquaintances to attain other assets. In a community level, social capital may be responsible for overall stability, a sense of security and thriving, insofar as the social connections, depending on their strength, bind individuals into working for the benefit of the group, not only themselves (Coleman, 1988; Putnam, 2000). An individual can choose to make use of his connections to reach a better job position, for example, but it is also possible that the connections lead social actors to behave in a way that benefits all, such as creating an activity group for children of expatriates (a concrete case from Esbjerg International Community), or simply refraining from behaving in harmful ways.

Three main social capital theorists were chosen as framework for the present research: Pierre Bourdieu, James Coleman and Robert Putnam. According to Field (2003, p. 13), the three have had "profoundly influential writing" in the social capital debate from 1980 to the present. Each of them provides specific contributions to the study of social capital from different perspectives (Field, 2003). Pierre Bourdieu's concept was developed from the critical theory point of view, and Bourdieu concerned himself with issues of reproduction of inequalities and how social capital contributes to it. Coleman's studies follow a rational theory perspective in which individuals chase after their own interests, combined with the sociological understanding social exchanges and how networks can serve the common good. Putnam works with civic engagement and associational life in order to explain how social capital can be responsible for the general well-being of the community. This chapter discusses the three authors' definitions and perspectives on social capital and how they influenced the present research.

2.1. Pierre Bourdieu: Space of life-styles, inequality, and forms of capital

Social capital, according to Pierre Bourdieu, can be a useful resource for an individual's trajectory in the social space. The role of social capital as an advantage can be better understood by observing the wider context of the author's definition of social space and of how individuals perceive their position in it. It is important to first understand Bourdieu's concept of the social space, or the space of life-styles, which is intrinsically connected to the concept of habitus.

In *Distinction*, Bourdieu proposes that the social space is an abstract representation of the different points of view of the individuals that constitute it. Each individual has a perspective on the social space, and this perspective depends on the individual's position in it. Both perspective and perception are influenced by the individual's habitus. Habitus is related to the conditions of existence of an individual, or a group of individuals; what was and continues to be incorporated in the course of a lifetime, as is determined by the surroundings, the family, the social, cultural, and educational factors that influence a person or an entire class (Bourdieu, 1984). The habitus is by its nature incorporated tastes and practices which are identified in the social space, allowing for individuals to be judged, or classified, as well as to judge or classify in turn.

The habitus can be defined, according to Bourdieu, by two capacities, the one to "produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 166). This second capacity can be understood as taste. The habitus, then, also influences the very constitution of the social space insofar as it influences the individual points of view that compose it. As Bourdieu further develops, the habitus is responsible for generating "meaningful practices and meaning-giving perceptions" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 166). Because the individuals' conditions of existence vary, and this variation makes up for a diversity in habitus as well, the mentioned practices are perceived as different life-styles. This is why Bourdieu also named the social space "the space of life-styles". As explained by Bourdieu, in the representation of the space of life-styles it is possible to observe how the initial condition of existence produced the habitus and how this habitus came to influence an individual's trajectory and perception within the social space.

When developing the concept of habitus, Bourdieu determined that individuals present themselves in the space of life-styles using "cultural symbols as marks of distinction" (Field, 2003, p. 13). Those marks serve the purpose of asserting one's position in the space of life-styles. Bourdieu observed that some marks of distinction, or cultural tastes, conferred higher status than others to the individuals who possessed them. Enjoying high-end classical music, for example, "was not a sign of intrinsic superiority, but coinage in the cultural currency used by a particular social group [...] to maintain superiority over other groups" (Field, 2003, p. 14).

Bourdieu noticed that cultural taste could be capitalized, or traded, in the space of life-styles in order to identify an individual as belonging to a certain social class. The taste for cultural goods is, thus, named cultural capital, in a parallel with monetary capital, and for Bourdieu an individual's cultural capital "can to some extent operate independently of monetary holdings, and even compensate for lack of money as part of an individual's or a group's strategy to pursue power and status" (Field, 2003, p. 14). This definition sheds light on the meaning of the word "capital" in the context of Bourdieu's work.

When broadening the use of the term capital, Bourdieu employs it "in a wider system of exchanges whereby assets of different kinds are transformed and exchanged" (Moore, 2008, p. 102), which extends the meaning of capital beyond that of economic currency or tangible assets. The social space is where these exchanges occur, and individuals exchange their representations of intangible assets in order to assert themselves in it. The taste for classical music, or a higher education diploma, for example, are representatives of an individual's class, and this recognition in the social space does more than determine someone's place in this space, it can also provide access to exclusive groups, job positions or higher levels of education. The recognition of social actors' capital assets, their background to be negotiated in the social space, provides a representation of the social space, a "snap-shot" of the classes that constitute it; capital exchanges, on the other hand, shape the social space, transforming it as individuals' capital is negotiated and enhanced or modified.

Bourdieu defines the social space as three-dimensional. According to the author, the three forms of capital that can be accumulated by an individual — cultural, economic and social — constitute his overall capital or the set of "actually usable resources and powers" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 108). The three dimensions of the social space are defined as capital volume, capital composition, and "change in these two properties over time" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 108). Individuals would then differentiate themselves within the social space not only through habitus, but also according to how much of the forms of capital they possess, and their trajectory in this social space would indicate the changes in capital volume and composition over time.

Bourdieu also describes a fourth form of capital: "symbolic capital". Symbolic capital entails all three forms in their representations on the social space. It is the capital that confers social status by aggregating the sum of volume and composition of the other three forms (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013). Through the notion of symbolic capital Bourdieu described the exertion of symbolic violence. Symbolic violence takes place in the social space when the recognition of an individual's forms of capital "imposes itself as an authority" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013, p. 298), leading to the assertion of perceived superiority of a social actor in the face of another. It is also the way through which the three forms of capital, summed up as

symbolic capital, exert power in the space of life-styles. Since it is composed of economic, cultural and social capital, symbolic capital can be transformed when the three other forms possessed by an individual are also transformed in the social actor's effort to change his representation in the social space. This describes the search for social status that can be translated into power relations in the space of life styles (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2013).

Bourdieu's research on the French social space in *Distinction* provides a description of three forms of capital possessed by individuals, and with which they will define and negotiate their position in the social space. The first form, *cultural capital*, comprises a diversity of aspects that can be identified according to three different states: embodied, objectified and institutionalized (Bourdieu, 1979). The embodied state suggests assimilation over time. In its embodied form, cultural capital "[...] becomes a constituting part of the person, a habitus" (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 4), it is inherited in an upbringing context and is translated in a persons' acquired tastes. For example, enjoying a certain kind of music, or speaking or behaving in a way that is representative of the class in which the individual was brought up. Cultural capital also possesses an objectified state, that of actual cultural objects, such as works of art or books. This state of cultural capital can be transmitted without necessarily becoming embodied when cultural goods are exchanged between individuals. The third state, the institutionalized state, regards acquired education and titles, which the author describes as credentials of cultural competences to those who have acquired cultural capital in this form (Bourdieu, 1979, p. 5). Educational diplomas are institutionally recognized forms of cultural capital acquisition, insofar as they are validated and transmitted in the context of legitimate institutions.

A second form of capital described by Pierre Bourdieu is *economic capital*, which comprises an individual's material possessions, from income to assets such as housing or clothing. It can be converted into cultural capital when an individual pays for institutional education or acquires objects that allow him to be identified by his cultural tastes (Bourdieu, 1984).

The third form mentioned in Bourdieu's *Distinction* is *social capital*. In the book, social capital figures a number of times, and a definition for it can be apprehended from these mentions, however, it is in the 1980 article entitled "Le capital social" that Bourdieu describes in more depth the characteristics of social capital. It is "the group of resources, actual or potential, possessed by a lasting network of relationships somewhat institutionalized of reciprocated acquaintance and recognition" (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 2, own translation). Nonetheless, *Distinctions* provides a better picture of how social capital is used by individuals as a resource in the social space.

When a social actor asserts himself in the space of life-styles, cultural capital volume could, then, for example, be determining for professional distinction and recognition in the social space as representative of a class to which the individual aspires. Economic capital, on the other hand, would indicate how rich this individual is. As for social capital, Bourdieu provides examples and scenarios in which this particular form can be decisive for the individual's positioning and trajectory. Lack of social capital within a work field may render fruitless the investment in cultural capital to acquire the appropriate set of skills for a specific profession, exemplified in *Distinction* by "a law graduate who, for lack of social capital, becomes a community cultural worker" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 146). This "capital of social connections" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 116) is also described as essential for the individual to sustain his position in a social class as the French high society.

Bourdieu suggests that for the network of relationships entailed by social capital to be formed the agents that participate in it must have a minimum of commonalities, which are, in turn, connected back to the notion of habitus:

"[...] while relatively irreducible to the economic or cultural capitals possessed by a given agent or even by the group of agents among which it occurs, social capital is never completely independent of the fact that the exchanges that institute inter-recognition presuppose the recognition of a minimum of 'objective' homogeneity, and that it has a multiplying effect on the capital possessed itself" (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 2, own translation).

Homogeneity is verified within a group of individuals, or a class, under the same conditions of existence, that is, individuals whose habitus is alike. In *Distinction*, Bourdieu describes the *class habitus*, defining it as a "practice-unifying and practice-generating principle" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 95). Class habitus would account for homogenous conditions of existence, which would lead to homogenous conditioning and homogenous tastes and practices within the social space — these, in turn, would contribute to the identification, or inter-recognition of agents in the space of life-styles. Sharing class habitus, however, is not conditional to constituting social capital. The article "Le capital social" clarifies that it takes a "minimum" of homogeneity for this recognition process to take place. This indicates that a useful network of relationships, or social capital, is constituted by individuals among which one can verify commonalities of habitus, but not necessarily agents that share exactly the same class habitus. Social capital has another important characteristic which Bourdieu makes explicit in "Le capital social": the multiplying effect it has on the different forms of capital possessed by agents.

Bourdieu also recognizes that social capital does not constitute itself naturally, but requires an effort from agents to constitute and cultivate its useful connections (Bourdieu, 1980). The utility of the connections is another relevant characteristic of social capital for Bourdieu who, according to Field, “acknowledged that the value of an individual’s ties [...] depends on the number of connections they can mobilize and the volume of capital [...] possessed by each connection” (Field, 2003, p. 17). The efforts to constitute social connections is therefore driven by the possibility of capitalizing these connections into an advantage in the social space, which would, in turn, allow agents to expand on their other forms of capital as well. Professionally, an individual can benefit from social capital in order to be favored among others, which can be a career booster and an economic capital multiplier, for example.

Bourdieu’s contribution to social capital studies is fundamental, but it is still susceptible to criticism. First, because Bourdieu’s studies were greatly focused on understanding the reproduction of inequalities, his perspective is that of a social space of relative immobility of the agents that compose it. Social capital also plays its part in this scenario of low mobility. Considering that, for Bourdieu, a minimum of objective homogeneity is necessary for ties to be constituted, it is possible to conclude that social capital will be verified among members of the same or of similar class habitus, which means that the benefits of this form of capital will be harvested by individuals within the same class, thus reproducing inequalities.

A second point of criticism, according to Field (2003), is Bourdieu’s view of social capital as a mostly benign asset, leaving aside the possibility of a darker side to it. Third, Bourdieu’s individualistic perspective of social capital would also be open to criticism. This view suggests that “connections are cultivated by individuals in order to maintain their superiority, and associational life is therefore simply a means to an end” (Field, 2003, p. 20). According to Bourdieu, connections are made through individual agency with a specific purpose, which does not concede space for social capital to be formed through the interactions of a group. A fourth point of criticism would be that Bourdieu describes social capital as an asset of the more privileged classes, ignoring the possibility that less privileged agents benefit from the social ties that they form (Field, 2003).

2.2. James Coleman: From rational theory to a common good

Coleman’s conceptualization of social capital also uses elements from both economic and sociological thinking. While Bourdieu’s concept involves the appropriation and broadening of the term “capital” to be applied in the context of social reproduction of inequalities, Coleman suggests an approach that uses both rational theory from the economic perspective and a theory of actions governed by social norms from the sociological perspective. For Coleman, the two

streams of intellectual thought are flawed, individually, in their attempts to explain social action, but elements of each brought together can build up a coherent conceptual framework (Coleman, 1988). Sociological theory, for Coleman, ignores the actor's individuality and fails to give him "a purpose or direction". Economic thinking, in turn, ignores the social context. Coleman's proposition to explain social action stems from a theory of rational action and is enhanced by elements of the sociological stream of thought that, according to the author, maintain the initial coherent framework.

One of the aspects of rational action theory is that individuals possess certain resources and are interested in particular events or other resources. The resources possessed are used to obtain the desired ones. For example, if an individual has money, and wants a pair of shoes, he employs the currency resource and obtains the clothing item. Social capital is one of the resources available to social actors. In another example, if an individual desires membership in an exclusive club, and he has acquaintances who are part of that club, he can mobilize this social capital to be let in. This imbues social capital with a functionality for the individual. As Coleman stated, "[i]f we begin with a theory of rational action [...], then social capital constitutes a particular kind of resource available to an actor. Social capital is defined by its function" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). Social capital enables individuals to achieve "certain ends that in its absence would not be possible" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98), such as membership in a closed, traditional community, that allows individuals to stay ahead in business, or a common origin, as the same high school or same home town, which can serve as an advantage at a different stance and so on. Social capital can be productive in a variety of stances that are not only economic.

Unlike physical and human capital, however, which exist in stocks, social capital "inheres in the structure of relations between actors and among actors" (Coleman, 1988, p. S98). In Coleman's understanding, social capital originates "through changes in the relations among persons that facilitate action" (Coleman, 1988, p. S100). It is, therefore, an intangible resource, existing only in interpersonal exchanges. In the economic stream of thought, as a resource, social capital has value, which is capitalized by social actors in order for them to attain what they desire. This is where Coleman's suggests a theory of social capital should originate and be developed: social capital is the value attributed to aspects of the social structure that serve as resources for actors to achieve their interests (Coleman, 1988, p. S101). Such resources can also be combined with other resources to produce "different outcomes for individuals" (Coleman, 1988, p. S101). At this point, Coleman's rational-based theoretical framework moves on to the sociological perspective. According to the author, social relations "can constitute useful capital resources for individuals" (Coleman, 1988, p. S102).

Coleman (1988) highlights aspects of social structures that constitute the useful nature of social relations and that can be found in what the author sees as forms of social capital, ways in which useful social exchanges can occur. The presence and the characteristics of those aspects can be determining for social ties to be capitalized in order for actors to obtain what they wish from the social relations.

The first aspect regards *obligations, expectations and trustworthiness* of the social structure. As Coleman explains, obligations and expectations come up when an individual does something for another. The individual who was favored by the exchange is charged with an obligation, while the individual who did something for another is imbued with expectation that this exchange will benefit him in the future. Coleman compares this to credit slips. One individual is in debt to the other, which creates credit to be capitalized in the future.

For a social structure to rely on this form of exchange between individuals, trust is a key factor. Credit slips are based on the expectation that whatever was performed for the other will be repaid when necessary. For Coleman, this aspect of the social structure represents a form of social capital, and it is dependent on trustworthiness within the network and on the extent of obligations. The accumulation of credit slips in a single individual, for example, will render this individual a very powerful actor within the social structure, since he will have a broad range of actors from whom to collect obligations.

The second aspect highlighted by Coleman as constituting the useful nature of social relations are *information channels*. These are described by the author as connections to keep an individual up to date. Coleman explains that acquiring information is costly to individuals, who will, then, maintain certain social relations for their usefulness as an information channel. These types of social relations may “constitute a form of social capital that provides information that facilitates action” (Coleman, 1988, p. S104). In this case, the social ties are not cultivated due to the expectation that an obligation will be fulfilled, but because of the information they may provide.

Finally, the third aspect discussed by Coleman are *norms and effective sanctions*. The author states that the existence of an effective norm constitutes a powerful form of social capital. This is because norms link people through shared obligations toward providing the public good. Coleman uses the example of the social norm that says “one should forgo self-interest and act in the interests of the collectivity” as an important form of social capital. Hence social capital, when respected and reinforced, contributes to overall well-being and prosperity, as well as security and stability. Coleman points out, however, that this form of social capital is not centered in facilitating actions, but in restraining them, in holding up individuals from doing what goes against the public interest.

So, we see that, in Coleman's definition, social capital is more a public than a private good. Even though it relates to a set of resources possessed by individuals, social capital does not benefit that individual *alone*. As explained by Field (2003) "[u]nlike human and physical capital [...] Coleman portrayed social capital as [...] a public good that is created by and may benefit not just those whose efforts are required to realize it, but all who are part of a structure" (Field, 2003, pp. 23-24). It enables a social group to achieve a set of common goals. In order for social capital to be verified there should be "*closure*" in the social network, a property of social relations described by Coleman. Closure is "the existence of mutually reinforcing relations between different actors and institutions" (Field, 2003, pp. 24-25). In a network with closure one can expect obligations to be repaid, but also the reinforcement of sanctions in order to constrain certain actions. As an example of a network with closure, Coleman references catholic families and the lower student drop-out rate in catholic schools. The religious community provides "intergenerational closure", and this form of social capital depresses the chance of dropping out of high school (Coleman, 1988, p. S115). This characteristic of social capital is important insofar as it affects the creation of human capital.

In Coleman's social capital theory, it is also interesting to highlight the role of social structures in facilitating the advantages capitalized by the social network. He identified two forms of social organization: primordial and constructed. Primordial forms had their origins in ties established by childbirth, such as the family, while constructed forms referred to institutionalized social organization (Field, 2003). Constructed forms were thought to be weaker than primordial ones with regards to social control, or closure. Coleman attributed the historical downfall of family structures to a "transfer of responsibility [from] primary to constructed organizations [...], leading to a long-term erosion of the 'social capital on which societal functioning has depended'" (Field, 2003, p. 26). This shows that, for Coleman, the increase in constructed forms of social capital is seen as having negative impact on society.

2.3. Robert Putnam: Voluntary associations and civic engagement

Putnam is one of the most recognized scholars in contemporary studies of social capital. His first prominent study on the subject linked civic engagement to political instability and economic underdevelopment in the south of Italy (Putnam et al., 1993). Social capital, or the lack of it, could be pointed out as the culprit of the region's relative stagnation compared to the northern part of the country. Putnam then set out to investigate the decline of social capital in the United States through the observation of engagement in associations. In *Bowling Alone*, he demonstrated that social capital in the US has been decreasing since the mid-twentieth century.

Social capital, according to Putnam's definition, refers "to connections among individuals — social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (Putnam, 2000, p. 19). In comparison to the first two authors presented in this section, Putnam's definition does not highlight the individual advantage of social ties, or the selfish characteristic of social capital as an asset for individuals to get ahead. While Putnam recognizes the importance of social capital for an individual's self-interest, he is more concerned with understanding the broader impact of this form of capital in the wider sense of a community, be it regional or national. Social capital, for Putnam, can be both a private and a public good, benefiting those who make the investment in it as well as those who surround them, "bystanders", as he calls them (Putnam, 2000).

Furthermore, Putnam highlights the importance of a network's norms of reciprocity and trust. He states that networks are not simply contacts for the people who participate in them to activate when needed, but rather imply expected reciprocity between members, which resembles Coleman's theoretical approach regarding the aspects that constitute the useful nature of social relations. For Putnam, "[c]ivic engagement and social capital entail mutual obligation and responsibility for action" (Putnam, 2000, p. 21). He also explains that there are different forms of social capital, which Putnam named bridging and bonding social capital, and that these forms have different uses for the individual and for the community. Some of these are family, religious organizations, school friends, civic organizations, and professional acquaintances. Social ties can be denser or looser, which will indicate to what extent the social capital formed by those ties benefits wider group, or the community, rather than a select group of individuals.

Putnam also recognizes that social capital is not always beneficial, and while a network may be good for those who take part in it, the same is not always true when it comes to the external effects of social capital. As Putnam states, social capital "can be directed toward malevolent, antisocial purposes, just like any other form of capital" (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). The overestimation of community ties and "exaltation of social capital" (Putnam, 2000, p. 361) would lead to hatred attitudes toward non-members of a social network. This is verified in the present in relation to closed immigrant communities in a host country's social setting, for example. Instead of integrating in the host society, immigrants choose to remain enclosed in a community of their nationals, be it for lack of integration opportunity, failure of public integration policies or xenophobia — these motives are not the object of this research. Regardless of the reasons, an "us versus them" situation is created within the host country's social space, with ever growing hostility. This is one of the reasons why Putnam emphasizes the need to maximize the positive consequences of social capital and to minimize the negative ones.

Another great contribution of Putnam to the conceptualization of social capital is the distinction between its bridging and bonding forms. The author explains that “some forms of social capital are [...] inward looking and tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups” (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). These would be of the bonding type, and some examples are ethnic organizations or church-based women’s reading groups. These associations are, by their constituting nature, exclusive. Outward looking networks, on the other hand, “encompass people across diverse social cleavages” (Putnam 2000, p. 22). Examples of these are the civil rights movement or ecumenical religious organizations.

Both forms described by Putnam have particular benefits. Bonding networks can provide essential support for members of ethnic enclave communities, while bridging networks “are better for linkage to external assets and for information diffusion” (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). Both bonding and bridging forms of social capital can be verified across social dimensions; a group may bridge across dimensions such as age, ethnicity or gender, while, at the same time, bond across ideological dimensions (Putnam, 2000). This means that groups are not of either the bridging or of the bonding type, but rather have more or less of these forms of social capital when it comes to certain dimensions.

2.4. Theoretical framework and research elaboration

The three authors that constitute the framework for this research have heavily influenced social capital studies.

Pierre Bourdieu’s notion that social capital is formed among individuals with similar habitus suggests the restriction of the benefits brought by this form of capital to somewhat homogenous individuals. This allows for the interpretation that habitus heterogeneity within a network of useful connections, as defined by Bourdieu, is an improbability. This may lead to the conclusion that social networks will rarely be constituted by individuals of different social classes. Bourdieu describes exclusive clubs whose members are of higher social classes, or associations constituted by members of lower classes, and stresses that social mobility will rarely be attained through such ties. Although social capital meets its benefits in ties that can be mobilized for an individual to get ahead in the social space, harvesting those benefits will be a privilege of those who have already asserted themselves in the social space as belonging to certain classes, hindering social mobility and reproducing inequalities.

In the case studied, Esbjerg Newcomer Service welcomes internationals of diverse backgrounds and attempts to connect them to a wider network of foreigners in the city. These individuals come from different countries. They have relocated for different reasons, and most of them have no connections in the host country — Denmark. For the newcomers, Esbjerg poses

a new social space, one whose objectified practices are unknown, and to whom the internationals' representations, or their habitus, is also unknown. The foreigners have constituted their habitus, as well as cultural capital, in their home country, through practices that are not necessarily recognized by individuals in the space of social differentiation within the host country.

From Bourdieu's perspective, habitus is determining of the connections formed by an individual. Habitus is recognized in the space of social differentiation by the actors that compose it through the interpretation of representations, or social decoding. Members of different social classes assert themselves and differentiate from others, which implies reconnaissance of features that constitute their habitus. Social connections, to Bourdieu, will be either inherited from family or will be formed through the recognition of homogeneity of habitus (Bourdieu, 1984). Taking this under consideration for the case of the international community, the homogenous trait found between members is the fact that they are internationals. However, characteristics that are of great relevance for Bourdieu, and that are formative of habitus, such as cultural tastes, education, family background are overseen in the constitution of this international community.

It is interesting to observe, from a theoretical perspective, to what extent Bourdieu's understanding that a minimum recognition of habitus homogeneity is necessary for social capital to be formed is true in the social setting of a city that welcomes internationals and urges them to constitute a social network in order to, in the future, integrate.

For James Coleman, social capital is an enabler, an asset that allows individuals to attain other assets, be they tangible or not. An interesting contribution of Coleman's work to the theoretical basis of this research is the description of two forms of social organization, the primordial and the constructed one. As mentioned, constructed forms of social organization, to Coleman, are weaker than primordial ones. In the case studied, Esbjerg International Community can be seen as a constructed form, since it is constituted by the Newcomer Service when it guides newly arrived internationals to the community. The further development and cultivation of social ties within it, however, are a product of both the Newcomer Service's initiatives to keep the network active and of its members in participating in those activities. The research conducted could shed light on the dynamic of this constructed nature of the international community and on its possibly weaker character.

Coleman's three aspects of the social structures which allow useful social exchanges to occur represent an interesting theoretical framework for the research, insofar as they describe some characteristics of social networks that can be measured in order to determine the level of

social capital and the usefulness of connections. The questions prepared for the survey were based on the description of some of these aspects, among other things.

Along with Coleman's description of the aspect of social structures, Putnam's definition of the norms of trustworthiness and reciprocity that constitute social networks served as base to elaborate part of the questionnaire. In order to identify the strength of ties formed by the Newcomer Service's initiatives and to measure the social capital present in Esbjerg International Community, social trust and the expectation of reciprocity within members were considered to enrich the survey.

It is also important to observe the two forms of social capital described by Robert Putnam during the analysis of the data collected in order to better understand the nature of the connections formed at the core of Esbjerg International Community, and whether they may reflect the fact that this is a type of constructed organization.

In the following chapter I present a Literature Review with selected works relevant to this thesis.

3. Literature Review: social capital on the mainstream

In this chapter I present other works that served as relevant reference to this thesis. These are academic articles and book chapters that address social capital research aspects that could contribute to enriching my research. The publications were mostly researched through the Southern Denmark University's library search tool: *Summon*. Keywords pertaining to social capital research methods were inserted into the database search interface. Some of them figured in the reference list of other studies used during the reading preparation for this chapter, but it was again through *Summon* that the publications used in this thesis were found. Research parameters for scientific journals was restricted to peer reviewed publications.

3.1. Social capital: a term on the mainstream

The popularity of the concept of **social capital** can be seen in the increase of its use in academic production since the 1980s. This increase has placed the subject in relevance not only in diverse areas of academic studies, from sociology to political sciences and economy, it has also contributed to leading the concept of social capital to the public debate (Field, 2003; Woolcock, 2010; Ostrom & Ahn, 2010; Portes, 1998).

Woolcock (2010) provides three general motives for the prominence of the concept of social capital and for its extrapolation from sociology since the 1980s: the historical moment, an intellectual gap and an effective promotion of the concept. The post-Cold War realization that governments and markets were ineffective in addressing key issues such as order, governance, and development was met by an intellectual gap represented by the lack of satisfactory alternative explanations for the aforementioned issues. In this scenario, Putnam's study of *civiness* in modern Italy (Putnam, 1993) offered a refreshing social capital perspective on matters such as regional prosperity (Woolcock, 2010; Field, 2003). Putnam's ideas resonated with a political conjuncture that was open to new debates regarding more social-oriented policies. Still according to Woolcock (2010), the rise of the concept of social capital provided a language that could be assimilated into public debates on topics about which people had strong opinions. The mainstream character of social capital in literature, or its "routinization", is owed to recurrent application of the concept and its promotion by names such as Putnam's (Woolcock, 2010).

For Portes (1998), social capital is currently on the mainstream because the use of the concept generally highlights the positive effects sociability has, obscuring its negative consequences. Social capital has also become appealing to policy-makers insofar as, according to the general positive features linked to it, it points to different solutions to social problems than economic ones (Portes, 1998). Portes also acknowledges that the concept of social capital calls attention to relevant phenomena. Portes (1998 and 2000) expresses concern, however, with the treatment given to the

concept, indicating that the plethora of applications of social capital in a variety of studies leads to confusion regarding the definition of the concept. Portes provides important theoretical contributions to the concept of social capital by identifying its sources in the context of individual interactions and by summarizing its effects according to the existing literature on social capital, which focuses mostly on its community trait (Portes, 1998).

3.2. Identifying social capital

When assessing how social capital is built, it is relevant to take under consideration an analysis of the sources of social capital and the motivations individuals or a group may have to provide others with access to the resources linked with social capital (Portes, 1998). Considering a broad definition of social capital as the potential access to resources that membership in a group or association represents for social actors (Portes, 1998) it is possible to observe that the possession of social capital is conditioned to social relations (Coleman, 1988), and that from the perspective of a single individual, social capital can be found in the **others**, namely, the ones with whom this individual relates and who represent the potential access to desired resources (Portes, 1998, p. 7). These **others** allow access to resources according to different motivations, which are discussed in the following paragraphs.

At an individual level, it is possible to identify **value introjection** and **reciprocity exchanges** as the first sources of social capital (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998). These are categorized, respectively, in *consummatory* and *instrumental* motivations that lead others to make resources available to one individual. **Value introjection**, through *consummatory* motivations, has its origins in shared values and norms that compel people to behave in a certain manner; for example, paying debts in time or providing for charity. **Reciprocity exchanges**, through *instrumental* motivations, on the other hand, originate in the expectation of reciprocity from the individual who is the beneficiary of the availability of resources. This means that an individual will allow access to a resource under the expectation of repayment, a *quid pro quo* relation. For example, facilitating access to a club expecting the beneficiary to owe a debt, but not necessarily to be paid in the same “currency”, i.e., access to another club, and without time limit for such debt to be repaid. These characteristics differentiate social capital transactions from economic, or market exchange ones (Portes, 1998, p. 7).

There are two more sources of social capital which also represent the *consummatory/instrumental* dichotomy (Portes, 1998). The first originates from the mechanism of **bounded solidarity**, which compels individuals to facilitate access to resources based on group identification (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998). It is a form of *consummatory* motivation insofar as the altruistic disposition of the source is conditioned to a sense of belonging to the same group as the beneficiary. It is present, for example, when a member of a church makes anonymous contributions to institutions connected to that church, or among members of a collective movement when they provide support to one another, or the movement, based on the shared sense of belonging.

The final source of social capital originates through a mechanism of **enforceable trust** (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 1998), which is rooted in Durkheim's group rituals, to which sanctioning power can be attributed. This source is of *instrumental* motivation, since social actors expect either group status or sanctions according to action or inaction when faced with the possibility of facilitating access to social capital's potential resources. As an example of group status, Portes (1998, p. 9) describes a member of an ethnic group who funds scholarships to individuals who identify with the same ethnic group. The beneficiaries are not personally known to the facilitator, but the act alone endows its facilitator with group status. On the other side of this exchange is enforceable trust under the possibility of community sanction when, for example, a banker is faced with the possibility to facilitate access to a loan to a member of the same religious group. Not doing so would guarantee sanctions or individual ostracism (Portes, 1998, p. 9).

It is interesting to observe that the first two sources, **value introjection** and **reciprocity exchanges**, have the **other** as their protagonist, as a facilitator of access to the resources that can be harvested by those who possess social capital. Individuals, in these two cases, act compelled by either internalized values or by a selfish expectation that granting access will result in future benefits. The motivations of these sources are analyzed in an individual level, by looking into individual interactions, while the last two sources, **bounded solidarity** and **enforceable trust**, show how individual action is shaped by the community, or how the structure of the social connections influences access to the group of potential resources embedded in the concept of social capital — the community in these cases is responsible for the choice made by the individual. This shows a clear parallel with James Coleman's notion of "closure" (Coleman, 1988), since it is the community ties that shape individual behavior toward a common good.

The relevance of the above-mentioned motivations for the investigation of how social capital is built relies on the fact that they provide context for the social interactions and allow for a deeper analysis of the social connections studied. It is also important for a study on how social capital is formed to be able to identify its sources more than focus on its consequences (Woolcock, 1998), since it is the sources that sustain the exchanges in which social capital's benefits can be harvested — or in which its negative effects might have a chance to be corrected. It is also worthy of observation that social interactions and social capital access and building are imbued with more than one type of the identified motivations (Portes, 1998).

3.3. The social capital perspective on migration and integration studies

Esbjerg International Community exists in the context of the Energy Metropolis, a positioning, or rebranding, of the city of Esbjerg that aims to highlight the fact that many energy companies, mainly in the fields of oil and gas and wind power, are stationed in the city. This rebranding is accompanied by the fact that Esbjerg's rapid growth has led to a shortage of highly-skilled migrants, which compelled

the municipality to attract foreign manpower (Energy Metropolis, 2016). A series of initiatives have been put in place to welcome these immigrants and provide a stepping-stone for their integration in the city. The Newcomer Service is one of these initiatives. In order to better understand the case investigated for this thesis, it is important to take a closer look at perspectives of social capital on integration.

3.3.1. The collective action dilemma

Integration in the host country presents issues inherent to the collective action dilemma (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010; Nannestad, 2010; Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). This means that while integrating represents a common interest for both the host society and the immigrant, the immediate costs of integration might exceed its benefits (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010). Individuals and the host society are then faced with the choice of acting in a way that, in the long run, will result in common benefits but will sacrifice short-term self-interests. Integration costs are generally non-economic and related to adaptation (Nannestad, 2010). While immigrants must acquire the host country's language and learn how to socialize in a new system of values that might be conflicting with their internalized one, natives must equip themselves to deal with cultural heterogeneity and to be open to new forms of social interaction, as well as accept new competition for employment, for example

Peter Nannestad (2010) investigates the integration deficits in Western Europe from the perspective of the collective action dilemma and identifies three solutions to it. The first solution is *regulation*, which is limited in solving the problem, particularly due to risks of violating individuals' personal liberties and rights in attempting to enforce integration on people. The second solution would be in *selective incentives*, and in order for it to be effective the entirety of institutional apparatuses set up with the purpose of integration — for example, language acquisition programs and employers incentives to hiring immigrants — must be in synergy. *Selective incentives* downside is the *clientelization* of immigrants, a situation in which they would have everything dealt with for them, possibly resulting in loss of initiatives and motivation to work around their situation (Nannestad, 2010).

Social capital is presented as a third solution. Considering that the collective action dilemma has its origins in lack of trust between individuals faced with it, and that trust is a marker of social capital, the presence of social capital would indicate willingness to cooperate (Nannestad, 2010). From the perspective of game theory and the Prisoner's Dilemma, knowing that others will make the choice for a cooperative solution would render players more inclined to make the same choice. This indicates that trust can make social actors more willing to choose to act on behalf of the common interest rather than on selfish motivations (Ostrom & Ahn, 2010).

Nannestad (2010) found that there is a positive relation between levels of *social capital* and labor market integration of immigrants — which was the proxy used by the author to immigrant integration. *Selective incentives* were found to have a greater impact in solving the collective action

dilemma than social capital. The effectiveness of selective incentives, however, can be hindered by some welfare state's institutions. While selective incentives are decisive for integration in welfare states, Nannestad's study found that social capital has an actual impact in solving collective action dilemmas regarding integration.

It is important to highlight from this case how studies on migration can benefit from the social capital perspective not only to investigate solutions to immigrant integration issues, but also to understand problems related to it, namely, the effectiveness of integration policies. Because Nannestad's study is based on quantitative data, it does not offer an answer to how, in practice, social capital actually contributes to promoting integration — or to hindering it, in the cases of low level of social capital and segregation of immigrants.

3.3.2. Bonding and bridging social capital in integration literature

Integration studies also highlight the bonding/bridging types of social capital when investigating migrant communities. As explained in the **Theoretical Framework** chapter, Robert Putnam (2000) describes bonding social capital as that inherent to an inward-looking, exclusive network, while bridging describes looser ties and a more inclusive network. The nature of the ties formed by immigrants in the host society might be determining for integration, and the negative consequences associated with the bonding type of social capital are a matter of concern in integration literature, since a closed network could result in reluctance from social actors to integrate.

Epstein (2010) investigates how immigrants' choice of location in the host country shapes the level and of social capital they will be able to build and subsequent assimilation. Settling in a place with a large network of migrants of same ethnicity will result in lower probability of assimilation in the host country. A larger network might have a negative effect on host country language acquisition and "decrease the ability of the migrants to integrate" (Epstein, 2010, p. 300). Individuals who choose to migrate to places with a smaller network of people of same ethnicity will more likely expand their social capital to include natives from the host country, thus helping their assimilation process. Epstein's work sheds light on how the choice of immigrants to not let go of aspects from their original culture can impact the social capital they build in the host country or region.

It is interesting to notice that a large network of same ethnicity in this case will function as bonding social capital, providing stronger connections between individuals and imbued with an exclusive character. This would account for the lower likelihood of assimilation in the host country. A smaller network would be responsible for fewer ties of the bonding type of social capital, leading immigrants to build social capital of the bridging type, resulting in more chances of assimilation.

In the case of Esbjerg International Community, Epstein's perspective may enrich the analysis if we consider to what degree respondents' willingness to hold on to their home countries' cultural and social aspects has affected social capital building in Esbjerg.

Nannestad, Svendsen and Svendsen (2008) also look into integration from the perspective of bonding/bridging social capital in a study aimed at investigating how the two types affect integration of immigrants in Denmark. In a theoretical framework that refines the currently used distinction, the study defines three types of social capital: bridging (BR), negative bonding (BO-), and positive bonding (BO+). Negative bonding is defined as excessive bonding social capital, which would account for “superglued groups” (Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008, p. 610). This means that bonding social capital should not necessarily be associated with the dark side of social capital (Putnam, 2000), but, in fact, it may at times contribute to the development of the bridging type. Negative bonding social capital is that which “crowds out or destroys bridging social capital” (Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008, p. 613). The study presupposes the coexistence of different types of social capital in a given network.

The findings of this study led to the conclusion that, in fact, bonding social capital does not hinder the development of the bridging type, which is linked to integration. As long as immigrant communities are encouraged to interact across groups, the potential for bridging social capital to develop from the bonding type will exist. It is interesting to observe that this study does not overlook the negative consequences of social capital, but rather, it takes into account the fact that social capital is usually represented as an all-encompassing solution from a too positive perspective of community harmony, which is the object of recurring criticism (Portes, 1998; Woolcock, 2010; Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008), as previously approached in the **Theoretical Framework** chapter. The authors’ choice to directly address and work with the negative consequences of the bonding type of social capital provides an important contribution to future social capital studies.

3.3.3 A place-based approach

Lesage and Ha (2012) provide another study worthy of mention. Although it regards in-country migration and integration, it presents an investigation of to what extent social capital is place-based, considering that relations between people exist in a given location, and questions what kind of impact this could have on integration. This study can be said to work in an opposite direction from the others. Instead of looking into the effects of social capital on migration, Lesage and Ha analyze the impact of migration on social capital. They verify how social capital, defined by means of civic engagement actions, such as voting and membership association, is modified by both inward and outward migration in counties, also accounting for demographic factors previously associated with social capital.

The study concludes that while inbound migration has a positive effect on social capital, outbound migration affects negatively the social capital of a given county. A “transfer of social capital” (Lesage & Ha, 2012, p. 24) can be verified in the cases studied, which indicates that social capital has features that are not place based. This means that immigrants’ propensity to form connections in the host community has an important role in building social capital, a fact that will also be taken into

account in the analysis of the data collected for this thesis, particularly regarding the in-depth interview data, which is expected to provide better insight into the process of social capital building from the perspective of the individual.

Lesage and Ha's study is also interesting from the point of view of the Newcomer Service's initiatives. If the propensity of immigrants to build social capital is indicated by the data collection for this thesis, the initiatives in the context of Esbjerg International Community have the potential to encourage social capital building and to strengthen the connection within the network, incurring in a positive feedback situation.

3.4. Assessing social capital

Current studies on social capital measurement assess it by means of dimensions associated with the concept. There is no single measurement tool for social capital, and because its working definitions tend to embrace multiple dimensions, the concept changes as per context of the study and a lack of long-standing implemented survey mechanisms leads researchers to use proxy tools and adapt existing mechanisms (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Jones & Woolcock, 2000). There are, however, dimensions of social capital recurrently used in contemporary research, such as membership in associations and measurements of networks norms and values (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000; Jones & Woolcock, 2010; Ostrom 2010; Nannestad, 2010; Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). An attempt to compile these dimensions and provide a basis for social capital measurement can be found in the World Bank's publication *Measuring Social Capital: an integrated questionnaire* (Grootaert, Narayan, Jones & Woolcock, 2004).

Grootaert et al. (2004) list six dimensions (*Groups and Networks; Trust and Solidarity; Collective Action and Cooperation; Information and Communication; Social Cohesion and Inclusion; Empowerment and Political Action*) compiled as a result of previous research, literature review and internal discussion, and through which social capital can be measured. A tool for social capital assessment, based on the theoretical development of the dimensions, is provided at the end of the publication in the form of an extensive questionnaire to be adapted as the research situation demands. These six dimensions are also the object of Jones and Woolcock's (2010) recommendations for a mixed methods assessment of social capital.

From the listed dimensions, *trust* is the one more frequently used in the assessment of social capital, often identified as its indicator and sometimes confused with the very definition of social capital. The literature selected for this chapter is an example of how pervasive *trust* is for the assessment of social capital. From the previously mentioned studies, those of Ostrom and Ahn (2010); Nannestad (2010); Nannestad, Svendsen and Svendsen (2008); Lesage and Ha (2012); and Epstein (2010) use trust as an indicator of social capital (although social capital is not restricted to trust as its sole indicator in the mentioned papers). The popularity of Robert Putnam's work on social capital could

offer an explanation for this. It was Putnam who explicitly linked social capital and the “trustworthiness” that originates from the norms of reciprocity of a network (Putnam, 2000, p. 19).

In quantitative research, the canonical question “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can’t be too careful in dealing with people?” is used to measure generalized trust (Grootaert et al. 2004; Jones & Woolcock, 2010). Other questions also listed in the World Bank’s publication integrated questionnaire (Grootaert et al., 2004) can be used to measure trust in a specific context, aimed at uncovering levels of trust in institutions, neighborhoods and close communities. Jones and Woolcock (2010) observe that due to the abstraction of the concept, questions aimed at measuring trust tend to be used with redundancy.

In qualitative inquiries, Jones and Woolcock (2010) recommend a set of questions posed to respondents in order to define trust and provide examples of it before moving on to analyzing manifestations of trust in the case of the specific community or network being investigated.

A second frequently used dimension to measure social capital is that of participation in networks and associations. Nannestad, Svendsen and Svendsen (2008); and Lesage and Ha (2012) made use of it in the studies used as reference in this chapter. This fact might also be owed to Robert Putnam’s *Bowling Alone* (2000), which specifically looks into participation in associations in the United States as a way to verify the decline of social capital in the country. Jones and Woolcock (2010) point out that when analyzing participation as a social capital indicator, from a quantitative point of view aspects specific to how the associations function must be considered, along with aspects such as size of the network or association, diversity within its members and the amount of memberships per household in the given association. In a qualitative perspective, it is recommended to understand, among other features, the hierarchical dynamic of the network, its objectives, and to identify potential leaders (Jones & Woolcock, 2010).

As explained in the **Methods** chapter, these two dimensions were the ones selected from the integrated questionnaire to be part of the survey virtually distributed to members of Esbjerg International Community. Their frequency in academic papers hinted at the relevance of these inquiries to social capital studies. These questions also require the least adaptation to the case at hand, which, from a methodological point of view, guarantees a more standardized use of the social capital measurement tool provided by the World Bank’s questionnaire.

It is also relevant to point out that research on social capital tends to make use of one type of methodological tool, either the quantitative or the qualitative approach (Jones & Woolcock, 2010). This characteristic is worthy of criticism, insofar as “fruitful exchange between approaches [is] lost” (Jones & Woolcock, 2010, p. 379). Furthermore, social capital has a multidimensional character, which indicates that a thorough analysis should be able to grasp more than one dimension of it. For this purpose, Jones and Woolcock (2010) recommend the use of the World Bank’s six dimensions in the study of social capital along with a mixed methods approach that allows researchers to investigate the

dynamic of the social ties in the context of the study. A mixed methods approach provides “a more comprehensive picture of the structures, perceptions and processes of social capital in a given locality” (Jones & Woolcock, 2010, p. 398).

3.5. Conclusion

Social capital has become a mainstream term, surpassing the social sciences to feature in other research areas, such as economy or political science. Research tends to be concentrated on the consequences, or effects, of social capital, and not on identifying its sources. Portes (1998) provides an overview of the sources of social capital from the point of view of personal interactions and the motivation to allow access to the benefits that can be harvested by those who possess social capital. Put simply, according to Portes’ analysis, possessors of social capital take resources, while the sources provide the resources, which are, ultimately, the object of the exchange. Four sources are identified as underlying motives to provide access to resources: **value introjection**, when providing access to resources is guided by the sources own internalized values; **reciprocity exchange**, when those who provide access expect to be allowed access to resources at a later time; **bounded solidarity**, in which a shared sense of belonging in relation to the possessor of social capital is responsible for granting access to resources; and **enforceable trust**, in which fear of group sanctions or aspiring to group status results in granting access to resources to members of the same group.

Knowledge of the sources of social capital can be used for an analysis that focuses on interpersonal exchanges and then broadens the scope of the study to a communitarian level. Looking at network exchanges from the perspective of social capital sources can be an advantage to better understand the dynamic of the network.

As indicated by a literature review on integration studies that incorporate the concept of social capital, research generally stems from the identification of a collective action dilemma in host societies. Both immigrants and natives are faced with the challenging decision of cooperating toward integration for a common interest despite the short-term costs it might have for them as individuals. Incentives for social capital building and expansion are understood as a possible solution for this dilemma, insofar as they can lead to the development of trust among immigrants and natives. Building trusting ties could guarantee that social actors opt to act on behalf of cooperation, understanding that the other “players” in the collective action dilemma would also be inclined to act for the common interest, thus mitigating the “free-rider” problem of individuals who enjoy the benefits of cooperation without risking its costs.

Trusting ties in the host society can assume two different characteristics: the bridging and the bonding types of social capital. While bridging social capital is associated with integration in the host society, bonding social capital is usually verified in ethnic enclaves within the receiving country. These enclaves could represent an obstacle for integration insofar as they tend to encourage inward-looking

attitudes, keeping immigrants from relating with social actors outside of their ethnic community. Nevertheless, as Nannestad, Svendsen and Svendsen (2008) show regarding immigrant groups in Denmark, engagement in intra- and inter-ethnic associations is positively related at an individual level, meaning that being part of an ethnic group is not an impediment to participating in ethnically diverse associations. This indicates that bonding social capital should not always be seen as a villain to integration.

From the point of view of research methods, the multidimensional nature of social capital, as well as the fact that interpersonal relations are constantly affecting network connections indicate that social capital research could benefit more from a mixed methods approach than from the use of a single data collection tool. Furthermore, Jones and Woolcock (2010) emphasize the importance of disseminating findings from both quantitative and qualitative approaches to the empowerment of local communities, allowing them to analyze the present and potentially improve future endeavors.

In the following chapter I will describe the research and analysis methods used on this thesis.

4. Methods: a triangulation approach

This chapter presents the methods employed on the research design and on the analysis of data collected through survey and in-depth interviews with members of Esbjerg International Community. First, the choice of methods will be explained. Second, there will be a description of research preparations, including definition of the four indicators of social capital chosen to fundament the research; and research design, including how the study was carried out. Third, the analysis work will be outlined. Finally, there will be an assessment of the validity of the study.

4.1. Preliminary field experiences: how the research question came into being

The decision to investigate how social capital is built in light of the Newcomer Service initiatives to create a network for internationals in Esbjerg came from personal experience with the service and the events promoted in the context of Esbjerg International Community. For the course of two years of contact with members of this network and participation in the events, personal observation and informal conversations with other members of the community in Esbjerg have indicated that despite the Newcomer Service's efforts, members continue to report difficulties in integrating in the city.

It could be that Esbjerg International Community's ties are not, themselves, strong enough to help individuals build social capital, that the connections made within the network are weak, or internationals build their own connections outside this community and its events and choose to dedicate their time and energy to those. Or there could be other reasons why internationals report difficulties in building social capital in the host country despite the efforts of this particular channel. The Newcomer Service, however, systematically invests in incentives for people to build social capital, promoting events not only for foreigners to get to know each other, but also to introduce them to the Danish culture.

The Newcomer Service is part of the Municipality of Esbjerg, and it is charged with welcoming newly arrived foreigners and putting them in contact with a previously established network of internationals and international-minded Danes (Energy Metropolis, 2016). Esbjerg International Community constitutes an informal network of foreigners living in Esbjerg. This network is not, itself, institutionalized, nor does it have a fixed place for foreigners to gather or for the events to occur. The community meets at events hosted by the Newcomer Service at different venues around the city, and the invitation for such events is sent through an online community on Facebook and through an e-mail list. Personal communication with the Newcomer Service has revealed that its staff estimates Esbjerg International Community's population to be between 700 and 1000 members. This, as explained by staff members, is based on attendance to the largest annual events hosted by the Newcomer Service — *Annual Xmas Fest* and *Summer BBQ*. These require previous registration and have attendance

numbers of between 70 to 100 people. The Newcomer Service estimates these numbers to be roughly 10 per cent of the totality of the community (N. Hogan, personal communication, August 29th 2016).

Personal experience and informal discussions with other internationals have shown that the most effective way to keep up to date with Esbjerg International Community's events is joining the community's Facebook group. This online community can be seen as the closest thing to a permanent space, albeit virtual, for both internationals and international-minded Danes in Esbjerg to exchange information and help each other. Its discussion board is in constant activity, with members selling used goods, asking for help or posting information about events throughout the city, not exclusively the Newcomer Service hosted ones. This could be an indicative that there is expectation of reciprocity between members, hinting at the presence of social capital built in the context of the Newcomer Service's initiatives.

Esbjerg International Community's virtual space presents a high level of activity; and the Newcomer Service invests on physical, face to face events in order for members to actually get to know each other and exchange experiences in person. Some events are more popular than others, like the cooking event Cook and Talk or Rotating Leisure, an event to introduce foreigners to the associational culture of Esbjerg (P. Enemark & N. Hogan, personal communication, June 13th 2016). Others figure smaller numbers of attendants, such as the International Café.

The issue of how social capital is built and enhanced through the Newcomer Service's initiatives is worthy of investigation, since it is the purpose of this service to form a network that may become a stepping stone for individuals to integrate into Danish society (P. Enemark & N. Hogan, personal communication, June 13th 2016). The research question — ***How do institutionalized initiatives, such as those of the Esbjerg Newcomer Service, impact social capital building by relocated citizens in their new host country?*** — originated in light of the issues uncovered from personal experiences with the Newcomer Service's events aimed at Esbjerg International Community.

It is theoretically relevant to understand how the chosen theories that fundament this research apply to the case of social capital building by individuals of diverse backgrounds, whose commonality is the fact that they are foreign to the social space in which they find themselves. Bourdieu, for example, speaks of homogeneity in habitus as constituting of social capital (Bourdieu, 1986), which is not a characteristic of the social actors that form Esbjerg International Community. Coleman (1988) emphasizes the importance of closure for the strength of social capital and how constructed forms of social organization tend to be weaker in closure. This could indicate that ties formed through the Newcomer Service's initiatives are weak in nature, since Esbjerg International Community fits Coleman's description of a constructed organization. For Robert Putnam (2000) social capital implies expectations of trust and reciprocity between members of a network, which is worthy of investigation in the ties built by foreigners in Esbjerg. His distinction between bonding and bridging social capital is also relevant in an investigation of how internationals form their ties in Esbjerg, particularly to describe

what kind of ties are formed and whether the Newcomer Service's initiatives have an impact in shaping these ties into exclusive or inclusive ones, according to Putnam's theory.

4.2. Choice of methods

Method triangulation was chosen as the data collection approach, consisting of an initial questionnaire survey, which had a total of 72 responses, out of which 58 questionnaires were thoroughly complete, and subsequent individual in-depth interviews with four selected survey respondents. Quantitative and qualitative research styles "have different, complementary strengths" (Neuman, 2003, p. 139), and mixing both methods may result in a more thorough study. Furthermore, Jones and Woolcock (2010) observe that, among other advantages, mixing qualitative and quantitative methods on social capital research may provide better understanding of context and baseline information that can further improve research design.

During personal communication with the Newcomer Service's staff (P. Enemark and N. Hogan, June 13th 2016) important issues were mentioned that could affect the data collection process. The first one is that it is not easy to mobilize members of the international community to take part in research. Second, members who are active in the virtual space are not necessarily frequent participants of the physical space events. And third, Esbjerg International Community's virtual space is very dynamic, with members constantly posting or commenting on posts. These observations guided the choice of methods for the research.

An online survey was elaborated taking under consideration the dynamic character of the virtual space of Esbjerg International Community. The survey was posted on the community's Facebook page. The issues of members' general unwillingness to participate in research and the issue of the difference in profiles of online and of physical space participants were addressed in the qualitative part of the data collection. Because the final number of respondents could be insufficient for a thorough understanding, and because respondents' profiles were so diverse, in-depth interviews were structured to complement the quantitative data collection and allow for a more detailed understanding of social capital building by internationals in Esbjerg.

Data collection occurred in steps. The survey was first posted online on June 20th, 2016. It was available for respondents until July 31st, 2016. It was reposted on July 13th, 2016 because of insufficient respondents. Subsequent calls for respondents were made through personal channels, making use of connections in Esbjerg International Community and the Newcomer Service. When the survey reached its time limit of July 31st, the final number of completed questionnaires was 58. Considering the Newcomer Service's previously mentioned estimates that Esbjerg International Community is formed by between 700 and 1000 individuals, the percentage of respondents is between eight and six, respectively — not a significant number.

The second step of the data collection were the in-depth interviews. They were scheduled and conducted once quantitative data had been collected and analyzed and it became evident that in-depth interviews were necessary to provide a better understanding of the case studied. The survey results demonstrated that respondents could be categorized according to their reason for relocating to Esbjerg. This was used as the criteria to select members of the community for the qualitative part of the study. The purpose was to investigate further how the different categories, or profiles, built social capital in Esbjerg. The in-depth interview process occurred from the last week of August 2016 to the first week of October 2016.

4.3. Developing the four indicators

The research design: Measuring two dimensions of social capital in Esbjerg International Community through four indicators

In order to answer the main research question, two dimensions were identified as a point of departure for the investigation of social capital in Esbjerg International Community: 1) interactions of members of this community that led to building social capital; 2) the impact of the Newcomer Service's initiatives in building this capital.

The working definition of social capital for this study, described in the **Theoretical Framework** chapter, mentions an *individual* level, in which connections are a personal asset for social actors to attain other assets; and a *community* level, in which the presence of social capital binds individuals to work toward the benefit of the group, forming stable, secure and thriving networks. This definition served as ground to investigate the first dimension previously identified: interactions of Esbjerg International Community's members that lead to social capital building.

To investigate the second dimension, the *impact of initiatives in building social capital*, the object of the analysis were the interactions of respondents in the context of the Newcomer Service's initiatives to put them in contact. More precisely, the focus was on whether respondents participated in the events, what was their motivation to participate, and to what extent their network in Esbjerg could be seen as the result of the Newcomer Service's efforts to build social capital in the city.

To measure the two dimensions aforementioned, a set of four indicators was defined to serve as background to the elaboration of the survey questionnaire. What follows is a description of how the theoretical foundation for this study combined with literature review guided the definition of the indicators.

4.3.1. Contributions from Bourdieu

As already mentioned, for Bourdieu, the core element of social capital is the value it has as a *resource to members of a network* (Bourdieu, 1980). In this perspective, an individual's social connections are part of a group's assets, along with economic and cultural capital, and are meant to

be capitalized upon in the social space for the benefit of the individual that possesses them. Social capital can also be understood as being of an *exclusive nature*, insofar as Bourdieu does not foresee admission in a social network by actors who do not possess similar habitus to those who already partake in that network — an aspect of Bourdieu's theory of reproduction of inequalities in the social space.

Bourdieu's definition of habitus and how it relates to the constitution of social networks is of particular importance here. Considering that networks are composed of individuals with somewhat homogenous habitus, it is interesting to observe that by nature, the international community in Esbjerg is constituted by foreigners from a diversity of countries in a social space that is new to them. This study is relevant insofar as it aims to understand how can social capital be formed under conditions that are unpredicted from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory, that is by individuals with heterogeneous habitus.

4.3.2. Contributions from Coleman

Coleman's definition also leads to the interpretation of social capital as an asset for the individuals who possess it. The author, however, is more thorough than Bourdieu in specifying aspects through which social capital can be found in social relations. Coleman's three aspects — *obligations, expectations and trustworthiness; information channels; norms and effective sanctions* — served as inspiration to operationalize social capital in an empirical investigation. They can also be of use in characterizing the social ties formed. Obligations toward the network, for example, can be investigated from the perspective of members' perception of to what extent they are expected to reciprocate an action that was beneficial to them. A high expectation could be indicative of stronger ties.

The first of the three aspects can be summarized as trust and reciprocity within social ties; the second is understood from the perspective of information flows and how individuals make use of the virtual space of Esbjerg International Community to keep up to date with events as well as to consult other members.

The third of Coleman's aspects, norms and effective sanctions, is likely to be revealed as having a weak presence in the community, since it regards properties of social control attributed to social capital. These properties are more commonly verified in Coleman's primordial forms of social organization or in more highly institutionalized constructed forms, in which the practice of sanctions to correct a member's behavior is important to maintain the social organization's functionalities (Field, 2003; Coleman, 1988). This aspect also relates to Coleman's notion of *closure*, which can be determining for the measurement of strength of community ties.

4.3.3. Contributions from Putnam

Robert Putnam's definition of social capital gives less emphasis to social capital as a "get ahead" asset, and more to the norms that pertain to social connections: *reciprocity and trustworthiness*, and the impact they have on *social cohesion*. Considering Putnam's perspective, social capital can be verified when the ties formed by individuals imply the expectation of trust that guides social action with the promise that to this action will correspond a reaction, and that this exchange will be beneficial to the community as a whole, not only for the individuals who took part in it.

From Putnam's contributions, it is also relevant to investigate how the two forms of social capital, *bridging and bonding*, appear in the context of Esbjerg International Community.

4.3.4. The World Bank: a practical contribution

Another source that contributed to define the indicators for this study was the World Bank's publication *Measuring Social Capital* (Grootaert et al., 2004). The document's Integrated Questionnaire for the Measurement of Social Capital (SC-IQ) contains questions from previous studies on the topic. It provided a practical output to the elaboration of this thesis' survey, since the questions contained in the document have been previously reviewed and tested for reliability and validity.

The SC-IQ lists six dimensions that fundament the sections in which it is divided (Grootaert et al., 2004, p. 5). These are: *Groups and Networks; Trust and Solidarity; Collective Action and Cooperation; Information and Communication; Social Cohesion and Inclusion; Empowerment and Political Action*. These dimensions correspond to aspects of social capital that can be measured by the SC-IQ. The sections from this questionnaire that were considered to be of relevance to the study of Esbjerg International Community were the *Groups and Networks* and the *Trust and Solidarity* ones. These guided the definition of indicators for this thesis.

4.3.5. The indicators that grounded the questionnaire

As previously explained, theoretical research led to the identification of four indicators that served as tools to measure both dimensions of social capital in Esbjerg International Community presented by the research question of this thesis. Indicators were considered according to their potential contributions to the findings. The indicators and their description in the context of this study are presented on **Table 1**.

Table 1. Indicators Defined to Measure Social Capital Presence and the Newcomer Service’s Initiatives Impact in Building It

Indicator	Description
Groups and Networks	Measures participation in associations and social group composition to have a better understanding of the respondents' overall level of social capital in Esbjerg.
Trust and Solidarity	Measures respondents' perceptions of trust and solidarity in general and in the specific case of Esbjerg.
Reciprocity	Measures expectations of reciprocity of respondents in the context of the community. Aims to investigate how strong are the ties within Esbjerg International Community.
Community Engagement and Proactivity	Measures respondents' engagement within the network.

4.4. The questionnaire

In order to better understand the social ties formed by members of the Esbjerg International Community through the Newcomer Service’s initiatives, a questionnaire was elaborated and distributed through the virtual space of the community. This space is dynamic in its nature, and since Esbjerg International Community does not have a pre-determined physical space to gather, it is in the virtual space that members interact more frequently, hence the choice of the virtual space to distribute the questionnaire. The questions were mostly of close-ended nature, but some open-ended inquiries were elaborated to provide respondents the opportunity to elaborate further on answers. The questionnaire was built using the online tool *SurveyXact*. The full questionnaire can be found on **Appendix 1**.

The questionnaire was presented to respondents in four sections. According to Neuman (2003, p. 268), it is important to “avoid confusion and [to] keep the respondent’s perspective in mind”. In order to improve clarification for respondents, the sections were introduced by short explanatory sentences referring to what was being investigated in each of them. The first one, entitled *A little about yourself*, was meant to establish the respondents’ personal background and profile, and contained questions such as age, nationality, marital status, among others. The remaining three sections were based on the indicators defined for the present study.

The second section was grounded on two indicators. First, based on the *Groups and Networks indicator*, the section requires respondents to answer questions about their associational life in Esbjerg and in their country of origin, in order to investigate their overall level of social capital. The following questions pertain to the *Trust and Solidarity* indicator, and were adapted from the SC-IQ (Grootaert et al., 2004).

The third section was elaborated according to the *Community Engagement and Proactivity* indicator, and required respondents to answer questions about how active they are in the virtual space, as well as about their participation in Newcomer Service hosted events. This section also

investigated proactive involvement of community members and attempts to measure whether social capital built in the context of Esbjerg International Community has expanded.

The fourth section of the questionnaire explored the *Reciprocity* indicator, inquiring about respondents' willingness to offer help based on previous experiences of reciprocal exchanges within the context of the community. It was meant to understand the likelihood of one member helping other, as well as providing help, which might indicate how socially obligated members feel toward one another — also hinting at the strength of ties built.

A survey was initially thought to be the most appropriate method to use in this study considering the problem statement proposed in the **Introduction** chapter. According to Neuman (2003, p. 267), performing a survey “follows a deductive approach. [The researcher] begins with a theoretical or applied research problem and ends with empirical measurement and data analysis”. The two aspects of social capital presented in the working definition for this study could be more clearly measured using the survey method. Still according to Neuman (2003, p. 264), a survey is adequate for “research questions about self-reported beliefs or behaviors”. In order to investigate how people build social ties it is necessary to inquire about their socialization behaviors, how they approach potential friends or acquaintances and how they cultivate existing ties. The number of final respondents, and the diverse backgrounds of respondents, however, demonstrated that this study could benefit from in-depth interviews with Esbjerg International Community members. The study then moved to a second step in the investigation.

4.5. In-depth interviews

For the qualitative part of the research for this thesis a case study approach was chosen as the best fitted methodology. Creswell (2007) understands that a case study “involves the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system” (Creswell, 2007, p.73). Insofar as the research purpose is to investigate social capital building within the bounded system of the international community of Esbjerg through the respondents' experiences as newcomers without social connections in the city, a case study presents itself as the adequate alternative.

The chosen method of data collection for the qualitative part were in-depth interviews. As explained by Ravitch and Carl (2016), this method consists on presenting key questions to interviewees while allowing the data collection process to flow in a customized manner. The researcher is able to “explore people's perspectives to achieve fuller development of information” (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 147).

The selection of the interviewees was made according to four profiles identified after the analysis of the online questionnaire data. This selection is further explained below.

4.5.1. The four profiles

The set of questions from the first section of the questionnaire demonstrated that respondents could be organized according to four different general profiles according to the reason why they relocated to Esbjerg. The profiles were identified through the frequency of responses to the question “What was your reason for moving? [to Esbjerg]”. The four profiles are summarized in **Table 2**, followed by the percentage of respondents corresponding to each profile.

Table 2. Respondents’ Profiles Identified According to Reason for Relocating to Esbjerg

PROFILE	Number of respondents that fit the profile	Percentage of the total of 58 respondents
Employment	19	33
Accompanying Spouse	13	24
Student	15	26
Danish Spouse	6	12

Respondents for the in-depth interviews were selected according to the profiles uncovered by the initial questionnaire. The screening process to select respondents for this stage of the study was also based on some of the open-ended questions of the initial survey. Respondents who elaborated more on their open-ended answers were prioritized for contact due to the assumption that they could be chattier during the interviews, providing richer data. Small groups of respondents from each profile were selected to be contacted, also according to the diversity in their social capital profiles, that is, whether they were more participative in Danish associations or more enclosed in groups of internationals, for example; hints on their social lives were used as criteria in this case. Not all persons contacted agreed to participate in an in-depth interview. Individual interviews were scheduled with one respondent from each profile.

4.5.2. The interview guide

The main objective of this phase of data collection was to understand how each profile formed community ties upon arrival in Esbjerg. The interviews were conducted according to a semi-structured interview guide. This guide contained specific topics and questions pertaining to them, but allowed flexibility in terms of order of questions and follow-ups, to make it possible to adapt the path of the conversation according to the development of the interview with each respondent (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). The interview guide can be found on **Appendix 2**.

The guide consisted on five parts. In the first part, the introductory one, respondents were asked to tell the story of how they arrived in the city of Esbjerg. Important aspects to be covered at this stage were the perception of social life in Esbjerg and the integration process. The remaining four parts were elaborated in themes. Part two regarded *bonding social capital*, and meant to understand the respondents’ perspectives on their group of closest connections in Esbjerg and in their home

country. Part three investigated *bridging social capital*, inquiring into respondents' broader network of connections and what kind of support could be expected from this group. Part four aimed to uncover respondents' perspectives on the host country, Denmark, with a specific focus on trust in the social space. Finally, part five was specific to the Newcomer Service's initiatives to put internationals in contact, with more direct questions regarding participation and perspectives on the events.

During the interview process, respondents were asked, in the casual atmosphere of a café, to start by telling a little about their personal story. The conversation progressed to more specific aspects of the respondents' personal and social lives, particularly about family and friendships. Closing questions were related to social life in the Danish context, trust perceptions in Denmark and socialization in the context of the Newcomer Service's initiatives. Interviews lasted, overall, forty minutes.

4.6. Data analysis

4.6.1. Preparing data for analysis

After the completion of the first step of the study, the data collected through the questionnaire survey was exported and compiled into a working dataset. The data underwent a further cleaning process, since there were a large number of incomplete questionnaires. The total number of answered questionnaires was 72, but 14 of those were incomplete, in different stages of the survey, so they were discarded in order not to compromise the analysis. The final raw dataset contained 58 observations.

The raw dataset was further organized and a final group of variables was compiled into a working dataset. A table containing the final list of variables can be found on **Annex 1**.

The working dataset made it possible to analyze data through basic statistic tools. Figures were prepared to allow for a better description and visualization of the data collected (Neuman, 2003). The limited number of responses, however, resulted in insufficient data for measures of association, or causality relationships between variables (Neuman, 2003) to be verified. Tests for independence or correlation between variables yielded statistically insignificant results, and it was not possible to make assumptions, with a confident certainty, about whether or how the variables in the working dataset affected one another. A decision was made to address the issue of a sample size too small for quantitative analysis by supplementing data with qualitative research, which would allow for a qualitative analysis that could be illustrated by some of the findings in the first step of this study.

The second step, the in-depth interviews phase, was followed by a transcription phase. The transcripts can be found on **Appendices 3 to 6**. The interviews provided a richer data source than the completed questionnaires and were used to better illustrate and fundament the case studied and the findings. The stories enabled a more thorough understanding of how internationals form their social ties in the context of the host country.

Creswell (2007) provides an analysis approach for the study of multiple cases that first considers cases individually and then addresses the cases in the context of the same system. The first step consists on a **within-case analysis**, and encompasses going through the cases individually and highlighting the themes found in each one. The second step is called a **cross-case analysis**, and it involves analyzing the themes across cases, identifying commonalities and relevant divergences (Creswell, 2007, p. 75). This was the analysis approach chosen for the qualitative data collected for this research.

The in-depth interviews were transcribed and individually analyzed for the identification of **themes** and **codes**. The coding process followed a deductive approach which involved going through the data in search of specific information of specific relevance to the research question (Ravitch & Carl, 2016). An initial code set was created for the preliminary data cross-analysis. This code set was organized according to greater themes identified during the first readings of transcribed material. This code set display can be found in **Annex 2**.

The themes and codes for each interview were then cross-analyzed on comparative tables assembled according to the profile of each respondent; these tables can be found on **Annex 3**. The cross-analysis of comparative tables was the final step in the qualitative data analysis before the chapter describing the findings was written.

4.7. Reliability and validity assessment

As described in the working definition for this study, social capital is an intangible asset that exists in the connections made by social actors, and as such, the question of how to measure it was a concern from the start of the research. The choice for an online questionnaire was based on the possibility of reaching a greater number of respondents, but time constraints would not allow for reliability improving mechanisms such as a pilot study or replication (Neuman, 2003). The definition of the four indicators that ground the questionnaire for this study was the first step to strengthen reliability, or dependability or consistency of the measurement process (Neuman, 2003) and validity, or “the bridge between the construct and the data” (Neuman, 2003, p. 185), since they consist on adaptations from the World Bank’s *Measuring Social Capital* publication, which aims to provide “a set of initial empirical tools for measuring social capital” (Grootaert et al., 2004, p. 1).

The aforementioned publication relied on the contribution of experienced social capital researchers to put together a quantitative research method to measure social capital. This thesis benefitted from these tools by incorporating two of the six dimensions listed by the publication as indicators. Another way in which *Measuring Social Capital* strengthens the validity of this thesis is in the contribution to the survey of some of the questions assembled by the publication in the SC-IQ. As Neuman (2003) explains, *criterion validity*, a type of quantitative measurement validity, occurs when the validity of an indicator has been previously verified by an external source. That is to say that the

base construct of this study, social capital, has been previously measured by the standards in *Measuring Social Capital*, and those standards have been tested and accepted for their validity. It is, however, important to mention that the questions underwent adaptation for the specific case of Esbjerg International Community. The two dimensions were also adapted to be used as indicators to this thesis insofar as they had their definitions narrowed to the specific case. While this process may result in a weakness due to the fact that the set of tools provided is not being used exactly as laid out by experienced researchers in the field, it is also important to observe that the study of social capital must take under consideration that there are differences in the social setting when it comes to building social ties. This can be attested by looking into Pierre Bourdieu's research on the French society and how the author understands social capital to be formed by individuals of same habitus, for example, which doesn't apply to the case studied in this thesis. Furthermore, as explained by Jones and Woolcock (2010, p. 380) "the salience and manifestations of social capital are [...] context dependent", which calls for adaptation in data collection methods to the situation with which the researcher is faced.

Another action taken to increase the validity of this study was the complementation of data collected with in-depth interviews. As previously explained, the final number of complete questionnaires was insufficient for the results to have statistical significance. The final findings of the questionnaire phase of this study could not be presented as general assumptions regarding the whole population of Esbjerg International Community. However, it consisted on data collected through an elaborate process of method definition through heavy theoretical research and the establishment of indicators. This work should not be lost, but rather, it could be complemented to present for readers a picture of how social ties are formed in the context of the case studied and shed light on the impact the Newcomer Service's initiatives may have on this process.

The choice for mixed methods is, itself, a mechanism that strengthens reliability and validity of studies, insofar as it allows for a situation to be seen from different angles, providing a broader understanding of the case studied (Neuman, 2003).

4.8. Limitations to the study

This thesis faced a significant limitation in the choice to perform an online survey with Esbjerg International Community's members. While it was initially thought that this method could reach more participants of interest, since members are more active in the virtual space, the final number of respondents was disappointing. The simplicity in reaching potential respondents in an online survey can be attractive, but the researcher must depend on respondents' willingness to fill out the material, and may risk being seen as an intruder in the virtual space, which demotivates potential respondents to fill out a survey (Van Selm & Jankowski, 2006).

As a result of the limited number of respondents, further field work needed to be undertaken in the form of in-depth interviews to supplement the data collected and allow for a more thorough analysis.

Another limitation is the inability to generalize the findings of this study. This issue resulted from the insufficient number of respondents, or the small size of the sample, in the quantitative stage of the study. Because the correlation analysis performed could not yield relevant results, reliable assumptions could not be made concerning this phase of the research, and the data needed to be supplemented by in-depth interviews in order for a thorough analysis to be achieved.

4.9. Ethical issues

It is important to disclose that I am a member of Esbjerg International Community and am a personal friend of many of its members. Understanding that this could create bias during the analysis of the quantitative data, respondents were asked not to reveal their identity at the beginning of the survey. Only those willing to be further contacted for a qualitative interview provided their contact information. While this fact is imbued with ethical issues that had to be addressed early in the research process, it was also an asset when asking members online to fill out the questionnaire posted on the community's virtual space. Even though only 58 questionnaires were suitable to use in this study, a total of 72 people accessed the survey online and began the process of answering it, which, as was later discovered during personal communication with the Newcomer Service's staff members, is a significant number for an online survey in the context of the International Community's virtual space.

During the in-depth interviews phase, extra care was taken in order to ensure that I didn't have a close relationship with any of the respondents. Some are acquaintances, but no in-depth information was known of the respondents selected for this phase of the study. This choice was made in order to avoid bias during the interview process and also to make sure respondents would elaborate well on their answers, since closer friends could leave aside important facts when assuming they were known by the interviewer.

In the following chapter I will present and analyze the findings of this study.

5. Analysis: unravelling the ties of Esbjerg International Community

In this chapter I present my research findings. Following the main research questions, aspects of how newcomers build social capital are highlighted from respondents' accounts in the in-depth interviews. Results from the online survey are used to illustrate the stories gathered during the qualitative phase of the research. The objective of this analysis is to walk the reader through the processes of social capital building in the host country by the targeted respondents. Identifying these processes is fundamental to answering the first part of the research question — how newcomers build social capital. Analyzing what shapes these processes, on the other hand, is a key step in understanding the second part of the question — in what way the Newcomer Service's initiatives impact social capital building by newcomers.

5.1. A brief introduction of the interviewees

5.1.2. Anna Maren: Accompanying Spouse

Anna Maren is a Danish-American woman living in Esbjerg since April of 2012. She is married to a Ukrainian man and they have three children, all born in Denmark. The couple has an unusual history. Anna Maren came to Denmark in her early twenties for a High School study program in order not to lose her Danish citizenship. Her mother is Danish, and she migrated to the United States over forty years ago. Anna Maren met her Ukrainian husband in Denmark during that period. The couple got married in Denmark and then relocated to the US.

The decision to move to Denmark was shaped by the perspective of better quality of life for a family. As Anna Maren herself stated: “that was just our own choice to come from the US [...] it's better to raise kids here, it's better work-life balance and [...] in Europe you can go so many places” (Appendix 3). The couple first arrived in Copenhagen and moved to Esbjerg when the husband found employment in the oil industry in the city.

5.1.3. Carolina: Danish Family

Carolina is a Colombian woman who moved to Esbjerg in February 2007 to marry a Danish man. The couple met online and after some time getting to know one another virtually, the husband went to Colombia to meet Carolina in person. After that, it was her turn to come to Denmark and experience life in the country. They decided to live in Denmark once they were married because Colombia would pose great challenges for the husband, a professional chef, to find a job. As Carolina explained: “we thought, okay, he has more possibilities here in Denmark to get [...] good pay [...]. In Colombia [...] we'd have to start from zero, open a restaurant [...] so... yeah, we come this way” (Appendix 4).

Carolina moved to Denmark with her son, who was five years old at the time, to live with her Danish husband, who had two kids from a previous marriage, a nine-year-old and a twelve-year-old. The couple also has a child of their own.

5.1.4. Debora: Student

Debora is a Brazilian woman who has been in Esbjerg since 2009. She was a college student in Brazil, but always wanted to study abroad. The opportunity of an application to a government-funded scholarship came up and “I didn’t tell anyone I applied. [...] suddenly I got the result that [...] I could come here for two years with all my studies paid for, so, of course [...] I took the opportunity and came” (Appendix 5). Debora abandoned her studies in Brazil to pursue a Danish bachelor diploma.

Since then, she has finished her studies and been hired by a company in Kolding. Debora is also married to a Dane who she met during the university years.

5.1.5. Katrina: Employed

Katrina is originally from Latvia and has been in Denmark since 2005. She first arrived as a student in Odense, where she completed her masters and her PhD. Katrina also met her husband, a French man, during her master’s program, and the couple got married in Denmark. Both Katrina and her husband got jobs in Esbjerg after the completion of their PhD programs.

They have two daughters, both born in Denmark, and don’t consider leaving Denmark “at least as long as the children are small. [...] I think it’s not bad, as a family with children, I think it’s good” (Appendix 6).

5.2. First impressions of Danish social norms and how they can shape social capital building by internationals

5.2.1. Creating social capital in the host country: difficulties in befriending Danes

One of the topics approached during the in-depth interviews regarded the respondents’ perspectives on what it is like to build social ties in Denmark. Respondents either have, themselves, a negative view of befriending Danes or have been told by other internationals that Danes are difficult to befriend. The following passages demonstrate this pattern:

Anna Maren: “[...] everyone always says it’s hard to make friends with the Danes [...]”

Carolina: “[...] sometimes in the Danish school it was like ‘Danes don’t honk, they don’t say hi with uh... persons’.”

“[...] many people say that Danes, they are racist, they are hard to come into [...]”

Debora: “I feel like people are just like... friendly in their own way, but just very distant to you, so I think it... takes a lot of... a lot of energy [...]”

Katrina: "I think that's the kind of people Danes are. [...] they have [...] their childhood friends, [...] their school friends, maybe university friends [...]. But then the further in life they get, the less they want to kind of... invest in making new friends."

These accounts point to the fact that there is a general perception among internationals that it is harder for newcomers to Denmark to build ties with Danes. Two interviewees reported disappointing experiences when attempting to befriend Danes. Debora, when talking about her Danish college mates, described the following:

"They already knew each other, and we would invite them, and they wouldn't come. Sometimes they would have parties, and most of the times, they would not invite us, but whenever they would, we were coming, but if we had a party and would invite them, they were never coming to our party".

"[...] they are also kind of local, so it's hard to break those ties, and... and I don't know, the feeling was that they were not looking for new friends."

Katrina reported a similar situation regarding a work colleague:

"We tried to invite Danes! [...] my office mate, a PhD student, [...] three times she said no. And I said, well, okay, it's kind of clear she doesn't want to be friends."

"[...] at one point she told me clearly: 'I don't have time for new friends'."

"[...] they look at people and think 'humph, just another person' [...]. Because they have their friends, they have no time for more."

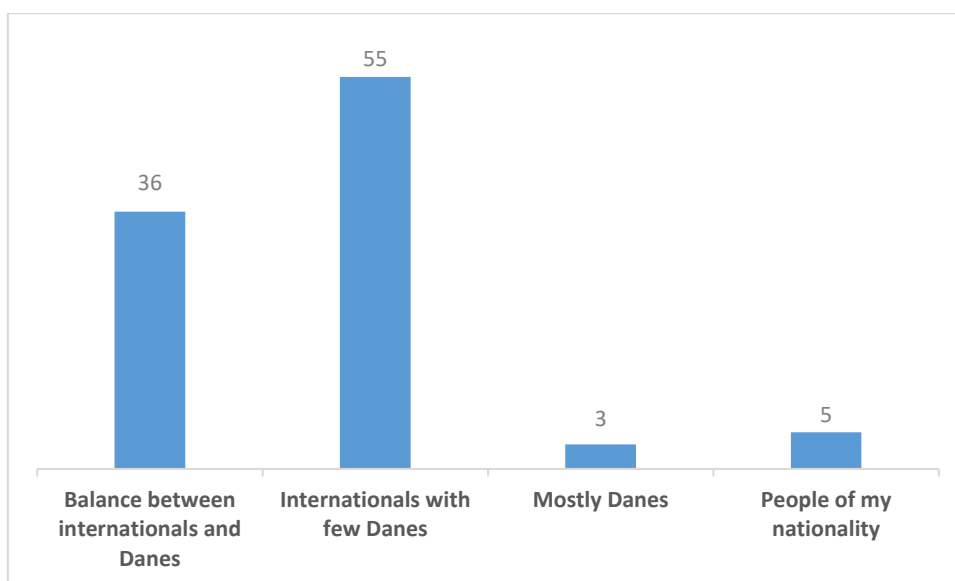
A relevant finding in this topic is that three of the interviewees affirm that Danes do not seem to be looking for new friends. Debora and Katrina, as shown by the above highlighted passages, and Anna Maren, who reported:

"Most of the ones [Danes] I know here, they've lived here all their lives, they've grown up here, and have their school friends, and they have already their network, and that's good enough, you know... Because they don't need a bunch of other friends [...]"

This indicates that, from the perspective of internationals, Danes are overall reluctant to make friends, or to allow new people into their circle of friendships. As a result, newcomers feel discouraged to insist on trying to befriend Danes. The survey results demonstrate that the social network of 55 per cent of respondents is composed of mostly internationals, with few Danes. The answers to the

question “Social Group Composition” from the online survey are summarized, in percentages, in **Figure 1**.

Figure 1. Social Group Composition of respondents (in %)



The second most frequent answer to this question, with 36 per cent of respondents, is concentrated in the category of balance between international and Danish friends. This group of respondents could be an indicative that internationals expand their network to include Danes after some time. In that respect, Danish language acquisition could be responsible for this change in social group composition, as the qualitative data collected for this thesis seems to indicate.

5.2.2. Social capital expansion through language acquisition

The in-depth interviews reveal the importance of learning the local language not only for the practical purposes of job seeking or to attain a permanent visa, but as a way to be socially accepted. In some of the stories reported, improvements in the local language led to a change in attitude from Danes toward respondents. Anna Maren described two situations in which Danes questioned her family’s integration efforts from the language acquisition perspective:

“[...] it’s always that sort of insistence, like, well, ‘why don’t you speak Danish at home with your children?’. You know, you always have to sort of uh... answer these questions that you get all the time [...]”

“[...] I’m feeling the same way, like, here in Denmark you have to learn Danish and everything, but then they say ‘Oh, why doesn’t your husband speak Danish yet?’ [...]”

And another observation from the same respondent reveals how internationals may benefit, socially, from speaking Danish:

“[...] I mean, when you’re learning some Danish also the... many people are also quite interesting.”

Two other respondents, Debora and Katrina, described how speaking Danish resulted in a friendlier attitude of Danes toward them. According to Debora, after she became fluent in the language, her Danish husband’s friends showed a different disposition toward talking to her:

“[...] I think they were more inclusive in talking to me. Because before, they would just welcome me and say ‘hey, nice to meet you’, and wouldn’t engage in any conversation. Now [...] they are more willing to talk with me, try to hear me, wonder and make questions [...], to have a conversation.”

Katrina attributed her success in forming a network in Esbjerg to speaking Danish. While she and her husband were living in Odense, their knowledge of the language was still incipient. As she told during the interview:

“[...] I think here we develop relationships much quicker because uh... because we spoke Danish.”

For Carolina, on the other hand, speaking Danish was a matter of independence and good parenting:

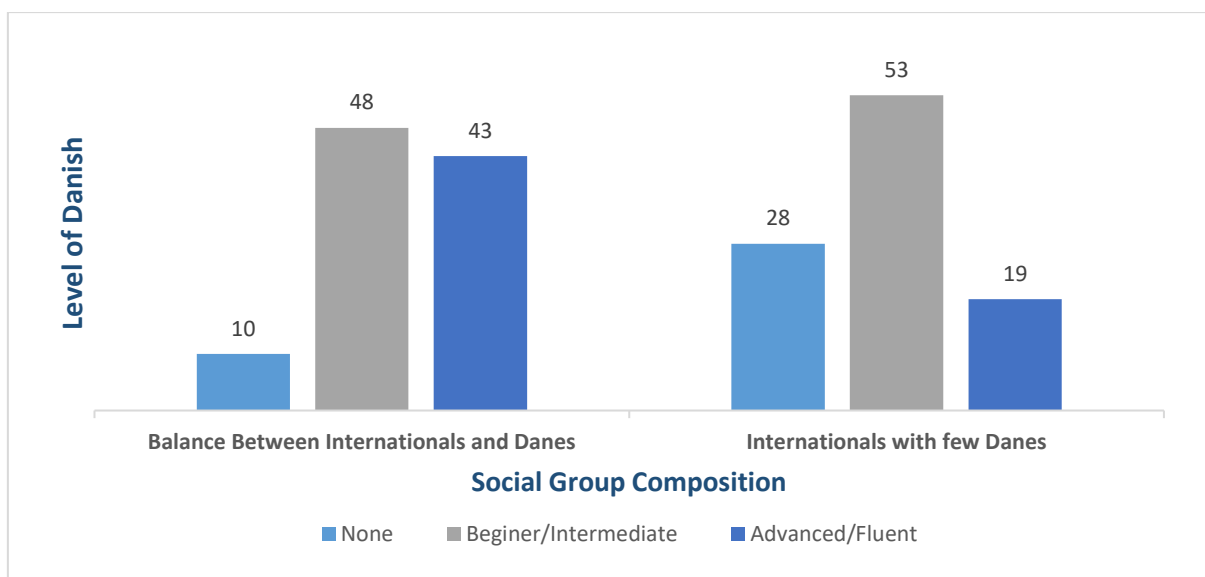
“If my kids came with friends, I want to understand everything. [...] I had to go to parenting meetings and I didn’t understand anything [...]. And I am very independent, so I said ‘I have to learn the language, and I have to... like take care of my own...”

These accounts reveal the importance of language acquisition to the diversification of internationals’ social networks in order to include Danes. If speaking the language makes Danes more receptive to foreigners, it is an important step to building social capital in the host country. Equally important is the fact that expanding one’s network to include Danes is an indicative of integration, the main objective of the Newcomer Service of Esbjerg.

A more detailed look into the data collected by the online survey revealed interesting results regarding level of Danish and social group composition. Fifty-three per cent of respondents whose

social group is composed of mostly internationals, with few Danes, have stated to have Beginner/Intermediate levels of Danish, while, for the same group, 28 per cent of respondents reported not to speak the language. On the other hand, respondents whose social groups are represented by balance between internationals and Danes show similar percentages of language skills between Beginner/Intermediate and Advanced/Fluent levels. This comparison is illustrated by **Figure 2**.

Figure 2. Social Group Composition of Respondents According to Level of Danish (in %)



The figure indicates that internationals who are more skilled in Danish reported having a balanced social group composition, having included Danes in their social network in Esbjerg. On the other hand, foreigners who are less skilled in the host country’s language present a more homogenous network, with predominantly internationals as their social ties in Esbjerg.

5.3. Bonding social capital: ties within own ethnicity

On the topic of building meaningful ties, two of the interviewees, in the qualitative part of the research, addressed a relevant situation for social capital building. Katrina and Carolina referred to their home country culture and mother tongue as an important issue in forming more meaningful ties. Their observations were the following:

Katrina: “[...] if I mention, for instance, with my [Latvian] friends something from my childhood, then it will trigger a lot of memories, and we can uh... go down this path together, because we shared this. And I think that’ why it’s easier to bond... to create these bonds quicker with people from your country. I think they are my closest friends here in Denmark.”

Carolina: “[...] it’s kind of easy sometimes, because you have the same language, and you come through [...] more or less the same thing [...]”

“I would say my best friend, she is Colombian. She is. And I think it’s because we understand better each other. We speak same language [...] it’s like... kind of a thing also.

I like people, and they can come to my home, [...] but when I come to the... like... in the deep side... I’m more careful, so...”

Katrina said her closest friends in Esbjerg are two Latvian women from the Latvian Association she sought out. In the excerpt above, she explains that the reason for this closeness are the shared cultural environment, language and values. These are characteristics of habitus, and, according to Katrina, they make befriending compatriots much easier.

Carolina’s statement follows the same line of thought, explaining how easy it is to make friends with someone who speaks your own language, and how that common trait, sometimes, becomes “kind of a thing”, meaning it is something they share that others do not. She also goes on to say that when it comes to more deep, meaningful relationships, she is more careful, meaning she finds it easier to trust someone of same habitus.

Both Katrina and Carolina’s accounts are clear examples of bonding social capital, and the friendships they describe pertaining to it, although few in comparison with a social group, are tighter, exclusive insofar as both women see those ties unlike other ties they have formed in Esbjerg. They share a background among themselves that other potential or actual friends in Esbjerg cannot partake.

Anna Maren also reports having a close connection with Olia, her Ukrainian friend. Although Anna Maren is American, it is important to remember her husband is Ukrainian. This sheds new light on the friendship, and it cannot be understood as a simple tie to another international Esbjerg resident. Insofar as Anna Maren’s children and husband share this ethnical background with Olia, so does Anna Maren, in part, since in her family nucleus both American and Ukrainian habitus can be identified.

Regarding her closest ties in Esbjerg, Anna Maren answered:

“...that’s my friend Olia, who is Ukrainian, and her husband is Danish and we meet them all the time and we watch each other’s kids and we borrowed his trailer and all his tools, and he helps fix things in our house, and we go there and help sometimes, so uh... uh, so we’re really close with them.”

In her description of the friendship, Anna Maren did not restrict the social interactions to herself and Olia, she said “**we are really close with them**”, referring to her husband and to Olia’s husband. The commonality between these two families is that they are part Ukrainian. This shared ethnic background is a building block for bonding ties.

Debora, however, describes her closest ties to be both international and Danish people, but not Brazilians. Like Carolina, she is married to a Dane, but the circumstances of her arrival to Esbjerg put her in more contact with international people than Danes. The context in which her friendships were formed was also different. Debora made most of the friends she has today during her college years. In her interview, she reported finding it easier to befriend internationals or international-minded Danes. She also made some observations regarding language. The following excerpts are worth highlighting:

“[...] who I consider my friends here are [...] foreigners, like me [...]”

“I have two other Danish friends and the reason I met them was: they were from another city and were here without knowing anybody.”

“Even though I understand Danish and speak Danish and everything, it still feels fake, like I’m faking it when I say something in Danish. [...] all the Danes I met before speaking Danish, so until now, we don’t speak Danish between us, we speak English. [...] I don’t have the passion of saying things [...]”

Debora’s story is relevant because it hints at the relationship internationals have with the language. She feels uncomfortable speaking Danish, as if she is not being herself, as if her behavior is faked while she communicates in this language. These feelings are likely to have an influence in social capital building, particularly when it comes to deeper, more meaningful ties. Considering Katrina’s and Carolina’s accounts of how it is easier to build social capital with those who speak the same mother tongue that you do, using a language with which one does not feel comfortable must make up for uncomfortable interactions, which, in turn, must hinder social capital building. Debora’s closest friends are those with which she is able to interact in English, either internationals or Danes.

Another relevant observation from her story is that her closest Danish friends were those who felt, themselves, foreign to Esbjerg. Danes who had no previous connections in the city and were, as Debora, making their first acquaintances. Even though in terms of habitus there were no commonalities, they shared the experience of being in the same situation, of having to make friends “from zero”. This context of recognizing each other’s situations will be further developed in this chapter.

5.4. Participating in associations and clubs to expand social capital

The interviews revealed that all four respondents are familiarized with the Danish practice of taking part in associations and how it expands social capital. The experiences with it, however, are different for each respondent. Carolina, the Colombian who is now mother of four, is not a member herself, but is very active in her children’s clubs. She reported:

“[...] my son he is uh... elite swimmer [...]. He is all the time with competitions, so I have to help.”

“[...] my daughter is ice skating [...] Some way I got involved in that, so I’m actually a part of the main board of the club.”

Carolina’s description of how she participates in her kids’ clubs, helping, sitting in board meetings and making decisions, reveals that her social capital comprises this associational life even though she is not practicing the sport. Unlike other interviewees, however, Carolina did not seek this social capital enhancement herself, and she actually states that she only does it because she has to. However, her interview also reveals that she has developed a very good relationship with the other moms from the ice skating club, and that they have formed a network in which they help each other.

Katrina, on the other hand, sought clubs and associations as a way to meet people and form ties in Esbjerg. Her activities include the boxing club, the English book club and the Mentor Network, in which she is a mentor. Her story reveals that the ties formed in the boxing club are stronger than in the other clubs, of which she did not have much more to say. Her account of becoming a member of the boxing club, however, contains the following highlights:

“[...] there immediately I also developed social relations very fast. [...] they are so welcoming [...] so you immediately become one of them, [...] they made me very comfortable.”

She also provides an interesting personal account of the Danish clubs and associations culture, stating the usefulness of associations to build social capital:

“I have realized that this club thing, it’s actually a fine, fine way to extend your network, and... maybe in a way I’ve become a little bit Danish in that sense that’s the type of relationships I’m forming.”

Debora, the Brazilian who came to Esbjerg to study, has a little less enthusiastic experience with this associational life. She gave a try at a tennis club membership, and in her interview, she revealed:

“I still don’t know nobody there [...] other than my coach. [...] after the session was done, everybody went away, they didn’t try to exchange phones or connect in any way [...] like... you’re my friend from the tennis club, not outside.”

Her interview reveals that ties formed in the context of the club remained in that context. Katrina, on the other hand, told in her interview she meets the other women from the boxing club for coffee outside of club hours.

Anna Maren’s efforts to participate in associations, like Katrina’s, were motivated by the desire to meet people and also to get to know Esbjerg. She participated in the Mentor Network upon arrival, was active in the mother groups to which she was assigned during both pregnancies, and joined a women’s association in Kvaglund after moving to the region. Her account of having participated in all these groups, however, is neither enthusiastic, like Katrina’s, nor demotivated, like Debora’s. Anna Maren seemed to view these activities with practical eyes. She wanted to make friends, build ties, so she joined these associations, and the results were as expected.

All four stories, however different, reveal that while joining clubs and associations may be seen as a Danish cultural aspect, it is a strategy employed by internationals to build ties in a host country that values networks formed this way. The survey data for the “participation in associations in Esbjerg” question presents an interesting perspective when analyzed from the point of view of the four profiles, in a parallel with the qualitative data analysis. **Figure 3** illustrates the results for this analysis.

Figure 3. Participation in Associations According to Profile (in %)

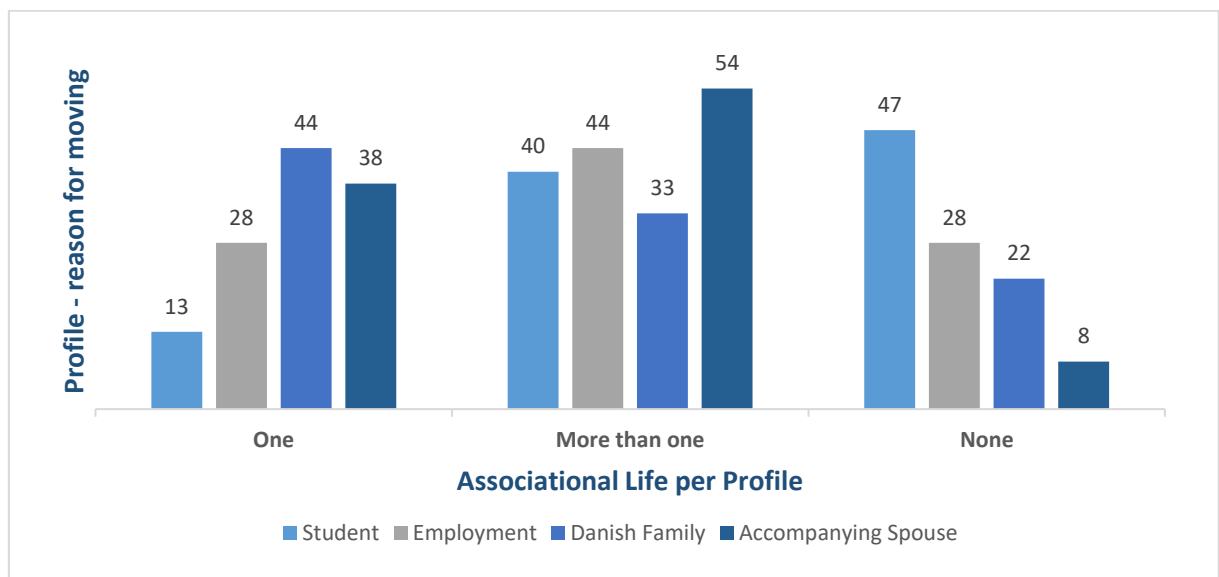


Figure 3 shows how each profile is distributed according to association participation. Of respondents who take part in more than one association, Accompanying Spouses present the highest concentration of positive answers, 54 per cent of the category’s total. Internationals with a Danish family are more highly concentrated in the category “One”, while 47 per cent of respondents who chose the category “None” are students. This corroborates Debora’s demotivated account of her experience with the tennis club, as well as Anna Maren’s practical interest in seeking friends as a newcomer. Katrina’s account can also be supported by the survey findings, since Employed

respondents hold the second highest concentration of answers among those who participate in more than one association. Carolina’s profile, however, is represented by the highest percentage of respondents in the category “One”, which differs from the interviewed case, since Carolina herself is not a member of a club or association, but her kids take part in different ones in the city.

5.5. Perspectives on social trust and network closure

5.5.1. Habitus and the trusting society of the host country

The online survey questions regarding general social trust and social trust specific to Esbjerg yielded results showing overall high levels of social trust among respondents. Two figures were elaborated to illustrate the pattern of answers. The answers were highlighted according to the profiles of respondents identified for the in-depth interviews phase to facilitate comparison. **Figure 4** illustrates the perception of general social trust of respondents according to their answers to the question “Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or you can’t be too careful when dealing with others?”. **Figure 5** focuses on perceptions of social trust pertaining to Esbjerg, and depicts the patterns of answers to the question “How much do you agree with the following statement: In Esbjerg one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you”. The figures are represented below.

Figure 4. General Social Trust Perception Per Profile (in %)

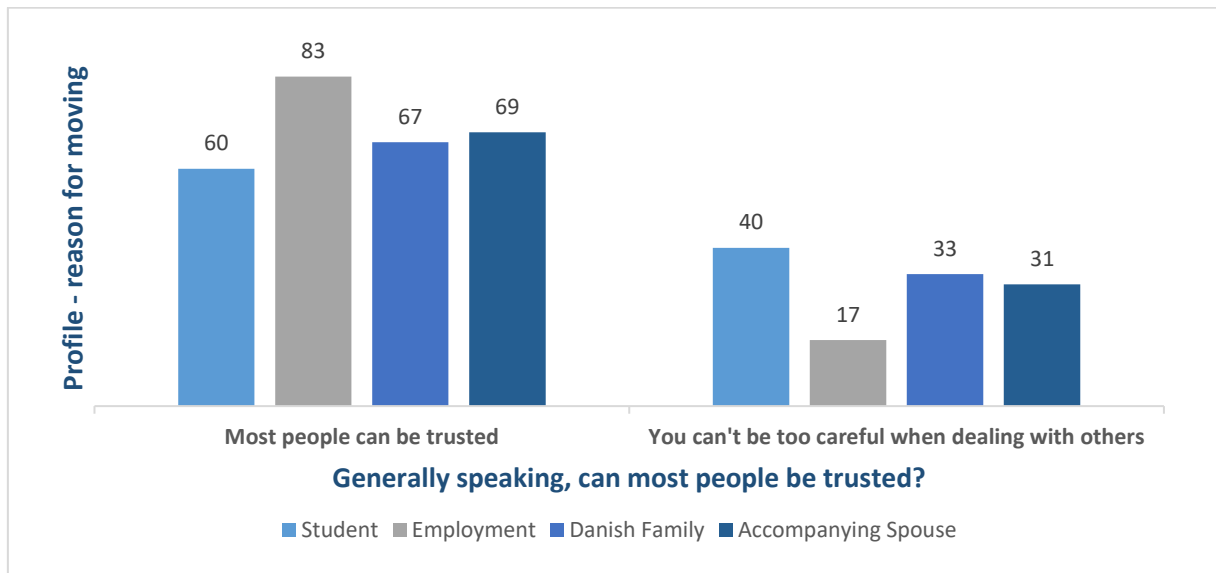


Figure 5. Perceptions of Social Trust in Esbjerg Per Profile (in %)

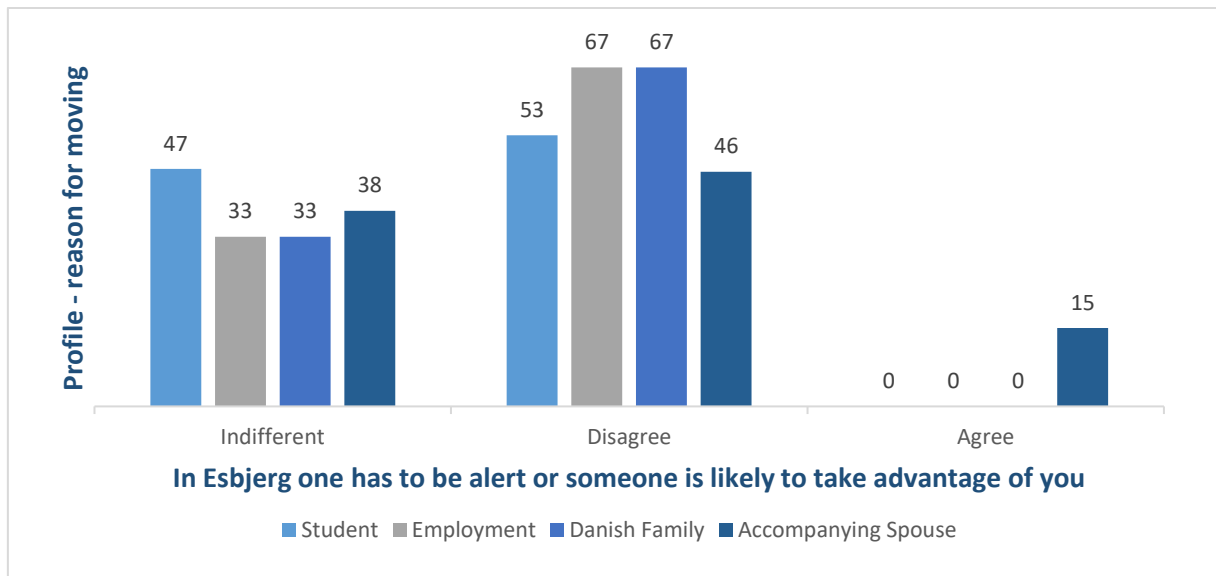


Figure 4 shows that more than half of respondents from all profiles answered that most people can be trusted. The higher concentration of trusting respondents is in the Employment category, in which 83 per cent of people answered to be trusting. They are followed by Accompanying Spouses, of which 69 per cent are trusting individuals when it comes to the social space. Among the group of individuals who do not believe most people can be trusted, Students demonstrated the lowest levels of social trust, with 40 per cent of individuals being mistrusting. They are followed by individuals with a Danish family, of which 33 per cent of respondents do not trust individuals in the social space.

Figure 5 illustrates more moderate responses. The question that originated its representation provided respondents with three alternatives: Agree, Disagree and Indifferent. In this case, answers are more balanced, or equally distributed, than in the first question. Individuals tended to mark either Disagree or Indifferent to the statement that one has to be alert in Esbjerg. The only category in which respondents answered they agreed to the statement, meaning they demonstrated absence of trust in individuals in Esbjerg, was Accompanying Spouse. On **Figure 4** however, this category was second in a positive perception of general trust in the social space. This seemingly dissonant pattern could be an indicative of dissatisfaction of respondents of this category with relocation to the city of Esbjerg.

The in-depth interviews, however, unveiled results that do not seem in keeping with those from the online survey. Conversations about social trust during the in-depth interviews showed that respondents' understanding of it are founded on the notion of social trust in their country of origin, which leads to an attitude of surprise toward Danish practices that are guided by the country's social trust. Anna Maren, for example, describes such situation:

"...I was shocked when I first came to Denmark and I was part of [...] a work in Denmark thing that they had in Copenhagen, and she sent an email to everyone participating, and all of our e-mail

addresses and names and phone numbers and everything was in the stock and... I mean like, 'oh, here's everyone's information... participants'. And I was like... you just gave my information to all these people that I don't know so uh... Oh, it's no big deal for them..."

Katrina is more direct in explaining her perspective on Danish social trust:

"They trust the society a lot. And to me that's shocking, because I come from a very different background, from a less safe background. [...] I was raised to be afraid of people."

In the qualitative part of the research, respondents' background appeared to be fundamental for their view on social trust, and habitus plays an important role when it comes to foreigners' trusting attitudes in the host country. Comments to this topic during the in-depth interviews portrayed respondents' original space of life-styles as one in which representations of the other are imbued with mistrust in a form of "fear of the unknown", where all strangers are potentially dangerous or looking to take advantage of someone until proven otherwise. Debora, for example, states:

"In Brazil people are not really trusting of each other until they know each other."

"[...] in Brazil people would become friends easier, but depending also on the matter [...] they would be a little more suspicious, like "why do you really want this", or "why are you trusting me with this". [...] And here they would be like: okay, I was supposed to trust you with it, so I trust you."

The interviews also revealed, nevertheless, that being part of the Danish social setting has affected these internationals into being more trusting, or at least less worried, in the context of the host country's social space. For one, Anna Maren, a significant change in attitude toward trusting others, or simply toward not believing every stranger in the street is a potential danger, becomes evident from her stories:

"[...] in the US [...] I would never let them out of my sight, and here I can just let them run up and down the aisles and be wild and crazy because I can't control them in the store [...]"

"I feel like I can relax here, more. I mean, I park my baby outside the café, but [...] I don't feel bad."

These excerpts show Anna Maren has adopted attitudes more in keeping with the overall social trust she perceives around her in Esbjerg. It indicates she has changed her feelings toward trusting others, she has let go of some of the instilled mistrust that results from being raised in the United

States. On the other hand, when it comes to hiring a babysitter for her kids, for example, the mistrust resurfaces:

“[...] we could hire a babysitter [...] we don’t sort of have trust for other people, we hear these stories sometimes about something happening to the kids.”

Unlike the first two excerpts, this reports a situation in which the stranger would have unsupervised access to her kids. It could be said to “demand too much” from an American mom living in Denmark.

Carolina describes herself as more trusting in Esbjerg, but the tone of her story is not of complete reassurance:

“I think that I trust maybe a little more here.” [...] I don’t think everybody is coming after your bag, your money [...] in that sense I’m more relaxed about things.”

The Colombian immigrant doesn’t demonstrate to have completely let go of her mistrust. Even though she doesn’t believe she’ll be robbed in Esbjerg, for example, the first part of the excerpt from Carolina’s interview shows hesitation in admitting a more trusting disposition. This hesitation is supported by the use of “I think”, “maybe” and “a little more” in her construction of the sentence. She wavers when admitting trust.

Katrina is still very reluctant to commit to trusting in others, and attributes this behavior to the fact that she is the mother of two girls:

“[...] raising two girls, I don’t want to be too trusting. I believe that it’s better to be too cautious than to regret after.”

She admits that her behavior seems paranoid and hints at Esbjerg representing in fact a safe environment, but her account shows Katrina is not ready to rethink the mistrust that is such an intrinsic component of her habitus.

An interesting aspect of Katrina’s story can also be found in Debora’s account of social trust in Esbjerg. Both women understand trust as having two different aspects: trust in social actors in the context of the social space and trust in social actors in a more individual context. Katrina explains:

“I was just saying that I define one way of trusting, that they trust the society a lot, but they don’t trust personal... [...] you can’t form very deep relationship [...] in that way, they are not trusting. In personal level they don’t.”

Debora shares a similar opinion:

“[...] I think they would trust you even if they don’t know you that well, so... [...] I think they would still trust you, maybe not with deep personal things.”

Both respondents draw a line between social trust and individual trust, and the latter, according to them, does not come easily with Danes, which contributes to making it more difficult to build ties with Danes.

5.5.2. Closure and enforced solidarity through social ties

The qualitative research also revealed aspects of closure in the social ties built by internationals, notably regarding compulsory participation in events and the possibility of sanctions. Katrina illustrated these aspects in two clear narratives: a work situation and her daughter’s school activities, in which parents are required to help, as well as attend with their children at times.

“They have to be part of the social activities at work, it’s kind of [...] voluntary, but it’s actually compulsory voluntary. You have to be. Otherwise you are frowned upon if you don’t go to all these parties [...]”

“They are making these activities at school, and you have to participate, if you don’t [...] our family will be looked at, and my daughter is going to [...] be singled out as a weirdo [...]”

“I’m not wild with all these kind of compulsory social activities, but again, we’re going along with this because Leah is growing up in this society, she needs to learn how the society works, and that’s what she is doing, what she is supposed to do.”

These accounts describe situations in which failing to help organize and participate in a social activity would lead the person to be judged by others, labelled anti-social or even to become ostracized. These are social sanctions enforced upon those who refuse to partake in social rituals such as work parties or school events. In Katrina’s case, the fear of ostracism alone leads her and her family to participate in these rituals, even though she clearly emphasizes to do so against her will.

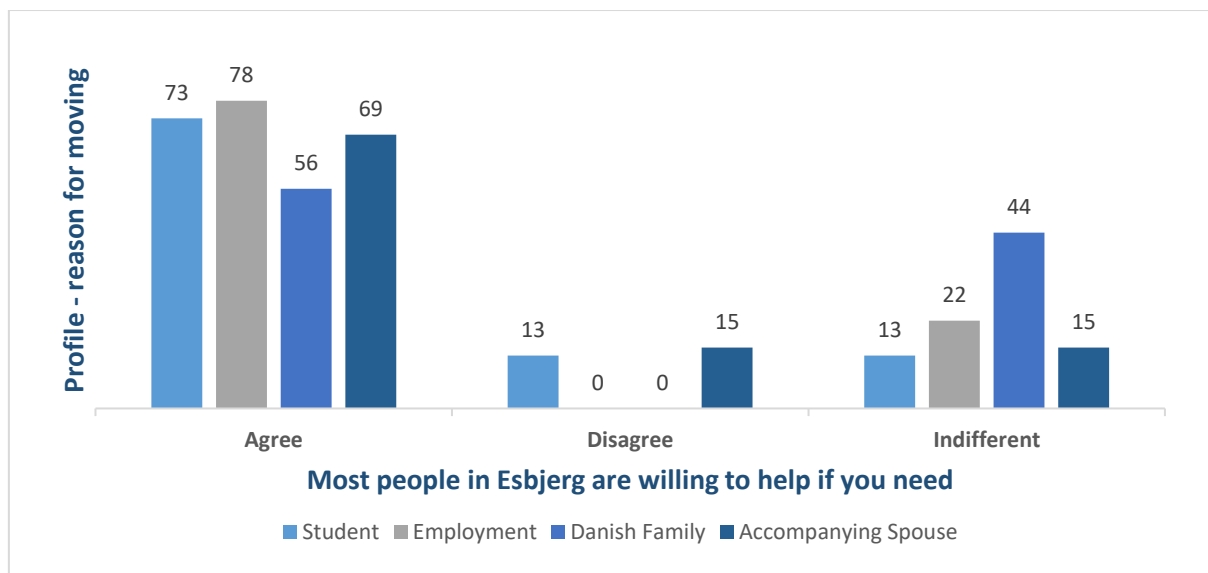
Anna Maren, on the other hand, described her understanding of social trust in the Danish social setting as enforced through aspects of network closure in the following account:

“If I trust other people, then they feel obligated to live up to that trust.”

These stories hint at the fact that Danish rituals such as work parties or school events highlight underlying social capital in the relationships between social actors involved in them. Work colleagues who feel compelled to participate in a work event seem to do so because the ties that connect them allow for the possibility of being judged through those ties. The same goes for children at school, where not only parents of children who fail to participate will be singled out by other parents, but the kids themselves might suffer sanctions even through it is the parents' responsibility to help arrange and to bring the child to the event.

The online survey posed a question regarding respondents' perspective on solidarity in Esbjerg. They were asked if they agreed, disagreed or were indifferent to the following statement: "Most people in Esbjerg are willing to help if you need". **Figure 6** demonstrates the distribution of answers.

Figure 6. Perceptions of Solidarity in Esbjerg (in %)



Unlike the question regarding perceptions of social trust in the city, respondents showed a high tendency to agree, to perceive Esbjerg as a solidary city. Considering the comments provided during the in-depth interviews, it is relevant to wonder if such solidarity is actually triggered by the fear of social sanctions more than by pure altruistic behavior.

5.6. Bonding-like social capital: first stage to integration or integration shortcoming

The in-depth interviews revealed that foreigners not only build ties in the host community among themselves, but also between them and individuals of the host country. The research results hint at the fact that these ties have different natures, sometimes being of the bridging type and at others being bonding-like. The respondents accounts of their social ties in Esbjerg have uncovered interesting results in this respect.

A previous section of this chapter analyzed social group composition of internationals. It is important to briefly revisit those results in order to proceed. A general analysis of social group composition from the online survey results yielded 55 per cent of answers stating that social group is composed of mostly internationals with few Danes. In second place, the same analysis rendered 36 per cent of responses to the category of social group constituted by a balance between internationals and Danes.

Looking into these numbers in a more detailed way revealed that level of Danish may have some influence on these answers. Among respondents whose social group is mostly formed by internationals, 53 per cent have beginner or intermediate levels of Danish and 28 per cent do not speak the language. When there is balance between internationals and Danes, 48 per cent of respondents have beginner or intermediate levels of Danish, while 43 per cent report being advanced or fluent speakers.

These results are relevant when we look into qualitative data that suggests bonding-like ties being formed between internationals of different ethnic backgrounds. Statements by three of the four respondents show such characteristics:

Katrina: “[...] we were not so many foreigners, so we were all kind of stuck together [...] we were roughly the same age, mostly PhD students, so we formed a very tight group, a happy friend group there.”

Debora: “[...] yeah, my friends were the international students. We were all in the same boat.”

Anna Maren: “[...] it didn’t matter where we were from, as all the foreigners we were all in the same situation of being foreign in this country, so...”

“[...] in that respect, it’s easier, usually, to talk to the foreigners because they understand where you’re coming from [...]”

Katrina described how foreigners, as a minority group in the department where she was taking her PhD, formed a tight group based on the fact that they found themselves in the same situation at the same time. Debora explained that her friends during university years were international students because they were “all in the same boat”, all facing the same situation. Anna Maren said conversations with foreigners were easier because there was mutual understanding among them. These reports point to a tendency of foreigners to initially form groups with other foreigners based on shared experiences and perspectives. These networks have a peculiar nature.

Bonding ties are defined as exclusive, as constituting of tight networks that shut out those who do not share the commonalities that attracted social actors to it in the first place. Common ethnicity traits are a more popular characteristic of bonding social capital, but they are not the only one. The findings of the in-depth interviews in respect to these groups reveal that they are formed because of

shared experiences and perspectives in the face of the host society. This is a strong indicative that these ties verified in groups of internationals are bonding-like, despite the fact that its wielders are of diverse nationalities and cultural backgrounds. The fact that they find themselves in the same situation draws these people together.

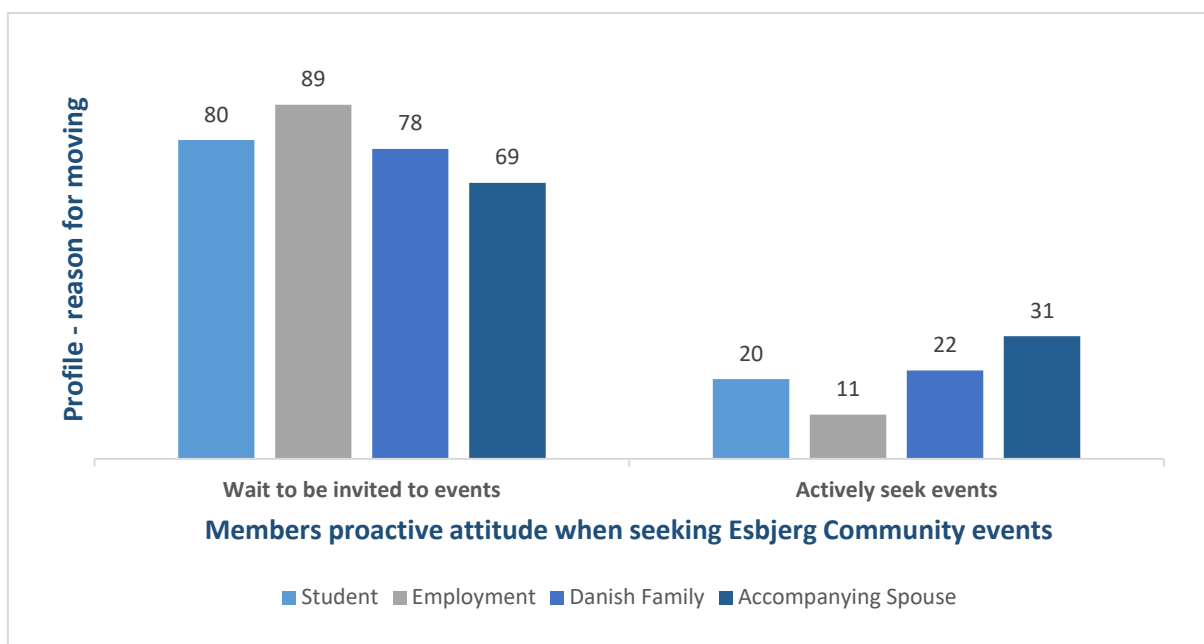
It is important to observe, however, that unlike the widely-known definition of bonding social capital, these shared perspectives and experiences are not inherent to social actors or result from habitus and upbringing in the home country. These are actually shaped and created by the interactions in the host country, they are externally constructed. Put simply, interviewees uncover commonalities between them and foreigners of diverse nationalities due to the fact that they are all in the face of the Danish social space. They form a heterogenous group bound together by ties similar to those seen in the homogenous groups that exemplify bonding social capital. For this reason, for my analysis, I chose to name these tighter ties formed by diverse internationals “bonding-like”, instead of purely bonding.

The implications of these ties will be further explored in the **Discussion** chapter of this thesis. Nevertheless, turning back to the social group composition question helps illustrate this finding and provides an important perspective. Danish-speaking internationals tend to have more diverse social networks, while those who either do not speak the language or speak it poorly usually have more international friends. The existence of bonding-like ties could either be the incipient stage of integration or the result of failed attempts to integrate.

5.7. Impact of the Newcomer Service’s Initiatives

The online survey’s questions with regard to the effectiveness of the Newcomer Service’s initiatives aimed to measure how much members are engaged with the community, both in respect to seeking out its events and in respect to being active on the community’s social space, which is virtual. The first question to be analyzed in this respect regards members’ proactivity in seeking out events. Effective initiatives would be responsible for engaging community members in active participation, motivating them to look for activities of the community. **Figure 7** illustrates the response pattern for this question. It is also organized according to respondents’ profiles to allow better visualization of results when compared to the in-depth interviews analysis.

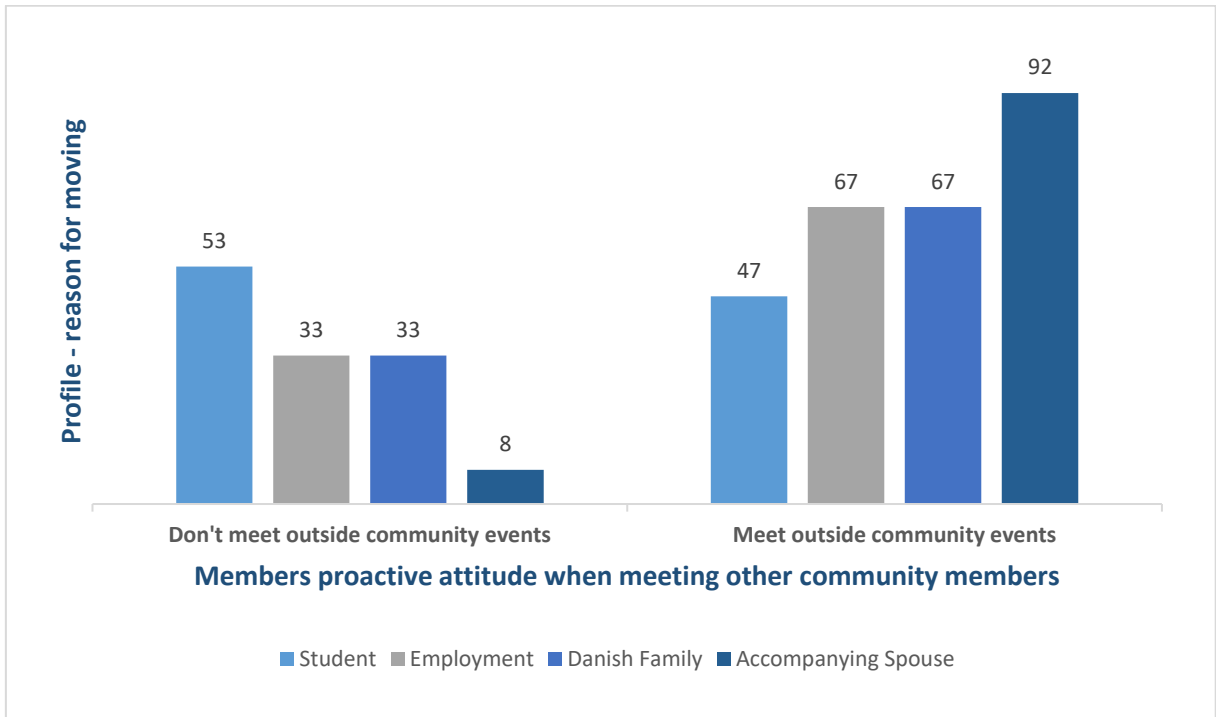
Figure 7. Proactivity of Members in Seeking Out Community Events (in %)



Most respondents, regardless of profile, answered they wait to be invited to events rather than actively seek them. This indicates a low level of proactivity, and therefore, lower community engagement. The highest number of respondents who wait to be invited to events belongs to the Employment profile. This could be due to time constraints, particularly when analyzed against the Accompanying Spouse category. Even though more than half of those affirm to wait to be invited to events, the 69 per cent of respondents from the category hint at the fact that spouses, those who come due to husbands' relocation and do not necessarily have jobs in Esbjerg, look for activities to fill in their free time more often.

The second question from the online survey that meant to measure the impact of the initiatives regards whether respondents meet community members outside events hosted by the Newcomer Service. This would indicate that social capital is not conditioned to the context of the events, but that internationals invest in those ties and make time and effort to cultivate the connections. **Figure 8** illustrates answers to this question.

Figure 8. Proactivity of Members in Meeting Outside Community Events (in %)



In this figure, it is possible to see that the majority of respondents from the categories Employment, Danish Family and Accompanying Spouse meet Esbjerg International Community members in circumstances other than its events. The category Students, however, does not show the same expressive number of respondents who extend interactions with network members to contexts outside the network. This could be due to the fact that students are usually presented with more opportunities of social interactions, particularly from the university, as Debora said during her interview:

“[...] it was much easier when I was a student, the environment was also better for it [making friends] because, then [...] you go to so many parties, and there are so many people attending everything, and there are so many events the school provides.”

Nevertheless, the figure indicates positive results regarding the Newcomer Service’s efforts to help newcomers build social ties, regardless of whether these ties are composed predominantly of other internationals.

Another measurement of how Esbjerg International Community’s members are engaged with the network is the degree of participation of respondents on the virtual space, rather than physical event attendance. Respondents to the online survey were asked what kind of interactions they had regarding the Facebook page of the community. The answers provided allowed for the identification

of three behavior patterns of members regarding how they make use of the virtual space: Active Participant, who posts, comments and replies to comments and posts; Solidary Participant, who doesn't post himself, but is willing to answer to other members posts to help them; Bystander, which refers to those users who visit the page, take a look at the activity, but do not post, comment or offer replies themselves. **Figure 9** shows the percentages of respondents in each of the identified behavior patterns.

Figure 9. Participation in virtual space per respondent profile (in %)

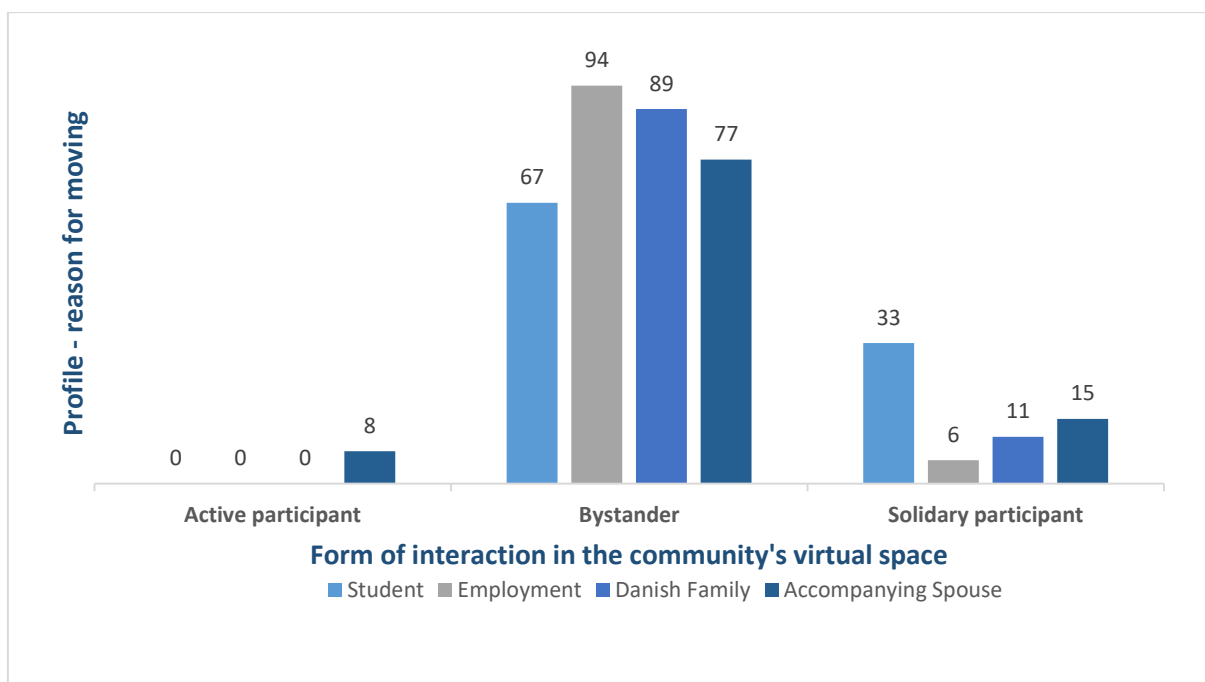
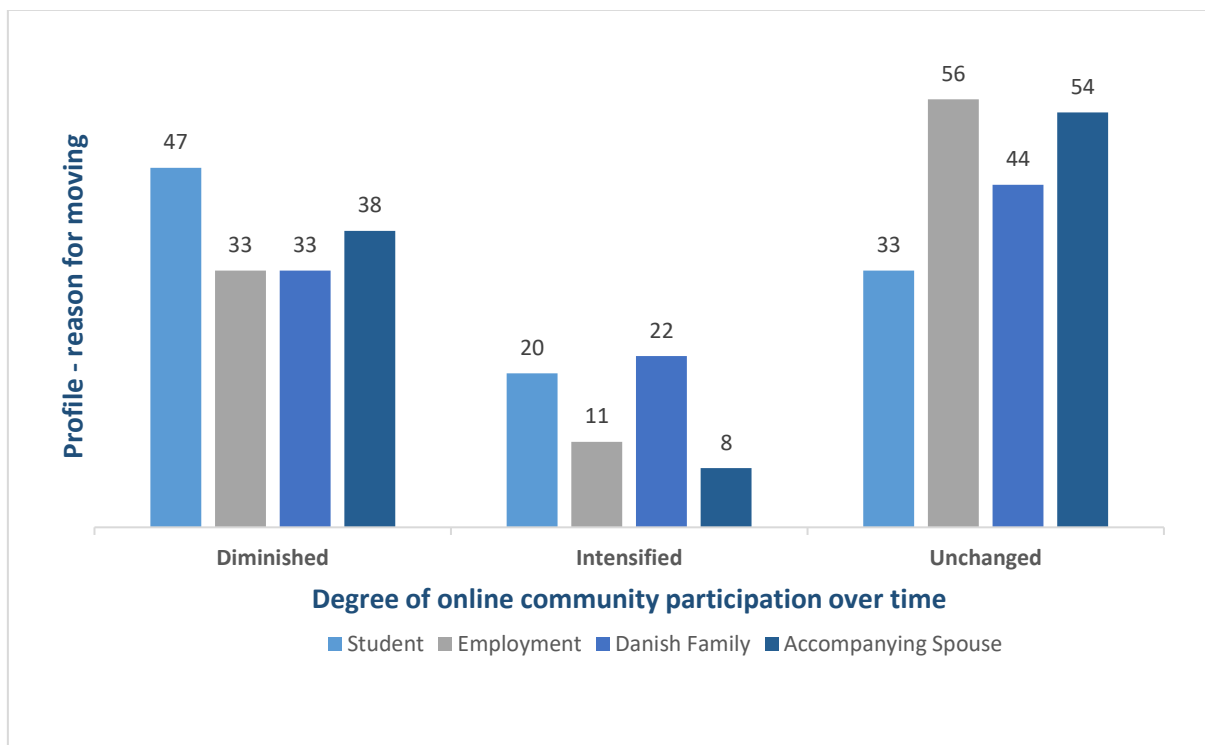


Figure 9 shows a high concentration of individuals of all relocation profiles in the Bystander behavior pattern. It is relevant to highlight that participation in the virtual space is open for all members to see, which could be discouraging to some, as if talking in public. While a significant number of respondents reported investing in social capital by meeting international community members outside of its events, as shown by **Figure 8**, a post in the online page means putting oneself out there for the whole community to judge. Social interactions with selected members of the community do not implicate the same exposure. This could be a reason so few active and solidary participants. Students, however, seem more inclined to comment on posts and provide help online than other profiles. This could be because they are usually faced with more dire situations, such as being in Esbjerg by themselves and having to sort through issues like housing, grocery shopping or getting by with transport all alone. This could make them more inclined to helping others faced with the same problems, or even more resourceful in it, after having tackled relocation issues themselves.

Finally, the online survey investigated the degree of participation of respondents over time to see if there was a greater tendency of participating more, less or neither. The results are illustrated on **Figure 10**.

Figure 10. Online participation over time (in %)



It is relevant to point out that while the majority of respondents stated their participation remained unchanged over time, it is not possible to verify whether this participation was intense or mild to begin with. There is a high concentration of respondents whose participation has diminished with time, however, hinting at the fact that community ties were not as strong for those members. A smaller number of respondents reported to have intensified their participation in the community. As I will show shortly, cases like Anna Maren’s, Carolina’s and even Debora’s could be responsible for such answers. These are the “late explorers” of the community, people who didn’t know about it when they first came, perhaps because they were not welcomed by the Newcomer Service, and are now discovering and making use of the virtual space of the network. The majority of answers in the category Unchanged, despite being unable to determine the intensity of the participation, points to the fact that those individuals chose to continue investing their time and resources in the network, which is a positive outcome for the Newcomer Service.

During the in-depth interviews the topic of the Newcomer Services was addressed directly with interviewees, and answers were diverse according to each profile. Carolina, for example, does not feel like she was benefited by these initiatives, and she didn’t know about them until she answered the online survey. The Colombian immigrant also describes being treated differently because she moved

to Esbjerg to marry a Dane. Her impression is that foreigners who come to work as high-skilled employees or who come as accompanying spouses of these employees are better welcomed as newcomers. The following passages illustrate these attitudes:

“I don’t know because I really learned very little about when I made this [...] survey [...] I didn’t know about it. It would be nice if somebody asked you ‘ok, what do you want’ or ‘what you can do?’”

“I know it is offered this kind of thing more to people who come here and who is married with another foreigner who came here to work, not for us, for us is a little more difficult.”

Debora also reports no knowledge of the Newcomer Service upon arrival, but she was welcomed to Esbjerg by the university. She recently started attending the Newcomer Service’s events and managed to expand her network to include more foreigners she met at the events. As she reports:

“[...] all the times I’ve been there, I had nice conversations with people. I think I actually developed some good friendships [...].”

She also reports feelings of inadequacy for not consistently participating in the network’s events in order to develop more solid friendships. This regret makes more sense when Debora reveals that she believes stronger ties may come up of the Newcomer Service’s initiatives:

“[...] when I went to the Newcomer... most of the people there [...] either already knew each other or were just like arriving. [...] then, because I wasn’t every time [...] I didn’t really develop much relationship with like... the others.”

“[...] and if you have a good relationship, you can start doing things outside of the meetings and that...”

For Anna Maren, it wasn’t the Newcomer Service’s initiatives that helped her develop her social capital in Esbjerg. The American immigrant, however, has an interesting perspective on the how she could make use of those events:

“[...] maybe not to make friends as a goal, but more to like make a network of people [...] that are important or have a good network themselves, like Nicole or Tatiana, they’re really good because they know a lot of people. [...] they can see ‘oh, okay, I know someone who [...] has done this for jobs’, and then maybe they hear something.”

This perspective reveals that Anna Maren sees the Newcomer Service's initiatives as a means to build bridging social capital, expanding her network in Esbjerg with the usefulness of connections in mind. She observed at an earlier stage of the interview that in Denmark connections are important as a way to get by, to get a job.

Katrina, on the other hand, has a more critical understanding of the ties formed in the context of the Newcomer Service's initiatives. First, she explains that it wasn't through the initiatives that she formed her network of international acquaintances, but mostly through work. From one couple, the network extended to acquaintances' acquaintances. Then Katrina reveals she believes even though the initiatives provide good opportunities for social outings, they are not, in her opinion, effective for integration. The following passage contains Katrina's critical opinion and explanation:

"[...] they create a little, kind of a foreign sidelong [...]. Like that is a foreign activity, and Danes will not come [...], because they have many other activities where they are not constrained by English-speaking..."

"I think to start it's really good. Specially if you don't speak Danish and you're not chatty yourself."

"People start to rely on each other, form very strong friendship bonds, and then people become very closed and you can't really enter, because when you enter as a newcomer it's all like 'oh, it's a friends club?'"

It is interesting to observe from Katrina's account how she describes the existence of bonding-like social capital among internationals who partake in the Newcomer Service's events. For her, the network can be seen as closed to outsiders, first, exclusive to foreigners, discouraging Danes to join. Second, exclusive to those foreigners who are always taking part, discouraging other foreigners to participate.

Katrina's account also mentions language acquisition, and it does so in a way that indicates that, in her opinion, international friendships are developed before the foreigner has acquired local language skills. This is parallel to Debora's story, for example, insofar as the Brazilian immigrant's foreign social ties were formed during college, her early years in Esbjerg.

These findings indicate that the interviewees did not build their social capital with help from the Newcomer Service's initiatives, either for not knowing about them or for having done so through other, more frequent social settings in Esbjerg, such as their work or study environment. This does not mean, however, that their accounts cannot contribute to understanding how social capital is built in Esbjerg, which will shed light on the ways in which the Newcomer Service's actions may have an impact in this process.

The contributions of these results lie upon identifying social capital building processes in the cases studied and analyzing what shapes such processes. Both steps are the key to answering the main research question, and they will be summarized and further discussed in the following chapter.

In the following chapter I present a Discussion of the findings.

6. Discussion

In this chapter I highlight the most important findings of the research conducted and critically discuss them building up on my analysis and the theoretical scope of this thesis. Similar works presented in the **Literature Review** chapter are compared and contrasted to the results. Finally, I discuss how the research limitations affected the findings and present the future perspectives to which the results point.

6.1. How newcomers to Esbjerg build their social ties

After analysing the research results, I identified three topics that comprise the most relevant findings in respect to how newcomers build their ties in the new space of social differentiation that is the city of Esbjerg: Danish Norms; Habitus and Social Trust and Bonding-Like Ties. These were defined according to the theoretical framework of this thesis. **Danish Norms** regards foreigners' perspectives on building ties in the host country and how aspects of closure and social sanctions affect this process. **Habitus and Social Trust** addresses obstacles to social capital building originated by foreigners' habitus. Finally, **Bonding-Like Ties** deals with the finding that internationals feel compelled to form ties among each other in face of the host society and what are the causes and consequences of this behavior. What follows is the further development and theoretical discussion of the three topics.

6.2. Danish Norms: the social space of the host country

One of the recurring observations made by respondents to the in-depth interviews concerned how, in the Danish culture, it is customary to have parties and events in different social networks in which an individual takes part. For example, office Christmas parties, or a variety of school events, or gatherings from clubs and associations. Respondents reported with a tone of complaint that they felt obligated to participate and to help organize these festivities. This experience clearly describes James Coleman's third aspect of social structures: *norms and effective sanctions* (Coleman, 1988).

It is relevant to highlight the fact that respondents felt compelled to take part in these activities for fear of suffering social sanctions, or that their children would suffer social sanctions, in the example of Katrina. If according to Coleman (1988) effective norms are a powerful form of social capital, it is possible to conclude that the norms that pertain the social activities' rituals described by respondents are powerful forms of social capital, insofar as they lead individuals to act in accordance to them for the public good — the organization of such events, for example, which will benefit all guests, regardless of whether or not they worked in putting the activity together. Social capital ties such as those are formed when individuals take part in an association, such as leisure and sports clubs or parents association, or even when their jobs require them to do so.

Coleman's norms and sanctions verified in the context of these compulsory activities also denounce the existence of **closure** in the social networks that reinforce them. The fact that Katrina, for example, expected a form of sanction to be applied in case she failed to help or to take her daughter, demonstrated as much. On the other hand, closure also presupposes repayment of obligations, or a situation in which each person will perform their part in order to make things work. That is what Carolina describes regarding her efforts to help organize events and competitions for both her son's and her daughter's sports clubs. In her testimony, she explains that parents can count on one another for these activities.

These norms and sanctions are understood as inherent to the social capital built in the context of these networks, and, albeit reluctantly, are accepted as such. Katrina demonstrates she is conformed with this when she talks about how this where her daughter will grow up, so she wants the little girl to experience these obligations. Carolina repeats a few times that she complies with all these obligations placed upon her because she just has to.

6.3. *Habitus and Social Trust*

The research findings demonstrated that foreigners are faced with an unfamiliar space of life-styles to which they must adapt upon arrival in Esbjerg. Feelings of inadequacy or dissonant interpretations of the first social interactions are examples of this. The space of life-styles, as described by Bourdieu (1986), is composed of the perspectives of individuals who participate in it; these perspectives, in turn are shaped by habitus. It is possible to conclude, then, that the lack of familiarity with this social space is due to the fact that internationals constitute their habitus in the space of their country of origin, and bring foreign perspectives to the space of life-styles of Esbjerg. Three observations regarding habitus and the space of life-styles of the host country are worth highlighting from the research findings.

The first observation is the fact that recently-arrived internationals see Danes as reluctant to make new friends and have very negative initial perspectives of this behavior. The recurring accounts of how "Danes don't want to make more friends than the ones they have" are imbued with judgmental tones. However, in all interviews, these observations are later replaced with the understanding that Danes have formed their network in Esbjerg over time, that they have been together with their friends since school, and that it is difficult break through those ties.

All interviewees have been in Esbjerg for no less than four years, which has given them time to become familiarized with the social space. This indicates that they have also been able to observe and learn about the space of life-styles in Esbjerg, to understand individual's perspectives and to learn about habitus-shaping practices in this social context. The fact that they are able to describe and justify the nature of the social networks formed by natives (life-long friendships, for example) and to identify

what it would take to befriend a local (speaking the language and joining an association, for example) are evidence that they have an understanding of this aspect of the space of life-styles in Esbjerg.

The second observation concerns language acquisition, an aspect that pertains the scope of Bourdieu's cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and is constituting of habitus. Foreigners reported being treated differently after learning to speak Danish; that Danes were more willing to talk to them, to listen to what they had to say. This exemplifies how composition and volume of other forms of capital are determining for social capital expansion. Speaking Danish allowed internationals to expand their social capital to include Danes, while not speaking it kept them from forming certain networks.

The third observation regards habitus and social trust. As part of a trusting social space, individuals appeared to be equally trusting. This was hinted at by the high concentration of respondents who demonstrated social trust according to the results of the online survey. The in-depth interviews, on the other hand, demonstrated that foreigners know they are in a trusting society, they know that there are certain behaviors that are not risky in Esbjerg, such as leaving the blinds open, not having a closed fence around the house or leaving the kids outside when going inside a commercial building, but they do not feel entirely trusting toward these practices. Respondents to the in-depth interviews said they felt they were more trusting in Esbjerg, but that they could not be as trusting as Danes are.

The social trust perspective is interesting to be discussed from the habitus point of view because respondents affirmed that the reason they could not be as trusting was their upbringing. Katrina grew up in a crisis-immersed Latvia, Carolina grew up in a South American capital with high crime rates, Anna Maren was raised in the United States and couldn't trust the classmates from the spouse course she took with her contact information. In all three women, habitus has a great influence on social trust, to the point of hindering social capital building. Carolina, for example, demonstrated mistrust regarding who she chooses to become her closest friends.

These three observations show how habitus can influence social capital building. The first, through the perspective of the space of life-styles, leading to a pre-conceived understanding of the social actors who compose it and to distancing from potential ties. The second concerns social capital expansion through cultural capital enhancement with language acquisition. The third describes how habitus shapes social trust, and while the social space may influence an individual's social trust, it cannot change habitus, since habitus regards the circumstances of the individual's upbringing.

6.4. Bonding-Like Ties

The third topic comprises an interesting finding the research uncovered: internationals form bonding-like ties among themselves regardless of ethnic or cultural background.

By bonding-like ties I mean social capital that may behave like bonding social capital, but does not entirely fits the description Robert Putnam (2000) provides. While bonding ties are

characteristically exclusive and reinforce shared identities, they also present homogeneity in their composition. In the case of Esbjerg International Community, however, the group is highly heterogeneous, and it does not, by nature, fit the definition of bonding social capital. The bonding characteristic of this type of interaction is transitory, and it can only be verified in the context of the host society.

For example, three of the respondents to the in-depth interviews described situations in which internationals formed a tight group when in face of a larger Danish group. The explanation provided by respondents was that they were all in the same situation. The online survey results hinted at the same: non-integrated internationals tend to have social groups composed of little or no Danes. This is not a case of exacerbation of a common identity, but of excluding themselves from the social space and deciding not to invest in building social capital. It does point to the existence of bonding ties, albeit not in the same level as those studied in the context of public integration policies (Nannestad, 2010; Epstein, 2010; Nannestad, Svendsen & Svendsen, 2008). For this reason, I chose to be moderate in my analysis and in the coinage of the term, opting for “bonding-like”, rather than naming those ties actual bonding social capital.

The findings do demonstrate that Esbjerg International Community may be faced with a shortcoming: instead of integrating internationals in the Danish host society, it would be facilitating the presence of an enclave formed by internationals of different origins. While the online survey results are inconclusive regarding the reason behind the social group composition distribution, the in-depth interviews revealed that internationals do behave in such way.

These bonding-like ties are potentially harmful to the objective of the Newcomer Service, insofar as they would prevent integration. They are also negative from the point of view of the collective action dilemma, as seen in Nannestad (2010), in the **Literature Review** chapter. Initial difficulties in integrating could lead internationals to shut themselves within Esbjerg International Community and choose not to invest in integration efforts, such as language acquisition or membership in an association.

6.5. How the Newcomer Service’s initiatives impact social capital building

The in-depth interviews showed that the Newcomer Service’s initiatives did not have an impact in the social capital built by the four interviewees. However, the context of their arrival to Esbjerg must be considered before ruling out the service’s impact for all newcomers. All interviewees have established themselves in Esbjerg, they have not been newcomers to the city for a long time. None of them reported making use of the service at the time of arrival, except for the Mentor Network, which is an integration program promoted by another institution, not the Newcomer Service. One respondent, Carolina, reported finding out about the events offered for members of the international community during the online survey.

Nevertheless, the experiences of the interviewees are of great value to understand how the Newcomer Service's initiatives could have an impact on newcomers' social capital building. The issues highlighted during the interviews can be addressed by the service. There are initiatives particularly concentrated in some of them. This could point to the fact that it is a matter of focusing efforts on the right programs, rather than constantly trying to innovate to attract newcomers to events. The right programs are those in keeping with what the findings highlight as the most effective ways to build social capital in the new host country: 1) being part of a network with constituted norms and sanctions; 2) becoming a skilled Danish speaker.

Respondents to the in-depth interviews have independently become part of networks in Esbjerg with powerful levels of social capital, as indicated by the descriptions of James Coleman's norms and sanctions pertaining to some of them. Participation in such networks are an indicative of social capital formed in the context of the host country, which is a large step toward integration. The Newcomer Service has recently started to host an event that could be responsible for promoting the same level of integration to newcomers. It is called Rotating Leisure. The Rotating Leisure event introduces newcomers to the clubs and associations in Esbjerg. In one evening, individuals can try the activity of the association and choose whether they want to join.

Getting people to join associations falls precisely within the scope of what Robert Putnam defined as bridging social capital. Associations are inclusive forms of social capital which are not concentrated in overestimating a common identity (Putnam, 2000). Being able to form these bridging ties would allow newcomers to subsequently expand their ties, since this type of social capital has a positive impact on ties external to it.

The initiative, however, could also result in failure. As also revealed by the findings, not speaking Danish tends to lead individuals to not diversify their social ties to include Danes. This means that a visit to a club or association could end up being useless, since it would risk making newcomers demotivated to become members due to language barriers.

That is why the second most effective form of building social capital — according to what was unveiled by the in-depth interviews — is be language acquisition. Epstein's (2010) study reveals that learning the host country's language is a form of assimilation that can also guarantee higher income to migrants. Interviewees have stated they were better treated after learning Danish and Danish speakers have a more diversified network in Esbjerg than non-speakers. The Newcomer Service could benefit from encouraging individuals to learn Danish. And there is also an event, although incipient, to motivate language acquisition. It is called Film Club, and its original idea was that Danish movies were played with English subtitles. In time, however, the event started allowing for movies of other nationalities to be exhibited, in an effort to accommodate cultural exchange.

Language acquisition, nevertheless, presents its own problem: it is costly in respect to personal investment of individuals. Despite the fact that learning Danish could benefit the individual and the

city of Esbjerg through integration, the benefits can only be harvested in the long-run, but the costs are demanded over a long period of time and dedication. Internationals are faced with a collective action dilemma, which tends to tip the scale in favor of not investing in integration efforts since, as Nannestad puts it, “adaptation costs make it the rational strategy for natives and immigrants alike not to cooperate in bringing about integration” (Nannestad, 2010, p.317).

Both of the mentioned solutions, however, would demand combined efforts from the Newcomer Service, since the success of one (Rotating Leisure) could be dependent on how the other (Film Club) succeeds in encouraging newcomers to learn Danish.

6.6. Limitations

As discussed in the **Methods** chapter, the online questionnaire step of this research represents a limitation to this thesis. The reduced number of respondents yielded insufficient data for significant results to the statistical tests. The data collection process and the quantitative data was not completely dropped, however, and figures were designed to allow an investigation of behavior tendencies among respondents through the counting of chosen answers. The quantitative data strengthened the qualitative analysis, illustrating themes and similar and contrasting behavior patterns in the respondents’ stories.

A resulting limitation from the insufficient quantitative data is the inability to generalize findings due to such a small sample size, despite having combined research methods. Ravitch and Carl (2016) explain that generalizability “is not a recognized goal of qualitative research” (Ravitch and Carl, 2016, p. 191), which means that this limitation could not have been overcome by mixing methods. Nevertheless, the findings have strength because they are a product of method triangulation, which “enhance[s] the validity of a study” (Ravitch & Carl, 2016, p. 194).

In the following chapter I present this thesis concluding remarks and perspectives based on the research findings.

7. Conclusion and Perspectives

7.1. Concluding remarks

Social capital research is heavily focused on the consequences of this form of capital, rather than on how it is built (Woolcock, 1998; Portes, 1998). These publications are of great value when they make a case for social capital and how it can help solve problems like the collective action dilemma in the context of integration (Nannestad, 2010) or boost development in the context of the World Bank's actions. Nevertheless, poor understanding of how social capital is formed and to what purpose individuals chose to make connections results in a knowledge gap: there are many arguments for social capital incentives due to its positive outcomes, but little research to inform how these connections are built and how to guide initiatives aimed at promoting social capital to do so in a way that its benefits can truly be harvested in order to avoid the trap of encouraging exclusive social capital.

Another area in which social capital research could be improved is the diversification of methods to study it. Studies are, predominantly, of either quantitative or qualitative nature (Jones & Woolcock, 2010). Through a mixed methods approach, questions that remain answered by one method could be addressed by the other, leading to more thorough results.

This thesis set out to investigate social capital building among members of Esbjerg International Community. The study was motivated by a curiosity as to why members repeatedly complained about how difficult it is to integrate in the social space of Esbjerg. Their integration is of great value to the municipality, and Esbjerg's efforts to help foreigners integrate happen through the Newcomer Service, an initiative to welcome newcomers and connect them to an existing network in the city, for which the service hosts a series of events.

Initiatives aimed at promoting social capital among foreigners are a first step to integration in the host country. Their effectiveness, however, is conditioned to understanding what impacts social capital building. The host country represents a space of life-styles that is unknown to newcomers and in which the social differentiation processes shaped by their habitus are absent. In order to create good integration strategies, it is important to first identify these issues, or risk the implementation of costly and ineffective initiatives.

This thesis represents, from a theoretical perspective, a contribution to the study of social capital from the angle of how these ties are built and what is the motivation of social actors to build it. From the empirical perspective, this thesis contributes to enlarge the modest scope of studies that use a mixed approach to data collection for social capital research. For the Newcomer Service, this study provides the opportunity to understand how social capital is built in the context of Esbjerg as a new social space and to adjust existing initiatives, as well as to be more precise in future initiatives in order to promote integration in a more effective way.

7.2. The research question

This thesis aimed to answer the following research question:

How do institutionalized initiatives, such as those of the Esbjerg Newcomer Service, impact social capital building by relocated citizens in their new host country?

The findings of this research have led to the conclusion that the impact of those initiatives on social capital building are twofold: 1) a positive impact, which encourages newcomers to follow trajectories that will lead to integration in the social space; 2) a negative impact, which leads newcomers to turn to the international network as a secure space after experiencing obstacles when attempting to form ties in the host country.

Regarding the positive impact, this research uncovered two points of greater relevance: language acquisition and membership in Danish associations that present closure aspects, in which underlying norms and sanctions steer its members' actions.

It is possible to conclude that Danish-speaking foreigners have a more diversified social network in Esbjerg, including both Danes and internationals. In-depth interviews concluded that speaking the native language makes Danes approach foreigners with a more receptive attitude, which offers an explanation for why internationals more skilled in Danish present a more diversified network. On the other hand, foreigners with little or no Danish skills do not benefit from such diverse ties. Interviewees reported having difficulties approaching Danes when their language skills were still incipient.

Foreigners who actively participate in Danish associations also benefit from social capital that diversifies one's social connections, and associations with a high level of closure compel individuals to become involved in the activities and interact socially, under the risk of social sanctions.

Social actors can benefit from diverse social networks in the space of life-styles of the host country. For one thing, it means having more possibilities of access to social capital's useful exchanges, having a wider network on which to count. On the other hand, it points to a process of integration in the host society.

In respect to the negative impact, the research has concluded that Esbjerg International Community may risk turning into an enclave of internationals, rather than a stepping stone to integration, as is intended by the Newcomer Service. In some aspects, it can already be perceived as an enclave, as respondents to the in-depth interviews demonstrated. It is at times seen as an initiative for internationals, leading to the exclusion of other social actors, even though the Newcomer Service itself describes the network as being for internationals and international-minded Danes.

This restriction of the network to internationals narrows its members' possibilities in the space of life-styles of the host country. An individual who restricts his ties to other internationals is restricting

himself to being part of a minority in the face of the host society. This poses a threat to integration initiatives when the social capital developed assumes bonding-like characteristics, when the social actors who take part in it cultivate toxic notions regarding the host society.

Bonding-like social capital is a probable negative outcome of poorly designed top-down integration initiatives. Losing focus from the original purpose of serving as a stepping stone to integration could result in community-inward looking behavior from internationals. For this reason, knowing what impacts social capital building by internationals is a key factor for the Newcomer Service to design its initiatives. This knowledge allows the service to identify where it should aim to promote effective events.

7.3. Perspectives and recommendations for the future

The Newcomer Service already offers two initiatives that are in keeping with the findings of this thesis in respect to social capital building impact. The Rotating Leisure activity introduces internationals to Danish clubs and associations in Esbjerg. The Film Club had the initial purpose of showing movies in Danish with English subtitles, but it deviated from this purpose and now shows worldwide movies. This is an example of how losing focus can be harmful for the integration goal.

The Newcomer Service's events attract internationals in the form of social interactions, as a way to put people in contact. While it is important to maintain this characteristic in order not to risk losing attendance, I would recommend that events should be planned with the main purpose of integration in mind. The fact that the Film Club has deviated from its original purpose is understandable from the perspective that those who attended were looking for entertainment, not to spend an evening studying. Nevertheless, the arrangement to exhibit foreign movies could, for example, turn into a compromise, with alternating nights between a Danish and a non-Danish movie. Considering the particular importance of language for integration, it would be an important course of action for the objective of the Newcomer Service.

The limitations to this research prevent the study from conceding generalizations of the findings, but there are contributions to apprehend from the findings in the context of social capital building initiatives — contributions that can turn into further recommendations that would benefit the Newcomer Service. The first is the already extensively discussed identification of impacting factors to social capital building by internationals. The second, and more relevant for the purpose of further investigating how internationals build their ties, would be the recommendation of a medium-term study with selected newcomers.

The Newcomer Service has access to all newcomers to Esbjerg that register in the municipality. My recommendation is that this access should be understood as an asset for the service to constantly improve its initiatives and perform follow-up investigations regarding the social trajectory of newcomers. A study of how these newcomers build their ties over time would be highly beneficial for

the service and for internationals living in Esbjerg, since integration initiatives and efforts could be made more effective. The Newcomer Service could select a group of recently-arrived foreigners and perform subsequent interviews over periods of six months with the intention to follow the process of integration and accommodation to the city. Language acquisition, job market integration and social group dynamic could be the focus of the interview guide, but it would also be extremely valuable to elaborate questions that allowed researchers to understand if and how individuals' perception of the space of life-styles in Esbjerg changes over time. These changes could be an indicative of how the individual's position in the social space shifts as he begins the process of integration. A research of this sort could demonstrate — or even refute — in practice relevant aspects of social capital theory.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Online Survey

Social Ties in Esbjerg International Community

Thank you for agreeing to fill out this survey!

As part of my master thesis, I want to know a little more about how social ties are formed and cultivated within members of the Esbjerg International Community. I also expect to understand what may influence these social ties and how can they be strengthened to benefit members of Esbjerg International Community even more.

The survey takes 10-15 minutes to be completed, and your anonymity as a respondent is guaranteed.

A little about yourself

1. How old are you?

2. What is your nationality?

3. Are you:

(1) Male

(2) Female

4. For how long have you lived in Esbjerg?

5. What was your reason for moving?

6. For how long do you expect to stay in Denmark?

7. Are you currently employed?

- (1) Yes
(2) No

8. What is your level of Danish?

- (1) I don't speak it
(2) Beginner
(3) Intermediate
(4) Advanced
(5) Fluent

9. Are you married or cohabitating with a partner? If NO, go to question 12.

- (1) Yes
(2) No

10. What is your partner's nationality?

11. Is your partner currently employed?

(1) Yes

(2) No

12. Do you have children? If NO, please go to question 14.

(1) Yes

(2) No

13. Do your children go to school or pre-school/kindergarten?

(1) Yes, a Danish one (public or private).

(3) Yes, an international one.

(2) No.

14. On a scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being completely satisfied and 1 being completely dissatisfied, what would you say is your level of satisfaction with your life in Denmark?

1

2

3

4

5

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

15. Please explain further your answer to question 14.

In this section, I'd like to ask a few questions about your life in your country of origin and in Denmark.

16. Are you or other people in your house a member of any group, organization, network or association in Esbjerg?

(These could be formally organized groups or groups of people who get together regularly for activities or to talk about things.)

- (1) No
- (2) Yes, one
- (3) Yes, more than one

If YES, which one(s):

17. In your home country, did you participate in more or fewer groups or associations than you do in Esbjerg?

- (1) More
- (2) Fewer
- (3) I didn't participate in any groups

18. Generally speaking, would you say that:

- (1) Most people can be trusted
- (2) You can't be too careful when dealing with other people

19. Would you say your group of friends and acquaintances in Esbjerg is composed of:

- (1) Mostly people of my own nationality
- (2) A mix of nationalities, but few or no Danes
- (3) A mix of nationalities with balance between internationals and Danes
- (4) Mostly Danes

20. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

a) Most people in Esbjerg are willing to help if you need.

- (1) Strongly agree.
- (2) Somewhat agree.

- (3) Neither agree nor disagree.
- (4) Somewhat disagree.
- (5) Strongly disagree.

b) In Esbjerg, one has to be alert or someone is likely to take advantage of you.

- (1) Strongly agree.
- (2) Somewhat agree.
- (3) Neither agree nor disagree.
- (4) Somewhat disagree.
- (5) Strongly disagree.

21. Please provide comments or observations that may have come up while you were answering this section.

This part of the survey is about Esbjerg international Community and the social ties within it.

First, I'd like to know a little about community engagement and event participation.

Esbjerg International Community is not an institutionalized network, but it has its own space for exchanges between members in the virtual arena, through Facebook, and in the physical arena, through the events.

22. Regarding how much you access Esbjerg International Community's Facebook Group:

- (1) I access the group page every time I open Facebook

- (2) I access the group page only when I see a notification or something interesting on my feed
- (3) I never directly access the group page
- (4) I'm not a member of this Facebook Group

23. Regarding your participation in Esbjerg International Community's Facebook Group:

- (1) I frequently post, comment and reply to other members posts on the group's page
- (2) I frequently comment, but don't post on the group's page
- (3) I only read the posts and comments, but don't participate in the discussions

24. Please rank your participation (from a year until now) in Esbjerg International Community's following activities, from 1 to 5, considering the ranking provided below the activity name.

a) International Café

- 1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
- 4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

b) Newcomer Hub: Connect

- 1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
- 4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

c) Cook and Talk

- 1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
- 4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

d) Mothers Group

- 1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
- 4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

e) Film Club

1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

f) Rotating Leisure

1. Been to all events. | 2. Been to more than half. | 3. Been to less than half. |
4. Been to one event. | 5. Never been to one.

—

g) If you'd like, please add another activity or event you've been to, and how often (can be more than one):

25. Would you say you:

- (1) Actively seek the events offered by Esbjerg International Community
(2) Wait to be invited to the events offered by Esbjerg International Community

26. Would you say since you moved to Esbjerg you participate in Esbjerg International Community-hosted events:

- (1) As much as when I arrived
(2) More than when I arrived
(3) Less than when I arrived

27. What is your objective in being a member of Esbjerg International Community? (more than one option possible)

- (1) Leisure
(2) Make new friends
(3) Establish ties in the country
(4) Form a network for job seeking
(5) Other: _____

28. Do you meet Esbjerg International Community members outside the events hosted by the Community?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

29. Please provide comments or observations that may have come up while you were answering this section.

This last section explores solidarity, reciprocity and trusting ties within Esbjerg International Community

30. How likely are you to seek Esbjerg International Community for simple help (i.e., with a question to the group or directly to an individual)?

- (1) Very likely
- (2) Likely
- (3) Very unlikely
- (4) I wouldn't turn to Esbjerg International Community for help

31. How likely are you to provide simple help to a member of Esbjerg International Community (i.e., with a question to the group or directly to an individual)?

- (1) Very likely
- (2) Likely
- (3) Very unlikely
- (4) I wouldn't turn to Esbjerg International Community for help

32. How likely are you to seek Esbjerg International Community for more complex help (i.e., moving furniture or a car ride)?

- (1) Very likely
- (2) Likely
- (3) Very unlikely
- (4) I wouldn't turn to Esbjerg International Community for help

33. How likely are you to provide more complex help to a member of Esbjerg International Community, (i.e., moving furniture or a car ride)?

- (1) Very likely
- (2) Likely
- (3) Very unlikely
- (4) I wouldn't turn to Esbjerg International Community for help

34. Have you ever turned to Esbjerg International Community for help?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

35. Would you turn to Esbjerg International Community for help again?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

36. Have you ever offered help to a member of Esbjerg International Community seeking it?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

37. Please leave some comments or thoughts you may have had while filling out this questionnaire. Your help will be much appreciated.

Would it be okay with you to be contacted for a further face to face talk about some topics that come up in the research?

(1) Yes

(2) No

If YES, please leave the information of the best way to contact you (e-mail or phone):

I remind you once more that your anonymity as a participant is guaranteed.

Thank you so much for taking the time to answer these questions!

Appendix 2: In-depth interviews guide

Interview Guide

Main research questions: How newcomers build social ties in Esbjerg and do the Newcomer Service's initiatives have an impact on it

1. Story

A little about yourself:

Why did you move here?

[where from | who with]

How is life in Esbjerg for you?

[everyday life | social life | professional life]

Talk about integrating in Esbjerg

[was the city welcoming | what were your first impressions | how did you make your first acquaintances | what kind of social events do you participate here | what do you think about the people: internationals and Danes]

2. Bonding Social Capital

A little about close friends and family:

How did you meet your group of closest friends here?

[How was this group formed | What is your social life like with your close friends | How often do you go out, where do you go | what the group has in common | what about nationalities in the group | What about cultural tastes, would you say they are similar among group members]

How does your group of friends here compare to that in your home country?

[Do you find them closer here or there | Do you meet more often than you did with your friends back home]

What kind of help do you feel you can expect from this group?

[In this group, do you feel you turn to each other for personal support? Like what? | Do you feel your close friends can count on you the same way?]

3. Bridging Social Capital

Colleagues and connections in Esbjerg:

What about connections you don't consider so close (maybe work or school colleagues or people you know from other social activities), can you tell me a little about those?

[How was this group formed? | Where did you meet? | Do you currently meet regularly? Do you arrange to meet? | What do you feel you have in common with this group of

acquaintances? What about the nationalities in this group? Would you say cultural tastes in these connections are more diverse?]

How do you feel you can count on this particular group?

[How are these connections important to you? What kind of help do you feel you can expect from them? | Do you feel these connections can be useful, somehow?]

4. Social ties in a Danish environment: Danish norms

What is your impression of Denmark as a place to make friends?

Have you tried to make friends with Danes? What was it like?

[Did you approach Danes to make friends or did they approach you? | How hard or easy it was? | How does it compare to non-Danes?]

What is your impression of the cultural differences in Denmark?

[compared to your own]

What is your impression of associational life in Denmark?

[How important is it to be a member of an association? | Have you tried to participate in an association? Why? How was the experience? Did you make more Danish friends this way?]

Do you feel Danes are generally trusting?

Are you trusting in the same level? Why is that?

5. The Newcomer Service

How important do you feel the Newcomer Service's events were for you to meet your friends?

In what ways have these events been useful to you?

What is your impression of the people who participate in the Newcomer Service's events?

[Did you meet any of your close friends through these events? | How did you feel they were important in your integration?]

Appendix 3: Interview Transcript – Anna Maren

Let's start with the story of how you got to Esbjerg, why, how was the beginning and first impressions...

See, we came to Denmark in... 2011, in a... December, huh, but we lived in Copenhagen and my husband got a job here in Esbjerg, so we moved here I think it was in April of 2012, so... yeah, it's almost 5 years now that we are in Esbjerg, yeah, 4,5, something huh

And huh, yeah that was just our own choice to come from the US... we talked about it for a long time that we wanted to move to Denmark. I had been here before for a year, and huh... we both said that, well, it's better to raise kids here, it's better work-life balance, and huh, then we are in Europe and you can go so many places and huh... then huh... and so that was just a decision we made and we got huh, one of these green card visas to just come and search for a job, so that's what we did and huh just sold all of our things and showed up here, basically, kind of like the refugees do it, just come in with some suitcases and that's it and huh... I don't if I should tell you what I'm doing now and...

Yeah, yah, go ahead...

Yeah, so, then I started right in the Danish classes but I had already learned some Danish, so I just had to finish the... I was there like two months and I finished the... the... "prøve I Dansk 3", PD3, and then huh... then I did the studieprøve, but that was at home because they don't have any classes, but then it was sort of like... I had been looking for jobs, and it was kind of... I don't know, I have a degree in Spanish, so that's not so useful in Denmark... so I went and... I talked to someone and they talked about this marketing management program, so I went ahead and started at that, but then I was pregnant with twins and... and then on maternity leave, and then started back again and then again on maternity leave... with the third one, and that's where I'm at now, so... four years for a two-year degree

And before you came here, all your family was in the US, or...

Yeah, my mom and my sister are in the United States. My mom is Danish, but she emigrated to the US like, 45 years ago

That's why in the survey you say you have Danish and American nationality, it's because of your mom...

Yeah, yeah, I have dual citizenship and that's one of the reasons I came here when I was 20 years-old... it's some formality to keep your Danish citizenship, otherwise you lose it like my sister lost hers because she didn't come here... uh, so I have dual citizenship and, because of that, I thought "I want to be here", and I just... yeah... my politics align more with the Danish way of thinking, especially if you look at the drama right now... uh, so my sister and mom are there... and... yeah, my dad is too, but... uh...

And you had no family here, when you came?

My grandfather, who is not really my mom's father, was her mom's second husband, but he is my grandfather. He was in Ebeltøft, and... uh, he died, though, not that long after we came here, because he was like 93... And then his sister, in Aarhus, so my aunt... uh, she died a couple of years later, so I was talking to them every week, usually, just because they were old you know, calling... and my cousins, well, my mom's cousins, but they are all, like, you know, pensioners, and... like in their late 60s, and, so I don't really... I've seen them for the funerals, but, otherwise, I don't...

So, when you did arrive here you didn't know anybody, you two just set out to...

Yeah, we didn't know anybody in Esbjerg and uh... and, yeah, we had some family but they were living far away and they're not, you know... what can my grandfather do, 90 years old and... he can't really help with some practical things.

So then how did you do, you got to Esbjerg and... was there a newcomer service at the time, were you welcomed by them...

I think so, I know that they have that in Copenhagen, uh and... and we started at the, at Laerdansk, and then you meet all the other foreigners that have been here for all kinds of... you know, some very short time, and some many years now, um... and through that, mostly is how I got all my friends that I still have now, it's through Laerdansk, and uh... coming to... let's see... what was it then... just living now in Kvaglund we went to the international Kvinderklub... no, what do they call that? Kvinder to Kvinder. And you meet some people that way... and then I went to... uh... this mentor network... netværk, that they had down at Doghojskole, when it was Tatiana who was running that, and I met several people there at that sort of... I don't even remember what the workshop was about, but it was once a week for several weeks, like eight weeks. I think it was about... hmmm I don't know, motivation or... branding yourself or something... how to... I don't know, job search... I can't remember, but it was quite good, and uh... and then, you know, starting at the school you meet all kinds of people in their international class. I was in the English-speaking one just because it started in January umm... so I actually have a lot of, you know... international... friends. And I have some Danish friends because I was in these mother groups after I had my children, so... We meet once in a while still, but it's not really like... we're friends... hmm, so... I don't know.

Oh, I was under the impression that maybe you had more Danish friends than international ones...

Uh, yeah... uh, I mean, I don't... Now I can't think of my Danish friends...

You said something about the Kvinderklub in Kvaglund, so I thought it was a Danish club...

Well, they speak in Danish, but it's the woman from the church named Inge something... I can't remember how her last name is. So she is from the church, but so she runs it so... you know, Kvaglund is very international, so uh... I was kind of the... odd man out. Most of the people there are either from

Middle-East or Somalia or something, or from like Cambodia, Vietnam, not so many sort of... Western foreigners, I guess you'd say... or, yeah... you know, from Brazil, it's not even like that it's, I don't know, *foreign* foreign... to say it nicely, uh... and then uh... yeah, I don't know, I've met Danish people around here and there, umm, but... then you get connected to Nicole Hogan [Newcomer Service], for example, and... Tatiana knows everybody and uh... I don't know. It just tends to be that foreigners even if we're from... I mean I have friends from Lithuania and Ukraine and I have them a lot of the time, because my husband is from the Ukraine, so we have, sort of have connections there... uh, but what I've noticed and I've learned when I was in uh... Folkehojskole many years ago is that it didn't matter where we were from, as all the foreigners we were all in the same situation of being foreign in this country, so... we, I mean, I have like a best friend from Japan that I met 12 years ago in Denmark, and we still talk after all these years, uh... so it's uh, in that respect it's easier, usually to talk to the foreigners because they understand where you're coming from and uh... and now I'm meeting some Danish people at my internship, and I'm at the refugee center in Weidling and uh, so I'm just in with Danish people working and that's really good because I'm learning Danish and stuff and getting their way of life but, you know it's always that sort of insistence like, well, "why don't you speak Danish at home with your children?". You know, you always have to sort of uh... answer these questions that you get all the time... so.

About these questions, why do you think they...

Well, I understand it, I'm feeling the same way, like, here in Denmark you have to learn Danish and everything, but then they say, "Oh, why doesn't your husband speak Danish yet?" He went to the courses, he finished, but he had, you know, work full time, and then they only had one day a week classes, so he had to be at a class for four hours, so, work eight hours, then four hours, and we had twins there are one month old, so we didn't sleep at all, you know, we slept four hours a night for three months. And then he's supposed to do homework, and then he had these uh... vikar, I don't how you call uh... substitutes, so he didn't have an actual teacher the whole time, he had like some people that would come and they didn't care to teach and then uh... it was sort of doomed from the beginning, you could say that, and uh... and at Semco, you know, he's speaking English and we don't speak it at home because I want him to speak Russian to the kids, and I speak English to the kids... We've just always spoken English together, because that's just what we could speak at the time and uh...

And your older boys now they are what age...

They're three... and they'll be three and a half at Christmas.

And they speak Danish, I mean they have Danish friends

Well, yeah, they speak in Danish at the day-care, but it's taking a long time, they're still not speaking fluently in any of the three. They're best at English, I think, but uh... They're not so good at Russian, but they don't hear it as much and... I think that they speak in Danish at the day-care, well, they understand at least a lot you know when you have three they are much later to sort of speak... but they understand it since...

But then with their friends, or maybe moms of their friends, how does it work for you?

I think that'll happen. I think at three years old it's not so much because everyone is just dropping kids off and leaving because they're not going over to each other's houses right now because they're three. It's too young in my opinion... umm... We have, uh... My friend that's Ukrainian, her husband is Danish, and we're always meeting them, like two to three weeks, and their son is Danish and uh... he's speaking Russian, but also Danish, umm.

And I met actually... I forgot that I did this baby samelsang, that was last time, when I had Oliver, and uh... that was all Danes. I don't think there was any foreigners, just me, and... and some of them are moms with kids in my day-care, kids around the same age as... either my first two or my last one, so... I recognize them and stuff, and I say hi, but uh... well, everyone is busy now going back to work and rushing out the door, so we don't really talk now, but I think that it will come, probably, uh...

And I mean, I did have a good connection to my first mother group, but after that first year the maternity leave was over and they all started back at work and started at school and then we only have weekends that we can meet, but we have our families... so...

So, the closest group that you have here, that you have, friends that you have made in Esbjerg, where would say it was from...

Yeah, the uh, the internationals...

But how did you meet, was it through events, the women's club or...

Umm... I think... yeah, it's hard to say because one good friend is from Laerdansk, that I met, and the other is uh... I met her at the mentor network... uh, with Tatiana, and uh... Yeah, a lot of them I met through Laerdansk or either that one, and then... I have a few from the school, from the business academy, but they're not someone I meet with... uh, a good friend she lives like an hour north of here, so I don't see her ever, but we're on Facebook and uh... So it's very, you know uh... one from... one from... cause I'm not a person that has like... I don't have twenty friends, I have like four... And that's okay with me because that's... that's how I am. And I don't have time right now... So, yeah, I can't really give you one answer, it's like one from here, one from there... It's all from Esbjerg, but uh...

And I was interested in how was the welcoming here, if it your initiative to go out and see people, or did it just happen when you went to these networks or groups.

Yeah, well, I joined the, uh, what's that thing at the library...

The international mothers group?

Yeah, I joined that one because it sounded like it was interesting, I think, I'm not sure... I don't think I ever went with my twins... I don't think I did. Or I didn't know about it... Oh, I don't think that they were meeting that... I remember seeing that before on the uh... When I had Oliver, that they were just like "Oh, is anyone meeting today?". But like, I need like advance notice or something, I don't know why, I just can't just spontaneously show up. It's like "Oh, it's already ten in the morning and I'm kind of going somewhere..."

But, so then I joined that, and that's when I met, uh... Actually, I had met Leigh, she's the other American. I met her at the school before, and I've talked to her a few times. She in a different class, though. And then we met there. And that's when I met Nicole Hogan, and then uh, you and... I don't know, some other people. I guess I'm really not talking to some of them, but... Because now then I didn't go for a while. Umm. So I thought that was really good to me and people like uh... So I met Maria, the other American... I met her at Laerdansk, because we were at the same class and uh... We're on Facebook together, but like... we've never met together, to have coffee, but... It's just sort of one of these connections that's like, okay, it's good to have some people that you know, even though you're not getting together for coffee either.

And would you say here you have close friends like you had back home, or is that an issue for...

It's... I'm kind of strange, because I've moved a lot in my life, and even when I lived in the US, the city that I lived before I came here, I lived there for like six years, and it's not where I grew up, and my best friend still lived on the other side of the state, so like four hours away, so many years where we were best friends but hadn't really seen each other, and... we had some friends there, but I wouldn't say like best friends or close... I mean, we're on Facebook, but not so close. Uh... And then I had been in the class, like in college, but then I came to Denmark for a year, so they moved on, and they continued on, so then I wasn't really friends when we came back because they were like out and doing other things and... I had the people here in Denmark that I met, these internationals from... yeah, from Japan, and... that's where I met my husband.

So, you met him here...

Yeah, I met him at this Folkehojskole. And we got married in Denmark.

That's why you came in your twenties, for the Folkehojskole, to keep your citizenship...

Well, it was a good way to learn Danish, being at the school. It's international, you get an intense Danish and you live sort of totally differently than... and they take care of everything, you don't have to think about food and lodging and everything. It's all part of uh... you just live there, in dormitories, so it's really great when you're coming from abroad. It was great. Best memories I have, really...

But, so then I had to leave them, and some stayed in Denmark... like I have a friend from Germany and she is uh... a midwife in Denmark, but she is in Copenhagen and... I don't know, people are all over. And then I went back to the US, and I went to college there... and uh... yeah, then, so I have from college there, and then uh... then everyone needed jobs, and that's when the economy crashed, so everyone moved and... so I have a friend in Florida, we went to school together north of Seattle, so it's the exact opposite of the United States, you know, five thousand kilometers away, uh... friends that went to Russia... I don't know.

You have a lot friends in different parts of...

Yeah, so I'm just used to always having moved, so.. and sort of losing friends that way so that's also probably why I don't bother getting attached to people too much, because I figure, okay, three or four years I'll have to leave them again...

And what about people that you count on here, maybe, you know to help with a kid or babysit or...

Yeah, that's my friend Olia, who is Ukrainian, and her husband is Danish and we meet them all the time and we watch each other's kids and we borrowed his trailer and all his tools, and he helps fix things in our house, and we go there and help sometimes, so uh... uh, so we're really close with them, and uh... and another friend is Aurelia, but she's working offshore, and her husband is offshore, so... I haven't even seen her now for six months because they've been in Lithuania, and then they were back here, and now they're on vacation and... but we try to get together... but they're also, you know very... I'm sure if we needed something they would help us out, but they're just never here... umm... so... and my husband knows a few people from his job and we've a couple over for dinner...

But it's just so hard, you know, when you have small kids and... there's not much of a social life for the last three years... I mean we don't go to movies, we don't go out to eat, we don't... I haven't... we haven't seen a movie since we've had children. We don't have anyone to watch... I mean, my friend Olia will watch them if I ask, but I feel bad dropping three children on her, when she only has one. And to have four kids that are three years or younger, that's a lot, so... we don't do it very often, but yeah... she watched them, for example, when I went into labor with Oliver, so she just like had them for like three days... uh. But, I don't know. Now we've bought a house, so we have our neighbors that are Danish, so I talk to the one guy, he's got some kids that are around the same age... uh... and he, yeah, he said he would help out with stuff if we need to fix this or that in our house, so he's got tools, so they are close, but you know, we just moved there last year, and we've had kids, so we're never outside talking to them because we're inside taking care of the children... uh, and that, you know, that's till nine at night, and then you can't do anything... so... yeah, I think once the kids are all a little bit older we'll have more time to make more of a social network with work people... and also once I'm in work, when I get a real job and meet someone, maybe we'll get together more often.

So, are you satisfied with life here?

Well, I'd like more time to go out, because I don't have uh... I don't have grandparents, well, my kids don't have their grandparents here, they are all in the Ukraine or in the US, so we don't have anyone to sort of take them for the whole evening so that we can go watch a movie and eat dinner or... anything. I mean we don't have anyone to basically, sort of help with that, and that gets... I don't know what the word be... *heavy*, you know, it feels heavy after a while, like... or it weighs on us, like... So, that's something I didn't factor in when we moved here... Like "yeah, yeah, we don't need our parents, we can survive", but then you have kids and it's like you don't have anyone to help at all, so it is really important then to get some uh... a network, or friends, girl friends who can help with kids

sometimes, but even then, like, they are working too, so I feel bad just dropping off all my kids so we can go out to a movie...

But, for example, if it was the other way around... Wouldn't you feel okay if they dropped your kids with you...

Yeah, yeah... I guess it would be fine, just... They've done that too when I've watched... Or I watched her son uh... because he, you know they have this uh... the vacation, the holidays in the middle of the summer where all the day-cares are closed. They've just changed it, so our kids could go to day-care, but hers goes to a private day-care so they were closed for the two weeks, so I watched him for a few days, one or two days during that, when she had other friends watching him... But I think it's easier to drop off one child than to drop off three...

It's hard. It feels always like a constant pressure on me, because you can't ever just take some time off, you can't just... I mean, our marriage is like... There's no marriage, it doesn't exist right now, it's only for kids, and that's not really healthy, but we don't have the choice. I mean, we could hire a babysitter, but we're also like "oh, they're still so small". And you hear these stories. I guess it's like, we don't sort of have trust for other people, we hear these stories sometimes about something happening to the kids. I mean, when the baby was small, it's like, I'm not going to leave a three-month-old baby with someone, I couldn't actually, I can't leave Oliver, because he... Well, now he's okay, but he didn't take bottle, he won't take anything, he only would breastfeed, so I had to be there, every two hours, umm. So, that's you know, that's also.

Okay, if we're just going to go out to eat, you have to hire a babysitter, and that's three children, and they're young, and so... I don't know how much that costs, I don't know, five or six hundred kroner... I don't know, maybe it's not, at least 120 an hour.

The babysitter would cost more than going out...

Yeah, yeah, exactly, so we think, is it worth or... I mean, we need the time, but at the same time it's like... wow. We're cheap, so we don't want to pay...

I also wanted to ask about the trust you mentioned. I mean, Danish society is known to be trusting, and you come from the US, and you say that you moved here also because of the values, you prefer the ones here than the ones in the US, and, well, how does that work for you. Do you feel it is more trusting...?

Yeah, yeah. That's definitely one of the things. I feel like I can relax here, more. I mean, I park my baby outside the café, but yeah, I mean, I don't feel bad. I've always had my babies sleeping outside and I'm not worried that they're going to get stolen, I mean. In the US I would never... I mean, you go to the store in the US, and I would never let them out of my sight, and here I can just let them run up and down the aisles and be wild and crazy cause I can't control them in the store, and umm... So, that's really nice, and just in general, you know. You feel safe um... in our house, you know, we live... we're always... because we come from other cultures we're more... locking everything and making sure our

things are inside the house and uh... you know we pull down the blinds when we leave, but I know in general it's probably pretty safe... It's not like, you know... If you leave something outside in the US, it's going to get stolen. And in Ukraine, they'll break in, they'll... you know, we have these uh hedges as a fence. You don't have a real fence, and my mother-in-law came here and said "oh, in the Ukraine they would just cut a whole at night and take everything out of your... your room, your yard or something... uh...

So, that's really nice, and just in general, I feel safe leaving my kids at the day-care, because it's like, it's like uh state-run, and they're all certified with this education... pedagogue education and uh... I feel that, ok, they'll just check on each other and they won't allow that someone is mistreating the children, I feel. And uh... you know, whereas in the US I wouldn't feel so safe, because they don't have sort of the state-run institutions, and if they did have them, it wouldn't be a good quality, it would like the worst ones you could send your kids to... so... it's nice to have a high quality of services here... And uh... yeah, the general trust they have, and just relaxed. I was shocked when I first came to Denmark and I was part of a... I think it was actually a part of work in Denmark thing that they had in Copenhagen, and she sent an email to everyone participating, and all of our e-mails addresses and names and phone numbers and everything was in the stock and... I mean like, "oh, here's everyone's information... participants". And I was like... you just gave my information to all these people that I don't know so uh... Oh, it's no big deal for them... It's interesting to get used to, but... Now... I expect that no one is coming to my house and shoot me or something, like they would do in the US, maybe...

You'd say you're a little bit closer to the Danish way of living and seeing the world or...

Yeah, I think it's nice, it's nice. If I trust other people, then they feel obligated to live up to that trust, and I think that it's something that they've created here, and uh... I think it's changing but uh...

You think it's changing...

Yeah, I don't think it's uh... because of the... you know, Denmark is having... opening up so much more now, and now there is more integration, and there's people coming from all these other countries where we don't have this high up trust, we don't... if something is sitting outside, then I assume it's free, if you look at it from the US, I mean, if you put something outside, even though you're moving boxes... well, it's free, you left it there, it's your fault if I took it, and that's how it is in Ukraine, for example, so... I think it's changing... people are having to learn to not be so naïve, maybe... I don't know... It's the impression I get.

And do you see any difference in trying to perhaps make friends with Danes or with internationals...

I think it's... yeah, everyone always says it's hard to make friends with the Danes, you know, but you also have to think "I'm coming in to their city". Most of the ones that I know here, they've lived here all their lives, they've grown up here, and they have their school friends, and they have already their network, and that's good enough, you know... Because they don't need a bunch of other friends,

they already have their close friends, when we're in our 30s, you already have that network created... If you're coming from another country and you're showing up... you have to start from the bottom. And Americans in that respect are really good, because everyone moves around in the US so much that we're used to just... we have to become friends with people... new people all the time. It's just sort of natural to us, uh... so in that respect I understand that the Danes maybe aren't so willing, and they have their own life, you know, we go to work, and then... they go home afterwards, and they've got their kids and... their lives, and they have plans for the weekend already, because Danes are planning in advance, you know... like months in advance for a Christmas lunch or whatever, so it's really hard to just spontaneously be like "hey, do you want to go to the movies", and "no, I've got a wedding, I've got a baptism, or I got..." you know, there's always something. Uh... uh... But I mean, when you're learning some Danish also the... many people are also quite interesting.

I mean I have a friend that I met in the weirdest way, but she's a pensioner. She's actually coming in a couple of weeks, she lives in Hillerod, near Copenhagen. And she's like 75 or 73 and uh... she's Danish, you know...

How did you meet?

Yeah, we met because... I worked in the United States as a caregiver for the elderly, and one of the clients I had was an old woman who was quite rich. And her children, who were, you know, in their 50s or 60s... the man... his daughter had married a Danish guy. And this Danish guy's mom and dad were actually in Hillerod. She was very rich, and we went on a cruise, and I was her... like 24-hour caregiver, like helping get dressed and everything, and... yeah, she had a wheelchair, this old woman that was in her 90s. And they mentioned something like they were going to Denmark for Christmas, and I said "I'm Danish, take me with you, I'll help out. So, they actually took me with them to Denmark for about a week. And that's when I met them sort of officially. And so, it's uh... yeah, I don't know how many generations that is, but it's the man's daughter's husband is Danish, and that's his parents.

And you still keep in touch?

So yeah, so now I keep in touch with them. And then we moved to Denmark. So we were up to Hillerod all the time when we were in Copenhagen, and they were helpful... you know, we went there for Christmas and everything, just sort of taking us in, and... and he was a director or something for Carlsberg... but he had ALS, so he died not long ago... a couple of years now... ago. And not very old, you know, like 70 or something, but that's just the disease... uh.

But so we still talk to the woman. And she'll be coming here. And then we moved all the way here, so then of course, it's sort of difficult to go to Hillerod. And with three kids, you know. Even though it's only 4 or 5 hours, it's like this huge... if we go away for the weekend it's like we're moving out of our house, you know, so... So that... I would say children really limit...

And you said you participated in the mentor network, and now you're participating more in these initiatives. How do you see them, in their importance for, you know for integrating, making friends or acquaintances here. Do you have that goal in participating these things...?

Umm... maybe not to make friends as a goal, but more to like make a network of people that... I don't know how to say it... that are important, or that have a good network themselves, like Nicole or Tatiana, they're really good because they know a lot of people. And if you can sort of, yeah, become friends with them, or come close to them they can see "oh, okay, I know someone who... who has done this for jobs, and then maybe they hear something". You know it's all about the network here in Denmark, and uh... I think that the services are super good, that the... the offer, I mean. this new... What is it called? Work in Denmark, that's like a free service that they offer and it's really great for the spouses that are coming internationally and have no network and... uh. Maybe it wasn't their idea to come to Denmark at all, and I think it's important for them to feel... For me, it was our choice to come to Denmark, so it's our problem if we don't like something... I would say. But they are coming as like... been dragged along maybe by their spouse, I don't know really. And I think it's really good so they don't feel like "Oh, I don't actually like it that much here" or "Nobody wants to be my friend" or... and uh...

Yeah, mentor network was... I don't really remember the name of that workshop was, but I just showed up to it sometime...

And it was the same purpose, I mean, you actually wanted to make connections that you could use, perhaps...

Yeah, yeah... At that time I was still new to Esbjerg, so I had only really been here like six months, so a lot of it was to get friends and new people and just learn about the city... uh, I think there is a lot that Esbjerg offers, I just haven't participated in a lot, because... uh... Well, I only had that first summer, and then I got pregnant with twins, and then I had children... And, and just, we don't come downtown, we don't participate in anything right now, because it's not really possible when the kids are so small and they need to eat and change diapers like all the time. It's more trouble than it's worth. But now with them older it's... it's easier, so I've never been to Tobakken... I've never... I went one time now to uh... Theater, I uh... we go all the time to this aquarium, you know, the fish museum, for the children... But I've never been to this, well, it's not right here, but the Esbjerg museum...

So I mean, I think actually they have a lot that I haven't participated in or unlocked, but I think if you're... yeah, if you don't have kids you can do a lot of things, actually, I found out... And I wish in that respect that I had not had children right when we came here, because I missed out on a lot, like there is a lot I haven't experienced of Esbjerg. Even though now I've lived here for almost five years...

What do you miss experiencing here?

Well, I've never been to that Gronkoncert... I've never gone... I think I went one time to this Esbjerg Festuge. Because I have children that... they need sleep at that time, and they have nap at

different times, and it's dinner and... It's just too hard. So I think later when they are a little bit older we can participate in a lot of things. Yeah, we do a lot of things, like this oko day where we go out to the farms and see the cows, and they had open landbrug a couple weeks ago, and so we went to that and... So that's not really in Esbjerg, that's out in the Kommune but.

And I just keep an eye on Facebook, and you know, now I've joined Esbjerg International Community, and the international mothers group.

So you have recently joined Esbjerg International Community

I don't know when I joined them. I think I've been on it for a while...

It was to keep up with these...

Yeah, just to see what the events are coming up. And I've got, you know, Esbjerg Kommune, and... the harbor, and... if I can, I read all these local newspapers because there is a lot of stuff there. But right now, I feel like everything is paused, you know. Like on hold until we can actually go out again and have a life... yeah... So...

Yeah. Well, it's been interesting, thank you. I mean you have an interesting story. I was looking for people who had a different experience of Esbjerg, and it's been interesting.

I think that's how we're a little bit different. Well, most people I know either they've married a Dane and they are here because of that, or their husbands got jobs, or the husband got a job here with one of the companies... um... I don't think there's. There's only this new woman I just met, Christie Sorrel. Uh, from New Zealand. She's almost like... she's my twin almost. They decided they wanted to move to Denmark, they just from New Zealand, and they moved to Denmark, and they just came here and... showed up. She's like the same age as when I came here... I don't know, it's just funny. It's not that many people who I'd say is by choice they come here alone. But that was just our idea, we said "we want to move to Denmark".

And you had some experience with Denmark, both of you...

Yeah, so it's sort of my roots, you know going back to my heritage or something...

It's familiar to you... It's not that much of a shock, I guess...

No, that's another thing that... I had some of the traditions already because we did Danish Christmas, and we had some of the food and ris à la mand for the Christmas and uh, birthdays, you know... so, I'm sort of half Danish, but also... I'll never be fully Danish, I can tell.

You say that why...

I missed my window. If I had stayed here when I was 20. I felt myself more Danish at the end of the year, but then I went back to the US, my accent got worse, because I would speak in English. I didn't have much of this accent then, I was getting rid of it, and now, because I lived as an adult in the US for 6 or 7 years. You know, you're more impressionable when you're young, so I could have been sort of changed to being Danish at that time, and now I'm like American, and I'm this American here.

But do you see it as a disadvantaged or...

No, not a disadvantage. For me I'm just... I'm sad about it, that I went back to the US, but I worked out, also, I mean that's... that's the way life is... It's not that it was bad, I'm sad because I missed that chance to be more Danish.

You ended up here anyway...

Yeah, I ended up, but now I'm like living as a foreigner in my own country, you can say that, like... And I'm always going to have this stupid American accent. It's not like charming, you know, not like a French accent, or a Brazilian or something, just sounds dumb, you know, and uh...

And because I'm still tied to the US, with uh, friends and college and everything... I'm following all the news and everything, and the election... If I had been more cut off... Oh, I got go, sorry.

It's okay, I know you have your time. Thank you.

Appendix 4: Interview transcript – Carolina

So, just tell me a little about how you came to Esbjerg, why... what is your story?

I meet my husband on the internet... yeah, we meet at a web page called uh... Meeting, I don't remember... He went to Colombia, uh we spoke like a year and he went to Colombia with his... uh son. He has two sons, and uh... he was there like five weeks, I think, and we liked very much each other after that, and I said ok, I will travel to Denmark to see it too, so I travelled here, and I was here like uh... four weeks and... no I think six weeks, one and a half months... So.

And that was it. We are very happy for each other, we should give it a try. He is uh... a chef... um, and then we thought, okay, he has more possibilities here in Denmark to get... uh... good pay, you know. In Colombia, it is not... then we'd have to start from zero, open a restaurant and so... yeah, we come this way.

So I come this way with my son, who was five years old... ermm. Of course, it is a shock in the start. New country, new family. He had two sons, I have one, uh... boys...

And the kids didn't speak each other's languages...

No, so it was very funny to go out because I speak English to my husband, he spoke Danish with the kids, I speak Spanish with mine, and uh... He is from Faroe Islands, so... if was with family he would speak uh... it was very confusing in the start. And uh, you know, kids, they was six, nine and twelve, so a little conflict, also, but uh... my husband, he is uh... very supportive, so it was like... "we are going to get this thing to work, so... I'm the dad, you're the mom, they have to respect you". And it was the same with my son, so in the start it was very difficult, but then it came like uh... well.

And it was here in Esbjerg?

Here in Esbjerg, yeah. I was living in Sonderris.

OK. And where in Colombia are you from?

I'm from Bogota.

Oh, so the capital city...

Yeah, but it does not matter. I'm from Bogota, but I live in many cities... Like smaller. But the smallest city I lived in is bigger than Esbjerg, so it was... it was kind of... shock... the plan of the Sundays in Colombia is to go out and shop and look at shop if you don't have money. So here... "yeah, let's go downtown". And my husband was like "why? Why?" And "what do you mean? Just to take a walk". And he did not expect, because, of course, he did not know why. And he said "ok, let's take a walk", and it's like... "why everything is closed?". Everything is closed on Sundays, because family is important in Denmark, you have to take... to have time for your family, even the person who is working in a shop... That's kind of right, so... Even though it was a little hard like, to think... oh, kind of boring, but I think "it's cool!" If I work in a shop, it's nice I have Sundays...

So, uh... I remember also when I start here, I started meeting Latin people from Venezuela and... Colombia also... And a Mexican woman who came here at work... And when you came to the country, like, married to an engineer, or married to the person who is working in Maersk, I think the network is more uh... Or... the Kommune is helping you a little more. So they had a group.. With only women. I was actually invited, I mean... from time to time, to speak... But the situation is different, because... I was married to a Dane, so it was different. Even though they... was in a new culture, but they have their family, so... Their family didn't change at all. They had the same uh... you know... I don't know, like... Christmas, the way they celebrate, the traditions. All their traditions, and I have like to... to take a fight... Well, not a fight, but you know what I mean. It's not because my husband was angry or... it was like, okay, your music, my music, we meet halfway. So we are going to friends, so you have to learn to dance, it was important for me... It was also another thing... But it was nice... To start to meet people, because in the start it was only my son, my son and me.

And you said it was different the way these other women you met were welcomed by the Kommune... How was it for you, then?

Well, I think they get more support if they want to work. It is like in our case we have to fight for ourselves. It's like my husband who take the... the lead and say "okay, we're going to do this, we're going to do this" Try to find what you can do. When you get here and you're married with uh, I mean, when you get here without work, so they are like "okay, we have this and this, and you can do this and this". I have to try it on my own, try and see, okay, what can I do, where can I live, what can I... uh... Even I uh... I didn't get the opportunity to finish with my studies in Colombia, so I really, really, really wanted to study, but... I say, okay, I move, then we start from zero...

I don't know how is in Brazil, but in Colombia is like uh... if you have to work like cleaning... it's like very... it's very down... Because it's only people who have no education, and nothing to do, but uh... And here it's like another thing, so I say, okay, I... I'll take... I can do nothing, because I can't... the language... so okay, I was like "cleaning". And it was like... psychologically hard to work and clean, and my mom does not know... Because I came from like a middle class.

So, you didn't tell your mom?

No, no, no, no, no. No, no.

She still doesn't know?

She still doesn't know. Uh... because, also... my mom... In Colombia, it is she who has a maid. Who do everything, so... So she will never understand, you know?

That "I educated you speech" or...?

"What kind of husband do you have?" And uh... no, I said "I want to do it!". I want to go out, I was... like... getting crazy just going at home, and cleaning my home and... and I think it was also important that uh... if my kids came with friends, I want to understand everything. And, so, for me the language became like uh... I have to, I have to... I hate that uh... I had to go to parenting meetings and

I didn't understand anything, and I always had to have like uh... help from another people, another person... And I am very independent, so said "I have to learn the language, and I have to... like take care of my own... And also because I feel like my husband paid everything for my son, and he actually went to a private school.

Oh, really?

Very good. It was very, very good for him, because it matched perfectly the grade he came, he start in uh... zero, and uh... a teacher from the school just came from Peru, so speak Spanish... and he and the teacher... she would help him so much to learn Danish... so he start in uh... August... and in December he could talk perfect Danish.

Umm... But then I started to work. I came here in 2007... in February 2008 I got my Danish driver license, because I saw that it was very important thing also, and uh... then I start at work April, I think... in Esbjerg Kommune, cleaning in a kindergarten. And uh... And I think it was especially important to... like, to understand the culture, and all that, because I came from a country where uh... people who clean are really down, and really, I never was like that with people, so I said "okay, let me see it work". And people... I... it was shocking like... they treat you like people in the kindergarten, you eat breakfast with them, and... and now I think it's stupid that I thought they would say like, no she is like... she is the maid.

So maybe it was coming more from you than from the other people, this prejudice...

Exactly, exactly. More from me. I was very, very careful. Because sometimes in the Danish school it was like "Danes don't honk, they don't say hi with uh... persons". They do! They do! Sometimes when they... like, I can see that sometimes they don't feel comfortable, maybe they think I don't do it in my culture, you know because you are... you just don't know. You don't know if they are going to it. It's just... different from person to person, also in your country, right, so...

But... they were so sweet, I was very happy to be there. The only thing I was not happy, I had to wake up so early in the morning, I had to be there at six o'clock, and I was so bad to wake so early. But I worked there, and I got pregnant, and I had my maternity leave while I was there, so I was there from, you know, 2008 to 2011, I think. In this kindergarten. But then I decided to start to study, and I... Take too much effort... I would like to work, like, some hours, so I could not keep that kindergarten, but I got another one. But I was so happy there, I got included in all the activities they had... If they go out to this Julefrokost, if they go out to town, so... I was always included. Just one more... a person more there. It was a little surprise for me, but in a positive way, so... Yeah, then I started to study, and it was... again... I think I... I have control over the language, then you start to study and it's like... I don't understand...

Was it higher education?

I started with the... um... BA in marketing, and uh... after that I took a half a year and took a bachelor course, so I... I got a bachelor. So, but it was a little harsh also because... because we... It was

actually a friend and me, and we take the Danish line, so everybody was Danish. It was only me and my friend from Colombia, and uh... Not everybody liked that, not everybody... understood why they are not Danish, why they here... So they felt, in a way that we... take them down.

It's actually funny because it was two persons, especially one. And he said to me, after we were finished: "I really hate when I saw you came here, because, why do Spanish people have to be here..." Yeah... but after he said, "but I love you now, you're the cutest person in the world, and I'm so happy you came because you changed my mind about foreigners". So... Because he was playing hard, and every time I said something in Danish he was like "what? What?" And now we are super friends because he is uh... so cute. But he said, you see. "I must admit, I was very like 'they don't have to be here, they have to be in other class, they are not Danes'".

So... And now we are very, very good friends. And they are so helpsome with... we... got a lot of, a lot of help from many of them. They were very cute, and very like "Oh, my god, I don't understand how you do this, guys. If we should take an education in Spanish, I don't think we could".

And what kind of help did you get from them?

Explained if we could not understand something, and uh... you know, check the grammatic, because everything was in Danish, so they checked... from our papers, very nice. Like... being there every time we had a project, we knew we could give it to them and they would check the grammatic. Very nice people, very nice. So uh... So once again, I was like... Because many people say that Danes, they are racist, they are hard, and they are hard to come into... But I don't experience that. Of course you meet people who are a little more cold and uh... but there also in all countries, so... I haven't experienced that yet.

So, when you first got here, at first you worked, but what kind of network of friends you made? You only knew here your husband's family?

Not even my husband's family because they live in another... city.

So how was that for you? Your husband went to work and...

Yes, and he is a chef, so he is working all the time... Every day.

And when did you start language school?

Well, I came here in march, and I started language school in August.

OK, so for a few months...

Only my kids, and my husband. Yeah, only my kids and my husband. Okay, and a few Colombian people...

How did you meet them?

Just in the... Fotex.

Fotex? The supermarket?

Yes, I was speaking Spanish with my son, and then they came "oh, you speak Spanish, where are you from and what are you doing here?" and then we... uh... started to speak to each other, and

then we uh... saw each other from time to time... they invite us to eat, and we invite them to eat as well, but also... and actually we speak from time to time with them still...

Interesting, so the first people you met here...

I think I meet them two weeks after I came, so it really was very quickly, and uh... then I start at work, and uh... I've been very busy, because my husband... he is working every day, he is a chef, so it was me who was taking care of... the kids... making homework and... uh... they have always been active in many things, so my husband's son, he had to go to guitar, and to football, and sometimes to swimming, and my son, he went to swimming, to football, so... I really had like... too difficult to manage the time, so I... I don't have like a lot of time with the social. But, anyway, with the social with parents of every club, so I know many people, but I have not like uh... special group where I see, like more, I'm more in touch. Only the girl we... we uh... from the school, we study together, only her.

And you met her at school...

No... Actually, I met her... I don't remember where I met her. I think it was kind of funny, because I had a friend in Spain, and she have a profile in some web page I don't know, where people speak to each other, and she said... well, I'm living in Esbjerg, and she said "oh, I have a friend in Esbjerg also". And I don't know, some way she got my mobile number, and then she call me and we start to speak to each other, and my husband, he is very like.. casual, like we're eating, I don't know, something he made and he "say to her to come by", so she came by and we start to speak and we speak a lot today also, but we uh... after she start work, and I start work, so the talk... it gets smaller and smaller, but we still are in touch.

And it was very casual the way you made these first friends, but did you make any attempts to meet people, like go to associations or...

No, never. I did not uh... And I think it's most because of the time. I think I would like to maybe go more... So, my daughter, so she'd get more like a little from my culture, uh... because I can see the time to meet like, foreign people gets smaller and smaller, because of all these educations... So my son he is uh... elite swimmer, so he goes to an... sport class uh.. and uh... when you have a swimmer, a kid who trains a lot in the club. Like, when you start swimming in a team, like normal team, then you come up, and then you have this competition group, you start to earn some points at the club. And you earn these points helping, so... and the higher he come, the more points I have to earn, so uh...

You have to earn?

I have to earn. I have to earn helping in competitions, to... so... so I really, really have to like manage. He is all the time with competitions, so I have to help. When he is outside with competitions I don't do it because I have my daughter and I can't be away from home weekends, but when the competitions are here I have to like, to... help with something. My daughter is ice skating also, and... I did not have that... Some way I got involved in that, so I'm actually a part of the main board of the club... So that's why this week was like totally crazy for me, because uh... Tuesday she go to ice skating

and ballet, and I have to go home and do some food... I get sometime from my husband, but anyways, I have to take and... and Wednesday I have the meeting with the main board of the skjoteklub, and uh... Thursday I had a meeting with the... uh... in the skating club, they have a thing called, uh... ice skating school, for the small kids, and I'm a part of that also, so... We had a meeting to... speak about what we are going to do next season and which person would take each task, so...

And then yesterday I find out my son... it was the first time he had to swim 800 meters, so I really want to see... He trains nine times a week. That's why he goes to this sports education... All the kids from seventh grade... seven, eight and nine... There are two classes, and uh.. it's for kids who trains a lot, so he is studying with the guys that have been in uh... Olympics, junior Olympics and... Europe Masters, Nordic Masters... My son he trains a lot, but he has never been that up... not yet, he is only 15. But he works a lot, very hard, is very disciplined...

If you're an athlete you have to be, right...

You have to be disciplined. And I think... it's kind of hard, you know, because he is a teenager, and... so sometimes, I battle with it because... of course he is like... discipline and wakes up himself and goes to train and makes homework, like that. It's like... his attitude at home sometimes is like... kind of... "you don't do so much like I do..." So, but you know, it's like normal... teenager... so sometimes, in the mornings like I wake and I look at him and if he's not up, I'm like, okay, in what kind of mood you are on today. Because sometime he is so cute, and sometimes like... this thing like... hormones...

Do you think in Colombia he would have this same opportunity in the club life...?

No, he would not. Because he has always loved water and swim... uh... and in Colombia we lived like in a little town, and there was no swimming club. So he did not have the opportunity...

I also wanted to ask you about Danish friendships. It seems at first you didn't meet many Danish people, but then you did make Danish friends at school, as you said...

I think I have Danish friends from every place. My first work in the kindergarten, then the other kindergarten, and uh... in the school after that, and when I was studying I worked also like... how is it in English... Translator? To Spanish people and Colombian people here... and uh... then I have to, when I was finished with school, I got money from this dagpenge, so I got sent to make intern, so I here in Message, and it was very nice there, so I have friends also there, so I come from time to time, and I got sent to H&M in uh... with Bilka? There are a lot of friends also we meet from time to time. And now I'm working in Holger-Standsen, is a Bosch company that uh... yeah.

So, everything you do is in Danish in here?

No, not really. I work in English sometimes and in Spanish. In the office is Danish, but I have a lot of contacts with customers, and I am in the export, so... So all the letters and all the contracts I have to do is in English or Spanish...

Did you feel any difference in making friends with Danes and people from other nationalities here? The commitment or the effort in the friendship?

Well... it's actually a very good question... I think the people, when they speak the same language and they meet, it's like some people think we are going to be friends because we speak the same language, and sometimes I get kind of annoyed, because... uh... like my husband or my kids, if they see somebody who speaks Spanish, they are "go, speak with them". Why do I have to speak with every single person who speaks Spanish? Do I have to have like a little sticker "I speak Spanish, come talk to me?" So... I don't know, maybe, yeah, it's kind of easy sometimes, because you have the same language, and you come through... it's like more or less the same thing, so it's kind of easy.

Like background?

Yeah, like background, exactly. Or maybe they... like, people from our own culture maybe understand a little better... us. And uh... The way we are, but. But I don't know. I don't know. It's really difficult to say because uh... I uh... I don't feel like I have to effort with Danish people either, because some... No, actually not. Because some people are like "I have to be friends with you", because like "How is Colombia? Tell me. I would like to go there". So I'm like, no... So it's very different from person to person. So... Because I have a lot of people like uh... "Oh, I have to try the food" and "what you eat" and "is it spicy?" I am not from Mexico, I am from Colombia. "What about the culture, what about the dance?" and "Oh, we to go out to dance", and... Yes, we have...

So... I have a friend from the school, and we have this international day, and I made something and, I don't know if in Brazil you have this uh... we call empanada, so...

Yeah, a little different one, but yeah...

So, two classmates said "no we are going to go at home to you and help". So, ok, I will make some arepas, so I don't know if you know... And he actually was uh... professional handball player, so he played at the team of Esbjerg uh... and then said "I'm going to go before training". And I said yeah. And so he got arepas with egg, and empanadas, and said "The best food I have ever tried, I have never played better". Yes...

So, like he, he is very interested in our culture and... he is Danish. And he loves to speak of other cultures, it is different, and dreams of coming to our country and see how it is, because he thinks it is so nice that we are so happy, and speaking, and my friend, specially, she is very like funny, and making joke about everything, so... so like uh...

And also [a friend] from H&M also, and I actually feel a little bad because she invites me to her home many times and she is like "when are you coming?" also... But it is more like uh... I want to know more about the culture, I have to... find time to meet with you, I promise...

So... So it's a little different when I meet people from my own country it is more like uh... "how did you do this?" and uh.. When I meet people from my own country I look more like... which situation they are and what can I do for them.

When you meet them here?

Yes. So I'm very helpful with the things I can translate to them, if I can inform them how to do...

Because they ask or...

I think it's because I have been in their situation... Yeah, people did the same with me. "Don't do that, do that..."

So this help you had was more from people from your country the, for example the Kommune?

Yeah, I didn't get help from the Kommune. Nothing. Nothing. I think that when you are married to a Dane, the Kommune is more like... uh... "you have to". "You have to do this, and you have to do this, and you have to, you have to". So I didn't get help to find job. No. It was my husband and me who looked for job... No, we don't get this kind of help.

So you depend a lot on family and friends in the beginning?

Yes, you do, you do. I actually work with a Polish girl and she said also that the Kommune had this network like... I did not say to her, but I know it is offered this kind of thing is more to people who come here and who is married with another foreigner who came here to work, not for us, for us is a little more difficult. Is like... you have three years to learn the language, and it is like... you start to study, and uh... I have the risk, actually that they would say "you are not working, you have to go out of the country". Because at that time the study did not uh... count for the points to get my visa, and that was like, really like tough, because I really would like to study. But uh.. no, not from the Kommune, nothing.

You had to actually rely on a lot of people, then to...

Exactly. Like, maybe they think because we are married with a Danish guy, then maybe we'll be easier for us because we have like family and... they feel like that, but... no, I don't know. I feel that... The Kommune... Not even like "welcome to the city". Because like... because sometimes I have seen, and I met a Colombian girl, also I was speaking on the phone in Spanish and she was studying here, taking her masters. She is a chemical engineer, I think... And then she start to cry when she saw me and heard Spanish, because... she just came here and she was total alone. She save money to be able to study outside of Colombia, and she... A week here, and she had so many ups and downs, and she didn't know how to do things, and she just... she start to cry, and we... we spoke about it. And she got like a good welcome to the city, and coupons with like uh... small gifts to different places. I think like... "we didn't get nothing".

But it's actually kind of funny. When we study with my friend it was like... It is also difficult to get information because we... we didn't match the Danes. Because we uh... we were not Danes, we... got more like Danes, but we... were matched with the international group, so.. kind of the middle, so sometimes they didn't know which information about interns, like that... they should give us, because...

They you mean the school?

The school. So, I don't remember exactly what it was, but we'd look each and say, "oh, we're not the Danish group, we are not the international group either", We were like kind of in the middle, like we'd say: "just give us all the information". Because they did not know, like... how do we have to take you.

And what about your closest friends here. Do you think they as close as you had back home or...

Yeah, I think so. But they don't live in the city.

So you made those kinds of friends here in Denmark, you think?

Yes, yes, yes. The one I told you about she is uh... I think she is my best friend here, and I have a very good friend also in Kolding, and a very good friend in a city Billund. Not Billund – Legoland, but Billund close here, but they are also... all foreigners. All Colombian or Venezuelan.

Okay, so not Danish...

Well, Danish, I had one, but she was very old. I called her grandma. My daughter, she actually thinks she is her grandmother. She died like... ugh... three years ago, I think. But, she was a very good friend. So cute, and so helpsome, and, "yes, Carolina, you have to do this, and you have to do that". And I think I have very good friends in every place I have been in, I have very good friends, but I am so bad to keep in touch with them... I think it's uh... my fault.

Why do you say that?

Because I'm very bad to keep in touch and write and say "how are doing today?". The friends I have are my friends who are like I say to you, it's my best friend, we are still friends because she knows me. She knows that I don't write, but... but I know that if she needs help, I'll be there. So she says to me "you are a special kind".

So you consider these close friends people you could actually depend on...

Yeah, people I could ask for help if I need.

And other people you know here, and are not so close, are people that you would ask help if needed?

Maybe I would not ask, but I think I could get help from many people.

So this closest network you have is mostly international?

Yeah, I would say so. It's very difficult, because... I, you know, sometimes you have friends who you can ask for help with my dogs, for example, and friends who can help with my kids, so it's different... dogs and kids...

And I don't if, sometimes if I have a problem and I have to sleep in another place, then I would ask another... If I need help.. to work, or something... It's very difficult, I think, actually, you have a friend to everything, so I think it's difficult to say... like... But I would say my best friend, she is Colombian. She is. And I think it's because we understand better each other. So, yeah. We speak same language, sometimes it's like... kind of a thing also. But sometimes I think it's because I'm very... I talk

with everybody and... I like to... I like people, and they can come to my home, welcome, but when I... I come to the... like... in the deep side... I'm more careful, so...

So, I think that maybe. I don't know. Or I am... I would say I am very bad to keep in touch. If people don't call me, it's very strange. Like, Oh, just to know how she is... I think maybe, no... But it's my fault. Difficult to say.

I feel like, for example, my friend, she is my very good friend, but if I... I like to dance, and I dance, and got to party, so... She is not that friend, so I know I have to find another. That's why I think I have friends to everything. To see movies, I have another friend, who loves to go to the city. And I have friend who like to go to this uh... drag queen show? So then I have another friend to do that, so... Is different.

And for example, if I want to talk something about my kids, like my son, this sport thing? I have another friend. And I like to talk to her because she is like a mom of another kid who is like professional, so... so I want, like, to know because she... she in that situation, so.

Like experiences, and...

Yeah, I have actually asked my husband about this, like: "do you think I'm weird because I have not a friend, friend like 'you are my best friend and I'll tell you everything'"? I never have.. No, I'm like... Have many friends and... have with, not people I do everything, but different people. Like: I share this with you, I share this with you, I share this with you... So... But I think I would call the Colombian girl my best friend because we speak about everything. Also if I have to, like... just go out with someone...

Also, how do you see this trust in the Danish society compared to, you know in South America?

Uh... yeah, I think it's very difficult. How to say... I think that I trust maybe a little more here. I'm not so... Even though I am, like, always thinking what could happen, I think I take it more relaxed... not judge, maybe, from the start, I don't know?

Like prejudices, think people can be something...

I'm thinking more like steal... I'm more relaxed about that, like... I don't think everybody is coming after your bag, your money, or... I think kind of in that sense I'm more relaxed about things.

And trusting people with more, like personal things, opening up about things?

I think I do this more here. I think so. Because uh... I don't know, I feel like Danish people are more relaxed about things. I mean like, for example, if you do a birthday party, in Colombia, and you don't invite your neighbor, he has no kids, but... it's like people would get offended by it.

In Colombia?

Yeah. I think you have to invite everybody just to not offend. And here it is more relaxed, people know if I don't invite, it's not a problem.

Maybe here you're not afraid of being judged?

Exactly. I think so. I think so. Yeah. So. It's really difficult. And I think I'm more relaxed here.

And this associational life in Denmark. Your son participates in one. Did you try to participate in any? Or do you consider you already do as a mom of a member or...

Like with my son, who is a swimmer, I just do it because I have to. I did it because I had to. I love to see him swim, but sometimes if I have to help him in a competition, I have to be there at five thirty in the morning. I don't love that, but I know that you have to, right? I kind of get involved, even though I like it... or I have to. I *have* to. And actually, with the skating, I don't know how I got involved. Actually, I don't know if because she is smaller and... in ice skating, if you want to become very good, you have to start when you are early, so they get more pressed now... I don't know, because, like that, I am more time there, and uh... I started to speak with people and say "oh yes, I can do that", "oh, yeah, I could do that". And uh... and maybe also because I became good friends with the moms of the girls also, and we have a very good relationship with them, we help each other.

But you say you had to... do you see a difference between why you participate and why they participate?

Yeah... I think so, I think so... maybe not so much now, because now I know I have to help with something, if I want my daughter to be part of this. But before, with the swimming, it was like, okay... because, yes, I maybe used a Saturday and Sunday, but they use a lot more time, like... in organizing this thing, and I was like, and I was talking to them, and it was like "I wake up, and I have to do this, and I have to do this, and the I have to go home, and I have a birthday party". And I was like, how on earth can you do these things... uh... so it's more like, okay, if they can, I can too... I don't know how it is, so... that is the reason that now I'm in this...

So it is very demanding...

It is! Very demanding... and I feel like with the... with my kids it's very difficult, because I have two sports, so I have to be in both sides... So it is very difficult.

And just one more... You told me how the network in the Kommune was when you got here. How do you see it now? You seem to think it's something that wouldn't be for you as a wife. How do you see the initiatives they have now?

I don't know because I really learned very little about when I made this uh... survey? But I did not uh... I didn't know about it...

So you didn't make friends through this channel when you got here. Maybe would it be different if you had... been able to take part in this...

Maybe it would be easier to find a way to the things you want. Like, it would be nice if somebody asked you "ok, what do you want?" or "what you can do?". It would be nice... yeah....

I have to go to my daughter...

Yeah, yeah, I'm sorry. Thank you for the interview, so much.

Appendix 5: Interview transcript – Debora

So, yeah, just tell a little about the story of how you came here, when, how it was...

Okay. So I came in 2009, and I came here to study. I was studying in Brazil, in the university there, but I always wanted to go abroad, and I was looking into places I could go. I had some friends here in Denmark, in Copenhagen, and once they returned to Brazil, I met them in Brazil while they were in their exchange program, uh... when they returned, we talked, and they said "oh, why don't you come to Denmark? We have places there you can study in English". Because one of my first concerns was looking at places where I could have my education in English, otherwise it would be harder for me to go anywhere else. It would have to be English or Spanish. So I... So I started looking for places in Denmark, and I found out about the scholarship they offer for, uh... students outside the European union. And that scholarship would cover both education and living. So... I wasn't very hopeful, but I applied. I didn't tell anyone I applied. And suddenly I got the result that I got accepted and that I could come here for two years with all my studies paid for, so, of course... uh, no doubt I took the opportunity and I came and uh... that was in 2009. So I put my university in Brazil on hold, and I came here and started from the beginning. Uh... Then... that was 2009, so I stood here for the first two years, and I had the opportunity to either go back to Brazil and finish the university there, or to try to continue and finish my bachelor here.

Uh... I met people, I had started dating at that time, and uh... I tried to apply again, and see what would happen. I didn't have anything to lose. If I didn't have again, I would just return to Brazil. And I got the scholarship again, and that was great, and uh... I uh, yes, at that time my studies were still being paid by the Danish government and my scholarship for living was divided in half, because they wanted to give the opportunity for more students to get the scholarship. So then I started working a little bit at that time, to help with my expenses and continue my studies. And then I finished, and I started working. So that's how I ended up here.

So four years of study, and then you already started working?

Yes, three and a half years of study... So I finished, my graduation was in January, and I started working in May. January, and then I spent my February in Brazil for holiday and then I had an interview... From March to April we were handling interviews, and then in May I started working.

That's nice.

Yeah, it was lucky, because not all of my class mates got a job right away, not even the Danish students so... and most of the international students, they didn't get a job, and some returned home, some were allowed to stay in Europe, because either they were European or had some kind of citizenship, so they stood here. Now I think that... I think all of my international friends, from my class, are not here anymore. There's only one, and she is Icelandic, married with a Danish man, so, yeah, so they... an Icelandic, they can stay here as well, so her whole family is also here. But all the other

international friends, they are not here anymore, so... and the Danish ones, they are, most of them are working as well.

So how was it when you first got here, your welcoming, making friends...

In Esbjerg or in Denmark?

You didn't come straight to Esbjerg?

No, I first went to Copenhagen for... Well, with the people I knew there, my friends, so I stood with them not long, for two weeks, and they were very welcoming and very nice, overall very good, yeah...

When I arrived in Esbjerg to start my studies... well, overall I thought people were very welcoming and friendly, uh... in the school they all seem to be helpful and everything. But to actually make friends... I... umm... yeah, my friends were the international students. We were all in the same boat. And most people were international students in my class, there was only a group of... I would say five or six Danish students from the... I think it was five, actually. So of these five Danish students, four of them knew each other from previous... so, they, even though they were friendly and welcoming whenever we were at parties in the school, they were fine, and around they were being pleasant and friendly, but just at that moment. It was really hard to get to know them. And the only one that we even, until now even forget she is Danish, it was one that is from another city, and she came here also without knowing anyone. So she was in the same boat as the international students, plus she is very well travelled and she likes meeting new people, so she was... until nowadays we are very good friends, but I think she is the only one we really became friends with, for all the international students. And the other Danish students, until now they are just... we don't know them really well. It's like uh... oh, if we see on the street we say hi, but it's that we... became good friends, and it does not apply only to me, to any of the international students. I think maybe part of the reason is also because they already knew each other, and they were local, so it's very, uh, kind of hard to break those ties, and... I don't know, the feeling was that they were not looking for new friends.

So, and I think that's the feeling among many international people in Denmark. In general I feel people are friendly and welcoming and very nice, but uh... they have long-term friendships, and unless they need to, they are not necessarily looking to make new friends...

That's my feeling at least.

Interesting, you're not the first person to say that.

Yeah, I think I've been already seven years now, and I feel that... well, there's also another part of my story I didn't say.

When I was studying, there was this other guy in my class who was Danish. Yeah, he was this other guy that started on the second half of my course, and uh... he was also quite welcoming towards... wanted to make uh... maybe not to make friends, but he was more... if we would invite him to a party, he would come, other than the other four who you know, they already knew each other,

and we would invite them, and they wouldn't come. Sometimes they would have parties, and most of the times, they would not invite us, but whenever they would, we were coming, but if we had a party and would invite them, they were never coming to our party.

Ummm. So there is this... I came here for the first two years, so when I renewed my scholarship I returned for more uh... no, that was before, actually. He joined after, somehow, I don't know.

Anyway, first it was five Danish students, and it became six, uh... and this guy, he was uh... Danish, and once we went out, everybody, and he started talking a lot with the group of international students. So... it was a farewell party of our class, before we turned to this bachelor education, which would be one and a half year more. And most of the international students for that class were leaving, so we had that farewell party, and uh... he invited us after we went to a pizzeria, and after that we were still in the mood to party, so he invited us to drink at some of his friends' house. And when we got there, his friend was very, very shy, didn't talk to anyone, just drinking and everything. And we were drinking, and having fun, until we left. That was about December.

After that, February was my birthday. And I invited him, as I did with everyone from the class. Including the other four Danish students that were never coming, and again they didn't come. But it was my birthday, and I was having, uh... a little get together in my apartment, which was very tiny, and I invited a lot of people. Right after we were going to town just to party. Then he came, already a little bit drunk from another party, but he came to my apartment, and when we were leaving he asked if he could invite some of his other friends. And I said "yeah, of course, we're going to a club, you can invite whoever you want". And... uh... when we got there, one of his friends was the one we were in his house before. And uh... well, turns out that now I'm married to his friend...

So, we got to meet each other... in my birthday I met him and I was like a little bit happy, so I was like "oh, you are that boy that didn't say anything, we met before". So we started talking and long story short, we start dating and uh... when I graduated in 2013, that uh... we got married also in 2013. So I met him in 2010, February... well, I met him before, but we started dating shortly after my birthday, so... around February or March, 2010, and 2013 we got married. And he is Danish.

So that's the second part. And I've been here for all this time and I can say that from a friend's point of view uh... I've been here for seven years, and I would not say that I have any Danish friend that would be truly without any other connection to him or... I have two other Danish friends and the reason I met them was: they were from another city and were here without knowing anybody.

Because what I heard even from Danish people is that even for Danish people, it's really hard for them to make new friends. They also have the same feelings that the local ones that already have their friends around are not interested in looking for new friends. And that's I thought was... well, before I thought it was something... because we are foreigners. But even for local, well, you know, other Danish people that are just moving around, it's also quite hard for them. Probably not as hard as for foreigners, though, but still hard.

So, as a foreigner, you had social events in the context of your studies, so that helped?

Yeah, it did, but it's still like... that kind of a friendship that you would party together and have fun that night and feel, well, we're becoming good friends, and partying and on the next day, you know, people would look at you and you would, you know... they would still be friendly. I think that people in Denmark are very friendly and very welcoming, so they would still be friendly and treat you nicely, but they wouldn't be really your friends. I think it takes really much more than that to become really friends in the Danish... culture.

What would you think it takes?

I don't even know because... Yeah, so, who I consider my friends here are either foreigners, like me, or they are uh... so my husband, he is Danish, and I have his family uh... but it's still not the same as like... family that you meet on the street, that you develop relationships... uh... I only have two friends, Danish, fully Danish. And that was because they were not here. I have a lot of acquaintances. Even though, like, the Danish people from my class, so if we see each other on the street we would say hi, and how you doing, and things like this. Like I saw one of my old classmates, she went to the Olympics in Rio. And I saw she was in Rio and texted her on Facebook and said wow, how nice, and gave her some tips, and, you know... but it was not like. And she replied and was like thank you and everything. But that's it. We're not becoming friends... So it's uh... yeah, it's a bit strange, because... I think it is also very cultural. I now have some Danish friends, for example, from work, but my... the people that work with me, they also have a very different background. They were either living in different countries as well, or they've been uh... you know. We are in this cultural industry, so we are all very mind-like, but uh... I feel that it's uh, very hard to... I don't even know really, what it takes to become some Danish person's friend. What I've heard from a Danish colleague at work is that Danish friends are very protective of their friends, so, for example, the example that she gave was that she was living this friend of mine is Danish, her husband is also Danish, and they lived, uh... I think for a few years in Bulgaria, then 4 or 5 years in Argentina, and then just returned uh... two years ago. And... uh... she has some friends here still, but many people she actually ended up losing contact anyway. So she lived in Copenhagen before she left, and now she is living in Kolding, so she wanted to... she wants, of course to know more people around in Kolding. She said that if she would have a gathering of her friends, you know, like for example, like we would do in Brazil, like I'll have a party, I'll just invite all my friends, and we'll have this gathering, and we'll talk and people will start getting to know each other. That wouldn't work in Denmark. Because they are very, somehow, protective of their friends, so they want their time for themselves. So they would like to meet one on one. Like, for example, if you have this family that you're friends with, and you'd like to meet them, your family and their family together, you would have dinner, still develop that relationship. But if you have a dinner party and you invite all your other friends, and they don't know each other, that would be really awkward.

So... something like this. That was the example that she gave me. I'm not Danish, so I'm not sure if it's true. But if I think about it, I haven't seen like in the family gatherings that I've been to, or the friends, actually, I haven't seen that... you always invite people that already know each other. You wouldn't mix people if they don't know each other. So, maybe it is again that feeling of... you know, you want to keep growing your relationship with the friends you already have and you care about them, but uh... that's it, you want to grow that relationship, you don't want to make new ones. Unless you need to, like if you're moving to another city, you don't know anybody, you'd more open minded to receive people, to be more open for that reason.

Did you try to make an effort to make these friends...

Well, since I started dating my now husband I thought, okay, that's a good chance to make Danish friends, because I'll meet his friends and then we'll be... all friends. But whenever I was going to parties with him, they were again very welcoming, and very nice, and I know they are my husband's friends, but uh... they, you know... at that time, when I started dating him, I didn't speak Danish, so they would welcome me in English, they would talk to me nicely and, you know... but then they would all turn and start speaking Danish, and I would be in the living room or wherever we were, sitting in a group of people speaking Danish and not being able to understand anything they were saying. I think it was not on purpose, they were not trying to leave me out, but I think they were just uh... okay, why do we have to speak in English because of one person. So... I don't know. Maybe it would happen the same if it was a group of Brazilians and it was one English-speaking person, but uh... I feel that, I don't know... it's just uh... or maybe that specific group of people didn't feel very comfortable with English... but uh... it's again... I never, until now... I'm not really... There's one I'd say I became very good friends with, from his friends. Only one from many, so... it's uh... I think it takes, yeah, it takes... and again because this person in specific she is very open-minded and she likes meeting new people, she was dating before a guy from Australia, so she is really interested in seeing what is out there, and things like this. Otherwise I feel like people are just like... friendly in their own way, but just very distant to you, so I think it... takes a lot of... a lot of energy, and for a lot of foreigners, I think that if you're not sure if you're staying in Denmark... sometimes, you know... it's a lot of energy to put in on something that will take maybe so much time and you don't know if it's going forward.

But I think one thing is certain, uh.... From the Danish friends that I made here. I can feel that they are really true friends... Like, it's very hard, but I feel that even if I move out, we'd still be friends. So it's uh... I feel that in general... I've heard from Danish people also that they have few, but good friends. But uh... it's hard. It's really hard to get to this barrier and... I would say that I am a friendly person and in uh... in other places I have many friends, but here I would have... well, taking out the foreigners, I would say that here I have three friends, and I wouldn't say, maybe even closest friends, I would say that maybe... and of course not counting my husband's family because that's maybe kind of implied that we get along well. But I would say that I have one really, really good friend that is

Danish. And the others are good friends, but we don't hang out all the time, but whenever we see... it's like these time periods, you know, that we have, that uh... we're like, okay, we're good friends, and we're doing everything together, and then some periods that we are like... not doing everything together, but still are good friends, so whenever we get back to that point we still are good friends...

And do you think there was a change in attitude when you started speaking Danish, because you said that you didn't speak in the beginning, and then you started speaking very well, do you think there was a change...

I think they were more inclusive in talking to me. Because before, they would just welcome me and say "hey, nice to meet you", and wouldn't engage in any conversation. Now I feel that it's... they are more willing to actually talk with me, try to hear me, wonder and make questions and things like that... to have a conversation. But still, that's it. Just a conversation at that moment and that's it. We go home, and if we meet again, we have a conversation again, but if... nobody will try to seek you out after that, say "oh, let's meet after", you know? Meet after for coffee or something.

You were talking about close friends, and you have one that is Danish, but you have other close friends here, internationals. How you met them?

Yeah, through school and... yeah, through school. I'm trying to think how I met most of them. Yeah, from school. Well, most of the people from school, they are not here anymore. So... wither school or... or just going to gatherings, like international gatherings, so things like this.

And as a student, how was it to get by here socially, how you're welcoming...

I think it was much easier than now. Well, maybe because it's something from me, maybe I'm not seeking out so much, I already have my network of contacts so I'm becoming a little bit Dane in like... I don't need to make new friends. But actually, it's not true. I'm still trying to meet people. I don't go every time when I know there is a gathering, but... I already have quite a network that sometimes we have arranged things to do, things like this... but I think that... yeah, I think I still try to look out for new friends and gatherings, but I think it was much easier when I was a student, the environment was also better for it because, then... you know, everybody... you go to so many parties, and there are so many people attending everything, and there are so many events the school provides. And just sometimes being involved in a group that you do, you know, work with another people, and so on... So I felt that... It could also be again because I'm not working in Esbjerg, I'm working in Kolding, so... My network of doing stuff is also not here. So maybe it could be a mix of both.

And at work, are your colleagues mostly Danes, internationals...

They are a mix. We are few people in the office, I think only eight, if I'm not wrong... And we have an American, me, the Brazilian, a Romanian, uh... and now we actually have an intern from uh... Latvia. But all the others are Danes, but as I said, they have very international backgrounds, so they either lived for many years in different countries or are traveling all over, but most of them they

actually... I think out of them only two never lived out of Denmark, but all the others lived for long periods away from Denmark.

And with you colleagues, would say it's close friendship or more of a broader network...

I think it's more like a broader network... Well, it depends, not with all of them. I felt that uh... there's maybe three of them that I can uh... that we would do something outside of work. But most of them, even though I would say we are great colleagues, we have great conversations, we wouldn't hang outside the work. It's again that feeling of... same with school, you feel that we're meeting, it's great, we are working together, greater, we're friendly with each other, but that's it. We would not meet outside work to have fun, or become friends.

And in terms of a network of support from friends, or... what kind of support can you expect from them...

From general or Danish friends?

Both...

I think I can count on them for indicating me for something, get tips, try to get by, and you know, things I need to resolve. I think I would count on them. I would say both Danish and not...

But you wouldn't turn to your Danish friend for more personal stuff.

I think I would, because the Danish friends I have here, they are very, they are close friends. I never met any Danish that was not really long term relationship. They are all really close friends, so I could count on something like this. But... uh... if I would uh... yeah, like the other that I know, we're not really friends like the other Danish people, more context people, like I know them from my school, or from, you know, from... we worked together or something like this. But I wouldn't be like... this is my friend that I can count for anything, so... Yeah, I think both the Danes and the international friends I have here I could count on for...personal and you know, whatever...

About trust in here. Did you see any difference from home country and now? And do you think it affect making friends in Denmark?

I'm not sure how it would affect making friends, but uh... I can feel a difference because in Brazil people are not really trusting of each other until they know each other, but until then people are always just... a little just, people there are like jumping into relationships and making friends, you know? But they wouldn't trust with very important things, unless they really know the person. While here, I think they would trust you even if they don't know you that well, so... because of how this trustworthy society, I think they would still trust you maybe with not deep personal things, but maybe... I don't know, maybe a matter that's still not very personal, but that they need something to get done. Let's say they need something to be done, and if somebody say ok, contact this person, they would because, why wouldn't they no trust you. So, yeah... I think that's how I feel the difference, because in Brazil people would become friends easier, but depending also on the matter, if it's not that important they would trust you, but otherwise they would be a little more suspicious, like "why do you

really want this”, or “why are you trusting me with this”. Things like this. And here they would be like: okay, I was supposed to trust you with it, so I trust you.

You said that at the university there was the tight group of Danish friends who would rarely let the others in. Do you think it's a matter of trust or...?

No, I don't think it's trust. I think they would still trust you. I actually don't know what it is. I think it's more... just the... I don't know, just like... just not looking for really more, they already have what they want, so why more. I think that's the rationale behind it.

And would you say that you made efforts to make Danish friends, or it just happened.

Well, I think it depends on the culture. In my culture, yeah, I invited them to parties and, yeah... Maybe in the Danish culture that's not how it is, that's not how we would try to... maybe you have to be inviting to do more other stuff, or more like, personal, like maybe that, like with this other friend example, maybe more one on one things, or more, inviting to a group of parties. Maybe that perspective can be viewed from different sides, but from my culture, I think in Brazil if we're constantly inviting people to parties, of course you're trying to be friends with them.

And these associations in Denmark. Did you ever try to be in any of these...?

Well, when I came here, they didn't have much, so I didn't... that time, I didn't really try any of this... you mean the newcomers?

No, actual clubs, like tennis club or...

Oh, okay. So, I haven't tried when I was studying. But I tried recently... Well... yeah... yeah, I still don't know anybody there. It's like other than my coach. He is quite friendly and always inviting everyone to join and do stuff and trying to integrate people, but the other people that were playing, they would still just talk a little bit when we were in the tennis club, but after the session was done, everybody went away, they didn't try to exchange phones or connect in any way, like there was still this separation like... you're my friend from the tennis club, not outside.

And the coach, he tries to invite people to do things outside of the club?

No. Inside. Like, oh, okay, let's do this gathering here in the club. Or have this extra class, but nothing outside.

How do you see this kind of activity to help making friends here, then...?

Well, I could also blame it on me, because, like, they didn't invite, but I also didn't invite. It's not like I made much of an effort to try to do anything else... So, I guess it can be both ways...

Why do you think that is?

I don't know. I was also telling my husband once that it's uh... kind of... Even though I understand Danish and speak Danish and everything, it still feels fake, like I'm faking it when I say something in Danish. And then like, if we're... for example, if we had to play tennis, I'd have to say “it's mine”, the ball, you know? And if you're playing with another person, you feel so... I wouldn't scream from my heart in Danish: “it's my ball, I'll get it!”. It's fake, like I don't have the passion of saying it. So

maybe that's also some... Maybe I can try to maybe... In a way, I'm also pushing people away if I'm trying to make friends speaking in Danish. Because all the Danish I met before speaking Danish, so until now, we don't speak Danish between us, we speak English. And it's funny if we're in a restaurant with the... the waiters come and we would order in Danish and turn to each other and speak in English, so it's a bit confusing, so I don't know I... I don't have the passion of saying things like, okay, if I need to speak, I will speak. But playing something, like tennis, you really need an emotion, and you're like... you'd scream. I could easily feel right saying it in Portuguese or English, but I wouldn't feel right saying in Danish. You know, like... fake.

And you were saying that when you arrived here, there were no activities from the newcomer service.

No, didn't exist at that time. Or at least I hadn't heard of it.

So, you decided to participate in events the university offered?

Yeah, in the... like we had... several events like pub-crawl, that was something outside of school, but we also had a lot of events in school, like different parties, or gatherings like international day and something like this, to try to integrate people and get to know each other. And of course, in the class even though most of my class were like international students, we also made gatherings outside like, ok, let's go play bowling, or something like this. But at that time, I don't think there was a newcomer service.

And when did you start going to the newcomer services activities, and why? You already a network here...

Yeah, like I said, even though... well, maybe, yeah, I haven't stopped looking for new friends because even though I had my network, when I heard of the newcomer service's events I thought like "yeah, maybe I'll meet new people". Uh... I heard about it because of a friend that was working with them... uh... Sahebe. And uh... she was very involved with the new... you know, arranging things. And she told me about it. What it was, what they were trying to do... And she said, well, you should come, I think there will be a lot of people, you should try to come. And I said yeah, sure, so I went, and uh... that's also where we met, in Cook and Talk, and uh... and it was great, I thought it was very nice, a good initiative for people to meet each other, so... I went to some of the gatherings. I haven't been there for a while now, but uh... but yeah. I think that for me it was different because when I went to the Newcomer... most of the people there, they uh... either already knew each other or were just like arriving and didn't know anybody. And then because I wasn't every time, only a few times, I didn't really develop much relationship with like... the others, so... now, maybe I don't know if there are more people coming in, so... when I go, it's like more people know each other, so it's like, okay, I don't know anybody... I mean, I know, but I'm not really like too close with the group of the international people that are normally going, so... maybe, I don't know... I've also been really busy with work and also... I have to come here, and go there, and it gets really tiring a lot of times, so that's why I'm not going so...

the times I went I thought it was really nice, and a great initiative and a good way to meet people, I think. And all the times I've uh... I've been there, I had nice conversations with people, And I think I actually developed some good friendships, like you guys and Tatiana... Even though I didn't meet Tatiana and Edgar in these meetings, but it was through you guys, and... things like these. And I think it's a good initiative for getting people together and to know each other and do things and...

If you were able to just compare, if these things existed when you arrived how do you think...

I think it would've helped, because... maybe... I would still not know many people, so maybe I would be doing more... You know, a little bit extra sacrifice to actually get out of the home, even if I was very tired, I would get out because I wanted to meet new people, and as much as you, as much as you start knowing people around, and if you have a good relationship, you can start doing things outside of the meetings and that... So I think it would've helped. Because, like I said, from my end, I would be more willing to... to go to more regularly to the meetings...

Did you ever feel lonely, like you didn't have a network to count on...?

Sometimes, when you also... when... those days that you want to do something and everybody else is busy, and you don't have that big of a network, and you feel like "oh, I have no one here", and things like this. But I think overall, it's also different with... you know, my family in Brazil is quite big and I also had many friends there, and I think in Brazil in general, just the way you get to know people, you really get a large network, even more if you're like an outgoing person. And here my network is much smaller, and it feels like... "oh, I have no one here, I want my Brazilian friends", or somethings like this. But in general I feel that... yeah, I could have people to... rely on and call, and stuff. Yeah.

Well, that's it. Thank you so much.

Appendix 6: Interview transcript – Katrina

Just tell me your story, how you got to Denmark, why...

Well, I came first in 2005, that was a long time ago. And it was for the master. And it was the special program between Germany and Denmark, where we studied half year in Germany and half year in Denmark, and then had to choose where we do our master. And I chose Denmark, because I prefer the way... just the way the education is built. To me it was easier. Well, not easier, but more laborious than in Germany. So I started to do my masters here, and then we met Mathieu on this program, and we start to do our master here... the... our masters together, and then we did, uh... we found some interesting results, and then we developed a PhD project, so I also did the PhD here. And then after the PhD, Mathieu got the job here in Maersk, then we moved to Esbjerg and then I got the job in Maersk, so...

That's the story in a nutshell. Without the difficulties...

But in the beginning, we were in Odense. We lived five years in Odense, and we were working in the university, in the... biology institute where there were quite a lot of foreigners, but it was just the beginning of the... expansion, so we were not so many foreigners, so we were all kind of stuck together in the... we were roughly the same age, mostly PhD students, so we formed a very tight group, a happy friend group there. That's about, yeah... we didn't have a lot of Danes there.

At the university?

Well, at the university of course there were a lot of Danes, but is the... it's just the... I mean, I'm talking about the PhD, because master, it is all very fast, as soon as people finish their masters... we didn't stay in touch, except with Mathieu, but uh... During PhD, of course it's a Danish university, so they were all Danes, but the few foreigners that we were... I guess we were so few that we... we just became friends, naturally. And there were not so many Danes in our friends... circle.

Your circle of friends was from the university when you were in Odense?

Yes, because... I mean, during PhD, you don't have much time to go out and do crazy... other things, and uh... and because we... we were friends because we had common interest, you know... So we became friends. And we did a lot of stuff together, we were going around together, driving around in nature through the beach, we did a lot of stuff together, because we didn't have children, we were the same age, so... It was... with that common interest, it was very natural.

And because Danes were very... you know, we tried to invite... like in our house, for example, we had parties, I mean every weekend. Every week we had something. And our house was just completely open, you know... You could ask your friends to come along, and often there were people I had no idea who they are... It just... That's the type of stuff, you know, that's the type of friendship... They are all very intense while it lasts, because we all knew that it was temporary. Because we were all foreigners, a lot of people... I didn't think that I would stay in Denmark.

And we tried to invite Danes! I remember I had my office mate, a PhD student. I, well, I said "hey, we're grilling today, do you want to come". Because, you know, it's going to open. And... And she said, well, three times she said no. And I said, well, okay, it's kind of clear she doesn't want to be friends. And at one point she told me clearly "I don't have time for new friends". And I just, like... How can you say that? How can you reach a point in your twenties to say "I don't have time to make new friends", you know?

And this, just... You know... I think that's the type of people Danes are. That they have, you know, their childhood friends, they have their school friends, maybe university friends... a few. But then the further in life they get, the less they want to kind of... invest in making new friends. You know? It's all based on all these childhood ties, and all... because, I mean, they are very busy. They *have* to be part of the social activities at work, it's kind of... you know, voluntary, but it's actually compulsory voluntary. You have to be. Otherwise you are frowned upon if you don't go to all these parties... The Christmas party, for example, you have to go and drink with them, you know...

And it's like uh, now what we experience at school. They are making these activities at school, and you have to participate, if you don't, I know that our family will be looked at, and my daughter is going to have the consequences in what we choosing not to... and she'll be singled out as a weirdo, so I don't want that, so it's really... Now, with Leah growing up in this, I can really see how they become what they are, you know... So it's kind of all backwards... It's very interesting to kind of reflect on this experience with this... with this office mate and all in general, in the beginning, and now I understand why they are like that, or why she could say "I don't have time for new friends", that's weird.

You know, because for us, as foreigners, we have left our kind of secure group of friends that we have known from childhood and... that's all we do, it's go around and try to find new network, I mean... Not all, but... but that's, that's what we are, if you think of it... our brain is like really... eager to make new acquaintances and potential friend... right? Because we are craving to have these friendships. To find someone to have deep meaningful relationship with, as a friend, you know. Well, at least for me, because... I'm missing my friends in Latvia, and in all these 12 years that I've lived abroad, I have not found these close friends... Well, I have found close friends, but it... it's never the same kind of... depth to this... Like, the friends I have in Latvia it's like a group of five girls, and... when meet... we meet every two years, it's like we met yesterday. We pick it up where we left... And there's no awkward, you know... Like, Oh, my god, I don't know what to say, or... I haven't seen them for so long... It's just like... You know... Hi, kisses on the cheeks, and that's it, and we just chat. And I don't know their everyday life, and they don't know my everyday life, and it really doesn't matter, we just... We are meeting there, you know... And... it's like, it's like we're these 16 and 17-year-olds, and we're just sitting there and chatting, you know. And to me it's like we have really discovered in each other the real person, behind all the everyday stuff, behind all the age, the real color of the person, the soul, you know? We know each other really to the bone. And friends like that I haven't found after I left

and... so I'm kind of... kind of still searching and... and I am very, I'm very... open person, you know? To me, it's not like I'm searching eagerly, but to me, every person I meet is like a potential friend you know... That's kind of...

And I think that's maybe the big difference... That's the big difference between a Dane, I mean a native Dane that hasn't moved anywhere, and a foreigner here in Denmark... That... we look at people as potential friends, and they look at people and think... "humph, just another person", you know... Because they have their friends, they have no time for more. At least at this age. I don't know how teenagers are...

So, you were living in Odense, you had your friends from the PhD... Do you still have contact with them?

Yeah, yeah. I mean, not all, but... Yeah, contact through Facebook or on Skype, you know

They don't live in Denmark...

Some do, some. But not all. Like one of my best friends from that time, she moved back, she is from Colombia, so... There's a chance I'll never see her again... So, we do keep writing together, but it's not... I know that it's not going to be... But we keep contact, you never know.

But then you moved to Esbjerg, because Mathieu got a job here, so at first, you didn't have a job here. What was life like for you?

I was writing my thesis as well. It's because Mathieu finished faster, and I had to get extension, because... we had the same deadline for delivery, and we had a one-and-a-half-year-old kid, and... It was... I mean, I don't know how, but Mathieu managed to get his thesis... he is a person that can really focus, but I couldn't. With a sick child, for example, I couldn't. Even though we were working shifts, like one of us was working early morning, waking up at four and then working until 12, and the other one was... just so we could take care of Leah, you know... And... I, I just couldn't focus on my work, and when I delivered my thesis I knew it would not go through, and it didn't, so I had the extension... So, uh...

When we moved here, I was still working on my thesis. But it was a bit rough anyway, because... Moving, not knowing anyone. A new place, you know... Suddenly big house, which I had to tidy... I lot of distractions. So, it took me a while to finish my thesis, actually... But when I did... It took me a single year, one year and a half.

And then, how did you make friends here in Esbjerg. Was there a Newcomer Service, or international community...?

There was... When I, when we were moving here, we went to ask to help with house. But the thing is that it was just... there was just Heidi. Yeah, there was just Pia and Heidi. And we met this Heidi, and it was just, just beginning. It was just the idea of making such service when we, when we met, you know. She was assigned to... in this project, this Heidi. And she said "we don't have a network yet, so we can't help you with houses". But she said that we could look... but never mind, we had found our

house anyway... But uh... When we moved here, first we went to greet our neighbors, so that was the first people we got connections, and I just, uh... As I told you before, I think here we developed relationships much quicker because uh... because we spoke Danish. So... With our neighbors, we started chatting and they were really, really nice, and we got connections. And then I found the... I found the boxing club, because I had started boxing in Odense, and I really liked it, so went to sport club here, but it was really stinky, so I went to a boxing club. And there immediately I also developed social relations very fast. It's really fantastic club because they are so... they are so welcoming, you know... So, you immediately become one of them, so that was also very good, they made me very comfortable. And then I found the... English book club. I don't remember how anymore. I've been member for more than 4 years, but I don't how I found it... I would look for it... I guess I was really feeling lonely at one point, I don't know. So, that... uh, there I met a lot of people, like Maersk spouses. Because they all... most of them speak English. Then I went to... mentor network. I found them by some... by some kind of way, so I applied to be a mentor. So, there I went to different arrangements. I don't know. It's just...I was looking for stuff. I think it's because I was looking myself because I don't want to... to be alone... But, I mean, it's also because, as I mentioned, I need to find people. I need to be... Also in kindergarten, because Leah was going to kindergarten, the kindergarten people are very, very nice. And then we got to talk to some parents and all that... so I mean... we really... we established really quickly socially here. I think in half a year I had already a good social network... In all kinds of directions. Through sports, kindergarten, work... And Mathieu, he's not so social, so... He doesn't have so broad network, just from... from work...

And in all these networks you were seeking, everything was in Danish or...

Well, yeah, no. The book club it was English. Also, mentor network, that's some in English... In the boxing club, that was Danish... I think, yeah, it was mostly in Danish. And then... most the acquaintances we have now, they are Danes.

So how is your social life in Esbjerg now. Would you say you have more friends who are Danes, how do you see this? Your normal social activities...

Well, I also got involved in the Latvian-Danish association. So, that takes a lot of my time, and I got a lot of acquaintances there, but that is Latvian. So, a lot of my acquaintances there... I can't complain. I have made a lot of... uh. Yeah, but if you ask Mathieu, I have too much going on... He has complained a lot of times that I'm doing too much stuff.

And you also had to get involved in your daughter's school...

Yeah, they are a lot of... like they are making playgroups where children have to come home, and it's not necessarily their friends, it's just some group they have formed in the class.

The school formed?

Yeah. Just to make sure that children are playing, you know, not only with their friends, but also with the other children... And then... well, yeah, and then they are making some events like, if

course, Christmas arrangement, and they make spring... whatever, with Olympics, so... I'm not wild with all these kind of compulsory social activities, but again, we're going along with this because Leah is growing up in this society, she needs to learn how the society works, and that's what she is doing, what she is supposed to do.

And now you intend to stay in Denmark...

Well, at least as long as the children are small. Now we have of course a baby, so we need to extend that. We have bought the house and... and Mathieu has permanent contract, so. I'm a consultant... So, it's uh. I think it's not bad, as a family with children, I think it's good. I can see why people who are single don't want to stay here. There is not so much to do in Esbjerg... You know, socially, like... there are only a couple of places... Even for us, we are not crazy... Before we got out all the time, now it's once a month, and there is not a big choice of places, restaurants, whatever. So, I can see why people who are single, why they choose not to stay. But as a family I think it's a really, really nice place to uh... it's safe, well... at least for me, it feels safe. I like that people are more... people are more friendly here in Esbjerg then they were in Odense, so... you can kind of... people are easier to talk to, simpler... in a good way, in a very good way, simpler.

Why do you say that? I mean, how was it in Odense...

People, they are snobbish in Odense, because they say it's the... the cultural capital, because Hans Christian Andersen was born there. But he went away as soon as he could... But that, they forget. And there it's all Hans Christian Andersen, and the capital of fairy tale... And they are pretty snobbish there. And, like, for example, we were renting the ground floor of the house, so there was an apartment above us, and at first there were two students above us, they were very nice, we were chatting with them, and... and afterwards there moved a young family with a boy the same age as Leah was. Exactly the same. The woman came down twice, I think... We had sandbox, so we invited the boy to play with Leah, they were exactly the same age, and the people were roughly our age also, I think they were around 30, so I think that... to me, it was like, we would have quite a lot in common, right? We were just inviting the young kid to play in the sandbox. But the... the only people we got any kind of neighbor relationship... they had moved from Esbjerg. It's quite funny.

Like on the street, for example. Yeah, maybe we also had too high expectations. We wanted to... at Christmas once, we needed a saw, to cut uh, because we didn't have a saw. So, we went to the neighbors to ask for it, and they were like, uh... "what the hell are you doing", you know? We were like... well, that's what you do in France or in Latvia when you move to a house, and uh, next to each other. We got to know each other, and then you can borrow stuff... I mean, it's not like I asked to... like their car, or anything. Just a saw. But that was apparently a big answer. So, we didn't talk to anybody in the street... We didn't talk even to anyone in our... around us, except these people from Esbjerg. It's so weird. Like here in Esbjerg, I was putting the letters in the mailbox, you know? The week after we moved. Every person that passed by said "welcome to the neighborhood". I was like, "are we in

Denmark?”. It comes down to things like that, these tiny simple things, but that... that means a lot... It's a... a big difference, you see.

Ans the thing is, when you say you're moving to Esbjerg, everyone is like "why?". It's fish here, and all... It's a very simple town, hillbillies, and whatever. And some people were even saying it's the most racist city in Denmark, they hate foreigners and... and when we moved here... that's what we were prepared for. And when we moved here, it's completely not true, nothing is true what they say. So, it's been a very pleasant surprise here in Esbjerg. Well, I love it here, I'm so happy we moved, I really like it.

And you said something before about not having as many close friends in Denmark as you did at home. But you consider you have some...

Yeah, well I have found... Well, they are two Latvian... But I think... We talk to Mathieu about it... You have some like cultural things that you can share, you know. Like uh... you can share some stuff from your country's past. Like we can talk about the same movies and laugh, which I can't with you, for instance, if I mention one movie, you have no idea what it is. But if I mention, for instance, with my friends something from my childhood, then it will trigger a lot of memories, and we can uh... go down this path together, because we shared this. And I think that's why it's easier to bond... to create these bonds quicker with people from your country. Not with all, of course. I was lucky that I found these two people... But those, I think they are my closest friends here in Denmark.

And what about Danish friendships...

I'm actually quite good friends with my neighbor. But I wouldn't call her my best friend, but, you know, we can talk... If I need to talk to someone, I can talk to her, and they are Danes... And in the boxing club, we are four women that are meeting for coffee and stuff. I can talk... But I think it's also because I'm a person who talk, you know, quite easily, I open up quite easily, but... In the same time, I've also learned not to expect, like... deep friendship. But in a way, it's another thing about it... it's a bit sad, it makes me a bit sad because I just... I don't trust people so much anymore, because I know that it can disappear any time. As I have defined it in my head this uh... foreigner circle, which we are big in... we are a lot of foreigners here in Esbjerg... So, different... To me you create exactly volatile relationships that can dissolve when they decide or when we decide to... So, you don't... You already go into friendship with this expectation that it can be temporary. And I think that's why I never... I have kind of learned not to immerse very deep into it. And that's very sad. It makes me very sad, but I know that I'll never have, again, deep relations as I have with my friends back in Latvia. But that... I would never say I don't have time for new friends. That uh... that's not true... Maybe my definition of friend has changed.

What would you say it changed to?

Well, it's just that you, you know... As I said before... A friend is a person, you know... it's almost like your sibling, you know. That you can share everything in... like crazy, you know... I think it also has

changed because I have different criteria myself, and I have different capacity to give to friendship, I guess. Obviously, family takes a lot of time, and children... before you have children you can spend much more quality time together, and when you have children, it's only that much time you can spend... It's a bit distractions from the family that you're searching now. I think it has become... It's kind of like a spare-time activity. To me it's uh... that's all...

And you take part in a club...

Yeah, yeah, I have realized that this club thing, it's actually, it's a fine, fine way to extend your network, and... maybe in a way I've become a little bit Danish in that sense that's the type of relationships I'm forming. It's club and... we have this in common and we both know it's never going to be like super deep relationships, but it's meaningful enough for that person...

And you have to really commit to the club...

Well, you do what you want. But I like it. To me, this boxing club, for example, it's really, really a nice place, the people are nice. So, I'm also going and looking forward to spending time with them... Christmas party, summer party, when we have summer party. But yeah, the commitment you decide yourself how much you want to commit to the social part.

And before you said that you don't trust people that much... What is your understanding of trust here in Denmark?

That depends... Well, you can... If you define trust as the trust that you will not hurt them, yeah. That you will not steal their stuff, that you will look after their children... I mean, in that sense trust... They trust the society a lot. And to me that's shocking, because I come from a very different background, from a less safe background, let's say, so for me it's difficult to commit to such trusting. Like for example to commit my child to cycling to school, I have issues with that, because I don't trust the society... I'm learning, I know that she'll have to go one day, but that's difficult for me.

What do you mean you don't trust the society?

Because I come from... I was raised to be afraid of people. When I was growing up in the 90s, it was a rough environment in Latvia. It was just after... I mean, there was no money, so there was a lot of violence in the streets, and there were a lot of girls that were dragged in the cars, so I mean, it was really, really tough. So, I was just raised to... to not trust strangers, just run away, don't go in the street, if a grown man stops to talk to you, just go away. It's strange like that. So, I, I realize it's a little paranoid, especially with the settings here, but in the same time in a... yeah, why, kind of play the chances, because there are plenty of things also in Denmark, and, you know, raising two girls, I don't want to be too trusting.

Well, I believe that it's better to be too cautious than to regret after... Which Mathieu can't really understand, because he was also a boy, right? He grew up a boy, so, he didn't have this kind of extra added fear for your... how do you say... It's not only safety, maybe because he was used to kind of avoid fight, but we just had to really look out for, that we... you know, you understand what I mean.

So, in that sense I've been raised not to trust the society, and I don't. Even if it looks very calm and very good and very safe, I don't trust it.

Would you say that you can at least count on people here for support...?

Yeah. That you can. Because, well, yeah, I was just saying that I define one way of trusting, that they trust the society a lot, but they don't trust personal... like they don't trust... they... you can't form very deep relationship, again, going back to because they do not want to invest themselves, because they have formed their relationships back in the past, most of them. Like, they have their childhood friends, they have their family, and they don't have time or capacity for more. They choose not to. And I think that's uh... yeah, that way, they are not trusting. In personal level, they don't. And I define to myself that with Danes it's like... you have like a glass wall covered in sand, so, the sand is all lovely and sweet and smiles and help, you know, all friendly and... you know, but then, when the sand is blown off... then you reach this glass wall where you can see all the warmth inside, but you cannot reach it, because you're just not going to be able to... there are very few exceptions that can manage, that we have been lucky to meet in our life, that... well, we know one old couple, and they call themselves our foster parents, our Danish parents... they are like our Danish family. I mean that's uh... that's very, very exception. It's not... I wouldn't say that's a rule, you know, not people all over...

But now, coming back to what you asked me...

Support...

Yeah, they are very helpful, they try to help their... how is it called... co... co-citizens. They are very... It is social-democratic country. Once... maybe it's putting it a bit too far, but at one point we were talking with our friends and... it is kind of socialistic in a very good, like... communist society, but without... without the bad part, you know? So... It, it is really nice, you know? They have managed to build a really lovely society... it's a very happy society.

And the connections with co-workers here, how do you see it.

Here in Esbjerg?

Yeah.

Well, I was lucky, I think, because I was part of, I was working in a very, very friendly group, where we were supporting each other, and helping a lot. And I have been in internships in several different places here in Esbjerg. And there was one that I didn't really feel that uh... well, the group was kind of friendly, they were always having breakfast together, as a kind of compulsory-voluntary activity, but I think they... it wasn't... it was kind of... they were not very happy. There was kind of a work group, and there was a different group, and they were put together at breakfast, and you could see they were really kind of clumping together themselves, separately. And in this smaller groups, it was functioning better than sitting all together... You could see there was a lot of competition also, but it's... it is the only one that I have felt that they are not very happy all together. And then there was one... one place where I worked, and that was like a family, that was like a second family, you know

They knew each other for many, many years, they had seen their kids grow up and... they had built this place together and... So, it was... here in Maersk, given that it's a really big company, I think it's a very friendly group... And that's mostly Danes.

Here at Maersk?

In my group, yeah.

And about these initiatives that you see now in the Newcomer Service. When you moved here they didn't exist, how do you see them for, for newcomers. Do you think it would have made a difference when you first arrived?

Well, like we talked, they help people to have some social life, but, I'm not sure they help them integrate in society. Because they create little, kind of a foreigner sidelong... you know? Like that's a foreigner activity, and Danes will not come, even though it says it's for foreigners and Danes, but Danes will not come, because they have many other activities where they don't, they are not constrained by English-speaking... The English-speaking part... They need to go to the activities where they can hear English. Because I think that a lot of people who arrive here, they know it's temporary, so they don't want to learn Danish, they don't want to... to integrate here, because a lot of them, those working for Maersk, they are on this uh... how is it called, this uh... foreign contract. And most of them think at least in the beginning they don't want to stay. Some change, you know? When they get kids, you know? Because, really, for a family with children, this is ideal... small children.

Did you meet anybody through this foreign events?

We met one family, but they moved away... all the network, the foreigner network, most of is through Maersk. For example, Mathieu met Luc, then I met Ice, and then through Ice I met you, and Nicole and all that, and... And it just... it develops from that. And there's people I know from other things... Because then Esbjerg is so small. You're part of one network and then you're almost part of everything because it's so small...

True. And here in Esbjerg, do you think could mobilize these social connections for yourself, to help maybe with a job or...

Personally, I'm not... I don't know how to use my connections. I think I make big networks, but it's very rare that I get to use them, because... I'm used to getting stuff myself, you know? Job for myself, myself. I might contact for... You know, now I have contacts with my network in Maersk, I might, uh... contact them, and okay, is there anything, well, uh... like that, in that sense, yeah, I could contact. Professionally, I think I use my network. But to for example ask people help to move, I would ask my friends first. But... if the network is my friend, then yeah, I think... But I'm... I'm not used to. Like now, for example, I wrote in this international mother's group, I wrote if anybody wants to go to the movies, because I don't have any other mothers to go, and that's exactly an event for moms... So, I think in that way, I can... use, but. I don't know if I would call it rely on my network. I don't rely on...

I create network because I think it's interesting. To chat there, and I want to chat with the people, that's all.

So, you don't think it can be useful in the sense of people arriving here and who need contacts or...

Well, I think it can be useful for... if you arrive here, without knowing anyone, and specially to find housing, and putting in contact with other families. I think to start it's really good. Specially if you don't speak Danish and you're not chatty yourself. It might be very, very helpful, but I think it's a great idea.

And in the long run...

Well, if the intention is to integrate people, I don't know how. But I think by encouraging more learning Danish, and encouraging people, and maybe showing Danish movies with English subtitles, then it's something. If the intention is to integrate people, then they shouldn't create so strong... foreign... like closed, you know. People start to rely on each other, form very strong friendship bonds, and then people become very closed and you can't really enter, because when you enter as a newcomer, then it's all like, "oh, it's a friend club", you know? And also in that... I think they have to make it more general and less personal, so people don't start forming... they can form, but outside the network. I don't know how that is possible... That is just my opinion.

Okay. Thank you so much for the interview.

Annexes

Annex 1. Final List of Variables in the Working Dataset

Gender
Age
Employment
Country
Years of Residence in Esbjerg
Reason for Moving
Level of Danish
Marital status
Danish Spouse
Partner Employment
Children
Children at School Age
Life Satisfaction
Participation in Associations in Esbjerg
Participation in Associations in Home Country
Social Trust
Social Group Composition
Solidarity Perception in Esbjerg
Social Trust Perception in Esbjerg
Online Community Participation
Proactivity in the Community
Involvement in the Community
Meeting Outside Community Events
Community Reciprocity
Community Solidarity
Asked for Help from Community
Provided Help to the Community

Annex 2. Initial code set for cross-analysis of transcripts

Theme	Code	Code description
Reason for moving	A1	Personal account of moving
Welcoming	B1	Perspectives on reception in Esbjerg
Integrating	C1	Efforts
	C2	positive experiences
	C3	Negative experiences
	C4	Danish norms and integration
	C5	Habitus and integration
Social capital	D1	Forming ties
	D2	Composition of ties
	D3	associational life
	D4	Descriptions of bonding social capital
	D5	Descriptions of bridging social capital
	D6	Closure and reciprocity in ties
Social trust	F1	Habitus and social trust
	F2	Social trust in Denmark
Newcomer Service's initiatives	G1	Impact on forming ties
	G2	Opinion on initiatives

Annex 3. Comparative tables for initial qualitative data cross-analysis

Theme	Code	Code description	Accompanying Spouse
Reason for moving	A1	personal account of moving	<p>"...that was just our own choice to come from the US... we talked about it for a long time that we wanted to move to Denmark. I had been here before for a year, and huh... we both said that, well, it's better to raise kids here, it's better work-life balance, and huh, then we are in Europe and you can go so many places and huh... then huh... and so that was just a decision we made and we got huh, one of these green card visas to just come and search for a job, so that's what we did and huh just sold all of our things and showed up here, basically, kind of like the refugees do it, just come in with some suitcases and that's it"</p> <p>"...I have dual citizenship and, because of that, I thought "I want to be here", and I just... yeah... my politics align more with the Danish way of thinking"</p> <p>"I'm kind of strange, because I've moved a lot in my life, and even when I lived in the US, the city that I lived before I came here, I lived there for like six years, and it's not where I grew up, and my best friend still lived on the other side of the state, so like four hours away , so many years where we were best friends but hadn't really seen each other"</p> <p>"then I came to Denmark for a year, so they moved on, and they continued on, so then I wasn't really friends when we came back because they were like out and doing other things"</p>
Welcoming	B1	perspectives on reception in Esbjerg	[no network when arrived] ...we didn't know anybody in Esbjerg and uh... and, yeah, we had some family but they were living far away and they're not, you know... what can my grandfather do, 90 years old and... he can't really help with some practical things.
Integrating	C1	Efforts	<p>[efforts in language and cultural assimilation at work] ...now I'm meeting some Danish people at my internship, and I'm at the refugee center in Weidling and uh, so I'm just in with Danish people working and that's really good because I'm learning Danish and stuff and getting their way of life</p> <p>[efforts in language acquisition impact Danes' attitude toward befriending foreigners] But I mean, when you're learning some Danish also the... many people are also quite interesting.</p> <p>[motivation to join the Mentor Network] At that time I was still new to Esbjerg, so I had only really been here like six months, so a lot of it was to get friends and new people and just learn about the city...</p> <p>[efforts to expand network] And I just keep an eye on Facebook, and you know, now I've joined Esbjerg International Community, and the international mother group.</p>
	C2	positive experiences	
	C3	negative experiences	

	C4	Danish norms and integration	<p>[Danes questioning integration efforts] ...it's always that sort of insistence like, well, "why don't you speak Danish at home with your children?". You know, you always have to sort of uh... answer these questions that you get all the time... so.</p> <p>[Danes questioning integration efforts] ...I understand it, I'm feeling the same way, like, here in Denmark you have to learn Danish and everything, but then they say, "Oh, why doesn't your husband speak Danish yet?"</p> <p>[Danes' reluctance in expanding their networks] ...everyone always says it's hard to make friends with the Danes, you know, but you also have to think "I'm coming in to their city". Most of the ones that I know here, they've lived here all their lives, they've grown up here, and they have their school friends, and they have already their network, and that's good enough, you know... Because they don't need a bunch of other friends, they already have their close friends</p> <p>[perspective on getting ahead in Denmark] You know it's all about the network here in Denmark...</p>
	C5	habitus and integration	<p>[Americans' attitudes toward expanding their networks versus Danes'] And Americans in that respect are really good, because everyone moves around in the US so much that we're used to just... we have to become friends with people... new people all the time. It's just sort of natural to us</p> <p>[Danish heritage and feelings of inadequacy] I had some of the traditions already because we did Danish Christmas... I'm sort of half Danish, but also... I'll never be fully Danish, I can tell.</p> <p>now I'm like living as a foreigner in my own country, you can say that, like... And I'm always going to have this stupid American accent.</p>
Social capital	D1	forming ties	<p>[first acquaintances] ...we started at the, at Laerdansk, and then you meet all the other foreigners that have been here for all kinds of... you know, some very short time, and some many years now, um... and through that, mostly is how I got all my friends that I still have now, it's through Laerdansk</p> <p>[ties through associations] ...just living now in Kvaglund we went to the international Kvinderklub... no, what do they call that? Kvinder to Kvinder. And you meet some people that way... and then I went to... uh... this mentor network... netvaerk, that they had down at Doghojskole, when it was Tatiana who was running that, and I met several people there</p> <p>[forming network at school] ...starting at the school you meet all kinds of people in their international class. I was in the English-speaking one just because it started in January umm... so I actually have a lot of, you know... international... friends.</p> <p>[facility to form ties with other foreigners] ...in uh... Folkehojskole many years ago is that it didn't matter where we were from, as all the foreigners we were all in the same situation of being foreign in this country, so... we, I mean, I have like a best friend from Japan that I met 12 years ago in Denmark, and we still talk after all these years, uh... so it's uh, in that respect it's easier, usually to talk to the foreigners because they understand where you're coming from</p> <p>[personal attitude toward friendships] I'm not a person that has like... I don't have twenty friends, I have like four... And that's okay with me because that's... that's how I am. And I don't have time right now...</p> <p>[personal account on long-lasting ties] ...so I'm just used to always having moved, so.. and sort of losing friends that way so that's also probably why I don't bother getting attached to people too much, because I figure, okay, three or four years I'll have to leave them again ...</p>
	D2	composition of ties	<p>[diversity in Kvaglund] ...you know, Kvaglund is very international, so uh... I was kind of the... odd man out. Most of the people there are either from Middle-East or Somalia or something, or from like Cambodia, Vietnam, not so many sort of... Western foreigners, I guess you'd say...</p> <p>[diversity of connections] I've met Danish people around here and there, umm, but... then you get connected to Nicole Hogan [Newcomer Service], for example, and... Tatiana knows everybody and uh... I don't know. It just tends to be that foreigners even if we're from... I mean I have friends from Lithuania and Ukraine and I have them a lot of the time, because my husband is from the Ukraine, so we have, sort of have connections there...</p> <p>[diverse friendships] ...one good friend is from Laerdansk, that I met, and the other is uh... I met her at the mentor network...</p> <p>Yeah, a lot of them I met through Laerdansk or either that one, and then... I have a few from the school, from the business academy, but they're not someone I meet with... uh, a good friend she lives like an hour north of here, so I don't see her ever, but we're on Facebook</p>

	D3	associational life	<p>[participation in associations] ...just living now in Kvaglund we went to the international Kvinderklub... no, what do they call that? Kvinder to Kvinder. And you meet some people that way... and then I went to... uh... this mentor network... netvaerk, that they had down at Doghojskole, when it was Tatiana who was running that, and I met several people there</p> <p>[association - mother's group] And I have some Danish friends because I was in these mother groups after I had my children, so... We meet once in a while still, but it's not really like... we're friends...</p> <p>[baby class - Danish] I did this baby samelsang, that was last time, when I had Oliver, and uh... that was all Danes.</p> <p>[Danish mother's group] I did have a good connection to my first mother group, but after that first year the maternity leave was over and they all started back at work and started at school and then we only have weekends that we can meet, but we have our families... so...</p> <p>[motivation to join the Mentor Network] At that time I was still new to Esbjerg, so I had only really been here like six months, so a lot of it was to get friends and new people and just learn about the city...</p>
	D4	descriptions of bonding social capital	<p>[bonding-like ties with other foreigners] it didn't matter where we were from, as all the foreigners we were all in the same situation of being foreign in this country, so...</p> <p>...in that respect it's easier, usually, to talk to the foreigners because they understand where you're coming from</p> <p>[bonding-like connections, common background] ...that's my friend Olia, who is Ukrainian, and her husband is Danish and we meet them all the time and we watch each other's kids and we borrowed his trailer and all his tools, and he helps fix things in our house, and we go there and help sometimes, so uh... uh, so we're really close with them</p> <p>[lack of bonding social capital as a problem] ...my kids don't have their grandparents here, they are all in the Ukraine or in the US, so we don't have anyone to sort of take them for the whole evening so that we can go watch a movie and eat dinner or... anything. I mean we don't have anyone to basically, sort of help with that then you have kids and it's like you don't have anyone to help at all, so it is really important then to get some uh... a network, or friends, girl friends who can help with kids sometimes, but even then, like, they are working too, so I feel bad just dropping off all my kids so we can go out to a movie ...</p>
	D5	descriptions of bridging social capital	<p>[broader ties - mother's group] I was in these mother groups after I had my children, so... We meet once in a while still, but it's not really like... we're friends...</p> <p>[ties formed in baby class] I recognize them and stuff, and I say hi, but uh... well, everyone is busy now going back to work and rushing out the door, so we don't really talk now</p> <p>[interest in a bridging network] So I met Maria, the other American... I met her at Laerdansk, because we were at the same class and uh... We're on Facebook together, but like... we've never met together, to have coffee, but... It's just sort of one of these connections that's like, okay, it's good to have some people that you know, even though you're not getting together for coffee either.</p> <p>[difficulty in forming social capital in the neighborhood] Now we've bought a house, so we have our neighbors that are Danish, so I talk to the one guy, he's got some kids that are around the same age... uh... and he, yeah, he said he would help out with stuff if we need to fix this or that in our house, so he's got tools, so they are close, but you know, we just moved there last year, and we've had kids, so we're never outside talking to them because we're inside taking care of the children...</p> <p>[motivation to participate the International Community's events: form bridging ties] ...maybe not to make friends as a goal, but more to like make a network of people that... I don't know how to say it... that are important, or that have a good network themselves, like Nicole or Tatiana, they're really good because they know a lot of people. And if you can sort of, yeah, become friends with them, or come close to them they can see "oh, okay, I know someone who... who has done this for jobs, and then maybe they hear something".</p>
	D6	closure and reciprocity in ties	<p>[guilty feelings about expecting reciprocity] I mean, my friend Olia will watch them if I ask, but I feel bad dropping three children on her, when she only has one. And to have four kids that are three years or younger, that's a lot...</p> <p>[reciprocity about watching friends' kids] I guess it would be fine, just... They've done that too when I've watched... Or I watched her son uh... But I think it's easier to drop off one child than to drop off three...</p> <p>[social trust in Denmark, reciprocal attitude] If I trust other people, then they feel obligated to live up to that trust, and I think that it's something that they've created here</p>

Social trust	F1	habitus and social trust	<p>[mistrusting feelings rooted in habitus] I mean, we could hire a babysitter, but we're also like "oh, they're still so small". And you hear these stories. I guess it's like, we don't sort of have trust for other people, we hear these stories sometimes about something happening to the kids.</p> <p>[conflicts between habitus originated social trust and the level of social trust in Denmark] I mean, you go to the store in the US, and I would never let them out of my sight, and here I can just let them run up and down the aisles and be wild and crazy cause I can't control them in the store, and umm... So, that's really nice, and just in general, you know. You feel safe um... in our house, you know, we live...</p> <p>[conflicts between habitus originated social trust and the level of social trust in Denmark] ...because we come from other cultures we're more... locking everything and making sure our things are inside the house and uh... you know we pull down the blinds when we leave, but I know in general it's probably pretty safe...</p>
	F2	social trust in Denmark	<p>[trusting feelings rooted in living in Denmark] I feel like I can relax here, more. I mean, I park my baby outside the café, but yeah, I mean, I don't feel bad. I've always had my babies sleeping outside and I'm not worried that they're going to get stolen...</p> <p>[anecdote: shocking attitude toward social trust Danes have] ...the general trust they have... ...I was shocked when I first came to Denmark and I was part of a... I think it was actually a part of work in Denmark thing that they had in Copenhagen, and she sent an email to everyone participating, and all of our e-mails addresses and names and phone numbers and everything was in the stock and... I mean like, "oh, here's everyone's information... participants". And I was like... you just gave my information to all these people that I don't know so uh... Oh, it's no big deal for them...</p> <p>[sees change in social trust in Denmark] ...Denmark is having... opening up so much more now... I think it's changing... people are having to learn to not be so naïve, maybe... I don't know... It's the impression I get.</p>
Newcomer Service's initiatives	G1	impact on forming ties	
	G2	opinion on initiatives	<p>[perspective on how useful are the Newcomer Service's initiatives] ...maybe not to make friends as a goal, but more to like make a network of people that... I don't know how to say it... that are important, or that have a good network themselves, like Nicole or Tatiana, they're really good because they know a lot of people. And if you can sort of, yeah, become friends with them, or come close to them they can see "oh, okay, I know someone who... who has done this for jobs, and then maybe they hear something".</p>

Theme	Code	Code description	Employment
Reason for moving	A1	personal account of moving	<p>I came first in 2005, that was a long time ago. And it was for the master. And it was the special program between Germany and Denmark, where we studied half year in Germany and half year in Denmark, and then had to choose where we do our master. And I chose Denmark, because I prefer the way... just the way the education is built.</p> <p>So, I started to do my masters here, and then we met Mathieu on this program and then we did, uh... we found some interesting results, and then we developed a PhD project, so I also did the PhD here.</p> <p>And then after the PhD, Mathieu got the job here in Maersk, then we moved to Esbjerg and then I got the job in Maersk, so...</p>
Welcoming	B1	perspectives on reception in Esbjerg	<p>[moving without knowing anyone] When we moved here, I was still working on my thesis. But it was a bit rough anyway, because... Moving, not knowing anyone. A new place, you know... Suddenly big house, which I had to tidy... I lot of distractions.</p> <p>[incipient Newcomer Service] ...when we were moving here, we went to ask to help with house. it was just, just beginning. It was just the idea of making such service... She was assigned to... in this project, this Heidi. And she said "we don't have a network yet, so we can't help you with houses".</p>

Integrating	C1	Efforts	<p>[hosting parties and inviting people over/Danish acquaintance reluctant to come] ... like in our house, for example, we had parties, I mean every weekend. Every week we had something.</p> <p>You could ask your friends to come along, and often there were people I had no idea who they are...</p> <p>And we tried to invite Danes! I remember I had my office mate, a PhD student. I, well, I said "hey, we're grilling today, do you want to come".</p> <p>And she said, well, three times she said no. And I said, well, okay, it's kind of clear she doesn't want to be friends.</p>
	C2	positive experiences	<p>[perspective of life in Esbjerg] I think it's not bad, as a family with children, I think it's good. I can see why people who are single don't want to stay here. There is not so much to do in Esbjerg... You know, socially, like...</p> <p>I like that people are more... people are more friendly here in Esbjerg then they were in Odense, so... you can kind of... people are easier to talk to, simpler... in a good way, in a very good way, simpler.</p> <p>[good experiences in Esbjerg when compared to Odense: people are easier to befriend and expectations were lower than reality] here in Esbjerg, I was putting the letters in the mailbox, you know? The week after we moved. Every person that passed by said "welcome to the neighborhood". I was like, "are we in Denmark?". It comes down to things like that, these tiny simple things, but that... that means a lot... It's a... a big difference, you see.</p> <p>Ans the thing is, when you say you're moving to Esbjerg, everyone is like "why?". It's fish here, and all... It's a very simple town, hillbillies, and whatever.</p> <p>some people were even saying it's the most racist city in Denmark, they hate foreigners and... and when we moved here... that's what we were prepared for. And when we moved here, it's completely not true, nothing is true what they say. So, it's been a very pleasant surprise here in Esbjerg.</p>
	C3	negative experiences	<p>[perspectives from Odense: people are harder to reach than in Esbjerg] ...maybe we also had too high expectations.</p> <p>...at Christmas once, we needed a saw, to cut uh, because we didn't have a saw. So, we went to the neighbors to ask for it, and they were like, uh... "what the hell are you doing", you know? We were like... well, that's what you do in France or in Latvia when you move to a house, and uh, next to each other. We got to know each other, and then you can borrow stuff...</p>
	C4	Danish norms and integration	<p>[anecdote: Danes with no time for new friends] ...at one point she told me clearly "I don't have time for new friends". And I just, like... How can you say that? How can you reach a point in your twenties to say "I don't have time to make new friends", you know?</p> <p>[Danes regarding new friends/Danes regarding social activities: "compulsory voluntary] I think that's the type of people Danes are. That they have, you know, their childhood friends, they have their school friends, maybe university friends... a few. But then the further in life they get, the less they want to kind of... invest in making new friends.</p> <p>It's all based on all these childhood ties, and all...</p> <p>because, I mean, they are very busy. They have to be part of the social activities at work, it's kind of... you know, voluntary, but it's actually compulsory voluntary. You have to be. Otherwise you are frowned upon if you don't go to all these parties... The Christmas party, for example, you have to go and drink with them, you know...</p> <p>[comparing willingness to befriend others: Danes and internationals] That's the big difference between a Dane, I mean a native Dane that hasn't moved anywhere, and a foreigner here in Denmark...</p> <p>we look at people as potential friends, and they look at people and think... "humph, just another person", you know... Because they have their friends, they have no time for more. At least at this age. I don't know how teenagers are...</p> <p>[school activities propel integration/Danish culture of social arrangements] they are making some events like, if course, Christmas arrangement, and they make spring... whatever, with Olympics, so... I'm not wild with all these kind of compulsory social activities, but again, we're going along with this because Leah is growing up in this society, she needs to learn how the society works, and that's what she is doing, what she is supposed to do.</p>
	C5	habitus and integration	

Social capital	D1	forming ties	<p>[university ties] ...in the beginning we were in Odense. We lived five years in Odense, and we were working in the university, in the... biology institute where there were quite a lot of foreigners</p> <p>so we were all kind of stuck together in the... we were roughly the same age, mostly PhD students, so we formed a very tight group, a happy friend group there. That's about, yeah... we didn't have a lot of Danes there.</p> <p>[common interests as catalyzer of friendship ties] we were friends because we had common interest, you know...</p> <p>And we did a lot of stuff together, we were going around together, driving around in nature through the beach, we did a lot of stuff together</p> <p>It was... with that common interest, it was very natural.</p> <p>[expectations in forming ties] for us, as foreigners, we have left our kind of secure group of friends that we have known from childhood and... that's all we do, it's go around and try to find new network, I mean... that's what we are, if you think of it... our brain is like really... eager to make new acquaintances and potential friend... right? Because we are craving to have these friendships.</p> <p>[depth of ties from home country] I'm missing my friends in Latvia, and in all these 12 years that I've lived abroad, I have not found these close friends... Well, I have found close friends, but it... it's never the same kind of... depth to this...</p> <p>...And to me it's like we have really discovered in each other the real person, behind all the everyday stuff, behind all... the age, the real color of the person, the soul, you know? We know each other really to the bone. And friends like that I haven't found after I left and... so I'm kind of... kind of still searching and... to me, every person I meet is like a potential friend you know...</p> <p>[greeting neighbors] When we moved here, first we went to greet our neighbors, so that was the first people we got connections... As I told you before, I think here we developed relationships much quicker because uh... because we spoke Danish. So... With our neighbors, we started chatting and they were really, really nice...</p> <p>[kids school as source of ties/quick social inclusion] Also in kindergarten, because Leah was going to kindergarten, the kindergarten people are very, very nice. And then we got to talk to some parents and all that... so I mean... we really... we established really quickly socially here. I think in half a year I had already a good social network... In all kinds of directions. Through sports, kindergarten, work...</p>
	D2	composition of ties	
	D3	associational life	<p>[entering the boxing club] I found the boxing club, because I had started boxing in Odense, and I really liked it, so went to sport club here, but it was really stinky, so I went to a boxing club. And there immediately I also developed social relations very fast. It's really fantastic club because they are so... they are so welcoming, you know... So, you immediately become one of them, so that was also very good, they made me very comfortable.</p> <p>[English book club] And then I found the... English book club.</p> <p>I don't remember how anymore.</p> <p>I guess I was really feeling lonely at one point, I don't know. So, that... uh, there I met a lot of people, like Maersk spouses. Because they all... most of them speak English.</p> <p>[Mentor network] Then I went to... Mentor Network. I found them by some... by some kind of way, so I applied to be a mentor. So, there I went to different arrangements. I don't know. It's just...I was looking for stuff.</p> <p>[ties formed in associations/bridging-like] I have realized that this club thing, it's actually, it's a fine, fine way to extend your network, and... maybe in a way I've become a little bit Danish in that sense that's the type of relationships I'm forming.</p> <p>we have this in common and we both know it's never going to be like super deep relationships, but it's meaningful enough for that person...</p>

	D4	descriptions of bonding social capital	<p>[bonding-like connections at the university] During PhD, of course it's a Danish university, so they were all Danes, but the few foreigners that we were... I guess we were so few that we... we just became friends, naturally. And there were not so many Danes in our friends... circle.</p> <p>[bonding with people of same origin] I also got involved in the Latvian-Danish association. So, that takes a lot of my time, and I got a lot of acquaintances there, but that is Latvian.</p> <p>[bonding with people of same origin] You have some like cultural things that you can share, you know.</p> <p>you can share some stuff from your county's past. Like we can talk about the same movies and laugh, which I can't with you, for instance, if I mention one movie, you have no idea what it is.</p> <p>But if I mention, for instance, with my friends something from my childhood, then it will trigger a lot of memories, and we can uh... go down this path together, because we shared this. And I think that's why it's easier to bond... to create these bonds quicker with people from your country.</p> <p>I think they are my closest friends here in Denmark.</p>
	D5	descriptions of bridging social capital	<p>[bridging-like connections] I'm actually quite good friends with my neighbor. But I wouldn't call her my best friend, but, you know, we can talk... And in the boxing club, we are four women that are meeting for coffee and stuff. I can talk...</p> <p>In the same time, I've also learned not to expect, like... deep friendship.</p> <p>[how bridging connections are used/poor use of them] Personally, I'm not... I don't know how to use my connections. I think I make big networks, but it's very rare that I get to use them, because... I'm used to getting stuff myself, you know? Job for myself, myself. I might contact for... You know, now I have contacts with my network in Maersk, I might, uh... contact them, and okay,</p> <p>Professionally, I think I use my network. But to for example ask people help to move, I would ask my friends first</p> <p>Like now, for example, I wrote in this international mother's group, I wrote if anybody wants to go to the movies, because I don't have any other mothers to go, and that's exactly an event for moms... So, I think in that way, I can... use, but. I don't know if I would call it rely on my network. I don't rely on...</p> <p>I create network because I think it's interesting. To chat there, and I want to chat with the people, that's all.</p>
	D6	closure and reciprocity in ties	<p>[closure and sanctions: risk of having the daughter labeled at school] They are making these activities at school, and you have to participate, if you don't, I know that our family will be looked at, and my daughter is going to have the consequences in what we choosing not to... and she'll be singled out as a weirdo, so I don't want that</p> <p>[lack of trust in others when forming ties/understanding that bonds cannot be too tight between foreigners in Esbjerg] it makes me a bit sad because I just... I don't trust people so much anymore, because I know that it can disappear any time. As I have defined it in my head this uh... foreigner circle, which we are big in... we are a lot of foreigners here in Esbjerg... So, different... To me you create exactly volatile relationships that can dissolve when they decide or when we decide to...</p> <p>You already go into friendship with this expectation that it can be temporary. And I think that's why I never... I have kind of learned not to immerse very deep into it.</p> <p>I know that I'll never have, again, deep relations as I have with my friends back in Latvia.</p> <p>I would never say I don't have time for new friends. That uh... that's not true... Maybe my definition of friend has changed.</p> <p>[expectations from social ties/negative account] A friend is a person, you know... it's almost like your sibling, you know. That you can share everything in... I have different criteria myself, and I have different capacity to give to friendship, I guess.</p> <p>It's a bit distractions from the family that you're searching now. I think it has become... It's kind of like a spare-time activity. To me it's uh... that's all...</p> <p>[reciprocal attitude from Danish society] they are very helpful, they try to help their... how is it called... co... co-citizens. They are very... It is social-democratic country.</p> <p>...maybe it's putting it a bit too far, but at one point we were talking with our friends and... it is kind of socialistic in a very good, like... communist society, but without... without the bad part, you know?</p> <p>They have managed to build a really lovely society... it's a very happy society.</p>

Social trust	F1	habitus and social trust	<p>[difficulty in assimilating the level of trust existing in Danish society] If you define trust as the trust that you will not hurt them, That you will not steal their stuff, that you will look after their children in that sense trust... They trust the society a lot. And to me that's shocking, because I come from a very different background, from a less safe background, let's say, so for me it's difficult to commit to such trusting. Like for example to commit my child to cycling to school, I have issues with that, because I don't trust the society... I'm learning, I know that she'll have to go one day, but that's difficult for me.</p> <p>[how habitus reflects attitude toward trust] I was raised to be afraid of people. When I was growing up in the 90s, it was a rough environment in Latvia. ...there was no money, so there was a lot of violence in the streets, and there were a lot of girls that were dragged in the cars, so I mean, it was really, really tough.</p> <p>...I was just raised to... to not trust strangers</p> <p>I realize it's a little paranoid, especially with the settings here, but in the same time</p> <p>...you know, raising two girls, I don't want to be too trusting. I believe that it's better to be too cautious than to regret after...</p>
	F2	social trust in Denmark	<p>[social trust compared to individual trust/similar point made by student] I was just saying that I define one way of trusting, that they trust the society a lot, but they don't trust personal...</p> <p>you can't form very deep relationship, again, going back to because they do not want to invest themselves, because they have formed their relationships back in the past, most of them.</p> <p>that way, they are not trusting.</p> <p>In personal level, they don't.</p>
Newcomer Service's initiatives	G1	impact on forming ties	<p>[initiatives were not the catalyzer of social ties formed] We met one family, but they moved away... all the network, the foreigner network, most of is through Maersk. For example, Mathieu met Luc, then I met Ice, and then through Ice I met you, and Nicole and all that, and... And it just... it develops from that. And there's people I know from other things... Because then Esbjerg is so small. You're part of one network and then you're almost part of everything because it's so small...</p>
	G2	opinion on initiatives	<p>[opinion on effectiveness of initiatives] they help people to have some social life, but, I'm not sure they help them integrate in society. Because they create little, kind of a foreigner sidelong... you know? Like that's a foreigner activity, and Danes will not come, even though it says it's for foreigners and Danes, but Danes will not come, because they have many other activities where they don't, they are not constrained by English-speaking...</p> <p>[why initiatives my not work] I think that a lot of people who arrive here, they know it's temporary, so they don't want to learn Danish, they don't want to... to integrate here, because a lot of them, those working for Maersk, they are on this uh... foreign contract. And most of them think at least in the beginning they don't want to stay. Some change, you know? When they get kids, you know? Because, really, for a family with children, this is ideal... small children.</p> <p>[initiatives are good for newcomers to settle] I think it can be useful for... if you arrive here, without knowing anyone, and specially to find housing, and putting in contact with other families. I think to start it's really good. Specially if you don't speak Danish and you're not chatty yourself.</p> <p>[initiatives end up developing exclusive bonding ties and scare off newcomers and Danes] Well, if the intention is to integrate people, I don't know how. But I think by encouraging more learning Danish, and encouraging people, and maybe showing Danish movies with English subtitles, then it's something. If the intention is to integrate people, then they shouldn't create so strong... foreign... like closed, you know. People start to rely on each other, form very strong friendship bonds, and then people become very closed and you can't really enter, because when you enter as a newcomer, then it's all like, "oh, it's a friend club", you know? And also in that... I think they have to make it more general and less personal, so people don't start forming... they can form, but outside the network. I don't know how that is possible... That is just my opinion.</p>

Theme	Code	Code description	Danish family
Reason for moving	A1	personal account of moving	"I meet my husband on the internet... " 'we spoke like a year and he went to Colombia with his... uh son." "he was there like five weeks" "and we liked very much each other after that, and I said ok, I will travel to Denmark to see it too, so I travelled here, and I was here like uh... I think six weeks, one and a half months... " "And that was it. We are very happy for each other, we should give it a try. He is uh... a chef... um, and then we thought, okay, he has more possibilities here in Denmark to get... uh... good pay, you know. In Colombia it is not... then we'd have to start from zero, open a restaurant and so... yeah, we come this way. So I come this way with my son, who was five years old... Of course it is a shock in the start. New country, new family. He had two sons, I have one"
Welcoming	B1	perspectives on reception in Esbjerg	[differences in treatment] when you came to the country, like, married to an engineer, or married to the person who is working in Maersk, I think the network is more uh... Or... the Kommune is helping you a little more. [differences in treatment] I think they [expat wives] get more support if they want to work. It is like in our case we have to fight for ourselves. It's like more husband who take the... the lead and say "okay, we're going to do this, we're going to do this" Try to find what you can do. [differences in treatment] when you are married to a Dane, the Kommune is more like... uh... "you have to". "You have to do this, and you have to do this, and you have to, you have to". So, I didn't get help to find job. [differences in treatment] maybe they think because we are married with a Danish guy, then maybe we'll be easier for us because we have like family and... they feel like that, but... no, I don't know. I feel that... The Kommune... Not even like "welcome to the city". [comparing herself with a Colombian who came to study] ...she got like a good welcome to the city, and coupons with like uh... small gifts to different places. I think like... "we didn't get nothing".
Integrating	C1	Efforts	[language] if my kids came with friends, I want to understand everything. And, so, for me the language became like uh... I have to, I have to... I hate that uh... I had to go to parenting meetings and I didn't understand anything, and I always had to have like uh... help from another people, another person... And I am very independent, so said "I have to learn the language, and I have to... like take care of my own...
	C2	positive experiences	[overcoming prejudices at university] ...he [school colleague] said to me, after we were finished [with education]: "I really hate when I saw you came here, because, why do Spanish people have to be here..." Yeah... but after he said, "but I love you now, you're the cutest person in the world, and I'm so happy you came because you changed my mind about foreigners". ...he said, you see. "I must admit, I was very like 'they don't have to be here, they have to be in other class, they are not Danes'". And now we are very, very good friends.
	C3	negative experiences	[humiliating job] I don't know how is in Brazil, but in Colombia is like uh... if you have to work like cleaning... it's like very... it's very down... Because it's only people who have no education, and nothing to do, And here it's like another thing, so I say, okay, I... I'll take... I can do nothing, because I can't... the language... so okay, I was like "cleaning". And it was like... psychologically hard to work and clean, and my mom does not know... Because I came from like a middle class. [prejudice at university] It was actually a friend and me, and we take the Danish line, so everybody was Danish. It was only me and my friend from Colombia, and uh... Not everybody liked that, not everybody... understood why they are not Danish, why they here... So, they felt, in a way that we... take them down.

	C4	Danish norms and integration	<p>[conflict in traditions] I was married to a Dane, so it was different. Even though they [Latin American expat wives] ... was in a new culture, but they have their family, so... Their family didn't change at all. They had the same uh... you know... I don't know, like... Christmas, the way they celebrate, the traditions. All their traditions, and I have like to... to take a fight... Well, not a fight, but you know what I mean.</p> <p>[social norms] sometimes in the Danish school it was like "Danes don't honk, they don't say hi with uh... persons". They do! They do!</p> <p>[preconceived ideas of Danes] ...many people say that Danes, they are racist, they are hard, and they are hard to come into... But I don't experience that. Of course, you meet people who are a little more cold and uh... but there also in all countries, so... I haven't experienced that yet.</p>
	C5	habitus and integration	<p>[cleaning job] I started to work. I came here in 2007... in Esbjerg Kommune, cleaning in a kindergarten</p> <p>... And I think it was especially important to... like, to understand the culture, and all that, because I came from a country where uh... people who clean are really down</p> <p>And people... I... it was shocking like... they treat you like people in the kindergarten, you eat breakfast with them, and... and now I think it's stupid that I thought they would say like, no she is like... she is the maid.</p> <p>[inadequacy feelings] When we study with my friend it was like... It is also difficult to get information because we... we didn't match the Danes. Because we uh... we were not Danes, we... got more like Danes, but we... were matched with the international group, so... kind of the middle, so sometimes they didn't know which information about interns, like that... they should give us, because... we'd look each and say, "oh, we're not the Danish group, we are not the international group either", We were like kind of in the middle, like we'd say: "just give us all the information". Because they did not know, like... how do we have to take you.</p>
Social capital	D1	forming ties	<p>[first acquaintances] I remember also when I start here, I started meeting Latin people from Venezuela and... Colombia also... And a Mexican woman who came here at work...</p> <p>[work acquaintances and social activities] I was so happy there, I got included in all the activities they had... If they go out to this Julefrokost, if they go out to town, so... I was always included. Just one more... a person more there. It was a little surprise for me, but in a positive way, so...</p> <p>[first Colombian friends - meeting at the supermarket] I was speaking Spanish with my son, and then they came "oh, you speak Spanish, where are you from and what are you doing here?" ...and then we... started to speak to each other... they invite us to eat, and we invite them to eat as well</p> <p>...we speak from time to time with them still...</p> <p>[interest of Danes in befriending someone from another culture] I don't feel like I have to effort with Danish people either, because some... No, actually not. Because some people are like "I have to be friends with you", because like "How is Colombia? Tell me. I would like to go there". So, I'm like, no... So, it's very different form person to person. So... Because I have a lot of people like uh... "Oh, I have to try the food" and "what you eat" and "is it spicy?"</p> <p>...But it is more like uh... I want to know more about the culture...</p>
	D2	composition of ties	<p>[social ties right after arrival] Only my kids, and my husband. Yeah, only my kids and my husband. Okay, and a few Colombian people...</p> <p>[differences in degree of friendship] I, you know, sometimes you have friends who you can ask for help with my dogs, for example, and friends who can help with my kids, so it's different... dogs and kids...</p> <p>[differences in friendship] , I think, actually, you have a friend to everything, so I think it's difficult to say...</p> <p>[commonalities with friends] for example, if I want to talk something about my kids, like my son, this sport thing? I have another friend. And I like to talk to her because she is like a mom of another kid who is like professional, so... so I want, like, to know because she... she in that situation, so.</p>
	D3	associational life	<p>[kids' associational life] So my son he is uh... elite swimmer, so he goes to an... sport class... He is all the time with competitions, so I have to help.</p> <p>My daughter is ice skating also, and... Some way I got involved in that, so I'm actually a part of the main board of the club... Tuesday she go to ice skating and ballet...</p>

	D4	descriptions of bonding social capital	<p>[meeting other Colombians] ...I was speaking Spanish with my son, and then they came "oh, you speak Spanish, where are you from and what are you doing here?"</p> <p>[meeting closest Colombian friend] I had a friend in Spain, and she have a profile in some web page I don't know, where people speak to each other... well, I'm living in Esbjerg, and she said "oh, I have a friend in Esbjerg also". And I don't know, some way she got my mobile number, and then she call me and we start to speak to each other...</p> <p>[about making friends who speak the same language] I think the people, when they speak the same language and they meet, it's like some people think we are going to be friends because we speak the same language, and sometimes I get kind of annoyed, because... uh... like my husband or my kids, if they see somebody who speaks Spanish, they are "go, speak with them". Why do I have to speak with every single person who speaks Spanish? Do I have to have like a little sticker "I speak Spanish, come talk to me?" So... I don't know, maybe, yeah, it's kind of easy sometimes, because you have the same language, and you come through... it's like more or less the same thing, so it's kind of easy.</p> <p>[approaching people from Colombia in Esbjerg] When I meet people from my own country I look more like... which situation they are and what can I do for them. So I'm very helpful with the things I can translate to them, if I can inform them how to do...</p> <p>I think it's because I have been in their situation... Yeah, people did the same with me. "Don't do that, do that..."</p> <p>[helping another Colombian] I met a Colombian girl, also I was speaking on the phone in Spanish and she was studying here, taking her masters. She is a chemical engineer, I think... And then she start to cry when she saw me and heard Spanish, because... she just came here and she was total alone. She save money to be able to study outside of Colombia, and she... A week here, and she had so many ups and downs, and she didn't know how to do things, and she just... she start to cry, and we... we spoke about it.</p> <p>[relationship with closest friend] But I would say my best friend, she is Colombian. She is. And I think it's because we understand better each other. We speak same language, sometimes it's like... kind of a thing also.</p> <p>I like people, and they can come to my home, welcome, but when I... I come to the... like... in the deep side... I'm more careful, so...</p>
	D5	descriptions of bridging social capital	<p>[ways to rely on university friends] Explained if we could not understand something, and uh... you know, check the grammatic, because everything was in Danish, so they checked... from our papers, very nice. Like... being there every time we had a project, we knew we could give it to them and they would check the grammatic. Very nice people, very nice.</p>
	D6	closure and reciprocity in ties	<p>[reciprocity toward Colombians] When I meet people from my own country I look more like... which situation they are and what can I do for them. I think it's because I have been in their situation... Yeah, people did the same with me.</p> <p>[reciprocity toward Colombian] ...she start to cry when she saw me and heard Spanish, because... she just came here and she was total alone. She save money to be able to study outside of Colombia, and she... A week here, and she had so many ups and downs, and she didn't know how to do things, and she just... she start to cry, and we... we spoke about it.</p>
Social trust	F1	habitus and social trust	<p>[attitude toward social trust living in Denmark] I think it's very difficult. How to say... I think that I trust maybe a little more here. Even though I am, like, always thinking what could happen, I think I take it more relaxed... not judge, maybe, from the start, I don't know? I'm more relaxed about that, like... I don't think everybody is coming after your bag, your money, or... I think kind of in that sense I'm more relaxed about things.</p>
	F2	social trust in Denmark	<p>[Danes trusting others] I feel like Danish people are more relaxed about things.</p>
Newcomer Service's initiatives	G1	impact on forming ties	<p>[did not benefit from a Newcomer Service when arrived] I don't know because I really learned very little about when I made this uh... survey? But I did not uh... I didn't know about it... ...it would be nice if somebody asked you "ok, what do you want?" or "what you can do?". It would be nice...</p>
	G2	opinion on initiatives	<p>[inadequacy regarding the initiatives] I know it is offered this kind of thing is more to people who come here and who is married with another foreigner who came here to work, not for us, for us is a little more difficult.</p>

Theme	Code	Code description	Student
Reason for moving	A1	personal account of moving	<p>"So, I came in 2009, and I came here to study. I was studying in Brazil, in the university there, but I always wanted to go abroad, and I was looking into places I could go."</p> <p>"...one of my first concerns was looking at places where I could have my education in English, otherwise it would be harder for me to go anywhere else."</p> <p>"So I started looking for places in Denmark, and I found out about the scholarship they offer for, uh... students outside the European union."</p> <p>"I wasn't very hopeful, but I applied. I didn't tell anyone I applied. And suddenly I got the result that I got accepted and that I could come here for two years with all my studies paid for, so, of course... uh, no doubt I took the opportunity and I came and uh... that was in 2009."</p> <p>"...so I stood here for the first two years, and I had the opportunity to either go back to Brazil and finish the university there, or to try to continue and finish my bachelor here."</p> <p>"And I got the scholarship again, and that was great..."</p> <p>"And then I finished, and I started working. So, that's how I ended up here."</p>
Welcoming	B1	perspectives on reception in Esbjerg	
Integrating	C1	Efforts	<p>[efforts to befriend Danish school mates] ...they already knew each other, and we would invite them, and they wouldn't come. Sometimes they would have parties, and most of the times, they would not invite us, but whenever they would, we were coming, but if we had a party and would invite them, they were never coming to our party.</p> <p>[it is a costly investment to befriend Danes] I feel like people are just like... friendly in their own way, but just very distant to you, so I think it... takes a lot of... a lot of energy, and for a lot of foreigners, I think that if you're not sure if you're staying in Denmark... sometimes, you know... it's a lot of energy to put in on something that will take maybe so much time and you don't know if it's going forward.</p>
	C2	positive experiences	<p>[inclusion after learning Danish] I think they were more inclusive in talking to me. Because before, they would just welcome me and say "hey, nice to meet you", and wouldn't engage in any conversation. Now I feel that it's... they are more willing to actually talk with me, try to hear me, wonder and make questions and things like that... to have a conversation.</p>
	C3	negative experiences	<p>[feeling left out because of lack of language skills] at that time, when I started dating him, I didn't speak Danish, so they would welcome me in English, they would talk to me nicely and, you know... but then they would all turn and start speaking Danish, and I would be in the living room or wherever we were, sitting in a group of people speaking Danish and not being able to understand anything they were saying.</p>

	C4	Danish norms and integration	<p>[hard to befriend Danes] ...even though they were friendly and welcoming whenever we were at parties in the school, they were fine, and around they were being pleasant and friendly, but just at that moment. It was really hard to get to know them.</p> <p>[Danes not looking for new friends] I think maybe part of the reason is also because they already knew each other, and they are also kind of local, so it's hard to break those ties, and... I don't know, the feeling was that they were not looking for new friends.</p> <p>...and I think that's the feeling among many international people in Denmark. In general I feel people are friendly and welcoming and very nice, but uh... they have long-term friendships, and unless they need to, they are not necessarily looking to make new friends...</p> <p>[Danes attitude in befriending other Danes] ...what I heard even from Danish people is that even for Danish people, it's really hard for them to make new friends. They also have the same feelings that the local ones that already have their friends around are not interested in looking for new friends.</p> <p>[Danish norms when managing friendships] they are very, somehow, protective of their friends, so they want their time for themselves. So, they would like to meet one on one. Like, for example, if you have this family that you're friends with, and you'd like to meet them, your family and their family together, you would have dinner, still develop that relationship. But if you have a dinner party and you invite all your other friends, and they don't know each other, that would be really awkward.</p> <p>[friendship managing norm and what it says about Danes' openness] you always invite people that already know each other. You wouldn't mix people if they don't know each other. So, maybe it is again that feeling of... you know, you want to keep growing your relationship with the friends you already have and you care about them, but uh... that's it, you want to grow that relationship, you don't want to make new ones.</p> <p>[complaint about lack of initiative from Danes to invest in friendship] that's it. Just a conversation at that moment and that's it. We go home, and if we meet again, we have a conversation again, but if... nobody will try to seek you out after that, say "oh, let's meet after", you know? Meet after for coffee or something.</p> <p>[perspective on why Danish school mates were tight] I don't think it's trust. I think they would still trust you. I actually don't know what it is. I think it's more... just the... I don't know, just like... just not looking for really more, they already have what they want, so why more. I think that's the rationale behind it.</p>
	C5	habitus and integration	<p>[habitus role in shaping the perspective on Danish friendship] that kind of a friendship that you would party together and have fun that night and feel, well, we're becoming good friends, and partying and on the next day... they would still be friendly and treat you nicely, but they wouldn't be really your friends. I think it takes really much more than that to become really friends in the Danish... culture.</p> <p>[perspective on Danes' reluctance to open up and personal efforts] "In my culture, yeah, I invited them to parties and, yeah... Maybe in the Danish culture that's not how it is, that's not how we would try to... maybe you have to be inviting to do more other stuff, or more like, personal, like maybe that"</p> <p>"...but from my culture, I think in Brazil if we're constantly inviting people to parties, of course you're trying to be friends with them."</p> <p>[comparing how ties are formed in home country] I think in Brazil in general, just the way you get to know people, you really get a large network, even more if you're like an outgoing person. And here my network is much smaller, and it feels like... "oh, I have no one here, I want my Brazilian friends", or somethings like this. But in general I feel that... yeah, I could have people to... rely on and call, and stuff.</p>
Social capital	D1	forming ties	<p>[husband as a gateway to ties with other Danes] I've been here for seven years, and I would not say that I have any Danish friend that would be truly without any other connection to him</p> <p>[how she met international friends] "through school"</p> <p>"or just going to gatherings, like international gatherings"</p> <p>[easier to form ties during school times] "...I already have quite a network that sometimes we have arranged things to do" "...I think I still try to look out for new friends and gatherings, but I think it was much easier when I was a student, the environment was also better for it because, then... you know, everybody... you go to so many parties, and there are so many people attending everything, and there are so many events the school provides. And just sometimes being involved in a group that you do, you know, work with another people, and so on..."</p>
	D2	composition of ties	<p>[diversity of students in class] And most people were international students in my class, there was only a group of... I would say five or six Danish students from the... I think it was five, actually.</p> <p>[diversity in work-related ties] They are a mix. We are few people in the office, I think only eight, if I'm not wrong... And we have an American, me, the Brazilian, a Romanian, uh... and now we actually have an intern from uh... Latvia. But all the others are Danes, but as I said, they have very international backgrounds, so they either lived for many years in different countries or are traveling all over, but most of them they actually...</p>

	D3	associational life	[club acquaintances don't meet in a different context] I still don't know anybody there. It's like other than my coach. He is quite friendly and always inviting everyone to join and do stuff and trying to integrate people, but the other people that were playing, they would still just talk a little bit when we were in the tennis club, but after the session was done, everybody went away, they didn't try to exchange phones or connect in any way, like there was still this separation like... you're my friend from the tennis club, not outside.
	D4	descriptions of bonding social capital	[bonding-like ties with other internationals] When I arrived in Esbjerg to start my studies... well, overall I thought people were very welcoming and friendly, uh... in the school they all seem to be helpful and everything. But to actually make friends... I... umm... yeah, my friends were the international students. We were all in the same boat. [bonding with Danes who feel like outsiders among other Danes] I have two other Danish friends and the reason I met them was: they were from another city and were here without knowing anybody. [bonding with internationals, Danes and family ties] ...who I consider my friends here are either foreigners, like me, or they are uh... so my husband, he is Danish, and I have his family uh... but it's still not the same as like... family that you meet on the street, that you develop relationships... I only have two friends, Danish, fully Danish.
	D5	descriptions of bridging social capital	[bridging-like social capital with work colleagues] ...most of them, even though I would say we are great colleagues, we have great conversations, we wouldn't hang outside the work. It's again that feeling of... same with school, you feel that we're meeting, it's great, we are working together, greater, we're friendly with each other, but that's it. We would not meet outside work to have fun, or become friends. [separating bridging-like ties] "...context people, like I know them from my school, or from, you know, from... we worked together or something like this."
	D6	closure and reciprocity in ties	[reciprocity in bridging-like work ties] I think I can count on them for indicating me for something, get tips, try to get by, and you know, things I need to resolve. I think I would count on them.
Social trust	F1	habitus and social trust	[description of trusting ties in home country] ...in Brazil people are not really trusting of each other until they know each other... people there are like jumping into relationships and making friends, you know? But they wouldn't trust with very important things, unless they really know the person. [suspicion and social trust in home country compared to Denmark] ...because in Brazil people would become friends easier, but depending also on the matter, if it's not that important they would trust you, but otherwise they would be a little more suspicious, like "why do you really want this", or "why are you trusting me with this". And here they would be like: okay, I was supposed to trust you with it, so I trust you.
	F2	social trust in Denmark	[perspective on trust and friendships in Denmark] ...here, I think they would trust you even if they don't know you that well, so... because of how this trustworthy society, I think they would still trust you maybe with not deep personal things
Newcomer Service's initiatives	G1	impact on forming ties	[lack of Newcomer Service or no knowledge of it. Ties formed through events from the university] didn't exist at that time. Or at least I hadn't heard of it. we had... several events like pub-crawl, that was something outside of school, but we also had a lot of events in school, like different parties, or gatherings like international day and something like this, to try to integrate people and get to know each other. And of course in the class even though most of my class were like international students, we also made gatherings outside. [ties formed through Newcomer service/network expanding beyond them] ...all the times I've uh... I've been there, I had nice conversations with people. And I think I actually developed some good friendships, like you guys and Tatiana... Even though I didn't meet Tatiana and Edgar in these meetings, but it was through you guys, and... things like these. [speculating about initiatives/if she joined upon arrival] I would still not know many people, so maybe I would be doing more... You know, a little bit extra sacrifice to actually get out of the home, even if I was very tired, I would get out because I wanted to meet new people and if you have a good relationship, you can start doing things outside of the meetings and that... So, I think it would've helped.
	G2	opinion on initiatives	[ties already formed, feeling left out or needing to catch up] I think that for me it was different because when I went to the Newcomer... most of the people there, they uh... either already knew each other or were just like arriving and didn't know anybody. And then because I wasn't every time, only a few times, I didn't really develop much relationship with like... the others

