The Influence of Behavioural Strategy and Social Structure on a Migrants' Relation to a Workplace

- A theoretical exploration based on grid and group dimensions

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Introduction

This paper will try to address immigrants' situation in a workplace with the help of a typology of workplaces and migrants experiences and preferences. This typology is based on Mary Douglas' work on the relationship between social relations, behavioural patterns and cultural constructs. This typology is presented first in relation to migrants, and then in relation to workplaces. Then, the typology of migrants is confronted with the typology of workplaces in three stages. First, the matching cases are discussed in relation to finding and choosing a type of work. Second, the matching cases are compared in relation to process of accepting a migrant newcomer. And third, the cases, where the workplace and migrant are in conflict, are briefly explored. One should read this paper as a theoretical exercise in an early stage and an attempt to evaluate the utility of it for further research.

Migrants in the workplace

Workplace is an important arena for social life. It provides us, who participate in it, with social contact, friends, channels to informal information, means to define for oneself and for others who we are, and, last but not least, an income. Different people will put different value upon these aspects, which will influence which jobs they will seek and get.

The research on the field can, in a much-simplified way, be divided into a few different categories. The starting point for the most seem to be the difficulties immigrants often have in getting jobs, which shows up in higher levels of unemployment. One can focus on the immigrants and make statistical analyses of social background, health, language skills and so fort (Djuve and Hagen 1995), or study the public policies (Berg and Vedi 1994; Djuve and Pettersen 1997), or alternatively study the labour market and migrants role in it (Portes 1995; Sassen 1995).   This paper is trying to provide a different way to describe the workplace and the social transactions within it. I am not claiming that my way of perceiving the migrants situation is any better or that my explanations are any more valid, but I hope that they can be a supplement to the existing literature on the field.
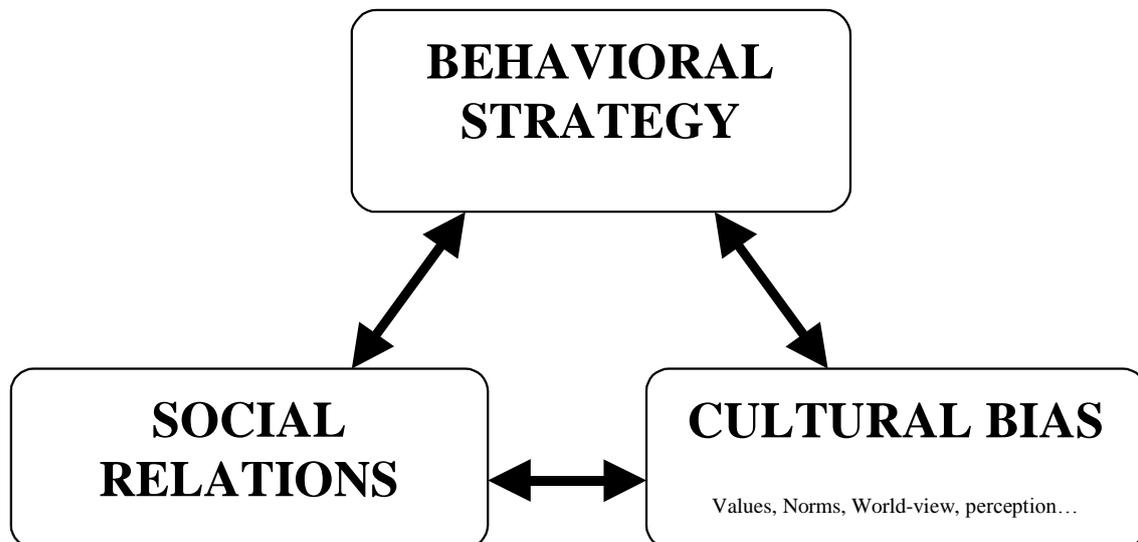
Grid-group

Not all workplaces are created the same. The demands they pose for the worker are different, and I am not referring to the different formal skills, which have been a common way to frame the situation, but to 'the social skills' required.

The conceptual apparatus of cultural theory can be used to describe several aspects of the immigrants' situation of which the most relevant ones are their knowledge of how different social situations function, their preferences for social situations, and their actual social relations. But before we turn into these we should have a look at the conceptual framework of cultural theory in general.

Cultural theory is based on the works of Mary Douglas[1], who created it as a tool for comparing religions and the societies where these religions appear (Douglas 1996a). It is a abstract conceptual framework created to depict structural similarities across different societies, which makes it also useful in describing immigrants in today's more and more multicultural society.

Cultural theory takes its starting point in a often found match between social relations, behavior and cultural biases, i.e. norms, beliefs and perceptions. This correspondence can be observed on several levels: in the society, in organisations and on individual level. The claim is that if social relations, peoples' behavior and cultural biases do not support each other something will change in the long run.

Figure 1   Three Connected Aspects of Social Organisation

Mary Douglas describes two dimensions that can be used to describe both social relations and cultural biases: grid and group. Grid is the degree of all

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[1] One should note that 'Cultural theory' is not a name chosen by Mary Douglas herself, but by Wildavsky, Thompson and Dake, who in the book *Cultural Theory* collected and summarised the ideas and arguments, by people using Mary Douglas' grid-group model, as a fairly complete but still disputable theory (1991). There is no value judgement made on my part of other cultural approaches, even if the name 'cultural theory' may sound somewhat totalitarian. It reflects the lack of cultural approaches in American political science.

encompassivenes and specificity of social rules and regulation. Grid is closely related to Durkheim's notion of regulation (Thompson, Grendstad and Selle 1999, p.4). In high-grid situations very specific rules and norms govern many aspects of life. In low-grid situations these rules and norms are few and non-specific. Group refers to the degree the individuals life is absorbed in and sustained by group membership. In an extremely high-group situation the group is the only source of identity and the membership is relevant for all aspects of life. Thus a person would join others in "common residence, shared work, shared resources and recreation (Douglas 1982 , p.202)."

Social relations can be classified into four different archetypes: hierarchies, clans, ego-focused networks and isolates. **Hierarchies** are characterised by a strong sense of belonging to a group, a well defined boundary, clearly defined roles stating everyone's duties and privileges, a clear division of labour and a uneven division of power (and access to resources). Social contact is controlled by the different roles, in other words hierarchies are ascription oriented. Hierarchies are high on grid and high on group. **Clans** are also defined by a strong sense of belonging to a group and a well-defined boundary, but they differ from hierarchies by lacking the internal differentiation of roles, everybody being more or less equal in several aspects. Social contacts are not restricted by roles, and everybody could have contact with everybody within the group. Therefore the patterns of social contacts are very similar to everyone belonging to the same clan. Clans are high on group but low on grid. **The ego-focused network** is characterised by the lack of group boundaries. Everybody has their own network, and these differ from each other, i.e. the patterns of social contact are different from person to person. Contrary to hierarchies where social status is defined by one's own social position (role), the size and quality of the network defines social status in ego-focused networks. Especially valuable are people with large networks in ones own network. In contrast to hierarchies, these networks are achievement oriented. The ego-focused networks are low on both grid and group. **Isolates** are have social relations that are of a different quality. The three other types of social relations provide also support and help to their members, where as isolates are left outside. This can happen as result of a social expulsion from one of the three other ways of life, or by ones own choice. This lack of support makes them vulnerable for all kinds of restrictions and manipulation by others, and they often perceive them

selves not being in control of their own lives. Isolates are low on group and high on grid.

On macro level these four forms of social organisation are in conflict with each other, almost by definition, because they define themselves in opposition to the others and by distributing blame to the others. But on the other hand, each one of them has weaknesses, which makes them vulnerable and dependent of the other ways of organising (Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky 1990,:2,4,59). This creates a pattern of change in seek of a balance and a tug of war between the four forms of social organisation.
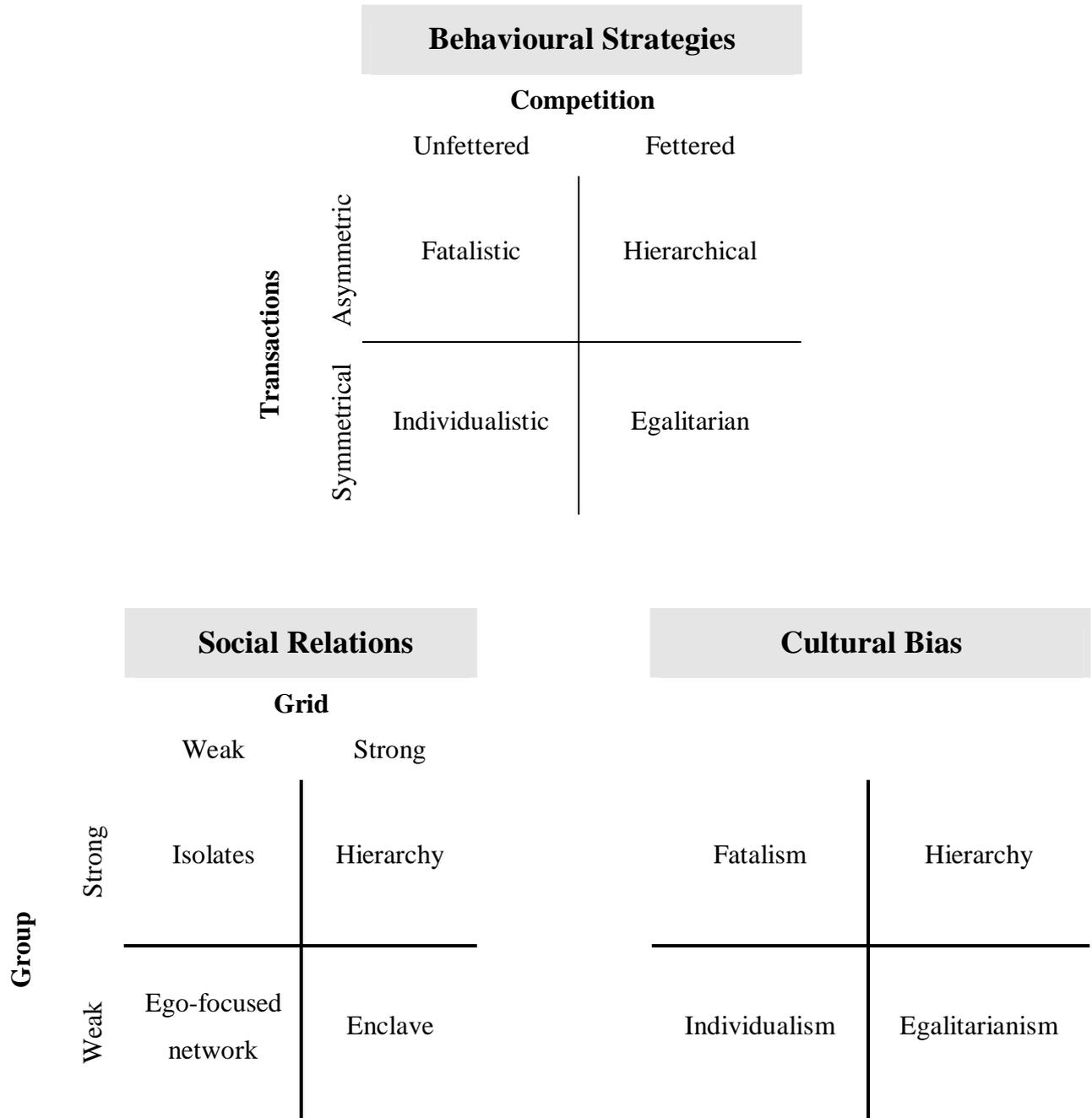
Now, one should not take these four types of social relations as nothing more than a typology that can be more or less useful. The usefulness in this case is connected to the boundary between people, in our case immigrants, and organisations, in our case workplaces.

Different dimensions

It is easy to loose track of the different dimensions and aspects involved. If we are studying social relations, we operate with grid and group and denote the items in the typology as hierarchy, ego-focused networks, enclaves and isolates. If we are studying behavior, we borrow the dimensions from transaction theory; competition and symmetry of transactions. If we are interested of cultural biases, we usually talk more about the four cultural biases: hierarchy, individualism, egalitarianism and fatalism and less about the dimensions. These three aspects are drawn out in Figure 2. This division is partly a result from different approaches to the data. If ones interest is in institutions the social relations tend to be emphasised. If ones interest is in discourses and the logic of arguments, the cultural biases tends to be emphasised as most of the based survey approaches have done so far.

Because the most important claim in the theory is about how behavioural strategies, social relations and cultural biases go together, the strongest applications of the theory are the ones that manage to collect data from all three aspects. When we have a relatively stable combination of matching behavioural strategy, social relations and cultural bias we have what is called **a way of life** or a type of social organisation.

Figure 2: The three Connected Aspects of a way of life and the Use of Dimensions

Behavioural Strategies

Competition

	Unfettered	Fettered
Asymmetric	Fatalistic	Hierarchical
Symmetrical	Individualistic	Egalitarian

Transactions

Social Relations

Grid

	Weak	Strong
Strong	Isolates	Hierarchy
Weak	Ego-focused network	Enclave

Group

Cultural Bias

Fatalism	Hierarchy
Individualism	Egalitarianism

So what?

It is another typology, so what? -- is a common and justified response. A theory gains its worth from its ability to explain phenomena. What has, and what could cultural theory be used to explain?

Because cultural theory is quite abstract and defining rather the relations between the concepts than the content of the concepts, it can be adapted to quite a various topics. For me it seems as a great advantage that the theory gives account both of macro- and micro-phenomena. Douglas has used it to analyse religious practices and beliefs, as well as the inner life of organisations and later on she has focused on topics like consumption styles (1970; 1986; 1996b). By deconstructing the battle between environmentalists, governments and corporations, Schwartz and Thompson show, how the competing worldviews, arguments and modes of action are logically connected to type of organisation (Schwarz and Thompson 1990).   The theory has shown itself useful on topics of risk and various political and environmental issues (Dake and Wildavsky 1991; Douglas and Wildavsky 1982; Ellis 1993; Grendstad 1995; Grendstad and Selle 1996; Ney 1997; Olli 1999; Rayner 1992; Rayner and Malone 1998; Schwarz and Thompson 1990; Thompson 1996; Thompson, Grendstad and Selle 1999; Wildavsky 1985; 1987; Wildavsky and Dake 1990).

Even if the theory is first and foremost about meso-level phenomena, it has been used on individuals, because one of the elements in the theory; behavioural strategies should be studied through what people actually do. I will give here three examples of studies that are concerned with the way people behave.   First, poor people are often lumped together into one category. Wildavsky and Thompson show how the poor make use of different behavioural strategies thus creating a need for variation in policies designed to help them (Thompson and Wildavsky 1986). Second, we often think of cheating as something that is not predictable, but Gerald Mars shows us how the strategies people use to cheat in their jobs is closely related to the way the job is structured (Mars 1994).   Third, Dake and Thompson have studied British households, and show how common household tasks, social relations and resource management follows a pattern characterised by cultural theory (Dake and Thompson 1993; Dake and Thompson 1999).

What could cultural theory be used for in the study of migration?

One of the theory's main advantages is that the theory's **high degree of abstraction**. It helps us to jump behind the level of cultural symbols and thereby move focus from the content of symbols to the structure of these symbols. Thus all households can be compared regardless of the language, religion, size, goals and so forth.

One of cultural theory's strongest points is that it assumes that **people are rational**, that their behavior ultimately makes sense to themselves in one way or other. In addition, cultural theory insists that there are multiple rationalities. Each of the four types of social organisation has its own rationality, way to reason and perceive the world. For me as a political scientist this is a great achievement compared to the single-mindedness of rational choice as an approach, which corresponds closely to the logic of individualism in cultural theory. Also, the way it limits the rationalities to only the four ways of life makes the variation large enough (as I soon will show) while it saves us from problems connected with the singular not-in-my-tribe kind of arguments.

Cultural theory allows us to reformulate common **conflicts**[2]. Let's say that a Pakistani and a Norwegian family become neighbours and find them selves in a conflict. In stead of framing it just as a cultural conflict (which indicates that the solution is either assimilation of the Pakistani family to the mainstream culture or that Norwegians must become more tolerant) with the help of cultural theory we can portray the actors in a different manner. Many Norwegian families in the 90's are individualistic and many traditional Pakistani families are hierarchical. Because they adhere to a different logic 'negotiations' between them will be difficult, regardless of their ethnic background. Cultural theory can predict what traits they find problematic in each other and what they can find in common, and that given certain preconditions they are able to form alliances against fatalists and egalitarians.

Cultural theory's typology is quite extraordinary because it allows us to study how migrants relate to the majority society concerning cultural issues, behavior and on social relations. Also, it claims that all these are related to each other. So it becomes possible to understand why differences in belief systems lead to differences in behavior, or why the lack of social contact does inhibit the migrants socialisation to

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[2] I realised recently that the conflicts between Norwegian and migrant households are definitely something to be worked further on. This is something CT would be good about. But probably not in this paper…

the majority society, or why certain aspects of the majority society's culture just do not fit into the migrants way of life.

Different kinds of migrants - knowledge, preference and social relations

Cultural theory is first and foremost a framework to be used on meso-level, but it is possible to build a bridge towards the individual level.   It is too simplistic to put a person into one of the four categories, we should also take into account that people live their lives in different spheres and have various roles (Olli 1995; 1996; 1999). Peoples' relation to these four ways of social organisation can be described by their knowledge of them, by their preference for or rejection of them and by their actual social relations. These three aspects together give us a picture of a person's ability and willingness to utilise the social resources around them.

Peoples' **knowledge** of these four ways of organising differs. Each one of them is a complete system of organising, which people must be socialised into. My first assumption is that even if people are not able to verbalise the structural characteristics of their social relations they are able to bring their knowledge from one situation to another. In other words, an immigrant who has been socialised into a hierarchical way of organising will find it much easier to participate in a new situation, if this also is hierarchical. My second assumption is that peoples knowledge differs in quality (not everyone is able to grasp the nuances of the social life) and also in quantity (some people have experience only of one way of life, whereas others are fluent in all four).

People differ also in their **preferences**. Knowledge of one way of life does not automatically give a disposition towards it. It is easy to imagine how refugees might dismiss the way of organising they have been fleeing from, even if they know how it works.

In addition to these two mental characteristics one must describe peoples' **actual social relations**. It is not given that they are able to create and uphold the relations they wish, which might force them into the corner with isolates. This is especially relevant for migrants, who by definition leave one set of social relations and enter a new set of social relations.

Combinations of knowledge, preference and social relations tells us how flexible and resourceful a person is[3]. Having the knowledge of a social system but not the social relations needed to get the rewards is no good. The obvious remedy being acquisition of the necessary social relations, which is not always possible and especially if one is object to social exclusion by the majority population. Neither does it help to become inserted into social relations, if one lacks the knowledge needed or rejects the particular way of social organisation. Some people are also more flexible than others. The social chameleons have knowledge of different ways of life and they are able to participate and feel home in many social settings. Because each of these four ways of organising has its own logic, and they control distribution of resources and burdens, people who are able to connect two different systems of organising and thus create a new pool of resources are the key movers in the society. Their opposite would be one who finds only one way of organising acceptable and rejects all others strongly, which is something we can find both among supporters of extreme-right (individualism) and extreme-left (egalitarianism) (Olli 1995).

Different kinds of jobs and workplaces

Workplaces are organisations that can be described with the conceptual tools from cultural theory. This is not straightforward though, because there are two different levels or aspects of a workplace that could be described: the characteristics of a job itself or of the firm more in general. For the present purposes, the general structure and characteristics of a firm is less important. What matters is the job, and its characteristics.

I will here give two examples of research that describe a workplace based on cultural theory. The first one will focus on a specific type of job and show how the jobs actually can be very different even for people with the same job title. The second one is focusing on one aspect of work, namely fiddling, and comparing the practices of fiddling in different work environments.

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[3] Basically, this is a different way to formulate the debate about Social Capital. Cultural theory gives a possibility to describe both communities and single persons social resources. One of the main formulations of cultural theory labels the fourfold typology as the four solidarities that define peoples' obligations towards each other (Thompson 1996). This idea will be developed further in a different paper.

The workplaces of industrial scientists are different

My first example is based on a book chapter by Bloor and Bloor on Industrial Scientists (1982). They reanalysed semi-structured interviews of industrial scientists in order to test cultural theory in a small scale. They compared these scientists' grid and group positions (i.e. the social organisation of the workplace) with the scientists views of nature and science (i.e. their cosmology), and found a remarkable match between these two quite separate aspects, just like cultural theory would predict (1982, p.101). For the interested reader, the criteria Bloor and Bloor used to analyse the social organisation are listed in the appendix.

For our purposes the main point is, though, the variation found in social organisation. These industrial scientists had all written a PhD in either physics or chemistry in the last few years, and moved from academia out into 'the real world'. One could therefore easily be tempted to expect that their workplaces show similar social organisation, which is not the case. The workplaces were quite different from each other both in their social relations and in the way the work it self was structured.

Workplace structure influences informal behavior

My second example is Gerald Mars' typology, based on cultural theory, that describes the features of a job. He calls these types as Donkey jobs, Hawk jobs, Vulture jobs and Wolfpack jobs.[4] His aim is to understand industrial crime, and he shows how the hidden and black economy, or fiddling as he labels it, is bound by norms and expectations connected to the different types of jobs. What often is considered an area without norms and regulations actually shows a remarkable predictability. For our purposes the interest is not in the different forms of fiddle but in the structural aspects of the different jobs.

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[4] I choose to use these same names, even if they are metaphors relating to people in these jobs. One should remember that these names refer to jobs not to the people! (I do consider changing them for later use)

Figure 3: Four types of jobs according to Mars (1994, p.29)

	Strong	**Donkeys** Isolated Subordination	**Wolves** Tight work-groups

Grid
Autonomy
Insulation
Reciprocity
Competition

Donkeys Isolated Subordination	**Wolves** Tight work-groups
Hawks Individual entrepreneuriality	**Vultures** Loose work-groups

Strong

Grid
Autonomy
Insulation
Reciprocity
Competition

Weak

Weak   **Strong**

Group
Frequency
Mutuality
Scope
Boundary

Figure 3 shows the different structural aspects of work that Mars considers important. A Strong grid is composed of low autonomy, insulation in the performance of the task, lack of reciprocity, and low competition, and low grid of the opposite. Strong group is composed of high frequency of social contact, mutuality in relations, many areas of the life overlap, i.e. the scope of the group is large, and the boundary defining the group is clear, and, again, weak group is composed of the opposite. These two dimensions can then be combined to give four distinctively different positions, which Mars describes in a lively way:

> "**Hawks**, like their feathered counterparts, are individualists. They perch unhappily in organisations; when in them they tend to bend the rules to suit themselves. There are the entrepreneurs, the innovative professionals and the small businessmen. Their aim is 'to make it'.

> **Donkeys** are people highly constrained by rules who are also isolated from each other. Some transport workers are donkeys -- their jobs isolate them and they are dominated by rules governing safety: so are the supermarket cashiers and machine-minders, both highly constrained and isolated. The response of donkeys is to resist often by breaking the rules -- to sabotage the system that constrain them - or to fiddle. When they do the effects can be highly disruptive.

> **Wolves**, on the other hand, work -- and steal -- in packs. Dockwork gangs are good examples: they have hierarchy, order and internal controls. When they pilfer they do so according to agreed rules and through a well-defined division of labour. Like real wolves, they know who is their leader and who are the led -- and they penalise their own deviants.

> **Vultures** need the support of a group but act on their own when at the feast. Travelling salesmen are vultures - so too are waiters -- linked and supported as they are from a common base, depending on information and support from

colleagues, but competitive and acting in isolation for much of their work. Because vultures show a paradoxical combination of competition and the need for co-operation, their groupings, as might be expected, are unstable and sometimes turbulent. (Mars 1994, p.2)"

Now that we have seen a presentation of the theory in general, and related it to both people and to workplaces, it is time to combine these two typologies. First, I will discuss the process of choosing and finding a job. Second, I will discuss the process of accepting a migrant into a workplace, and Third, I will briefly discuss some conflicts that are likely to arise, when there is not a match between the employer and the employee.

Choosing and finding a job

The role a job has in peoples' life varies a lot. With help of cultural theory we can make some predictions of what kind of consequences the structure of the job and household has for peoples' life. This will of course depend of the preferences people have to start with. Some would be content with a job as a supermarket cashier, where as others would not.

A natural place to start is the question of how to decide what kind of job start to look for, and how to go about to find one. Assuming that people do not have job, we are left with peoples' own preferences and private social relations. I am also assuming that people have a fairly consistent life, i.e. their social relations match their cultural bias and preferences. Also that they are looking for a job that fits their preferences. This limits the discussion to four different cases where there is a match between the job and personal preferences, and excludes the 12 combinations where personal preferences do not match the job. I shall later come back to some examples of this kind of discrepancies.

Individualists

Individualists would probably avoid jobs that are strong-grid-strong-group, and prefer jobs where they can keep their autonomy and initiative. Entrepreneurship as a strategy is an important characteristic describing the individualists, but probably most of the individualists, like me, work in a regular job. I have chosen my job (a research fellow) and my career primarily because of the hawk characters of the job. The pay is not particularly good, but the freedom that comes with the job is great. There is no enforcement of working hours. I can come and go, as I want. It does not matter where

or when I write as long as I am productive. Neither is anybody going to tell me what to write or read. I can create my own schedule and fill it up with my own interests. The only thing that counts is the results; three years down the line I must have produced a PhD-dissertation.

Individualist jobs are highly competitive. There does not seem to be a particular way to enter a individualist job; sometimes everybody is allowed to enter and only the best ones make it, whereas sometimes there is a rigorous selection process. Information about the individualist jobs is probably quite freely available in the informal networks. The networks are a very important resource for the individualists and they are often carefully cultivated. The individualist frequently makes his living or gets his social victories by connecting pieces of information in these networks. Because the networks are loose, the cost of upholding them is relatively low, and it becomes possible to uphold large networks making more information available.

The entrepreneurs, who start their own businesses, are often individualists in the low-group and low-grid corner of the typology. Immigrants are probably less socialised into the rule bound Norwegian society and therefore there is a difference in what kind of business immigrants and Norwegians start. I believe immigrant entrepreneurs are lower on the grid than their Norwegian counterparts, which gives them more freedom to act and take initiative. Some of them are higher on the group, giving them 'social capital' they can utilise (labour, loans) in the beginning before they become profitable.

The Norwegian entrepreneurs have often higher goals and aim to make their businesses both larger and more legal from the very beginning. This involves a need for a higher overhead to cover the costs involved with proper accounting, taxes, minimum wages, working hour regulations etc. and actually quite a lot of knowledge to comply with the rules and regulations. So Norwegians either aim big, take a large bank loan and go legitimate from the very beginning, or they keep it very small, just doing 'favours for friends' on the side of their regular job.

The immigrant entrepreneurs are freer from these social regulations so they seem often to start without taking a bank loan, rather borrowing money from kin and friends. They often start modestly aiming for a profit from the very beginning. They will little by little start to follow more rules and regulations as their business grows and becomes more visible.

As an example of a successful entrepreneur I present the story of a young immigrant single mother, with a small child. She has a short education, within healthcare, that is not accepted by the Norwegian authorities. She did not have any savings, nor a support network to depend on, by her arrival. She is very determined to make it on her own, and does not want to have anything to do with the social welfare system, which she deeply distrusts. She managed to get a three-room apartment in downtown, but did not have the money to pay the rent, so there was an urgent need to make some money. Her solution was to move into her son's room, and rent out her own bedroom on a daily basis. Every morning she would be at the railway station when the first train arrived (before her son woke up) in search for a tourist or two, who needed a place to stay. We can se how she is able to perceive the apartment as a resource that can be utilised instead of just an expense. She is in the extreme low-grid-low-group corner. There are few social rules and regulations that hold her back; she did not care what other people thought, she kept a low profile and did not declare income from her private bed-and-breakfast. Today, ten years later, she owns a successful business with several people employed. Almost all of her social relations are through and defined by the business she runs. She is still free to act, as she wants.

The individualistic households have some distinct characteristics when it comes to household economy. They can display their social success through public spending, and they prefer a positive spiral of increasing income and expenditure. In the same time they are able to cut hard down on consumption, when needed to achieve a goal, like the single-mother renting out her own bedroom. Because of their relatively free situation, they are able to utilise more resources in their environs than the other ways of life.

Also household tasks can influence the choice of work. Individualist households divide the housework with efficiency in mind. Usually the criterion used is skill and they often invest in a lot of household equipment to reduce the time spent on household work. Work is not only a way to get an income, it is often viewed as a means for self-expression (Dake, Thompson and Neff 1994). We are likely to find a large share of the women working outside their homes, but also some at home. In distinction to egalitarians, these women are expected to frame it as an issue of right to self-expression; everybody should be able to live to their full potential.

Hierarchs

Hierarchs lives are more or less influenced by their roles. For some people the role they have puts severe limitations in what kind of jobs they can have. In extreme cases it removes the possibilities of a paid job outside the home, as for women in some strict religious households. More commonly it affects what kind of social transactions one can involve in and with whom.

For hierarchs there is likely to be two distinctively different ways to get a job, depending on if the workplace is inside or outside their social network (group). Some of the values connected with hierarchy are the importance of following the rules and a strong sense of mutual obligation within the group. So I would expect that hierarchs would apply for the jobs in a formal way if they have no social links inside the potential workplace. Unfortunately, if there is even a small degree of discrimination in the labour market this kind formal approach often leaves them behind in the competition for the jobs. Alternatively, and probably much more successfully, they can rely on their social network and the sense of social obligation within it. They are obliged to restrict the information about potential jobs to within the group, and they will often go quite far in recommending and bringing in their own kin into the workplace.

An important distinction for hierarchs is if the job is part of their identity or not. A job can be perceived as just a way to get money to support the chosen life-style, or it can be an integral part of ones identity and social role. Some immigrants have very hard time in adjusting to their much lower social status in Norway. They have often had good jobs, but now are left without possibilities to get jobs that match their own ambitions and identity. For those who use job only as a means to get funding to support their lifestyle, the content and status of the job is not as important as the money it brings in.

Hierarchical lifestyles have often quite precisely defined pattern of consumption; there is right way of doing everything, and in order to live up to one's social role, one has to consume just the right amount and in the right way. One can not keep one's pride and spend much less than one is supposed to, nor spend much more without clearly violating the constraints of the social role. An example could be weddings. In a hierarchical setting the family has not much leeway to decide how to celebrate or whom to invite. These demands can put the family in a very difficult financial position, as some, for outsiders, outrageously expensive Pakistani weddings

in Oslo.   Another example could be gifts to relatives. I have interviewed families in Oslo who cannot visit their relatives back in Turkey, because they cannot afford the necessary gifts, i.e. the consumption pattern is defined by others.

The choice of job is also influenced by household work. Hierarchs have a clear, often gender and age based, division of household work (Dake, Thompson and Neff 1994). Thus how much one can work and the hours one can work are dependent of one's obligations at home. We find there a tendency towards men working outside and women inside the household.

Egalitarians

Egalitarians are defined by their strong-group and low-grid, in other words, they can rely on the same type of group support as the hierarchs when looking for jobs. In the same time, they are not limited in the same manner, because their roles are much more open to interpretation and change.   The priority is given to the group, and the household is usually in much more control of their own consumption, because they are not as bound by the outside expectations. Therefore there is less need for possibilities to cover extra expenses, and we often find egalitarians with a job that gives them a fixed monthly salary that is not directly dependent of their performance (Dake, Thompson and Neff 1994).

So, I would expect that they would care more about the social life at home and at work. They are concerned about how the job affect their chances to interact with friends and family.   Likely, they would be looking for a job with flexible hours, which can be adjusted to the life of the family. Also, their preference for equal, flexible, and non-gender based division of household work, makes them more flexible when looking for a job (Dake, Thompson and Neff 1994). We find often women working out of the house in these families, and they are likely frame it as an issue of equality, and not of freedom (rights).   Everybody is thus expected to do their share to bring money in the house.

Neither the level of consumption, nor the division of labour at home will limit them, whereas they will put more demands on the quality of social relations at the workplace. They will probably resent a typical donkey job, for its social isolation, and feel quite unsecured in a hawk position. Their will be probably like a job that can give them a group the belong to, as long as it does not become too encompassing and threaten the primary group of the household.

Fatalists

Fatalists belong to the high-grid-low-group corner of our typology.   When looking for a job a fatalist cannot rely on the social networks, in the same way as hierarchs and egalitarians can. Nobody has a strong obligation to come and share information with them about the available jobs. This does of course not mean that people will not tell the fatalists about available jobs, just that there is not a social pressure to do so. Whether or not a fatalist will get the information is therefore somewhat random, which only serves to confirm fatalists own view of life as a lottery.

One could therefore expect fatalists be among the last ones to hear about the available jobs. What saves the fatalist from a permanent unemployment is that only a fatalist would be contempt with a so-called Donkey job. Individualists would have hard time with the lack of autonomy, and both hierarchs and egalitarians would find the social isolation as negative.   The theory does not claim that fatalist actually enjoy donkey jobs, only that the others would resent them even more.   The argument can also be turned the other way around; a true fatalist would lack the initiative needed for a Hawk job and the social loyalty needed in Wolfpack and Vulture jobs.   Therefore little by little one could expect that fatalists are accumulating into the donkey jobs.

Fatalist household resource management style is quite different from the others. They are the only ones with a truly short time-perspective.   If there is money the bills get paid. There is a certain randomness in the consumption, because there are less social obligations dictating how much and on what to spend. Unfortunately, the banks are very unhappy about random payments.   It is easy to see how many 'losers' in our society falls into this category, but it would be very wrong to forget all the successful people who live in this way. I know of both artists and religious people who use this way to mange their household economy.

The household tasks are also divided in somewhat random way. There are usually no regular hours when household tasks are done (as in hierarchic households) nor is it clear who should do them.   So, we often find women working out of the homes, but they are not likely to use ideological reasoning, rather they do it because it is necessary. It just is the way things are.

Accepting the migrant into a workplace

Anybody who has changed jobs knows that it is not always easy to become accepted as full member by one's new colleagues.   With the help of cultural theory it is possible to predict what kind of characteristics are important and how the process will run. Each of these four different kinds of workplaces is likely to have a particular way to hire people and include people.   I am assuming that the migrant worker is competent for the job both formally and informally.

Wolfpack jobs

The wolfpack jobs are characterised by tight-workgroups and low autonomy.   Often the work-group is not in control of the hiring process it self, but sometimes they can, with help of peer pressure, get grid of newcomers they do not like.   The wolfpacks have a clear role differentiation and rules to follow. It seems that as long as the newcomer is able to follow the rules, he is potentially a member of the group. Because the group is important, we are likely to find that the workgroups also spends private time together, which enforces the social relations in the work situation (Mars 1987).   We can se how a double standard is likely rise: the employer's formal requirements, combined with the other employee's social requirements. The newcomer must participate in the social life of the group, and reinforce the group's social distinctions if they want to become full members of the workgroup. This is a requirement that is difficult to fulfil for a migrant. One might therefore foresee a quick rejection, or a long period of a weak position inside the group and perhaps in the end a full membership of the group.

Hawk jobs

Hawk jobs are characterised by high autonomy and competition. The most important criteria of acceptance will be the results one can show. In the same time, there is no real group to be accepted to, and the peers whose acceptance one is seeking are also competitors.   Because hawks are less dependent of co-operation and more in control of their own resources, the acceptance by others does not have the same importance to them.   In stead of groups, hawks have networks and the results of discrimination are likely become visible in the network composition. Migrants can have difficulties to get the right contacts, which can reduce their chances of success. Discrimination could also show up as a low expectation of the migrants output, which

should lead to a lower pay or not obtaining the job at all. But having the right skills the migrants are nearly as likely to succeed as the locals in the long run.

Vulture jobs

Vulture jobs are characterised by loose work-groups with low internal role differentiation.   The rules that the group follows are often created by the group it self. It is difficult to enter this kind of groups, and they often are able to control who enters the group them selves. This should lead to a situation where it is difficult to get on the inside, but if you first get the job, you are already 'one of the lads'.   For migrants this can be a real problem. Having a different background, they might find it very hard to prove them selves as being one of the lads (which is the basic requirement for membership in this kind of work-group).   Everyone who is divergent will have difficulties in getting accepted, because the group is more vulnerable than the other forms of organisation and the cohesion of the group is its most important asset.   If there is even some degree of discrimination it is hard to se how a migrant will get accepted. The situation can be turned around, and given that migrant already has kin or friends in this kind of workgroups, the chances of getting work and becoming accepted are good.

Donkey jobs

Donkey jobs are characterised by both low autonomy and insulation. Of the four different types of workplaces, this is the one where migrants will find it easiest to get acceptance. Because of the insulation and lack of mutuality there is no need for acceptance by others to get the job done. For the employer it does not make much difference if a newcomer gets accepted as a part of team or not, since the work is not done by a team, but by single workers in subordination. The most relevant criteria for hiring becomes the willingness to subordinate, which in a industrial setting often is synonymous with punctuality and precision in repetitive tasks.   Some employers actually seek for migrants, as the Norwegian sandwich maker who only hires Vietnamese for production, because they are fast, hard working and never give any trouble (get reference *Dagsavisen* june 1999?).

Unfortunately, donkey jobs do not give much hope for advancement. Migrants can of course hope that they can shift from a donkey job to another kind of job. Migrants need work experience from Norway to qualify for the 'good' jobs, and donkey jobs can be a way to prove one's ability to work. The disadvantage is though

that the isolation in many jobs is so strong that there are few chances to practice the Norwegian language.

Donkey jobs can also give a newcomer useful social relations. Even if the job itself is performed in isolation, there are breaks and possibilities for meaningful social relations. These social relations are not an integral part of the job as in vulture or wolf-pack jobs, but rather something extra.

Social preference problems at workplaces:

There are many kinds of problems[5] migrants can face at a work place and the typology of cultural theory can be used also to describe these. I am by no means trying to remove real problems caused by language problems, different cultural and religious norms or like. I am trying to describe an additional set of problems, which could be labelled as social preference problems. These are the 12 cases, where the migrants and workplaces characteristics do not match each other, in contrast to the matching ones described previously (on page 13).

Table 1 and Table 2 below give a rough sketch of how these different combinations can be perceived first by the migrants (employees) and then by the employers viewpoint in the form of fictional statements. It is partly a futile attempt to describe these conflicts, when there is no real context present. Cultural theory is a abstract theory that needs a context to become meaningful. One must know quite a lot about the workplace and about the migrant, in order to give the conflicts some content, i.e. to know what are the real issues that rise up. Because cultural theory is a structural theory one can still speculate about what kind of issues will rise and how they are related to the group and its strength and to grid and its strength, given that one know the positions of the parts in a conflict.

There are conflicting interpretations of the fatalist. Some view it as a stage people go through when they are moving in and out from the three other types of social organisation. In this case, a chance to move out from the isolate corner is used if possible (Schmutzer and Ney 1998). Some others claim that fatalist seek their low-

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[5] I could work in here Russell Harding's *One of all* (Hardin 1995).. He presented a rank ordered typology of problems at a Conference in Obernai in 1999: 1. Newcomer 2. Misunderstandings 3.Language problems 4. Value conflict

group high-grid position by their own choice. I am trying to accommodate these both views here and some of the statements credited to fatalists are in conflict with each other.

Table 1:   How would the migrants (employees) describe a workplace with conflicting preferences?

Migrants / Workplace	Hierarchist	Individualist	Egalitarian	Fatalist
Wolfpack		They are so ineffective. They care more about the procedure than the result. I do already have friends, I don't need new ones.	I kind of like it, but they are so uptight about the rules and positions and there is no room to think.	The boss is strict but really nice. I have the chance to make many new friends OR there is no point in investing in people, since it is not going to last anyway.
Hawk	Everybody is just thinking of them selves, and bending the rules accordingly.		There is no caring for others. Results are more important than morals.	I know that this time I really could make it if I tried harder, but …
Vulture	It is hard to know what is the right thing to do. Nobody seems to be in charge.	They are just too cosy. Their togetherness is getting on my nerves.		These people seem to really care of me. They actually want to hear what I have to say. I have the chance to make many new friends OR there is no point in investing in people, since it is not going to last anyway
Donkey	I do not like it, but it is a place to start.	The place is like a prison, you have no freedom what so ever.	The other people at work are so passive. I would like to make these people see that they are a community.	

Table 2:	How would an employer describe a migrant with conflicting preferences?			
Workplace Migrants	**Wolfpack**	**Hawk**	**Vulture**	**Donkey**
Hierarchist		She is stuck with the rules. She should focus more on the results. Not independent enough.	She tries to split us apart. She believes in authority instead of common responsibility.	She obeys and does what she is told to, but she seems dissatisfied with the job. A good worker, though.
Individualist	She does not play by the book. She is unpredictable.		She is acting too much on her own. She should listen more to us others. It is as if we others don't matter.	She is probably using this job only as a stepping stone for something else. She will leave when a better opportunity shows up.
Egalitarian	She has hard time taking orders. She is critical of everything.	She keeps asking for confirmation and support. Not independent enough.		She has hard time taking orders. She is critical of everything and she talks too much with the others.
Fatalist	She does what she is told to, but nothing more. She does not show any responsibility. She is often late.	She has not the initiative needed for the job.	She is not really one of us, since she does not take responsibility for us others.	

Some Concluding Remarks

Based on the discussion so far, it seems that the grid-group dimensions can be used to describe migrants insertion into the workplaces. It is possible to describe the process of looking for different kind of jobs, and consider how household consumption style, the division of household tasks, and the different information provided through the social relations can influence the choice of a job. It is seems that migrants have easiest to become accepted in donkey and hawk jobs or become part of existing ethnic networks (vulture and wolfpack jobs). It is also possible to create a typology that describes social preference problems facing migrants if they enter a workplace that is in conflict with their own background.

The cultural theory is fairly abstract, which gives room for the particular in a given situation and does not reduce or exclude other real problems (language, education, habits, skills etc.) importance. It is perhaps best viewed as a tool to interpret situations and the actors' logic, which includes both the institutional logic of a firm (workplace) and the personal logic of a migrant. The theory seems thus to work across different analytical levels making it possible to approach a concrete situation from both a collectivistic and an individualistic point of view.

The utility of the theory can be first evaluated by confronting it with empirical evidence and competing theories, which still remains to be done. Therefore these early attempts should be viewed as both experimental and explorative.

Appendix: An Operationalization of the Social Structure at a workplace

These are the criteria used by Bloor and Bloor to analyse the social organisation of the workplace (1982). Even if the criteria are created for a specific educational group (industrial scientists), they seem to be fairly general and probably applicable to a wide range of workplaces.

Low grid	High grid
1. Flexible organisation with little structure, few restrictions, few specified rules and interactions determined idiosyncratically according to immediate needs and people's personal qualities and talents, rather than because of hierarchy 2. Has a free hand in how he works, organising his own time, deciding on his own priorities, etc. 3. Monitoring is informal or invisible, e.g. Casual discussions with the boss 4. Salary assessment is individualistic or mysterious. 5. Career progression is not laid out or open. 6. Much scope for entrepreneurial activity -- generating work for himself, building up clients and people depending on his knowledge (patron-client type relationships), getting to know people who can be useful, selling himself and his own abilities all the time -- much transacting and negotiating 7. Work involves wide spread of approaches, picking up a new techniques very rapidly, talking himself out of tricky situations, being thrown in at the deep end -- sink or swim. 8. Follows his own ideas from beginning to end 9. Bosses come and go, higher up back-stabbing. Low-down people trying to carry favours with superiors 10. Is responsible for his own mistakes, has to carry the can, etc. 11. Strong time-pressure, time is of the essence.	12. Very bureaucratic structure with definite responsibilities and tasks associated with each level, defined in channels of communication and a hierarchy of command. 13. Little room for manoeuvre in the way the work is done. 14. Formal explicit monitoring. 15. Formal salary assessment scheme, salary related to seniority rather than merit, etc. 16. Knows exactly how the job will progress over the next few years -- career progression is open and there are definite routes. 17. People are set in a traditional ways of doing things -- difficult to get them to change. Much inertia in the system. 18. Have to keep regular hours 19. Symbols associated with status, e.g. different sized carpets. 20. Facilities, e.g. canteens etc., segregated into a hierarchy

High group	21. Group working together, i.e. on same project, in close physical proximity, etc. 22. Working with the same people on long-term project 23. Evidence of sharing social activities with workmates -- immediate colleagues, more distant colleagues, management. 24. Feeling of group identity, ethos, boundary -- identification with group's (working group's or firm's) interests 25. 'Everybody knows everybody else' and 'knows what everybody else is up to' -- immediate colleagues, more distant colleagues, management. 26. Any evidence of intermarrying or nepotism. 27. Lots of fringe benefits in the company and incentives to company loyalty, e.g. sports facilities, help with mortages, bonus schemes, etc. 28. Evidence of any group action to right wrongs. 29. Evidence of conflicts with other groups defined in relation to the group. 30. Evidence of rumours, bitching about other people -- conflict within the group.
Low group	31. Little support if things go wrong 32. Social isolation 33. Little contact with others during work or contact is very formalised with no social component (supermarket cashier) 34. No shared responsibility for the results 35. A task that can be performed alone. 36. Many changing projects or work commitments

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