

Opening and closing doors – Managing at the multicultural workplace

A case study of cultural diversity and
inclusion in nursing homes

**Opening and closing doors —
managing in the multicultural workplace**
A case study of cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes

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SAMMENDRAG

Innvandring har endret befolkningssammensetningen i Norge betydelig de siste 50 årene. Denne demografiske utviklingen deler Norge med svært mange andre land, og innvandrere har jobbet seg inn i det norske samfunnet og inn på arbeidsmarkedet. Disse endringene representerer nye utfordringer for ledere og ansatte på flerkulturelle arbeidsplasser, og reiser nye spørsmål for organisasjons- og ledelsesforskningen. Denne studien forsøker derfor å besvare spørsmålet: Hvordan kan organisasjonspraksiser fremme og hemme inkludering på den flerkulturelle arbeidsplassen? Inkludering omfatter både et først steg der innvandrere får tilgang til arbeidsplassen gjennom ansettelse og en vedvarende deltakelse i arbeidsmarkedet, og de følgende stegene med sosialisering inn i organisasjonsfellesskapet med dets forventninger til hvordan ledere og ansatte skal opptre. På en inkluderende arbeidsplass blir innvandreres særlige kompetanse anerkjent og tatt i bruk. Ledere generelt, og mellomledere spesielt, har en særlig rolle i forhold til inkludering på arbeidsplassen. De er i en posisjon der de kan åpne og lukke dører for ansatte med innvandringsbakgrunn.

For å bedre forstå organisasjonspraksiser på flerkulturelle arbeidsplasser gjennomførte jeg en casestudie av tre sykehjem i Oslo. De tre sykehjemmene hadde en høy andel ansatte med innvandringsbakgrunn. Jeg valgte sykehjem med ulike driftsformer; ett sykehjem drevet av kommunen, ett drevet av en ideell virksomhet og ett drevet av en privat kommersiell aktør. Casestudien hadde en etnografisk tilnærming, og den kombinerte ulike metoder for å generere data; deltakende observasjon, semi-strukturert skyggeobservasjon, intervjuer og dokumentanalyse. I studien har jeg intervjuet de tre institusjonssjefene på sykehjemmene, to avdelingsledere fra hvert sykehjem (en med innvandringsbakgrunn og en med majoritetsbakgrunn), og seks ansatte fra hvert av sykehjemmene. Studiens datamateriale omfatter feltnotater fra 200 timer med observasjon og utskrifter fra 27 intervjuer.

Organisasjonspraksiser på sykehjemmene ble analysert med perspektiver fra institusjonell teori og praksisteori. Det institusjonelle perspektivet setter fokus på hvordan praksiser er rammet inn av en kontekst med regulative, normative og kulturkognitive trekk. Det praksisteoretiske perspektivet fanger opp kompleksiteten i organisasjonspraksiser og hvordan praksiser er bundet sammen. Forståelsen av organisasjonspraksiser berikes gjennom å knytte sammen disse to perspektivene i det som kalles en 'praksisdrevet institusjonalisme'. Dette er en tilnærming der en zoomer ut for å fange opp den bredere samfunnskonteksten med dens

lovverk og normer, og zoomer inn på praksiser slik de blir utført i det daglige på sykehjemmene.

Hver av de tre artiklene i denne avhandlingen besvarer deler av det overordnede forskningsspørsmålet, og bidrar til forskningen innenfor mangfoldsledelse, institusjonell teori og praksis teori. Artikkell1 argumenterer for en forståelse av inkludering der prosessen starter med å få tilgang til arbeidsplassen gjennom et trygt og stabilt ansettelsesforhold. Bruken av praksis teori får fram at nettoeffekten av rekrutteringsrelaterte praksiser på sykehjemmene er at mange ansatte med innvandringsbakgrunn blir værende i usikre ansettelsesforhold. Artikkel 2 utfordrer bruken av universelle kulturelle dimensjoner for å sammenligne kultur på samfunnsnivå, og hevder at denne tilnærmingen er for smal når den utelater kontekstuelle institusjonelle faktorer. Den er samtidig for generell når den ikke tar hensyn til faktorer på organisasjonsnivå. Som et alternativ utvikler denne artikkelen begrepet ‘dynamiske kulturelle konfigurasjoner’, og foreslår at en i stedet skal utforske disse konfigurasjonene—og holde kulturelle kategorier løst. Artikkel 3 drøfter hvordan den flerkulturelle arbeidsplassen kan få tilgang til og bruke ansatte med innvandringsbakgrunns særlige kompetanse. Målet er å utvikle religiøs samtalekompetanse for å tilby likeverdige tjenester til beboere med minoritetsbakgrunn. I denne prosessen spiller ledere en avgjørende rolle gjennom å fremme en organisasjonskultur som ønsker religion velkommen på arbeidsplassen, og gjennom å legge til rette for trygge rom for samtale blant de ansatte.

Studien bidrar til forskningen på mangfoldsledelse gjennom å anvende perspektivene fra en praksisdrevet institusjonalisme. Begrepet ‘dynamisk kulturell konfigurasjon’ er et bidrag til forskningen på interkulturelle forhold. Forståelsen av praksiser knyttet til mangfoldsledelse på den flerkulturelle arbeidsplassen utdypes gjennom å knytte sammen perspektiver fra ulike forskningstradisjoner som institusjonell teori og praksisteori, og gjennom å kombinere perspektiver fra religionssosiologi og voksenopplæringspedagogikk.

ABSTRACT

Immigration has changed the demographics of Norway remarkably over the last 50 years as it has in many other countries, and immigrants are working their way into society and into the labor market. These changes pose new challenges to managers and employees in the multicultural workplace, and they raise new questions for management and organization research. Therefore, this study addresses the following question: How do organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace? Inclusion encompasses the first step of immigrants accessing the workplace through employment and stable participation in the labor market, as well as the following steps of being socialized in the organizational community with its expectations for management and employee behavior. In the inclusive workplace, the special competence of immigrants is acknowledged and used. In the process of inclusion, managers in general, and middle managers in particular, are in the position of opening and closing doors for immigrant employees.

To better understand organizational practices in the multicultural workplace, a case study of three nursing homes in Oslo, Norway, with a high percentage of employees with an immigrant background, was conducted. Nursing homes with different operating structures were chosen: one run by the municipality, one run by a non-profit entity, and one run by a for-profit entity. In the case study, an ethnographic approach was applied, combining different methods for generating data: participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, interviews, and document analysis. The three chief executive officers (CEOs) of the nursing homes, two unit managers from each nursing home (one with an immigrant background and one with a majority background), and six employees from each nursing home were interviewed. The data material of the study consists of field notes from 200 hours of observation and transcripts from 27 interviews.

Organizational practices in nursing homes are analyzed from an institutional and a practice-theoretical perspective. The institutional lens brings into focus how practices are embedded in a context with regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive features. The practice-theoretical lens captures the complexity and connectedness of organizational practices. Connecting these two theoretical traditions in a practice-driven institutionalism enriches the understanding of practices, zooming out on the wider societal context with its legislation and norms, and zooming in on practices as they are accomplished in the everyday life of the nursing homes.

Each of the three articles of the thesis offers partial answers to the overall research question and contributes to research in the fields of diversity management, institutional theory, and practice theory. Article 1 argues for an understanding of inclusion that starts with gaining access to the workplace through secure and stable employment. The use of practice theory reveals how the net effect of recruitment-related practices in nursing homes is that many immigrant employees remain in uncertain employment. Article 2 challenges the use of cultural universals to compare cultures at the societal level and argues that this approach is too narrow when it omits contextual institutional factors and too general when it does not consider organizational-level factors. As an alternative, the article develops the concept of dynamic cultural configuration and suggests inquiring into these configurations holding cultural categories loosely. Article 3 asks how the multicultural workplace may access and use the special competence of immigrant employees to develop religious literacy to provide equitable services to residents with a minority background. In this process, managers play a crucial role, promoting an organizational culture that welcomes religion into the workplace and facilitating conversational spaces characterized by psychological safety among employees.

The study contributes to diversity management research by applying perspectives of a practice-driven institutionalism. The concept of dynamic cultural configuration contributes to cross-cultural management research. Connecting theoretical perspectives from different streams of research, such as institutional theory and practice theory, and linking perspectives from sociology of religion and adult education broaden the understanding of diversity management practices in the multicultural workplace.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SAMMENDRAG	ii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	ix
LIST OF TABLES	ix
AN ARTICLE-BASED THESIS	x
FOREWORD	xi
1. INTRODUCTION	1
Cultural diversity and inclusion	1
Management and organization studies: Diversity management	3
A critical perspective on diversity management	4
Diaconia, values, and professional practice	5
Research design: A case study of three nursing homes	5
Theoretical framework	5
Institutional theory	6
Practice theory	6
Practice-driven institutionalism	7
The contribution of the study	7
Structure of the thesis	9
2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE REVIEW	10
Diversity, inclusion, and equality	10
Current status of the concepts and their application in this thesis	15
Diversity management and cross-cultural management	16
Organizational practices for managing diversity	17
Institutional theory	22
The regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions	24
Institutional orders and conflicting institutional demands	25
Institutional leadership	26
Institutional theory and a critical perspective	26
Practice theory	27
The entanglement of discourse, body, and materiality	28
Practices: Situated in space and time in configurations of practices	29
Practices and power	29
A practice-driven institutionalism	30
Handling conflicting institutional demands	32
Connecting macro and micro	32
Practitioners as carriers of institutions	33
Practice-driven institutionalism and denaturalizing inequality	34
Summing up and the way forward	34
3. RESEARCH CONTEXT	36
Cultural diversity and immigration	36
The healthcare sector	38
Nursing homes in Oslo	39
Summing up and the way forward	41

4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	42
Qualitative research and theory of science	42
Case study as the strategy of inquiry	44
Sampling strategies	46
Selection of geographic location and sector	46
Selection of nursing homes and units	47
Selection of interviewees	49
Information power of the sample	50
Choice of methods for collecting data	53
Participant observation	54
Semi-structured shadowing	57
Interviews	59
Document analysis	60
Validation meetings	61
Analytical strategy	61
Credibility, transferability, and dependability of the study	63
Reflection on my role as researcher	65
Research ethics	66
Summing up and the way forward	68
5. PRESENTATION OF THE ARTICLES	69
Article 1	70
Article 2	72
Article 3	74
Summing up and the way forward	76
6. DISCUSSION	77
Applying a practice-driven institutionalism	78
The dynamic framing of organizational practices	78
Bridging macro and micro	81
Agency and the indeterminacy of practices	83
Capturing the complexity and connectedness of practices	84
Inclusion as access and belonging	84
Mangers opening and closing doors	86
Power and inclusion-related practices	87
The methodological contribution of the thesis	89
Summing up	90
7. CONCLUDING REMARKS	92
Limitations	92
Future research	92
Implications for practice	94
REFERENCES	95
Article 1	108
Article 2	126
Article 3	146
APPENDIXES	161
Appendix 1	162
Appendix 2	167
Appendix 3	170

Appendix 4.....	173
Appendix 5.....	175
Appendix 6.....	177
Appendix 7.....	179

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents 1970–2018	37
Figure 2: The trilateral concept of truth	44
Figure 3: Conceptual model of inclusion-related practices.....	77
Figure 4: Dynamic cultural configurations	79
Figure 5: The parallel concepts of institutional theory and practice theory.....	82

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The concepts of diversity, inclusion, and equality	11
Table 2: Previous studies of organizational practices for managing diversity.....	18
Table 3: Nursing homes and managers included in the study.....	49
Table 4. Interviewees	50
Table 5. The study sample.....	51
Table 6. Information power of the sample	53
Table 7: Format for semi-structured shadowing	58
Table 8: Coding for semi-structured shadowing	58
Table 9: Assessment of the study's trustworthiness.....	63
Table 10: Research questions, theoretical perspectives, and findings in the articles.....	69
Table 11: Focus of the articles and the themes	75

AN ARTICLE-BASED THESIS

Article 1

Ambiguous practices and conflicting interests: why immigrants end up in uncertain employment

Article 2

'Good leaders do the dirty work'. Implicit leadership theory at the multicultural workplace

Article 3

Developing religious literacy through conversational spaces for religion in the workplace

FOREWORD

Thirty years ago, I went to Ecuador as a volunteer and joined an organization working with university students. I learned a new language, audited sociology classes at the university, and made new friends. The experience of feeling at home in a new culture left a mark that has stayed with me ever since. I felt that the world and my own self were enlarged through this experience of belonging and connectedness with people from the other side of the world. That is a blessing that I cherish, and it has spurred an interest in how we interact across cultures. My experience also surfaced more disturbing reflections around how coming to my home country could be experienced quite differently. There are encouraging stories of immigrants who have made Norway their home, and immigrants have contributed to the expansion of what it means to be Norwegian over the last 50 years. But there are also statistics demonstrating concerning systematic differences between immigrants and non-immigrants in terms of social and economic well-being. Employment and being part of a work organization are important factors for integration and for achieving a sense of belonging and means of making a living in a new host country. Today, one of four citizens in Oslo, where I live, are immigrants. In this culturally diverse context, how can organizations provide inclusive workplaces that grant immigrants some of the same experience that I had when I went to Ecuador, as well as a reasonable opportunity to sustain themselves and their dependents in a new context? These questions motivated this study.

I am now approaching the end of my PhD project, and it is time to acknowledge the support and contributions of friends and colleagues along the way. Although a PhD project in some sense is a solitary journey, the final product is definitely a result of a communal effort. I want to thank VID Specialized University for granting me the possibility to start a PhD project when I was in a temporary position in the program for Values Based Leadership. As part of this program, I engaged with part-time students, of whom many were middle managers in the health and care sector of the municipality of Oslo. The students shared their experiences of working in highly multicultural workplaces, and this contact opened the doors for selecting nursing homes in Oslo as the location for examining cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

I am grateful to my colleagues at VID—to Leif Stapnes, Stephen Sirris, Benedicte Kivle, Marta Struminska Kutra, Gry Espedal, Beate Jelstad Løvaas, Arild Væraas, and Harald

Askeland. I received encouraging and challenging feedback from them in our everyday conversations and in our research group Leadership and Institutional Values-Work in Practice (LIVAP). Throughout the PhD process, I taught in the Values Based Leadership program. Engaging with students provided opportunities to share from the data material along the way and test out my reasoning and arguments, and it has saved me from experiencing the PhD process as living in an isolated bubble. The research group Religion Values and Society (RVS) offered inspiring courses and a lavish environment for writing seminars.

My supervisors (Harald Askeland, Jon Rogstad, and Beate Løvaas) have been of invaluable help throughout this process. Harald, thank you for having faith in the project, for eliciting interest in institutional theory and observation as a method of data collection, and for trusting me to find my way through this project. Jon, with your experience from the field of migration and labor research you have challenged me and taught me a lot. Beate, your careful reading of my manuscripts, clear suggestions, and encouraging spirit have contributed greatly to this final product of my PhD project.

I also want to thank the managers and employees at the three nursing homes in Oslo for sharing their workdays and reflections with me. Joining you during your shifts in the six different units was a boost for me. Engaging with staff with at least 40 different country backgrounds rekindled the experience of being part of a larger world. Thank you for sharing moments of joy, concern, and frustrations with me. I have learned a lot from you, and I admire your commitment to providing quality services to older individuals here in Oslo.

Finally, thank you, Øystein, for offering steadfast support throughout this process. Thank you for your curiosity, for your interest in what I have been working on, and for your efforts and ability to engage with me on the topic of this project. Thank you for flowers and milestone celebrations along the way!

Oslo, January 2021
Tone Lindheim

1. INTRODUCTION

Immigration has changed the demographics in Norway over the last 50 years, and the population and most workplaces are characterized by cultural diversity, which poses new challenges for work organizations. How can organizations develop inclusive workplaces in this new context? The way managers and organizations respond to this challenge is of critical importance. This chapter introduces cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace as a topic and offers a rationale for the research project. The second section of the chapter positions the research project within management and organization studies in the stream of diversity management research. The third section justifies the choice of a qualitative case study of three nursing homes as the research design. In the following section I show how the theoretical perspectives of institutional theory and practice theory shed light on and explain the effect of organizational practices. The empirical, theoretical, and methodological contributions of the thesis are then summarized. The chapter ends with a presentation of the structure of the thesis.

Cultural diversity and inclusion

By 2020, immigrants¹ made up 14,7 % of the population in Norway, compared to 1,5 % in 1970. In Oslo, 25,7 % of the population are immigrants. Therefore, despite local variations, cultural diversity is a given in the Norwegian context. Settling in a new country implies a range of challenges of integration: learning the language, understanding the new context, establishing new relationships, and not least, entering the labor market to ensure an income. As immigrants are included in the Norwegian labor market, workplaces are becoming more culturally diverse. The changed composition of the work stock represents a set of new communication and cooperation challenges related to inclusion in the workplace. In this thesis, inclusion is understood to encompass the initial step of entering the workplace, acquiring employment, and the subsequent steps of being socialized into an organizational community with a set of expectations for management and employee behavior. An inclusive workplace acknowledges and uses immigrants' special competence.

¹ Immigrants are defined as persons who have immigrated to Norway themselves and who were born abroad to foreign-born parents and four foreign-born grandparents (<https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/artikler-og-publikasjoner/slik-definerer-ssb-innvandrerer>).

Government agencies have elaborated statistics on immigration and immigrants' participation in the labor market. They show that the unemployment rate is higher for immigrants than for the majority population (Birkelund et al., 2017; Bratsberg et al., 2015; Statistics Norway, 2018), that immigrants' participation in the labor market is more volatile (it is hard to get in, and it is easy to slip out) (Djuve, 2006; Kavli & Nicolaisen, 2016), and that groups of immigrants experience less attachment to the workplace (Sandal et al., 2013). We still lack knowledge about how the dynamics of organizational practices affect the inclusion of immigrants in the workplace. A qualitative study of organizational practices, which may yield insight into how practices are accomplished and affect immigrants in the everyday life of the organizations, may shed more light on the challenges related to inclusion in the multicultural workplace. Cultural diversity and inclusion are expressed in the everyday practices of managers and employees, and this study focuses on organizational practices as they unfold in the workplace.

The aim of this study is to explore how organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace. The study focuses on the role of managers in opening and closing doors for immigrant employees in the workplace and addresses the following overall research question: *How do organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace?* Managers are central protagonists of organizational practices, but the study seeks to widen the perspective to understand the role of employees and other external actors as practitioners as well. The thesis is based on an empirical case study of three nursing homes. The theoretical perspectives from institutional theory and practice theory used in this study help explain the empirical data, and the empirical material sheds new light on the theoretical perspectives. The following quotes from different informants in this study introduce three challenges related to inclusion in the workplace: access to the workplace through employment, communication and cooperation across cultures, and the acknowledgement and use of immigrant employees' special competence:

I am very conscious in the recruitment of new on-call staff and so on, that I take in Norwegians because there were almost no Norwegians here. (...) It is because the residents that we have, for the most part they have been Norwegians. And their relatives are demanding. So, to understand some traditions and family patterns, and how things work in Norwegian society.... to have that kind of understanding, I hire Norwegians.

In my home country, you don't talk to the boss as if it was just any of your colleagues. But here, it is the employees who manage the boss. Here, it is 'my way or the highway'. Here, it is the Working Environment Act and all that stuff. The smallest thing, and the employees write a deviation report on the manager. I knew I had to get away. The extra salary as a manager wasn't worth it.

We have many different cultures here. So, we ask each other about stuff. Like with these Tamils. What day is it today? Why is she not eating? Then they tell us a bit about their traditions. And then we have one who is, or we have several employees who are Muslims. And they talk about getting Haram. (. . .) So, we talk a lot about culture. And then they ask about Norwegian stuff, like Ascension Day and that kind of things.

The quotes illustrate how managers engage with cultural diversity in the workplace. The first quote shows how the recruitment practice, as it is accomplished, may differ from its prescription in the official recruitment policy. Cultural-cognitive patterns (Scott, 2014) and managers' practical knowledge (Nicolini, 2017b) guide their recruitment practice and their perception of who is the best fit for the job. The second quote illustrates how managers in a multicultural workplace engage with implicit expectations of legitimate employee and leadership behavior (House, 2004), and how these expectations influence communication and cooperation in the workplace. The third quote shows how the manager in one of the nursing homes provided a conversational space (Wyss-Flamm, 2002) to share competence and build understanding of cultural and religious practices (Dinham, 2018) among colleagues during a lunch break.

Management and organization studies: Diversity management

The study is situated within management and organization research, in the stream of diversity management studies. Analyzing organizational practices related to cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace, the study contributes to diversity management studies, but the findings may also contribute to the broader field.

Diversity management emerged as a discipline against the backdrop of the civil rights movement in the United States and initiatives related to Affirmative Action and Equal Employment Opportunities (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998). When the formal regulations that accompanied these initiatives were reduced in the 1980s, diversity management evolved as a discipline in the field of Human Resource Management. This development implied a shift in

focus from a rights-based, social justice approach to a business argument for diversity. It was argued that managing cultural diversity effectively would represent a comparative advantage for the organization and would have a positive effect on the business's bottom line. Diversity management research, therefore, has traditionally focused on measuring effects of diversity on different organizational outcomes, such as employee turnover, customer satisfaction, and workplace conflict. Empirical studies have predominantly been quantitative (Findler et al., 2007; Herring, 2009; Kochan et al., 2003; Nishii, 2013), and much of diversity management research has been accused of using an instrumental approach to diversity (Bendick et al., 2010; Tatli, 2011; Zanoni & Janssens, 2004).

A critical perspective on diversity management

In line with recent developments within the field of diversity management (Kirton & Greene, 2015; Nkomo et al., 2019; Van Laer & Zanoni, 2020), this study applies a critical perspective to diversity management. This approach is characterized by an emphasis on unequal power relations and the effect of diversity management practices for marginalized groups. Studies in this tradition usually pay more attention to contextual and structural factors. The present study applies a critical perspective by paying attention to how organizational practices naturalize unequal power relations and the distribution of privileges among actors with a majority and minority background. The study analyzes the particular context of employment in the health sector with a high percentage of employees with an immigrant background, extensive use of zero-hour contracts, and burdensome paths to qualify for formal certification. A particular contribution of this study is the shadowing of immigrants in management positions in nursing homes, which offers a perspective that is not common in studies of immigrants. Analyzing the use of immigrant employees' special religious competence, and particularly Muslim employees, brings attention to the challenges this group faces in the workplace. Acquiring information from different hierarchical levels in the organization—chief executive officers (CEOs), unit managers, and employees with different professional backgrounds—is a way to ensure that more privileged and less privileged voices are heard. In addition, in the application of theoretical perspectives, special attention is given to how these traditions engage with issues of power and inequality.

Diaconia, values, and professional practice

This research project was undertaken within the program Diaconia, values and professional practice at VID Specialized University. The thesis bears the mark of the profile of the program. First, the thesis is characterized by an interdisciplinary approach. The study draws primarily on management and organization research, but includes perspectives from sociology of religion and adult education. Second, an empirical research design that generated data from everyday practices of managers and healthcare personnel was chosen. As a VID staff member teaching and researching management and organizations, I am part of a research group that focuses on institutional perspectives and management practices and chose to apply institutional theory and practice theory in this study. Third, the topic of immigration and cultural diversity requires ethical reflection and values consciousness. As an institution, VID has played a protagonist role in the society-level debate on immigration (Midtbøen, 2017) and has developed strategic initiatives to engage with an increasingly culturally diverse population. Thus, the thesis is well positioned within the PhD program Diaconia, values, and professional practice.

Research design: A case study of three nursing homes

To respond to the research question regarding how organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace, a case study of three nursing homes was chosen. A central criterion for the research design, to better understand organizational practices, was to be able to observe practices as they were accomplished. To broaden the case, nursing homes with different operating structures were chosen: one run by the municipality, one run by a non-profit organization, and one run by a for-profit entity. The research design was ethnographically inspired and included different methods for generating data: participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, and interviews. Observation does not grant direct understanding of organizational practices, so the interviews were important to elicit the informants' sense-making and interpretation of the accomplished practices.

Theoretical framework

The study is based on a social constructionist theory of science, and to understand and explain organizational practices related to cultural diversity and inclusion, institutional theory and

practice theory were chosen as theoretical frameworks. Both traditions consider the understanding of reality as socially constructed. Whereas institutional theory traditionally takes a top-down approach and focuses on the larger societal structures (Scott, 2014), practice theory takes a bottom-up approach and starts with the accomplishment of everyday practices at a particular site (Nicolini, 2017b; Schatzki, 2002). The two perspectives are explained further in the following.

Institutional theory

Contrary to rational utilitarian theories which argue that human behavior is oriented toward maximizing efficiency and gain, institutional theory looks for explanations of social action in what is considered appropriate (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, et al., 2008; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). What is considered appropriate is shaped by institutional elements with regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive features (Scott, 2014). In nursing homes as multicultural workplaces, organizational practices are framed by legislative frameworks and laws such as the Working Environment Act and the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act. Norms articulated by the professions and in organizational profile documents add to the elements that guide priorities and choices made in the workplace. Further, implicit knowledge of how things should be done in nursing homes is a result of the shared understanding developed within the social collective of actors (Mahadevan, 2017).

Practice theory

A practice-theoretical perspective departs from the ontological premise that all social phenomena emerge out of practice, and therefore, argues that when studying social phenomena like cultural diversity and inclusion, the unit of analysis is the practice itself rather than the actors or structures. In the study of organizational practices in nursing homes, practice theory anchors the practice-approach in practices as they are accomplished in space and time, rather than in abstract prescriptions of practices. The ethnographic and practice-theoretical approach of the study elicit the complexity and connectedness of practices and show how everyday practices may enable, constrain, conflict, or interfere with each other. The tension between structure and agency characterizes the social sciences, and whereas institutional theory tends to favor structures, the practice-theoretical approach insists on the indeterminacy of practices and agency (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). The same practice may

be accomplished in different ways, depending on how it is configured within the nexus of related practices and how practitioners apply their general and practical understanding. In this study, the indeterminacy of practices is expressed in that different managers accomplish practices like recruitment and staffing in different ways.

Practice-driven institutionalism

By connecting institutional theory and practice theory in what is called a practice-driven institutionalism (Lounsbury et al., 2021b; Smets et al., 2017), the study offers a broader understanding of organizational practices, building a bridge between macro and micro, structure and agency. Practices unfold in space and time (Schatzki, 2012), and over time, practices are institutionalized, and take on regulatory, normative, and cultural-cognitive features (Scott, 2014), which, in turn, shape other practices. This study seeks to understand the interplay of practices, how practices are shaped by institutional elements, and how that dynamic provides a space for managers' agency. Through their practices, managers open and close doors for immigrants in the multicultural workplace.

The contribution of the study

The thesis offers empirical, methodological, and theoretical contributions to existing research. Empirically, the study contributes to the field of diversity management by analyzing organizational practices as they are accomplished at three nursing homes. The use of an ethnographic and practice-theoretical approach to study immigrant employment sheds new light on why measures to include immigrants in the labor market may not have the intended effect and why many immigrants struggle to move on from precarious employment to more stable and secure employment. Thus, the study responds to the call for studies of everyday organizational practices that sustain and reinforce inequality and exclusion (Acker, 2006; Amis et al., 2018). Within the related discipline of cross-cultural management studies, the use of scales for measuring society-level culture dominates, and researchers have called for in-depth qualitative studies that analyze the complexity of leadership and culture in multicultural environments (Mahadevan, 2017; Nathan, 2015). The use of a qualitative case study of a multicultural workplace elicits how different factors shape expectations of manager and employee behavior, and how these expectations are negotiated through everyday interaction.

There are few empirical studies of how managers facilitate the development of religious competence among employees in healthcare (Cockell & McSherry, 2012; Rykkje et al., 2013), and existing research tends to take the majority religion as a point of departure. The empirical contribution of the present study is an analysis of management practices that enhance an inclusive work environment in which minority employees' special competence is acknowledged and shared to develop religious competence and provide equitable service to residents with a minority background in nursing homes.

The study offers a methodological contribution to management and organization studies. The use of an ethnographic approach, combining participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, interviews, and document analysis, generates data material that provides a more nuanced understanding of organizational and management practices. In the research process, preliminary findings and analysis were shared with selected groups of informants to ensure what is called 'participant validation' (Birt et al., 2016). Through participant validation, the trustworthiness of the study was strengthened, and new data were generated, which yielded new understanding of organizational practices related to cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes.

Theoretically, the study contributes to institutional theory and practice theory by exploring how the two perspectives may mutually strengthen each other (Zilber, 2021). The study extends the emerging stream of practice-driven institutionalism by elaborating the concept of cultural dynamic configuration and by demonstrating the bridges between the institutional pillars (Scott, 2014) and practices' entangled features of body, discourse, and materiality (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019). This connection holds the societal- and micro-level aspects of organizational practices together. The concept of dynamic cultural configuration also contributes to cross-cultural management, broadening the gaze by including institutional factors in the context and delimiting the gaze by focusing on organization-specific factors. By considering the dynamic interaction of experiences from the country of origin, the host country, and institutional-, field-, and organizational-level factors, the concept seeks to overcome cultural stereotypes.

Structure of the thesis

The thesis is structured as follows: The next chapter, Chapter 2, offers a review of the understanding of diversity, inclusion, and equality, and articulates how the concepts are used in this thesis. Previous studies of organizational diversity management practices that attend to contextual and structural factors are then reviewed. Institutional theory and practice theory are presented as theoretical frameworks for the study. How the theoretical perspectives address power and how they may contribute to a critical perspective on diversity management are emphasized. The chapter concludes with a discussion of a recent initiative to connect institutional theory and practice theory in a ‘practice-driven institutionalism’. Chapter 3 presents the research context and elaborates on how cultural diversity in the Norwegian context is closely linked to immigration. Characteristics of the healthcare sector and nursing homes as multicultural workplaces are described. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the research design, the theory of science underpinning the study, the sampling strategies, and the methods used for collecting data. Special attention is given to ethical concerns related to the research process and reflexivity around my role as a researcher. Chapter 5 offers a brief presentation of the three articles included in this thesis. Chapter 6 discusses and elaborates on the contributions of the thesis. The first section further develops how a practice-driven institutionalism can be applied to better understand the antecedents and effects of organizational practices. The second section elaborates on the argument for an understanding of inclusion that considers the objective aspect of access as well as the subjective aspect of belonging. The third section elaborates on the role of managers. As practitioners, managers embody organizational practices, and this study shows that managers act as door keepers, opening and closing doors for immigrant employees in the workplace. The role of managers is followed up with a discussion of how power comes to be expressed in organizational practices in nursing homes and how the practices may reproduce existing unequal power relations. The chapter ends with reflections on the methodological contribution of the thesis. Chapter 7 offers final thoughts about the limitations of the study and implications for future research and practice.

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter locates the study within management and organization research, in the discipline of diversity management, and presents the theoretical perspectives used in the thesis. The first section reviews the concepts of diversity, inclusion, and equality, and how they are applied in diversity management research. Diversity may be addressed broadly, related to gender, culture, ethnicity, race, disability, sexual orientation, etc., but the present study limits the focus to cultural diversity and immigration. After reviewing the concepts and connecting diversity management and cross-cultural management, the first section ends with a review of studies of organizational practices for managing diversity. The second section presents institutional theory, and how an institutional perspective contributes to the understanding of organizational practices with its emphasis on how patterns of behavior are shaped by regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive elements. The third section presents practice theory which sheds more light on how organizational practices are accomplished and how they are connected in a configuration of practices. The chapter ends with a review of the current literature on practice-driven institutionalism, which connects practice theory and the institutional perspective. Throughout the chapter, emphasis is given to how the theoretical perspectives engage with power and contribute to a critical perspective on diversity management.

Diversity, inclusion, and equality

In the following, the development of the concepts of diversity, inclusion, and equality is reviewed. Equality is added to the concepts of diversity and inclusion which appear in the overall research question. The focus on equality precedes the development of diversity management as a discipline and is a hallmark of a critical approach to diversity management. The literature review is based on selected studies, organized chronologically (see Table 1).

Table 1: The concepts of diversity, inclusion, and equality

Study	Concerns
Gilbert et al., 1999	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The difference between Affirmative Action and diversity management – The competitive advantage of effectively managed diversity – Fostering an organizational culture of multiculturalism as opposed to assimilation
Roberson, 2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Exploration and validation of the constructs of diversity and inclusion
Zanoni et al., 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Gender and ethnicity are socially constructed identities – Studies of diversity must consider context and structural constraints
Shore et al., 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Expanding the understanding of inclusion – Proposing a model for researching antecedents and outcomes of inclusion
Dobusch, 2014	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Developing a theory-based perspective of the inclusive organization – Identifying scientific discourses of inclusion and exclusion
Mor Barak, 2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Developing a two-stage model of diversity and inclusion – Expanding the understanding of diversity: observable and non-observable differences
Nkomo et al., 2019	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The social-historical-political context of society and the Academy of Management – Developing diversity theory
Van Laer & Zanoni, 2020	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Critical review of the topics of ethnicity, race, and nationalism in management and organization research

Diversity management as an academic field emerged in the U.S. context against the backdrop of Affirmative Action (AA) and Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO; (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998; Thomas, 1990). Gilbert et al. (1999) see diversity management as a new organizational paradigm and emphasize that in contrast to the regulative nature of AA/EEO and its focus on marginalized minorities, diversity management is a “voluntary organizational program designed to create greater inclusion of all individuals into informal social networks and formal company programs” (p. 61). Gilbert and colleagues argue that in the new paradigm managers will see that diversity management makes sense from a justice perspective and from a bottom-line perspective, the business case for diversity. The authors build on Cox’s (1991,

1994) seminal study of the multicultural organization and argue that organizations which want to benefit from diversity should develop an organizational culture that fosters appreciation of differences and not merely complies with legislation. Senior management is considered to play a core role in initiating and leading the process of transforming the human resource function. The arguments of the study are derived from psychological perspectives on social identity and social categorization in groups (Tajfel & Turner, 2004).

Roberson (2006) describes the further development of diversity management and introduces the concept of inclusion. Despite differences in the use of the concepts, Roberson follows the line of Gilbert and colleagues, and argues that whereas diversity focuses on differences between demographic groups, inclusion aims at the full participation of all employees in the organization. The constructs of diversity and inclusion are explored and validated in a study that combines qualitative and quantitative methods. The study found support for diversity and inclusion as distinct but related concepts. The results of the study highlight the tension between identity-conscious diversity measures and the palatable identity-blind inclusion measures. However, identity-blind measures were shown to be insufficient to ensure historically marginalized groups' access to the workgroup. Additionally, merely having a diverse group of employees does not ensure the capacity to leverage the benefits of diversity for the organization. The study suggests that a diverse and inclusive organization must address the demographic composition of the workforce and a climate of cooperation among the organizational members.

In the editorial of a special issue on diversity and equality in *Organization* (Zanoni et al., 2010), the authors challenge diversity management research from a critical perspective. Critical diversity studies emerged in response to how the justice agenda of the AA/EEO approach was sidelined by the business case for diversity in mainstream diversity management studies. The major concern of the critical approach is that a positivistic, social psychological approach obscures processes leading to inequality. Therefore, critical diversity scholars called for empirical studies of diversity in organizational settings that consider structural and context-specific factors. As an alternative to the dominant quantitative approach in diversity management studies, the authors suggest discourse analysis as a method for examining how unequal power relations are constructed and reproduced. The authors also see the 'practice turn' in gender studies as a promising way forward to reconceptualize the

phenomenon of diversity. Critical diversity scholars reposition 'inequality' as the central topic of the discipline.

The next study in this literature review is situated within the social psychology paradigm. Shore and colleagues (2011) develop a framework for diversity and inclusion in workgroups and draw on Brewer's (1991) optimal distinctiveness theory which seeks to "reconcile the opposing needs of differentiation and assimilation from others" (p. 475). Shore and colleagues integrate these two needs and define inclusion in terms of the employee's experience of treatment that satisfies his or her need for belongingness and uniqueness (p. 1265). Based on the variables of belongingness and uniqueness, the authors develop a framework for assessing experiences of inclusion, yielding four categories: exclusion, assimilation, differentiation, and inclusion. In their model for researching antecedents and outcomes of inclusion, they build on studies on the climate of diversity or inclusion (Mor Barak & Cherin, 1998; Nishii, 2013). Despite including fairness systems, Shore and colleagues' model contains few elements explicitly related to structure and power. The study highlights inclusion as an individual experiential matter and focuses on the outcomes of inclusion for the individual in terms of high-quality relations, job satisfaction, and well-being. Other outcomes, such as job performance, organizational commitment, and intention to stay, are outcomes that benefit the organization; thus, the model considers the concerns of employees as well as those of the employer.

With the aim of anchoring the concept of the 'inclusive organization' in a theory-based perspective, Dobusch (2014) discusses the interrelation of inclusion and exclusion. On one hand, inclusion is "a process and condition where people gain access to areas from which they were formerly un-/intentionally excluded," (p. 220), assuming an evolution from exclusion to inclusion. On the other, inclusion and exclusion presuppose each other. Dobusch identifies four discourses of inclusion and exclusion which she labels 'social order', 'social exclusion', 'inclusion and exclusion as a relation', and 'inclusive organization'. The 'social order' discourse addresses the issue of social cohesion at the societal level, based on the distribution of life opportunities. In this discourse, equality is a means of inclusion. The 'social exclusion' discourse focuses on marginalized groups and analyzes why certain groups experience material and social insecurity despite existing wealth in the surroundings. Exclusion is understood as a problem, and inclusion is the solution. The discourse of 'inclusion and exclusion as a relation' focuses on how inclusion and exclusion mutually constitute each

other. In the 'inclusive organization' discourse, inclusion is a normative concept and an ideal. Different streams of research on the inclusive organization have emerged, focusing on measuring inclusion, the normative foundation of inclusion, and the practical meaning of inclusion. Dobusch criticizes the research on inclusive organizations for lack of attention to the entry conditions and the broader societal context, and argues that "if the sole focus is on the including and excluding experiences of those employees who have already succeeded in entering the organization, the bigger picture of social exclusion (and inclusion) is disguised" (p. 229).

In the introduction to a special issue on inclusion, Mor Barak (2015) discusses the understanding of inclusion and its relation to diversity management. In line with Shore and colleagues (2011), she understands diversity as relating to observable and non-observable demographic differences, and considers inclusion to be related to the individual's perception that his or her contribution and full participation are appreciated and encouraged. The emphasis on the individual's perception of acceptance locates Mor Barak within the social psychological tradition. With the broad understanding of diversity, where "everybody is different," concern for historically marginalized groups is less prominent. However, Mor Barak combines aspects of diversity and inclusion in her model for inclusion. The model portrays a circular two-stage process. Stage one is a reactive response where organizations ensure diverse demographic representation through recruitment. Stage two represents organizations' proactive diversity management and inclusion efforts.

The organizers of the Academy of Management's special topic forum on diversity (Nkomo et al., 2019) analyze the development of diversity management in light of historical political trends. Whereas the AA/EEO approach emerged in the wake of the U.S. civil rights movement in the '60s and '70s, diversity management reflects the neoliberal turn of the '80s and '90s. Since 2000, diversity management as a research tradition has included critical approaches. The authors criticize the broad understanding of diversity within the social psychological stream of diversity management, and its consideration of demographic differences like race and gender as 'surface-level' experiences of marginalization, compared to more relevant and influential 'deep-level' differences, like personality, values, and knowledge. The social psychological tradition favors individual-level differences, whereas organizational-level differences and inequality have received less attention. Much of diversity management research has neglected the macro-social-historical-political context, and

interpreting current political trends, the authors of the editorial argue that we are at a new critical juncture for diversity management, with rising far-right populism, xenophobia, and racism. To face the prevalence of discrimination, inequality, and exclusion, theory development within diversity management research must consider power differences and should include studies of privileged groups, not as the norm against which other groups are compared but to better understand the processes through which dominance and inequality are produced and sustained.

In a chapter on ethnicity, race, and national identity, Van Laer and Zanoni (2020) follow the line of Nkomo and colleagues (2019) and criticize management and organization studies for depoliticizing racial and ethnic issues through psychological explanations, an instrumental business approach to diversity, and by developing cultural universals to measure national cultures. Van Laer and Zanoni argue that the business case for diversity is mainly realized through the continuing exploitation of historically marginalized groups and their willingness to accept precarious working conditions and to do jobs that majority workers do not want. These groups are in a weak bargaining position due to, for example, their migration status and lack of formal education.

Current status of the concepts and their application in this thesis

The literature review shows that there is an ongoing debate about the use of the concepts of inclusion, diversity, and equality, and different strands of research continue to exist side by side. Various traditions have favored either the social justice argument or the business argument for diversity. As demonstrated above, the business argument has been criticized for its instrumental approach to diversity at the cost of rights-based and ethically founded arguments (Bendick et al., 2010; Gotsis & Kortezi, 2013; Noon, 2007; Ortlieb et al., 2014). Based on the conviction that equality in the workplace is a matter of justice, and that the issue of inclusion should not be limited to instrumental considerations, I take a rights-based, social justice approach to cultural diversity and inclusion in this study. This implies that I will be on the lookout for how equality and the rights of immigrant employees may be jeopardized through organizational practices.

The literature review also showed that there is a divide in diversity management research between those who favor psychological, individual-level explanations (Gilbert et al., 1999;

Mor Barak, 2015; Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2011) and those who favor structural approaches (Dobusch, 2014; Nkomo et al., 2019; Van Laer & Zanoni, 2020; Zanoni et al., 2010). The divide also includes a distinction between those who pursue universal constructs and best practices and those who pursue societal- and organizational-level contextual differences. The present study is aligned with the structural tradition and emphasizes the particular societal and organizational context in which the three nursing homes are embedded. The study analyzes cultural diversity and inclusion at the group level, with a focus on immigrants and the particular challenges this group faces.

While favoring structural perspectives on diversity management, the present study argues for considering both the objective and the subjective dimension of inclusion. The qualitative study of cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes brings attention to inclusion as an experiential matter. Encounters with immigrant employees who struggle to achieve secure and stable employment and who are uncertain about to what extent their cultural and religious identities are appreciated in the workplace demonstrate that inclusion and exclusion have an effect at the individual level. Previous researchers found that cultural minority groups show a weaker emotional attachment to their workplace, but that an inclusive diversity climate can moderate this relationship (Cole et al., 2016; Findler et al., 2007; Luijters et al., 2008; Sandal et al., 2013). Whereas some researchers study inclusion within existing workgroups (Roberson, 2006; Shore et al., 2011), others also consider the entry conditions (Dobusch, 2014; Mor Barak, 2015). The present study builds on Dobusch's (2014) argument that inclusion must include the formal aspect of access to the work group, as well as communication and cooperation within the workgroup. Taking the lived experiences of immigrants into account, inclusion is therefore understood to encompass an objective dimension of gaining access as well as a subjective dimension of belonging and acceptance.

Diversity management and cross-cultural management

Focusing on engaging with cultural differences, cross-cultural management partially overlaps with diversity management as described above (Holden, 2002; Mahadevan, 2017; Mahadevan et al., 2020). Culture and leadership have been the subject of several larger international research projects within cross-cultural management studies (Hofstede, 2001; House, 2004; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012). These studies are, in general, aligned with the positivist branch of diversity management with universalist pretensions, and have been

criticized for their essentialist understanding of culture (Nathan, 2015; Osland & Bird, 2000) and for not capturing the fluidity of culture in a globalized context (Fang, 2005; Mahadevan et al., 2011). In the study reviewed above, Van Laer and Zanoni (2020) voice their critique in the same vein. Nathan (2015) argues that the essentialist approach to culture is reductionist and deterministic, and therefore, ethically problematic. An understanding of culture must account for the institutional structures of the given context, as well as the agency of individuals and collectives, and their multiple, intersecting identities.

In this study of the multicultural workplace, I connect diversity management's general attention to diversity in organizations and cross-cultural management's focus on cultural differences. I build on a critical approach to cross-cultural management (Jackson, 2018; Mahadevan, 2017; Romani et al., 2018) and understand culture as socially constructed, embedded in an institutional context. A simple definition of culture may be "how we normally do things around here" (Mahadevan, 2017, p. 12). This definition reflects the study's practice approach to culture (Reckwitz, 2002) and underscores that culture as a social phenomenon is enacted by collectives at the group, organizational, societal, and global levels (Mahadevan, 2017).

Organizational practices for managing diversity

One way of examining diversity and inclusion in the multicultural workplace is to analyze organizational practices. For this study, relevant organizational practices can be formalized practices which explicitly target diversity-related concerns (Yang & Konrad, 2011) but may include a wider set of practices. In the following, I review a selected set of studies of diversity-related organizational practices. The selection criterion was in line with my positioning of this study: Studies of organizational practices should consider contextual factors and the structural framework in which the practices are enacted (see Table 2). The review includes studies from the Norwegian healthcare context and from a wider international context. Whereas studies conducted in other countries offer insight into organizational practices in general, studies conducted in the Norwegian context may shed additional light on contextual factors that are relevant for this particular study.

Table 2: Previous studies of organizational practices for managing diversity

Study	Theoretical and methodological approach	Main findings
Zanoni & Janssens, 2007	Critical post-structuralism Interviews, discourse analysis	Organizations exercise control through bureaucratic procedures and managerial discourses. Minorities are subject to discourses originating within and outside the organization.
Rogstad & Solbrække, 2012	Institutional theory Interviews	Passive endorsement of and lack of opposition to senior management's vision of diversity result in limited change. There is more organizational support for the right to be different than for the right to be equal.
Dahle & Seeberg, 2013	Post-colonial feminism, intersectional theory Participant observation, interviews	Norwegianness is considered an important informal competence. Immigrants who are not able to align themselves with 'Norwegianness' hit 'the concrete ceiling of race'.
Janssens & Zanoni, 2014	Critical diversity management Multiple case study	Practices that broaden the norms of competencies and cultural identities foster equality. Practices should address structural dimensions rather than individual cognition and perceptions.
Ortlieb & Sieben, 2014	Structuration theory Case study: document review, survey, and interviews	Three areas of organizational practices for inclusion were identified: recruitment and selection, training and development, and meals and parties. Practices are ambivalent and at times contradictory.
Ponzoni et al., 2017	Critical diversity management Interview Discourse analysis	The normalizing power of discourses of otherness. The discourse of lack dominates and is not challenged or resisted by either mediators or refugees.
O'Leary & Sandberg, 2017	Practice theory Interview, shadowing	Managers undertake the same type of activities managing diversity, but perform them differently, depending on their understandings: identity blind, assimilation, inclusive differentiation, and equitable transformation.

Zanoni and Janssens (2007) examine bureaucratic procedures and discourses in two work organizations (a technical drawing company and a hospital) and analyze how minority employees engage with the systems of control. Organizational practices of control are exercised through bureaucratic procedures and identity-regulating managerial discourses (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Kärreman & Alvesson, 2004). The drawing company did not have an explicit diversity management approach, whereas over time, the hospital had developed concern for recruiting staff with diverse cultural backgrounds to serve a diverse population. In the drawing company, bureaucratic control and managerial discourse overlapped. In the hospital, the bureaucratic procedures were similar to those at other hospitals, whereas the discourse was characterized by openness to the diverse backgrounds of patients and employees and focused on the special competence of minority employees. Thus, the diversity-sensitive discourse softened the rigid bureaucratic control and granted employees more flexibility in finding ways to comply with management expectations. The present study builds on the findings from Zanoni and Janssens' study of Belgian workplaces and the authors' understanding of the interplay of the material bureaucratic control and managerial discourses. The finding that minority employees are subject to discourses in the larger societal context may be relevant in the Norwegian context as well. Zanoni and Janssens' study guides the attention to discourses in the present study.

In a study of diversity management in a hospital in Norway, Rogstad and Solbrække (2012) analyze the role of middle managers implementing the diversity vision of senior management. In general, middle managers were supportive of the diversity ideals, so the authors asked whether the managers' passive endorsement, or 'benign indifference', and lack of problematizing diversity are the real problems related to the limited change. The study shows that middle managers demonstrate concern for the right to be different (e.g., allowing the hijab and providing dietary alternatives and prayer rooms) but have fewer proactive strategies related to the right to be equal (e.g., equal opportunities for career development). The institutional perspective may explain why passive endorsement of the diversity discourse may be accompanied by a ceremonial implementation (Yang & Konrad, 2011) with a limited effect for minority employees. Rogstad and Solbrække's study highlights the role of middle managers in developing a diversity-friendly organization. Their findings call for further exploration of the role of middle managers, and in the present study, middle managers are observed and shadowed. Interviews with senior managers, unit managers, and employees inquire further into management practices and the role of managers. The understanding of the

right to be different and the right to be equal, paired with related organizational practices, guide the attention to organizational practices in the present study.

Dahle and Seeberg (2013) examine ethnic dimensions of hierarchy in a hospital and in a nursing home in Norway. The study contributes with an analysis of the understanding and use of competence in the two healthcare organizations. The authors describe how two aspects of globalization, New Public Management (NPM) and immigration, “meet in the concept of competence, which is the central principle of hierarchization” (p. 82) in the healthcare sector. The nursing home had a higher number of employees with an immigrant background, which reflected that employment in nursing homes is not the preferred option among majority healthcare personnel (Orupabo, 2014; Seeberg, 2012). Norwegianness stood out as an important informal competence in both organizations. The professional hierarchy was stricter in the hospital, and the study found greater flexibility in the definition and use of competence at the bottom of the hierarchy. The topic of competence spurs interest in understanding how managers engage with immigrant employees’ competence and motivates further research into how organizational practices may enhance and hinder inclusion. The description and interpretation of the nursing home as a multicultural workplace offer a relevant point of reference, and the authors’ ethnographic approach served as an inspiration for this research project.

Through a multiple-case study of 10 organizations in Belgium, Janssens and Zanoni (2014) identified formal organizational practices (Yang & Konrad, 2011) that foster ethnic equality. The authors are critical of social psychological approaches that focus on individual cognition and social categorization instead of challenging structural factors underpinning inequality. The study takes a critical, intersectional approach and inductively identifies organizational practices that achieve two organizational markers of equality; valuing the diverse competence of minority employees (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013; Munkejord & Tingvold, 2019) and their multiple identities (Nathan, 2015). Examples of organizational practices that foster equality in the ‘best case’ organization were a combined business/social recruitment policy, multi-ethnic composition of work teams, a two-language policy, and a flexible work schedule. Janssens and Zanoni underscore that organizational practices fostering equality should address ethnic minorities as employees and not as representatives of their ethnic groups (Zanoni & Janssens, 2004). On the other hand, focusing solely on employee identity and ignoring ethnic or immigrant identity may overlook challenges particular to ethnic minorities (Alberti et al.,

2013). The present study seeks to extend Janssens and Zanoni's findings by studying organizational practices from a practice-theoretical perspective examining further the complexity and connectedness of inclusion-related organizational practices.

In a study of organizational inclusion practices, Ortlieb and Sieben (2014) use Giddens' (1984) structuration theory to capture the duality of structure and agency, and they see inclusion and exclusion as two sides of the same coin (Dobusch, 2014). Ortlieb and Sieben underscore the interwovenness of inclusion and exclusion and how organizational practices intended to foster inclusion may have unintended consequences of differentiation and exclusion (Leslie, 2019). The study focuses on practices that are explicitly aimed at inclusion (Yang & Konrad, 2011). Three areas were identified: recruitment and selection, training and development, and meals and parties. By including recruitment, the study follows Dobusch's (2014) argument discussed above, acknowledging that inclusion should consider not only existing members of the work group but also entry conditions. The study explains how organizational actors shape formal structures with the continual application of rules of legitimation and material and immaterial resources in their social practices. The interplay of structure and agency, as well as the understanding of organizational practices as ambivalent, informs this study, and I seek to further explore the ambiguity of organizational practices by taking a practice-theoretical approach.

Ponzoni et al. (2017) investigate an integration initiative in the Netherlands where an organization acts as mediator, connecting refugees and employers to facilitate refugee employment. Refugees, mediators, and employers were interviewed to explore different positionings, and discourse analysis was applied in the analysis of the interviews. Like Ortlieb and Sieben (2014), the authors find exclusionary elements embedded in initiatives aimed at inclusion. The study demonstrates how the normalizing impact of the dominant discourse of lack, which positions immigrants as weak, counteracts other discourses that emphasize immigrants' added value and special competence. The extent to which immigrants adopt this discourse stand out in the study. In line with Zanoni and Janssens (2007), Ortlieb and Sieben found that the organizational discourse is connected to the wider societal discourse on immigration. Including immigrants requires questioning the normalized privileged position of the majority population, which is reproduced in dominant discourses. The way immigrants as well as actors who have an explicit intention to promote inclusion contribute to reinforce the position of lack offers an important analytical perspective to this study. Ponzoni and

colleagues' discussion of normalization or naturalization as an expression of power offers an analytical awareness when studying how organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion.

Through the use of practice theory, O'Leary and Sandberg (2017) examine how diversity management activities are accomplished. The study connects managers' understanding of diversity management, the activities they implement, and how they implement them. The researchers identify four sets of diversity activities (staff sourcing, interaction, designing jobs, and developing careers) and four ways of understanding managing diversity, ordered from the least to the most comprehensive understanding of diversity: identity blind, assimilation, inclusive differentiation, and equitable transformation. The effectiveness of diversity management is not primarily determined by what activities are undertaken, but by how the activities are performed. The more comprehensive understanding of diversity enabled the managers to respond in more varied and specified ways. The application of practice theory, demonstrating how similar activities are performed differently, informs this study. However, by broadening the scope (observing and interviewing senior managers, managers, and employees), this study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of inclusion-related practices.

From the studies reviewed, we know that organizational practices are ambiguous, and that organizational actors, embedded in organizational structures and dominant discourses, have agency to shape practices. These issues merit further research to better understand the dynamics of organizational practices for inclusion in the multicultural workplace in the Norwegian context. The previous research on organizational practices for managing diversity offers theoretical perspectives, analytical categories, and suggestions for what to look for when investigating cultural diversity and inclusion in the nursing homes in Oslo (Norway). Previous studies represent the foundation on which this research project is based and seeks to extend.

Institutional theory

In this section, I present institutional theory, and how this perspective offers a way to explain organizational practices for managing diversity. Three themes from institutional theory are particularly relevant for understanding organizational practices in this study: the pressure

from regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements, the presence of conflicting institutional demands, and the role of institutional leadership. At the end of the section, I discuss how institutional theory fits with a critical perspective on diversity management. The section starts with a presentation of the foundations of institutional theory and how it seeks to explain social reality and social action.

The understanding of institutions varies according to discipline. In this study, I take Berger and Luckmann's (1966) classic sociological text as my point of departure. The authors claim that institutions are patterns of behavior that become institutionalized through habituation. By developing institutions, or patterns of behavior, for different spheres of everyday life, individuals and collectives establish meaning, limit choices, and make life manageable. With institutionalization, the patterns of behavior are externalized and objectified—or reified. Despite institutions' origin in social behavior, they appear to the individual as objective reality, existing independently of their creators. Thus, institutions act back on individuals and constrain as well as enhance their behavior (Scott, 2014). Institutions are at the heart of social reality and can be defined as taken-for-granted patterns of activity rooted in material practices and symbolic systems (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 232). In contrast to earlier rational and economic perspectives, institutional theory claims that human action is guided by what is perceived as appropriate rather than what is efficient (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, et al., 2008; Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Meyer & Rowan, 1977). By conforming to what is considered appropriate, organizations and individual actors are granted legitimacy.

The institutional perspective sees organizations as simultaneously technical and institutional entities (Scott & Davis, 2016; Selznick, 1957). The technical aspect is manifest in formal tasks, roles, and relationships, whereas the institutional aspect is expressed in informal culture, norms, values, and politics (Besharov & Khurana, 2015). The technical and institutional aspects of organizations and organizational practices are complementary rather than contradictory (Besharov & Khurana, 2015; Lawrence & Buchanan, 2017; Scott & Davis, 2016). The interplay of technical and institutional elements is a central finding of Selznick's study which is often overlooked within institutional theory (Suddaby, 2010). Values, culture, and politics interact with formal structures and policies. Holding on to the technical aspect of organizations means paying attention to structural, material, and economic aspects. These are

aspects that risk being downplayed in the institutional perspective if only the symbolic meaning of the material is considered.

The regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions

How do institutions influence organizational practices? Institutions are upheld by regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements (Scott, 2014). Regulative elements exercise coercive pressure, and behavior is legally sanctioned. Typical examples of regulative elements are legislative frameworks like the Working Environment Act. Normative elements include values as conceptions of the desirable (Askeland, 2020b; Rokeach, 1973) and norms indicating how things should be done. Normative elements influence organizational practices through morally governed expectations. In nursing homes, professional norms for healthcare personnel and organizational profile documents guide action. Cultural-cognitive elements of institutions influence organizational practices by shaping common understandings and schemas of how things are done. This view comes close to Berger and Luckmann's understanding of institutions as taken-for-granted patterns of behavior, presented above. Cultural-cognitive elements exercise mimetic pressure on organizational practices (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements can be located on a continuum from conscious to unconscious, from explicit to implicit (Scott, 2014, p. 56).

These institutional pillars may or may not be aligned (Scott, 2014). Therefore, the pillars provide a framework for analyzing how institutional elements shaping organizational practices may be contradictory or conflict (Tracey & Creed, 2017). A central source of tension is the unequal distribution of power among organizational actors, as institutions are also "*distributional instruments* laden with power implications" (Mahoney & Thelen, 2009, p. 8 (italics in original)). The various strands of institutional theory have given differing emphasis and priority to the three pillars in terms of how they influence organizational practices. In the introduction to the SAGE handbook on organizational institutionalism (Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin, et al., 2008, p. 5), the authors clarify their understanding of the regulatory element of institutions:

To us, accounts of how regulatory agencies (institutions) shape organizational behaviour are incomplete institutional explanations unless they show how regulatory frameworks embody, enact or transmit societal norms and values. Otherwise, referring to regulatory frameworks as 'the institutional context' risks confusing institutional theory with resource-dependence or political-economy explanations.

The quote underscores the constitutive role of the normative and cultural-cognitive elements for institutions. Based on the understanding of the interplay of the technical and institutional elements of organizations (Besharov & Khurana, 2015; Selznick, 1957; Suddaby, 2010) discussed above, I caution against downplaying the regulative element and argue that Scott's three pillars facilitate an analysis of organizational practices that considers the formal and informal aspects of the organization. Paying attention to formal and structural aspects is fundamental for a critical approach to diversity management (Mahadevan et al., 2020; Nkomo et al., 2019). Formal and structural aspects of an organization are products of unequal power relations that merit contestation and should not be taken as given (Willmott, 2015).

Institutional orders and conflicting institutional demands

Institutional theory has been criticized for being too rigid and deterministic. To better explain differences in social action, Friedland and Alford (1991) connected differing institutional logics to institutional orders from which they emerged. Thornton and colleagues (2012) identified seven institutional orders: family, religion, community, state, market, profession, and corporation. Each institutional order is governed by what Friedland (2013) later called institutional substances, "the metaphysical foundation of the institutional logic, which provides the telos" (p. 35). This means that certain actions are perceived as more appropriate and have more legitimacy within an institutional order compared to others. The nursing homes included in this study operate at the intersection of various institutional orders representing competing institutional demands. Providing public service, nursing homes are connected to the institutional order of the state. Change within the public sector, and the introduction of NPM implies that nursing homes are also connected to market logic (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013; Struminska-Kutra & Askeland, 2020). As healthcare institutions, nursing homes are influenced by the logic of professions. And nursing homes owned by faith-based institutions operate within the additional logic of religion (Askeland, 2020a; Sirris, 2019). The institutional orders of the state, the market, the professions, and religion represent competing institutional demands that constrain action in nursing homes. Within the institutional order of the profession, trust in employees' use of discretion is reasonable, whereas the use of more detailed performance indicators for supervision is considered legitimate within market logic. However, the context of institutional pluralism (Kraatz & Block, 2017) with competing institutional demands also offers space for agency, juggling the different logics and demands and enhancing agency.

Institutional leadership

Managers exercise institutional leadership not only by articulating the vision and values of the organization but also by formulating policies and providing structures for cooperation (Askeland, 2020a; Kraatz, 2009; Struminska-Kutra & Askeland, 2020). In the context of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace in this study, managers play a central role by establishing a culture and climate that welcome diversity (Mor Barak, 2016; Nishii & Rich, 2014) and by formulating policies and ensuring that they are accomplished in everyday organizational practices (Ortlieb & Sieben, 2014; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007). In a classic text, Selznick (1957) argue that the central task of institutional leaders is to ‘infuse the organization with values’. Institutional leadership is not limited to the apex of the organizational hierarchy; but senior managers have allocative and authoritative resources (Giddens, 1984) at their disposal, which grant them a special role in this regard. The two types of resources indicate that institutional leadership is enacted at the intersection of organizations’ technical and institutional aspects.

Institutional theory and a critical perspective

In the literature review of diversity management above, I concluded that I would base this study on critical perspectives on contextual and structural aspects which address inequality. To what extent does the institutional perspective offer any help in this regard? One of the current debates is whether institutional theory can be critical (Lok, 2019; Suddaby, 2015; Willmott, 2015, 2019). Institutions comprise an inherent rigidity and resistance to change, and therefore, institutional theory has focused more on stability and maintenance of the social order than on change. Researchers in this tradition have been criticized for naturalizing institutionalized practices, treating them as given, instead of inquiring into how they are produced by and continue to reproduce unequal power relations (Willmott, 2015). To counter the criticism, Lok (2019) argues that with its conceptual apparatus, institutional theory has the potential for critical research, shifting the attention from institutional processes per se to the effect these processes have on people. With its emphasis on how the historical, social, and political contexts frame organizational practices, I believe an institutional perspective may contribute to a critical perspective on diversity management.

Practice theory

In this section, I present practice theory as a complementary theoretical perspective to better understand how organizational practices unfold in the multicultural workplace. The section starts with a presentation of foundational characteristics of practice theory. Practice theory research is not a unified body but shares some common features (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011; Gherardi, 2016; Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). In this study, I draw especially on the contributions of Theodore Schatzki (2002, 2005, 2012, 2019, 2021) and Davide Nicolini (2009, 2011, 2012, 2017b). Two themes of practice theory are particularly relevant for understanding the complexity and connectedness of practices in this study: the entanglement of discourse, body, and materiality in practices, and how practices, situated in space and time, are nested in configurations of practices. The section ends with a discussion of practice and power, and how practice theory fits with a critical approach to diversity management.

Practice theory endeavors to explain how practices create the social world, social phenomena, and social order (Nicolini, 2017b), by rearticulating the social phenomena of concern in light of practice. The ontological premise of practice theory is that all social phenomena are tied to and emerge out of practice (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017; Schatzki, 2012; Whittington, 2006). By moving the focus to practices, practice theory seeks to overcome the dualisms of structure/agency, subjective/objective, and micro/macro (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011; Janssens & Steyaert, 2019; Nicolini, 2012, 2017b). Thus, the unit of analysis is neither individuals nor structures, but the practice itself. Recently, practice theory has been used to study a wide range of organizational- and management-related phenomena. Examples are Whittington's (2006) work on strategy as practice, Tengblad's (2012) edited volume on a practice theory of management, and the recent work of Janssens and Steyaert (2019) on a practice-based theory of diversity.

Practice theory foregrounds activity, yet practice is more than a set of activities. A practice can be defined as "an open-ended, spatially-temporally dispersed nexus of sayings and doing" (Schatzki, 2012, p. 14). The activities of a practice are organized by understandings, rules, and teleoaffective structures (Schatzki, 2016a). Nicolini (2012) argues there is a risk for practice theorists to essentialize the practice, treating it as a given object, and thus, falling into the very trap practice theory attempts to avoid. To maintain the performative and processual nature of practices, and avoid essentializing the practice, Nicolini slightly modifies Schatzki's

definition and sees practices as “regimes of a mediated object-oriented performance of organized set of sayings and doings” (2017b, p. 21). Thus, a practice is not the activity, for example, recruiting, in and of itself, but the way recruitment as a practice is composed and accomplished. A practice is social in that it always involves multiple people (Schatzki, 2012). It is social also in the sense that the practice has a history, a social constituency, and a normative dimension (Nicolini, 2017b). Janssens and Steyaert (2019) label this the ‘relational ontology’ of the practice and juxtapose it with the individualist approach common in diversity management studies.

The entanglement of discourse, body, and materiality

In organizational practices, discourse, body, and materiality are entwined. Discursive resources—what is said, how it is said, and when it is said (Nicolini, 2017b, p. 21)—are central in the enactment of a practice. From a practice-theoretical perspective, discourse mediates practice (Schatzki, 2017) and is a way to act in the world, more than a way to represent it (Nicolini, 2012). In critical discourse analysis, discourse is understood as a social practice of written and spoken words reflecting underlying structures and power relations (Fairclough, 2009), which aligns well with practice theory as it is used here. The way Janssens and Steyaert (2019) apply discourse as an element of practice connects practice theory to critical diversity management (Zanoni et al., 2010). In the present study of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace, various dominant discourses mediate organizational practices. Examples of discourses are the society-level discourse on migration, the NPM-based discourse on user satisfaction, and the solidarity discourse of non-profit organizations.

Practices are inscribed in the body and are organized by general and practical understandings (Schatzki, 2012). To describe the bodily and non-propositional nature of human action, Schatzki draws on Bourdieu’s concept of ‘habitus’ and Giddens’ concept of ‘practical consciousness’. Practices are partly routinized, partly improvised (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019), reflecting the intelligibility and practical knowledge of the actors (Nicolini, 2017b, p. 20). Examples of embodied practices in this study are the staffing practice (ensuring that the unit has the required staff at all times), selection of the candidate who best fits a position, and the choice of appropriate topics for conversations during lunch breaks. The indeterminacy of practices allows for initiative, creativity, and agency (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017) and thus, stands in contrast to structural approaches where human action appears as more or less

predetermined. Instead of concepts like embedded agency (Battilana & D’unno, 2009; Seo & Creed, 2002) or context as constraint on behavior, Schatzki (2012) suggests that we “conceive of human activity as taking place in contexts to which it is variably reactive” (p. 22).

Practices are essentially material as they deal with material entities, including human bodies, in different ways (Schatzki, 2012). Tools and artifacts shape practices’ meaning (Feldman & Orlikowski, 2011; Gherardi, 2015; Schatzki, 2019). In nursing homes, the physical location where the managers carry out their role and the use of uniforms or private clothes shape the management practice. In addition, texts, like the Working Environment Act and the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act, are material artifacts that organize practices. Discourse, body, and materiality are not just different aspects of practices but are intertwined or entangled (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019).

Practices: Situated in space and time in configurations of practices

Situating organizational practices in nursing homes in space and time accentuates the wider context of cultural diversity and inclusion (Nicolini, 2011, p. 604), as practices never exist in isolation (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). A practice is always connected to other practices, in a nexus of practices. Practices are connected, for example, when they are mutually dependent, when they share the same ends or goals, when they form chains of action, or when they are intentionally joined (Schatzki, 2012). By studying the configuration of practices in nursing homes, practices may be traced from the local to the translocal. Nicolini (2009) uses the metaphor of zooming in and zooming out to describe this process, zooming in on the local, specific practice and zooming out to identify the connections and the wider context. A strategy for tracing connections is to follow the intermediaries: the actors, artifacts, texts, etc. (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). This way of tracing practices from the local to the translocal reflects the flat, single-level ontology of practice theory (Schatzki, 2016b, 2021) that challenges the traditional dualism of micro/macro.

Practices and power

Despite practice theory’s roots in the works of sociological thinkers like Giddens and Bourdieu, it, like institutional theory, has been criticized for not sufficiently coming to terms with issues of power (Watson, 2017). Schatzki (2021) suggests that to grasp the issue of

power, practice theory should call on other bodies of theory, such as phenomenology or Foucault's or Lukes' concepts of power. However, power, conflict, and interests are constitutive elements of social reality (Nicolini, 2012). When practices are located in space and time, they are also located in specific power relations (Nicolini, 2011). Understanding practices as goal- or object-oriented performances underscores how they are associated with the pursuit of specific interests at the expense of others. It is important to underscore that in a practice-theoretical perspective, the teleoaffective dimension (Schatzki, 2002) is carried by the practice itself, not by the actors (Nicolini, 2017b). The goal orientation of the practice is partly given, partly emergent, always changing, and always subject to negotiation and contestation (Nicolini, 2017b). Aligning practice theory with the critical diversity management perspective, Janssens and Steyaert (2019) argue that practices should be examined from a political angle, inquiring into the tensions and contradictions between practices and interrogating the consequences of practices for those who dwell within the nexus of practices (Nicolini, 2017b). Applied to this study, inclusion is defined as the net effect of inclusion-related practices. Analyzing the net effect of the configuration of inclusion-related practices may surface conflicting interests and the unequal power to assert them.

A practice-driven institutionalism

The presentation of institutional theory above showed that practices are central to institutions, understood as patterns of behavior, and there have been several attempts to connect institutional theory and practice theory (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Seo & Creed, 2002; Whittington, 2006; Zietsma & Lawrence, 2010). A recent initiative takes the connection a step further by developing what is labeled a 'practice-driven institutionalism' (PDI; Friedland, 2018; Lounsbury et al., 2021b; Smets et al., 2017). PDI attempts to develop greater onto-epistemological clarity in the connection of practice theory and institutional theory. The editors of the SAGE handbook on organizational institutionalism (Greenwood et al., 2017), consider the development of PDI promising and argue that practice theory could offer more 'granularity' to the understanding of the micro-foundations of institutions.

Two strands of institutional theory, institutional logics and institutional work, have explicit links to practices and practice theory but are to different extents integrated in the PDI

initiative. The institutional logics perspective builds on Friedland and Alford's (1991) canonical text on logics and institutional orders. In Thornton and Ocasio's (1999) definition of institutional logics, practices are included in a way that resonates well with practice theory: "We define institutional logics as the socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space and provide meaning to their social reality" (p. 804). The strand of institutional logics and the contribution of Friedland (2013, 2018, 2021) have been central to the exploration of PDI.

Lawrence and Suddaby (2006) elaborate on practice theory in their text on institutions and institutional work and define institutional work as "the purposive action of individuals and organizations aimed at creating, maintaining and disrupting institutions" (p. 215). However, the stream of institutional work has been criticized for leveraging the practice theoretical toolkit only partially (Smets et al., 2017; Zilber, 2021). The notion of 'purposive' in their definition of institutional work and its connotation of planned change have been criticized for a limiting approach to practice (Schatzki, 2021). Smets and colleagues (2017, p. 377) argue that "most people do not set out to affect the institutional arrangements that surround them, but to cope with the practical exigencies of the situation they find themselves in." This argument may apply to people in general, whereas the explicit purpose and intention to affect institutions may be more prominent among managers, as demonstrated in research on institutional leadership (Askeland, 2020a; Kraatz, 2009). Regardless, thus far institutional work has not achieved the same foothold in PDI as the institutional logics perspective.

For this study, three themes from the intersection of practice theory and institutional theory have particular relevance. First, practice theory's concepts of 'general understanding' and 'practical understanding' shed additional light on how organizational actors handle conflicting institutional demands in everyday situations. Second, PDI attempts to close the gap between micro and macro, connecting everyday practices and the wider societal context. Third, the role of practitioners as carriers of institutions brings forth the role of actors. The capacity of institutional theory and practice theory to deal with issues of power and a critical perspective on diversity management has been discussed above. At the end of this section, I discuss whether PDI is better equipped.

Handling conflicting institutional demands

In the nursing homes included in this study, organizational actors operate at the intersection of various institutional logics or orders, as discussed in the section on institutional theory above. Can practice theory shed light on how the actors choose to maneuver when facing conflicting institutional demands? Schatzki (2012) argues that a practice is organized by collectively shared rules, teleoaffective structures, and general and practical understandings. It is these two forms of understanding that may help explain how organizational actors respond to conflicting institutional demands. ‘General understandings’ are abstract senses of the value and essence of for example the beauty of an artisan product or the nobility of caring for residents in a nursing home. “They are not ends for which people strive but senses of the worth, value, nature, or place of things, which infuse and are expressed in people’s doings and sayings (p. 16). ‘General understanding’ bears a resemblance to Friedland’s (2013, pp. 34-35; 2018) ‘institutional substances’ or Weber’s ‘gods of the value spheres’, as the metaphysical foundation of institutional logics (see also Schatzki, 2021). The general understanding guides organizational actors to appropriate actions in a given context (Smets et al., 2017). However, in a given situation, it is the practical understanding that allows the actor to decide which general understanding is relevant. Practical understanding is the actor’s implicit, or tacit, know-how that helps him or her to get the job done amid conflicting demands. Whereas institutional theory offers cultural-cognitive elements at the macro- or field level, practice theory helps unpack how individual actors use their discretion in everyday situations, which relates to the following theme of closing the gap between macro and micro.

Connecting macro and micro

The study of everyday practices related to cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes elicits questions of where the practices originate. Institutional theory has traditionally taken a top-down approach to explaining social action, emphasizing structures and how institutions at the society or field level shape practices. Practice theory, on the other hand, has foregrounded everyday activity. From the PDI perspective, institutions and everyday activities mutually constitute each other and should be examined together (Lounsbury et al., 2021a; Whittington, 2006). Schatzki (2021, p. 133) argues for the complementarity of institutional theory and practice theory without dividing into micro versus macro:

Correlatively, theories of practices and institutional theory, respectively, need not be associated with micro versus macro or bottoms-up versus top-down analyses.

Theories of practices and theories of institutions can instead be treated as different components of a single analysis of this complex reality, practice theory specifying its basic character and institutional analysis specifying important pervasive or large-scale features of it.

The flat ontology of practice theory claims that all aspects of a social phenomenon are laid out on a single level (Nicolini, 2017a; Schatzki, 2016b). Whether it is the caring practice as it is accomplished in a nursing home or the employment of immigrants as a so-called large-scale phenomenon, all practices have the same basic composition. Large-scale phenomena are just larger compositions of bundles of practices that stretch out in time and space, with more dense connections. It is the scale, not the level, that differentiates the two phenomena. Without abandoning the flat ontology, the vocabulary of institutional theory may be useful to describe large-scale phenomena and to identify elements that shape everyday practices in nursing homes (Schatzki, 2016a, 2021). Regulative texts, like the Working Environment Act, are materialized features of institutionalized practices (Watson, 2017), as are normative elements expressed in organizational values platforms. Cultural-cognitive elements are practices that have been repeated over time and have worked their way into actors' practical understanding. Connecting practices to institutional orders, as discussed above, locates the logic or the general understanding of the practice at the societal level. Therefore, I lean on Smets and colleagues' position in the approach of this thesis:

Tapping into societal-level logics as originally envisaged by Friedland and Alford (1991) and specifying in detail how they play out in everyday praxis across different empirical settings, strengthens the explanatory power of both logics and praxis, closes the gap between institutions and actions, and attends more closely to the structuration of social orders *in action*. (2017, p. 374)

Practitioners as carriers of institutions

In institutional theory, actors may be lost out of sight with the emphasis on structures over agency, and when considered, actors are often treated as asocial individuals (Smets et al., 2017). Giving more emphasis to agency, institutional theory on entrepreneurship has examined the role of individual entrepreneurs (Leca et al., 2008). This literature has been criticized for limiting agency to heroic individuals, and the stream of institutional work has sought to develop a more social image of actors and agency (Hampel et al., 2017; Lawrence et al., 2009). To maintain the focus on practices as the unit of analysis, practice theory labels

actors ‘practitioners’ and considers them the active embodiment of practices. It is practitioners who apply their practical understanding and make choices concerning which general understanding is appropriate in a given situation. In the study of cultural diversity and inclusion, frontline practitioners like unit managers play a crucial role in shaping practices and granting relevance to the different institutional orders (Smets et al., 2017): They are carriers of institutions. While welcoming the emphasis on practitioners, PDI protagonists also caution against “research that is overly actor-centric” (Lounsbury et al., 2021a, p. 10).

Practice-driven institutionalism and denaturalizing inequality

Given the limitations of institutional theory and practice theory in addressing issues of power and inequality, what does PDI have to offer? I argue that the focus on practices and the flat ontology of practice theory help explain the process of institutionalization (Lounsbury et al., 2021a). Practice theory’s insistence on how social phenomena are always in a state of becoming (Smets et al., 2017) may also counter the accusation of the rigidity of institutional theory, treating institutionalized practices as given and naturalized (Willmott, 2015). Combining attention to the institutional elements in the wider societal context with an understanding of how domination and exploitation are naturalized in everyday practices may equip a practice-driven institutionalism with a better analytical apparatus to understand and identify how the social order is maintained or challenged (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Smets et al., 2017).

Summing up and the way forward

The literature review of diversity, inclusion, and equality showed that different strands of research with different philosophical underpinnings exist side by side. In this study, I draw on a critical approach to diversity management that emphasizes how structural and contextual factors shape organizational practices. I consider group-level differences relevant and distance myself from an individualistic approach to diversity where social categories like gender, class, and immigration status are reduced to surface-level, less important differences. I consider immigration status a fundamental social, group-level category when addressing inclusion and equality in the multicultural workplace. Research on organizational practices for managing diversity highlights the ambiguity and at times, contradictory nature of organizational

practices, and how they are tied to society-level structures and discourses. The literature review demonstrated the need for further research to better understand the dynamics and complexity of organizational practices in a particular organizational and societal context.

The review of the literature on diversity, inclusion, and equality as well as the studies of organizational practices for managing diversity pointed to practice theory and perspectives on society-level structural factors. Therefore, I consider practice theory and institutional theory relevant theoretical perspectives for this study. The recent initiative of PDI, which combines these two theoretical traditions, seems particularly promising for this study. The relational ontology of practice theory acknowledges that organizational practices and institutional factors seldom make sense when considered in isolation and instead, should be considered in dynamic interplay (Smets et al., 2017, pp. 378-379). Following institutional theory's and practice theory's emphasis on contextual factors, time and space, the following chapter describes the research context in which the organizational practices for managing diversity of this study take place.

3. RESEARCH CONTEXT

Cultural diversity is a characteristic of the Norwegian population as well as most workplaces today. Norwegian demographics have changed remarkably over the last 50 years, and the changing context elicits new challenges. This chapter presents the research context of the study. The first section locates cultural diversity in the Norwegian context and seeks to explain why cultural diversity is so closely tied to immigration in Norway (Midtbøen, 2017). Paying attention to the historical context acknowledges that organizational practices are situated in space and time (Schatzki, 2002; Suddaby, 2015). The second section elaborates on the healthcare sector as an arena for integration of immigrants. The chapter ends with a description of the characteristics of nursing homes as the empirical locus of the study.

Cultural diversity and immigration

Different categories like ethnicity, race, and immigration status, may be used as indicators of cultural diversity in the workplace (Van Laer & Zanoni, 2020). In the Norwegian context, immigration status is particularly relevant as cultural diversity in the workplace to a large extent is a consequence of immigration. Using immigration status as a category also reflects available official statistics. Statistics Norway (SSB) develops demographic statistics based on country of birth and not on ethnicity,² making Norway a ‘registry country’, where statistics are based on the national population registry and not on surveys where the population self-reports ethnicity as a characteristic.

Without ignoring the presence of indigenous minorities, the present cultural diversity in Norway is a recent phenomenon resulting from different waves of immigration (Figure 1). In 1970, immigrants made up 1,5 % of the population, compared to 14,7 % in 2020.³ Work migrants arriving from Pakistan, Turkey, Morocco, and India in the late 1960s and at the beginning of the 1970s represented the first wave of immigration (Midtbøen, 2017). Since the mid-1970s, Norway has had a restrictive immigration policy, and subsequent waves of immigration have been tied to international political and humanitarian crises. The expansion of the European Union (EU) in 2004 and 2007 was followed by an increase in immigrants from EU/European Economic Area (EEA) countries.

² <http://kifinfo.no/en/2017/12/ethnicity-cannot-be-counted>

³ <https://www.ssb.no/statbank/table/05182/>

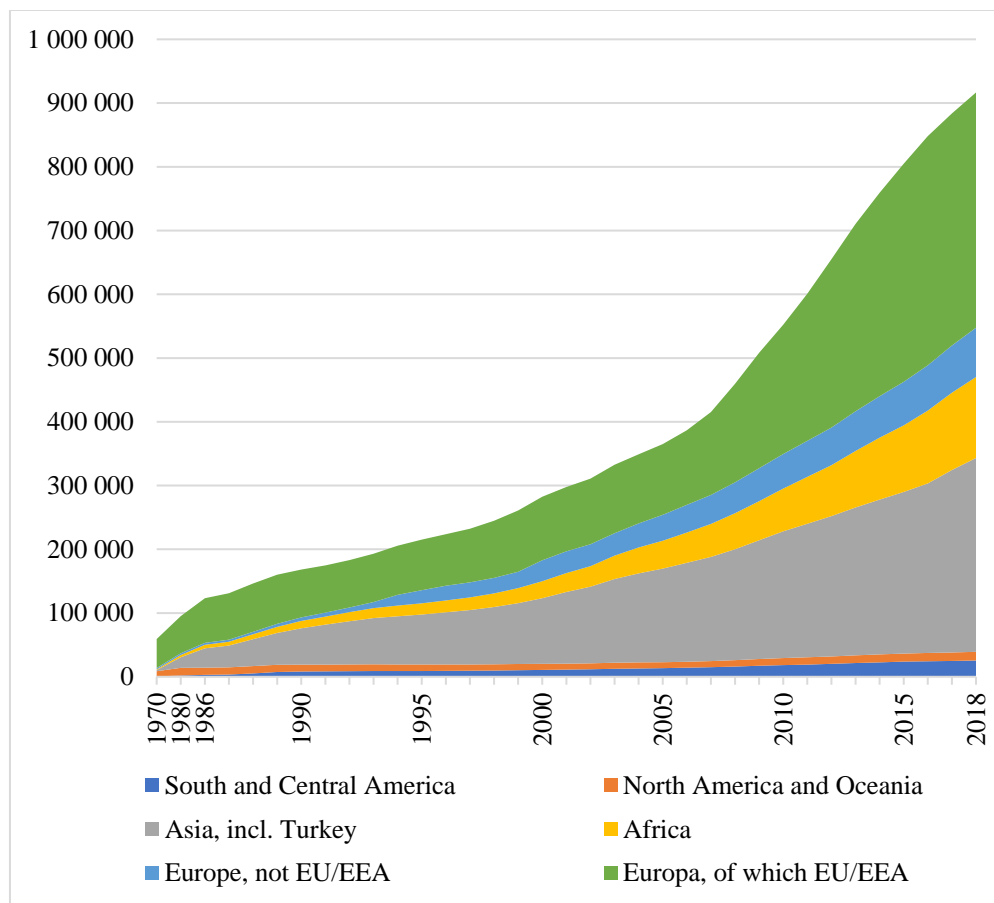


Figure 1: Immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents 1970–2018

Immigration as a background for cultural minorities in Norway implies a specific set of challenges in the multicultural workplace, such as validating education and work experience from the country of origin, learning the language, and adapting to a new culture. Statistics show that the unemployment rate is higher among immigrants than among the population in general (Birkelund et al., 2017; Statistics Norway, 2018). Immigrants are also underemployed to a higher degree than non-immigrants, they earn less, and they are underrepresented in management positions. These systematic differences influence immigrants' subject positions in the workplace. Broadly speaking, employees with an immigrant background can be categorized into three groups; professionals who have been recruited for special work tasks or sectors (like the healthcare sector), immigrants who seek employment on their own initiative (primarily from the EU/EEA), and refugees and asylum seekers.

The effect of immigration on the sustainability of the Norwegian welfare state has become a central topic in the current immigration debate in Norway (Brochmann, 2008, 2017;

Midtbøen, 2017). In the dominant discourse, it is argued that a generous welfare state with universal systems of economic and social support requires strict immigration control, and immigrants with legal residency should be included in the labor market as soon as possible to avoid becoming a burden on the welfare budgets (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013). The debate has been marked by tension between multiculturalism and assimilation (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013). Multiculturalism denotes the empirical phenomenon of increased cultural and ethnic diversity, but is frequently understood as an ideological position, defending immigrants' right to maintain their own culture and values (Brochmann et al., 2002; Midtbøen, 2017).

Assimilation, on the other hand, reflects the position that immigrants should adopt the host country's values and norms, use the Norwegian language, and leave their traditional practices behind (Friberg, 2019). The tension between multiculturalism and assimilation reflects the liberal dilemma (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013; Midtbøen, 2017). Is it in line with liberal values to require immigrants to assimilate 'our values'? On the other hand, is acceptance of immigrants' traditional values and practices in line with liberal values? Djuve (2015) asks whether recognition of cultural diversity hinders social and economic redistribution when cultural values prevent certain immigrant groups from participating in the labor market.

The empirical reality of cultural diversity in Norwegian society demands efforts to create inclusive workplaces—facilitating immigrants' employment to sustain the welfare state but also enhancing cooperation and communication in the workplace and using immigrants' additional competence to provide equitable services to an increasingly diverse population.

The healthcare sector

The healthcare sector is perceived, and used as, an arena for integrating immigrants (Eide et al., 2017). The sector is growing, and in the foreseeable future, will employ large numbers of people (Ministry of Health and Care Services, 2013). Norwegian municipalities and healthcare providers recruit overseas healthcare personnel to fill vacancies, and healthcare professionals from the EU/EEA come to Norway to solicit employment. In addition, the sector employs a large number of immigrants with a background as refugees and asylum seekers. Many do not have training as healthcare personnel in their country of origin, but over time, they may obtain formal healthcare credentials. In Oslo, immigrants represented 44,7 %

of accorded full-time equivalents (FTEs) in the municipal health and care services in 2017.⁴ At the national level, immigrants' share of health and care services increased by 80 % from 2009 to 2017.

In this study, the healthcare sector is used as a showcase of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace. Other issues that make cultural diversity particularly relevant in the healthcare sector, like different ways of handling aging, suffering, and death, are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Nursing homes in Oslo

As a showcase of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace, nursing homes provide opportunities to study organizational practices and interaction among a diverse group of managers and employees. Compared to healthcare services that are provided in the homes of service users, nursing homes offer services to groups of residents at a specific site, and have a large group of employees and managers of different cultural and professional backgrounds working together.

In the municipality of Oslo, currently, 38 nursing homes offer long-term residential healthcare to elderly individuals and persons with dementia.⁵ About 50 % of the nursing homes in Oslo are run by the municipality, 38 % are run by non-profit entities, and 15 % are run by commercial private entities. A central administrative unit of the municipality, *Sykehjemsetaten* (SYE), oversees all the nursing homes run by the municipality and has contracts with private non- and for-profit organizations to operate other nursing homes. The three dominant groups of healthcare personnel in nursing homes are care assistants, healthcare workers, and nurses. Whereas nursing is considered a middle-class profession, healthcare worker and care assistant positions have traditionally been considered working class (Dahle & Seeberg, 2013). In nursing homes in Oslo, employees with an immigrant background are represented in all professional categories, as care assistants, healthcare workers, and nurses, and they are a diverse group in terms of length of time spent in Norway and educational

⁴ <https://www.ssb.no/helse/artikler-og-publikasjoner/innvandrene-sto-for-1-av-6-arsverk-innen-omsorg>

⁵ <https://www.oslo.kommune.no/helse-og-omsorg/omsorgsbolig-og-sykehjem/sykehjem/alle-sykehjem-og-helsehus/>

background. One category of immigrants has little or no formal education in their country of origin. They came to Norway as adults and found that nursing homes provide opportunities for employment. Another category is immigrant care workers who are trained as medical doctors or nurses in their home countries. Some have achieved authorization to work at the level of their academic training, but others have achieved authorization only at a lower level. In contrast to care workers with a majority background, a substantial portion of care workers with an immigrant background are male. Thus, nursing homes are organizations where the social categories of class, gender, and ethnicity intersect (Seeberg, 2012).

The three nursing homes included in this study differ in terms of operating structure, geographic location, and size. The operating structure of nursing homes is debated. The current administration of the municipality of Oslo advocates for nursing homes run by either the municipality or non-profit entities. The number of nursing homes run by for-profit entities has been declining. A central issue in the debate is employee rights and employment conditions. There are fewer differences for nurses across operating structures due to the collective agreement between the nurses' trade union and employers. For healthcare workers and care assistants, salary and shift schedules vary more according to the nursing home's operating structure. The municipality offers the best working conditions, followed by non-profit entities. Non-profit and for-profit entities develop their own organizational identity and values platform to profile and market their services. Non-profit nursing homes often have a larger group of volunteers contributing to their services, and the nursing homes may be connected to other structures and activities related to the community where they are located.

The three nursing homes examined are located in different parts of the city: East, West, and downtown. The different areas have different demographic characteristics. The population in the eastern part of Oslo is more culturally diverse and has lower socioeconomic status than their neighbors in the western part of the city. The downtown area is characterized by less of a sense of neighborhood and community than the areas in the eastern and western parts of city. Persons in need of residency in a nursing home may choose where to apply, which means that the residents may have lived in different parts of the city before they came to the nursing home.

Despite the nursing homes' differences, the similarities are more striking. One reason is likely the role of SYE and the detailed contract between SYE and the non-profit and for-profit

entities. Over time, the use of personnel, including the share of nurses and healthcare staff, and the number of staff on duty in the units on each shift, have been regulated in more detail. According to the CEOs of the nursing homes, the contract contains guidelines down to the level of detail indicating that the nursing home should put on white tablecloths for holidays like Easter and Christmas. The increased regulation of the operation of nursing homes is a quality assurance measure but also leaves less room for a special profile of the different owners.

Summing up and the way forward

The presentation of the research context demonstrated the relevance of immigration status as a social category when studying cultural diversity in the Norwegian context, and the current discourse on immigration highlights the importance of ensuring immigrants' inclusion in the labor market to sustain the welfare state. In municipal healthcare services, a high percentage of employees have an immigrant background, and the sector is proposed and used as an arena for integrating immigrants. This makes the healthcare sector a relevant site for investigating cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace. Nursing homes that provide healthcare services at specific sites offer opportunities to examine the complexity of organizational practices. The following chapter elaborates on the research design and methods applied in the study of cultural diversity and inclusion in this context.

4. RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Based on the aim of the study, the research question, and the theoretical framework, this chapter presents the research process underlying this study. The chapter starts with the argument for a qualitative approach to study cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace and clarifies the paradigm of the theory of science underpinning the study. The sections that follow present the research design of the project, connecting the theoretical frameworks presented in Chapter 2 to the case study as the chosen strategy of inquiry, and to a set of methods for generating empirical data (Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The chapter further presents the analytical strategies applied and criteria for assessing the quality of the study. At the end of the chapter, my role as researcher and ethical considerations are discussed.

Qualitative research and theory of science

To examine how organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace, a qualitative approach was chosen. Denzin and Lincoln (2018) describe qualitative research as

a situational activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretative, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self. (p. 10)

This understanding highlights several central aspects of the present study. The first is the naturalistic aspect of the research, the engagement with the phenomena in their natural setting, in this case in nursing homes as workplaces. Second, the quote stresses that through interpretative, material practices, the world is transformed. In qualitative research, the researcher is a key instrument in the process of generating empirical data (Creswell, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015), and in this study, I brought my worldview, previous experiences, and accumulated knowledge to the process. In contrast to the natural sciences, there is no clear boundary between the researcher and the researched in the social sciences, and therefore, the researcher takes an active part in transforming the world as an inherent part of the research process. By labeling the field notes and interview transcripts ‘representations’, the quote underscores the distance and difference between ‘the world as it is’ and the product

of the research process. There is no direct access to data, and “any gaze is filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 17).

The researcher brings to the qualitative research process a set of assumptions and a theory of science, which includes beliefs about ontology and epistemology—the nature of what is and of how we can know it. Management and organization studies belong to the social sciences and are highly dominated by the American tradition. In the Anglo-American research context, “the overwhelming bias has been to think of the social sciences as *natural sciences* concerning individuals in their social relations” (Bernstein, 1983, p. 35). The Norwegian context developed to a large extent within this Anglo-American paradigm until it was challenged in the 1960s in what is called the battle of positivism. Hans Skjervheim ((1959) 2000) was a central advocate for understanding social sciences as fundamentally different from the natural sciences (Østerberg, 2003). He was influenced by phenomenology and existentialism from the continental tradition and was deeply concerned by what he saw as the tendency of the American branch of social science. Skjervheim argued that when you study another human being, you study nothing but yourself, which also has ethical implications for the social sciences (Østerberg, 2003, p. 105-106).

In a similar vein, Berger and Luckmann, also inspired by phenomenology, argue for a different approach than that of the natural sciences, using everyday reality as individuals experience it as the starting point:

The method we consider best suited to clarify the foundations of knowledge in everyday life is that of phenomenological analysis, a purely descriptive method and, as such, ‘empirical’ but not ‘scientific’ – as we understand the nature of the empirical sciences. The phenomenological analysis of everyday life, or rather the subjective experience of everyday life, refrains from any causal or genetic hypotheses, as well as from assertions about the ontological status of the phenomena analyzed (1966, p. 20).

However, social constructionism,⁶ named after Berger and Luckmann’s seminal text, is frequently associated with a relativist ontology and subjectivist epistemology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). The world as we know it is socially constructed. People are the authors, and language is the main tool for the social construction of reality (Aadland, 2011).

⁶ In the literature, “social constructionism” and “social constructivism” are used, without any clear differentiation between the two. I choose to follow Alvesson and Skjöldberg (2008) and use “social constructionism.”

What are the implications of a relativist ontology for the topic of cultural diversity and inclusion in this study? If reality is socially constructed, are the phenomena still real? Alvesson and Sköldbberg (2008) distinguish between three different aspects of truth: correspondence, application, and meaning (see Figure 2). The authors argue that different paradigms may combine and emphasize the aspects of truth in different ways, which makes the line between a moderate form of social constructionism and critical realism blurry.

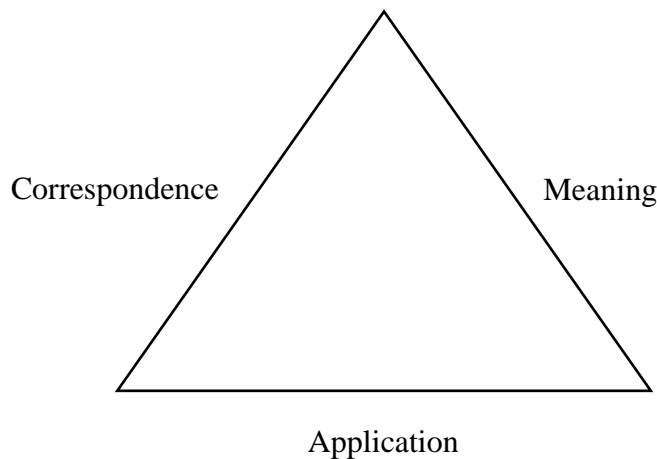


Figure 2: The trilateral concept of truth (adapted from Alvesson and Sköldbberg, 2008, p. 49)

Theoretical approaches that focus on marginalized groups, power, and inequality, like race, ethnicity, and gender studies, tend to apply a materialist-realist ontology, based on the argument that the real world makes a material difference (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018, p. 20; Lok, 2019). The motivation behind this study of cultural diversity and inclusion is to contribute to the understanding of how organizational practices shape these social phenomena. In this study, I therefore apply a moderate social constructionist paradigm, open to a materialist-realist ontology.

Case study as the strategy of inquiry

To study cultural diversity and inclusion with an institutional and practice-theoretical perspective, case study was chosen as the strategy of inquiry. It connects the social constructionist paradigm to a set of methods for collecting empirical material (Denzin &

Lincoln, 2018). Two prominent contributors to case study research are Stake (1995; 2005) and Yin (2018). Their approaches share important features, but also display important differences, for example, in their paradigm of theory of science (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Stake takes a clear constructionist approach and argues for a high degree of flexibility in the research design. Yin, in contrast, takes a positivist approach, arguing for the development of hypotheses and detailed preparation before engaging with the field (Yazan, 2015). The present study follows Stake's constructionist approach but uses some of the concepts developed by Yin to present the use of case study in this research project.

A case study can be defined as an “in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015, p. 37). The definition emphasizes the object of study more than the methods applied (Stake, 1995). The case study method is recommended when the study aims to answer ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions and when the study will analyze contextual conditions that are assumed to be relevant for the phenomenon of interest (Yin, 2018). These criteria fit well with the present study. The overall research question is a ‘how question’: *How do organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace?* I also stated above that the study should pay attention to structural and contextual factors. As a strategy of inquiry, a case study investigates the complexity and wholeness of the case in its interrelation with the context, and a case study usually applies multiple methods (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Stake (1995) distinguishes between intrinsic and instrumental case studies. In an instrumental case study, the focus is on an issue of concern, and the case is selected to illustrate that issue. However, the unit of analysis is the bounded case, not the issue of concern (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The present study is an instrumental case study in which the issues of concern are cultural diversity and inclusion, and nursing homes are chosen to shed light on these issues.

The main challenge in case studies is to delimit the case (Stake, 2005). Selecting a holistic, single case with embedded units helps build a robust case (Martin & Eisenhardt, 2010) and facilitates within- and cross-case analyses (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2018). Therefore, three nursing homes with different operating structures were selected as embedded units: one run by the municipality, one run by a non-profit entity, and one run by a for-profit entity. Nursing homes with different operating structures were selected because of the current debate about this issue (see Chapter 3). The comparative aspect is secondary in this study. The sample size of three nursing homes is too small to conclude that differences between them are

representative of the category. Units with different operating structures are thus, primarily included to broaden the case and make it more robust as a single case study. The differences between the nursing homes are discussed in the articles, without arguing strongly for the institutions' representativity or generalizability.

Following recommendations for case studies (Creswell, 2007; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Stake, 1995; Yazan, 2015), this study combines different sources of information and methods, using participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, interview, and document analysis. These multiple sources of data provide thick descriptions (Geertz, 1993) to generate understanding of the case and the issue of concern. Therefore, the study can be classified as an exploratory case study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Yin, 2018), which seeks to understand how organizational practices shape the phenomena of cultural diversity and inclusion. In line with the social constructionist paradigm, this qualitative study applies an interpretative approach (Schwandt & Gates, 2018). A characteristic of qualitative case studies is a complex set of dependent variables which are experientially rather than operationally defined, and the influence of the context is not controlled for (Stake, 1995, p. 41). Therefore, the personal interpretation represents a central contribution to the case study, rather than an impediment.

Sampling strategies

The sampling strategy for this study of cultural diversity and inclusion was carried out as a multi-step process starting with the selection of Oslo as the geographic location and healthcare and nursing homes as the sector, and continuing with the selection of specific nursing homes, units, and interviewees. In the following, the process is described in further detail.

Selection of geographic location and sector

Oslo, the capital of Norway, has a culturally diverse population. In 2020, 25,7 % of the population were immigrants, compared to 14,7 % at the national level. The Norwegian government assigns refugees to municipalities for settlement. This implies that municipalities across the country have had a growing immigrant population over the last decades. Therefore, changes in the labor market and the workplace in Oslo due to demographic changes are

applicable across the country and make Oslo a relevant location for studying cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace.

Nursing homes were chosen as a case of culturally diverse workplaces because the sector is perceived, and used as, an arena for integrating immigrants (Eide et al., 2017). Today, a significant and growing share of employees in nursing homes have an immigrant background, and the sector is dependent on this group to provide healthcare services (Tjerbo et al., 2012). These factors make nursing homes a common, or typical, case of cultural diversity and inclusion (Schwandt & Gates, 2018; Yin, 2018), and the findings from this study may have relevance beyond the nursing homes examined.

Selection of nursing homes and units

To get access to the nursing homes, the project was presented to a research and development unit within the general administration of nursing homes in Oslo. The research and development unit was in favor of the project and participated in a discussion about which nursing homes would be appropriate to select for inclusion. The sampling and selection of nursing homes were purposeful rather than random and representative (Stake, 1995). Stake (2005) privileges the opportunity to learn, and ensuring balance and variety, over representativity in case selection. I wanted to avoid nursing homes where other circumstances, such as being in the process of closing down or dealing with a major conflict, could influence the research project significantly. In such situations, the capacity to receive the researcher would also be limited.

I started the research process wondering if the operating structure of the nursing home would influence organizational practices and therefore, looked for nursing homes with different operating structures: a public-sector organization, a non-profit faith-based organization, and a commercial private entity. In the current Norwegian context, the operating structure of nursing homes is debated, including how owners recognize employee rights (see Chapter 3). I also wanted nursing homes located in different geographic areas of the city; East, West, and downtown to see whether location influenced organizational practices. Thus, for the case study, I decided to include three nursing homes with a combination of these characteristics as embedded units.

The research and development unit sent the invitation to the CEOs of the nursing homes and recommended they participate in the research project (Appendix 2). The invitation included information about the project, describing the scope of the observation and the interviews to provide a realistic picture of the demands on the nursing homes. A specific request was made for two different units from the nursing home to participate: one with a unit manager with an immigrant background and one with a unit manager with a majority background. Invitations were first sent to three nursing homes. None responded in the first round, but I followed up the invitation with a reminder of the email they had received and a phone call to the CEOs. With that, the first two nursing homes accepted the invitation. The third nursing home declined citing lack of capacity as they had other projects going on. To identify the third nursing home, the 'missing' case was sought on the website of nursing homes in Oslo, combining the operating structure and geographic location, ensuring that the nursing home had at least one unit manager with an immigrant background.⁷ An invitation was sent to a new nursing home filling these criteria and followed up with a phone call. This time, the invitation was accepted. An additional unintended variation between the nursing homes was size, representing small, medium, and large institutions. The data analysis later showed that operating structure was a category that yielded relevant information for some between-case comparison, whereas differences in location and size appeared to be less relevant for the discussion of cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes.

The three nursing homes are presented in Table 3. The nursing homes are given fictitious names, and to safeguard anonymity, the combination of characteristics (operational structure, location, and size) is not presented in the table.

⁷ The website also includes the names of the unit managers. An informed guess was made regarding the immigrant background of the unit managers, based on their names. This criterion was later confirmed in the communication with the CEO.

Table 3: Nursing homes and managers included in the study

Nursing home and managers	Characteristics
Marigold - Hege - Jonathan - Hilde	Run by the municipality CEO with majority background Unit manager with immigrant background from Africa Unit manager with majority background
Riverside - Harald - Banu - Kristin	Run by a non-profit faith-based organization CEO with majority background Unit manager with immigrant background from Asia Unit manager with majority background
Cornerstone - Ellen - Dragan - Kari	Run by a commercial private entity CEO with majority background Unit manager with immigrant background from Eastern Europe Unit manager with majority background

Selection of interviewees

The three CEOs and the six unit managers from the nursing homes were all interviewed, in a total of nine managers. In addition, three employees from each unit were selected for interviews, a total of 18 employees. Following Stake's (2005) recommendation to ensure variation in the sample, several criteria were applied to select interviewees from the six units. The first criterion was to select two employees with an immigrant background and one with a majority background from each unit. The second criterion was that the interviewees should represent different professional backgrounds (care assistants, healthcare workers, and nurses), different country backgrounds, and male and female employees. Immigrants are a highly diverse group. By seeking variation in interviewees' country background and professional categories, the sample would presumably include variation in socioeconomic status and in cultural distance to the majority culture, which is relevant for the purpose of the study. The selection criteria ensure variation at the level of employees as a group. Variation was also sought within each unit, but the units did not include representatives of all categories.

Keeping in mind the selection criteria for the group of employees, interviewees were chosen among those I had interacted with during the field study, to interview employees from whom I could learn the most (Stake, 2005). Thus, the selection criteria combined the concerns for

learning and variation (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). Table 4 presents details of the interviewees. To ensure anonymity, the interviewees are given fictitious names.

Table 4. Interviewees

Name	Regional background	Position
Marigold Hege (f) Jonathan (m) Hilde (f) Anita (f) Jenny (f) Jodit (f) Celeste (f) Ingrid (f) Marko (m)	Norway Africa Norway Norway Asia Africa South America Norway Eastern Europe	CEO Unit manager Unit manager Care assistant, extra-staff Nurse Healthcare worker Care assistant Nurse Nurse
Riverside Harald (m) Banu (f) Kristin (f) Bente (f) Milan (m) Zahra (f) Nina (f) Omar (m) Shanti (f)	Norway Asia Norway Norway Norway/South America Asia Norway Africa Asia	CEO, nurse Unit manager Unit manager Healthcare worker Nurse Nurse Healthcare worker Healthcare worker, extra-staff Healthcare worker
Cornerstone Ellen (f) Dragan (m) Kari (f) Faiza (f) Silje (f) Vanessa (f) Hamza (m) Edel (f) Justyna (f)	Norway Eastern Europe Norway Africa Norway Asia Africa Norway Eastern Europe	CEO Unit manager Unit manager Care assistant, extra-staff Healthcare worker Nurse Care assistant Healthcare worker Nurse

(f) = female, (m) = male

Information power of the sample

Discussing sample size, Malterud et al. (2016) argue that ‘saturation’, adopted from grounded theory and applied as a criterion in qualitative research in general, often does not match the

aim of the study. For an exploratory study, such as the present project, a complete description of all aspects of cultural diversity and inclusion is not feasible. Insights that “contribute substantially to or challenge current understandings” (p. 1759) are an aim that better fits the study. The authors argue for ‘information power’ as an alternative approach to assess the sample, suggesting that the larger the information power of the sample, the fewer interviewees needed. Malterud and colleagues used interview-based studies as an example and suggested five items that influence information power: study aim, sample specificity, use of established theory, quality of dialogue, and analytic strategy (p. 1754). The present study is a case study that uses additional sources of information with interviews, but consideration of the five items is still relevant for evaluating the quality of the sample. Table 5 presents the study sample and includes the number of interviewees and the amount of time spent on participant observation and semi-structured shadowing of unit managers.

Table 5. The study sample

Sample	Size
Nursing homes Units	3 6
Time spent on participant observation	18 full shifts (3 shifts in each unit)
Managers	3 CEOs 3 unit managers with an immigrant background 3 unit managers with a majority background
Time spent on shadowing	6 full shifts (6 unit managers shadowed, 1 shift each)
Interviewees	9 managers 18 employees – 12 with an immigrant background, 6 with a majority background – 7 nurses, 7 healthcare workers, 4 care assistants
Informants	158 persons (including interviewees and staff in administrative and support functions) – 40 different country backgrounds represented – 103 informants with an immigrant background – 55 informants with a majority background

The first item for assessing the information power of the sample is the aim of the study, and the broader the aim, the larger the sample should be. The aim of this study is to explore

organizational practices relevant for cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes. Thus, the aim is moderately broad, and the sample is moderately large, considering 27 interviews and 200 hours were spent on participant observation and shadowing. The information power of the first item, therefore, is evaluated as moderate (see Table 6). The second item is the sample specificity, and the denser the specificity, the smaller the sample may be. The study sample is relatively large and has considerable variation regarding the informants' country background, immigrant status, and professional background. However, the articles vary in terms of what part of the sample is in focus. For instance, Article 1 analyzes the situation of immigrant care assistants. The total sample includes 15 informants in this category, but only three were formally interviewed, which implies lower information power. The third item is related to the use of established theory. If the study uses established theory, the sample can be smaller. In this study, I apply institutional theory and practice theory. These theoretical perspectives are well-established, and the information power of the sample for this item is regarded as strong. The fourth item refers to the quality of the dialogue, and the higher the quality, the smaller the sample can be. I had met all the interviewees and established a certain level of trust during the observation period, before I conducted the interviews. My impression was that the informants spoke freely, and they talked about challenging and sensitive issues on their own initiative. Although many of the interviewees had Norwegian as a second language, their level of proficiency was sufficient for a meaningful conversation. On the other hand, some of the interviewees would most likely have expressed themselves with more nuance and greater freedom in their native language. The fact that I am a researcher, represent the majority population, and interacted more frequently with the managers could have made some of the interviewees and informants reluctant to speak freely. Therefore, the information power of the fourth item is considered to be moderate. The last item concerns analytic strategy. This study is a single case with embedded units, and for the within-case analysis, I assess the information power to be strong. For the cross-case analysis, the information power is weaker, considering that the selection criteria for the nursing homes combined operating structure, geographic location, and size. The information power of the study sample is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6. Information power of the sample

Item	Information power
Study aim	Moderate
Sample specificity	Strong for the overall study, low for a narrower focus on specific groups
Use of established theory	Strong
Quality of dialogue	Moderate
Analysis strategy	Strong for within-case analysis, moderate for cross-case analysis, low for analysis of specific characteristics

Choice of methods for collecting data

A characteristic of case studies is the use of different methods to gather information from multiple sources (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Stake, 1995). In this case study, an ethnographic approach was used, collecting data ‘in situ’ and ‘in vivo’ (Zilber, 2020) through observation and shadowing in addition to interviews. Academic disciplines have developed different traditions related to the use of ethnography in qualitative research. Ethnography as it is applied in cultural anthropology usually has a broad scope and often includes long periods in the field, generating detailed observational data (Yin, 2018, p. 21). Management and organization research (Czarniawska, 2012; Zilber, 2020; Zilber & Zanoni, 2020) and managerial work behavior studies (Arman et al., 2012; Askeland et al., 2015; Mintzberg, 1970) also use ethnographic research methods. Within these traditions, fieldwork may be less intensive (Noel, 1989), fitting the label ‘rapid ethnography’ (Jordan, 2016). The argument for using an ethnographic approach in this study was closely related to the research question of the study and the ambition to study organizational practices as they unfolded in the nursing homes. The choice of methods is closely connected to the theoretical perspectives applied in the study (Zilber, 2020), and an institutional perspective (Greenwood, Oliver, Suddaby, et al., 2008; Hampel et al., 2017; Zilber, 2020), practice theory (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017; Schatzki, 2012), and a practice-driven institutionalism (Lounsbury et al., 2021b; Smets et al., 2017) all favor an ethnographically sensitive approach. A strength of the ethnographic approach in this study is the inclusion of six different units in the nursing homes as

observational sites. The similarities and the differences between the units strengthen the understanding of organizational practices. On the other hand, the limited time in the field and in each unit reduced the possibilities to follow chains of events and patterns in the organizational practices.

In the field of qualitative research, there is a long-standing discussion of the relationship between participant observation and interviewing (Atkinson & Coffey, 2003; Becker & Geer, 1957; Hammersley, 2017). Atkinson and Coffey (2003) challenge the preference for observation and the idea of events as self-evident. They advocate for dispelling the traditional distinction between interview and participant observation and suggest that both methods should be understood in performative terms as social action, yielding different types of data. Thus, combining the two methods may improve the quality of the data. My experience was that during the time spent on observation in the nursing homes, I built rapport and trust with the informants, and I was able to access the perspectives of a large and diverse group of informants. This, in turn, improved the quality of the interviews with a smaller group of interviewees (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The reference to specific events may have reduced social desirability responses in the interviews, and the interviews were used to validate my understanding of the observed practices (Fangen, 2010).

In the following, the use of participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, interviews, and document analysis as methods for acquiring information and understanding of the case are presented. The section concludes with a reflection on how information from validation meetings can be incorporated as additional data.

Participant observation

To study organizational practices as they unfolded in the nursing homes, I chose participant observation as a method for collecting data. The participant observation in the three nursing homes consisted of 18 full eight-hour shifts and took place from October to December 2017. At each nursing home, I met with the CEO and/or the unit managers to plan the field study and to clarify questions regarding my presence at the nursing home. The unit managers introduced me to the rest of the staff during my first day in each unit. I chose to observe full shifts because each shift started and ended with a report from the team that had been on duty to the next team taking on the new shift. These reports were important arenas for observing

the dynamics between the employees, and thus, moments fitting the issue of concern (Stake, 1995). Although all employees regardless of cultural background had equal access to participate in the shift meetings, the active role of different groups of employees varied. In each unit, I observed three shifts, mostly day shifts. The unit managers were not present during the evening shifts or during weekends, so these shifts could possibly reveal different dynamics in the employee group. Evenings and weekends were also times with fewer formal meetings and tasks, which allowed for more interaction between the care workers and the residents. Pursuing situations that could capture the uniqueness of the case (Stake, 1995), I chose to observe one evening or weekend shift in each unit. I also looked for special, relevant events in the nursing homes and spent one evening attending a cultural event organized by volunteers for the residents in one of the nursing homes. In another nursing home, I spent one evening at a meeting for residents' next of kin, and I spent a day shift on an introductory course for new employees.

The observation was guided by the open question: "In what situations in the nursing homes does cultural diversity surface as an issue?" Theory and findings from other empirical diversity management studies (Janssens & Zanoni, 2014; Sandal et al., 2013; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011), and especially from the Norwegian healthcare sector (Rogstad & Solbrække, 2012; Seeberg, 2012; Seeberg & Dahle, 2005), provided categories of what to look for during the observation. Examples of categories were the understanding and use of competency, structural and cultural-cognitive strategies for inclusion, and the categories of sayings, doings, relatings, and setups from Kemmis' practice architecture (Kemmis et al., 2014). This combination of an open, inductive question and existing theoretical categories resulted in an abductive approach to the observational data, oscillating between existing theory and data collection (Danermark et al., 2005).

Building trust and rapport with informants is fundamental to get access to good information. I actively used my own intercultural experience during fieldwork in the nursing homes, for example, sharing my own experience of settling in a new country, learning a new language, and visiting several of the employees' home countries as part of my former job. I experienced that my own intercultural background was a strength in the process of building trust during the relatively short period of fieldwork, and I felt warmly welcomed by the management, the staff, and the residents in the nursing homes. My religious affiliation provided me with vocabulary and ease when talking about religious matters. Managers and employees shared

information openly and allowed me into spaces and situations where they could have been more hesitant. In all three nursing homes, I attended management meetings, and I was allowed to participate in meetings between CEOs and individual unit managers where the agenda was the CEO's supervision and guidance of the unit manager.

During the observation, I was looking for opportunities to observe the social interaction of the care workers (Stake, 1995, p. 60). Typical situations were shift reports, meetings, preparation and serving of meals, activities with the residents, and interactions with other staff at the nursing home. A great part of the observation in the nursing home was spent in the common areas like the living room, the corridor, or the kitchen area. Sometimes, I helped prepare breakfast, brought coffee or drinks to the residents, made waffles for the employees, or just sat down and chatted with residents or employees. This kind of participant observation is what Fangen (2010, p. 74) refers to as participating in the social interaction but not in the context-specific activities, and the ideal is that the researcher's presence is as comfortable as possible for the participants.

During the observation, many informal interviews took place (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) in which informants shared their accounts (Zilber, 2020). I often asked employees how they had started working at the nursing home and about their process of obtaining formal qualifications. We talked about their countries of origin, and they often compared the role of healthcare personnel and leadership as they experienced it in the nursing home with experiences in their country of origin. Because accounts are context sensitive, those collected during observation are more likely to be valid and correctly interpreted, compared to interviews (Hammersley, 2017).

The ethnographic approach in case studies includes paying attention to the physical environment and artifacts (Stake, 1995), which aligns with practice theory's understanding of materiality, discourse, and body as entangled (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019; Nicolini, 2017b). Relevant examples from this study are the location and use of the managers' offices, the use of uniforms, and employees' use of religious identity markers like the hijab or a necklace with a crucifix. Case studies are also situated in a specific time. An example of how the context unintentionally influenced this study was that the observation was carried out during the months from October to December. During this period, traditions related to Advent and Christmas surfaced as important aspects of culture and cultural competence.

I took notes during the observations, and while I was at the nursing homes, I made field notes in a notebook. After each observation session, I developed and revised them within 24 hours and stored them electronically. The field notes yielded in total approximately 100 single-spaced pages and had references to interactions and conversations with more than 150 managers and employees at the nursing homes, from approximately 40 different countries of origin. The field notes from the observations contains note on what people said in informal interviews with me or to each other, as well as information about the physical environment and my reflections on activities and interactions between informants. Although the articles from this study contain more references to discursive data, artifacts and interactional data informed and enriched my understanding of organizational practices.

Semi-structured shadowing

In addition to the days of participant observation, I spent one day in each of the six units on semi-structured shadowing of the unit manager (Askeland et al., 2015). As I was particularly interested in the role of managers in practices related to cultural diversity and inclusion, this method was a useful supplement to the participant observation in the units. Shadowing is a way of studying “the work and life of people who move often and quickly from place to place” (Czarniawska, 2014, p. 92), which is often the case of managers. During the shadowing days, I followed the unit managers the whole day and sat with them in meetings, listened to phone calls, followed them as they walked through the hallway advising employees, and watched them make shift schedules and respond to emails. Although I sought to follow them through an ordinary day at work without interrupting or influencing what they did, my presence did make a difference. As they performed different tasks, I asked them about what they were doing, what they were writing and to whom. At some points, my questions turned into conversations where the unit managers used the opportunity to vent some of their frustrations or to discuss their options in particular cases. In these situations, I sought to listen without voicing too many opinions. At the end of the day, I usually commented on what I had noticed and offered feedback on what I had appreciated during the day with them. For me, this was a way to give something back to the unit managers after they had shared their day and their challenges with me.

To structure the observation during these days, I used a format developed in previous studies (Askeland, 2011). The format recorded the type and content of the activity, the time, duration,

and location of the activity, the participants involved, and who had initiated the activity (see Table 7). As the case study approach delimits observation to what is relevant for the issue of concern, semi-structured shadowing ‘delimits the gaze’ (Arman et al., 2012, p. 303) when observing managers. To systematize the data, I coded the information (see Table 8). This method shares similarities with quantitative observation (Stake, 1995; Yin, 2018), and the level of structure in shadowing is a topic of discussion (Arman et al., 2012; Askeland et al., 2015; Mintzberg, 1970). The coding served as a tool for gaining understanding of the daily practices of each unit manager and provided an opportunity for comparison between managers. Thus, the semi-structured shadowing complemented the less structured participant observations presented above. The shadowing period was limited but revealed patterns that were followed up in the interviews with the unit managers. The unit managers received a transcript of the observation format before the interview, and the format and events from the shadowing day were discussed in the interview, following the recommendation of Askeland and colleagues (2015).

Table 7: Format for semi-structured shadowing

Time	Activity	Place	Content	Participants	Initiative	Duration

Table 8: Coding for semi-structured shadowing

Pattern of activities	Location of activity	Interaction with
Planned meetings	Own office	Subordinates
Unplanned meetings	Staff room	Colleagues
Clinical/professional work	Common areas	CEO
Supervision staff/students	Meeting room	Residents/next of kin
Conversations	Residents’ room	External other
Phone		
Office work		
Inspection/tour		

Interviews

To better understand the organizational practices I had observed in the nursing homes, I chose to conduct individual interviews with managers and employees in the nursing homes.

Individual interviews offer insight into the informants' understanding and meaning-making of the organizational practices. Before conducting the interviews, I revised the research questions and the interview guides based on a preliminary analysis of my field notes.

Experiences of discrimination and religion as an aspect of cultural diversity are examples of issues that surfaced as important themes during the observation and were given a more prominent role in the revised interview guide. Three different interview guides were developed for interviews with CEOs, unit managers, and employees (Appendix 5-7). The purpose of the study is to reach a thick description of the case, and the interview guides allowed for individual adaptation to the different interviewees (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 162; Stake, 1995, p. 65).

I conducted 27 semi-structured interviews in the nursing homes, outside the employees' unit. In each nursing home, I interviewed the CEO, the two unit managers I had shadowed, and three employees from each unit. In each unit, two employees with an immigrant background and one employee with a majority background were selected, as described in the section on sampling strategies above. The pool of employees interviewed represented a variety in terms of professional background (care assistants, healthcare workers, and nurses), men and women, country background (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Europe, and Norway), and religious background (Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox Christians, Hindus, Muslims, and people who reported no specific religious affiliation). The time and place for the interviews were coordinated with the unit managers, ensuring that the employees would be on duty the day of the interview. Written consent was obtained from all interviewees (Appendix 3). The interviews were conducted in Norwegian and lasted for an average of one hour. For the employees with Norwegian as their second language, English was not an alternative, as all spoke different native languages. In one of the interviews, the conversation switched to Spanish (the informant's native language) to let the informant speak more freely. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim in Norwegian, and excerpts used in the articles and this thesis were translated into English. The 27 interviews yielded 430 pages of single-spaced transcripts. As the transcripts were not used for structured semantic analysis or for more quantitatively oriented content analysis, repeated words and pauses were generally omitted.

A certain level of trust and familiarity had been established with all the interviewees during the observations, and conducting the interviews after the observations provided an opportunity to discuss specific events or characteristics of the units in the interview. I used my experiences and observations from other units and nursing homes actively as cases in the interviews to make questions more specific and to elicit the interviewees' accounts of and reflections about similar situations. In line with a social constructionist approach, I understand the interview as a social practice, shaped by the historical, cultural, and material context (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). The interview is a site for knowledge construction where the interviewer and the interviewee play an active part. However, the interview is loaded with asymmetrical power relations. Although the interviewees exercised agency in the interview situation, they were also subject to existing discourses, power relations, and contextual factors. At the most apparent level, I as the interviewer set the agenda, chose the questions, and decided when a topic was fully covered and when to move on. In a similar study, interviewing people of different ethnic and language backgrounds, Janssens and Zanoni (2014) emphasize the use of simple and concrete language in the interview. This was done to ensure that people with a different native language understood the questions, but also ran the risk of not inviting these informants to offer broader and more analytical contributions. During interviews in the nursing homes, I sought to keep this reflection in mind. Beyond the interview itself, there were other sources of power differences, such as differences in socioeconomic status and access to defining concepts and models in use (Briggs, 2003; Fangen, 2010). As a middle-class academic, familiar with the literature on the topics we discussed, I had the upper hand. These factors demand cautiousness when considering the interview itself the locus of knowledge production (Briggs, 2003, p. 250).

Document analysis

Several documents from each of the nursing homes were used as background information. The material included policy documents from the municipality of Oslo, surveys on user satisfaction from each nursing home, quality assurance reports, and documents presenting the owners' identity and mission. The shift lists from each of the six units included in the study were used to analyze different aspects of the employees' employment status, such as the size

of their position, professional category (care assistant, healthcare worker, or nurse), and immigrant background.⁸

Validation meetings

In this project, I validated my interpretations in meetings with representatives from the nursing homes (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Validation meetings were organized in two of the nursing homes. The third nursing home was offered a similar meeting, but the CEO did not respond to the invitation or to the following reminder. In the validation meetings, preliminary findings and interpretations were presented. The participants were able to consider the findings from their own nursing home in relation to those of the other two nursing homes (without disclosure of the identity of the other nursing homes included in the study). Bringing informants together in a joint meeting, comparing the nursing home with other nursing homes, and statistically analyzing the employee lists generated discussions that elicited and generated new data for the project. Notes were made from the validation meeting and added to the existing data material.

Analytical strategy

The data material from this research project consists of field notes from the observations, transcripts from the interviews, shift lists, and other documents from the nursing homes. Above, I described how the interview guides were revised based on a preliminary analysis of the field notes, before I conducted the interviews. Thus, data collection and data analysis were simultaneously ongoing processes (Miles et al., 2014) characteristic of case studies (Eisenhardt, 1989; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Stake, 1995). After completing the transcription of the interviews, I read through the data material, annotating what seemed especially interesting in each interview and making an overview of themes that emerged in the interviews and field notes. I discussed these initial findings with the supervisors before I started a more systematic analysis of the data material, and we discussed possible topics for the different articles. After rereading the data material, I identified themes related to each article. The analysis was then an open-ended process iterating among data, the literature, and

⁸ In the cases where immigrant status and country background were not shared during the fieldwork, a non-Norwegian name was taken as a proxy for immigrant status.

tentative application of theoretical concepts. To code the field notes and interview transcripts, I used NVivo (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Miles et al., 2014). In line with recommendations for case studies, field notes and interview transcripts were merged in the thematic analysis (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

The whole research process requires a hermeneutical approach. Hermeneutics, or the theory of interpretation, denotes the process of understanding (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). The process can be described as a circle or spiral moving back and forth between a pre-understanding and a new understanding, and between the parts and the whole (Alvesson & Sköldberg, 2008). In the hermeneutical process, the researcher may end up with an interpretation of the data that differs from the interpretation of the informant who told his or her story. The process of interpretation elicits important methodological and ethical dilemmas. This dilemma became particularly evident with the use of validation meetings, where my own interpretations were challenged. Was the difference in interpretations rooted in my limited understanding of the organizational practices in the nursing homes, or were the interpretations tied to different interests? Was I required to choose the interpretations of the informants after the validation meeting, and what if the interpretations differed across informants or nursing homes?

In the different streams coming out of postmodernity and poststructuralism (Delamont & Atkinson, 2009), there are two contradicting positions regarding interpretation. On one hand, representatives like Ricoeur and Geertz argue that there is nothing but interpretations. Interpretation is at the core of social life, and without it, human life is reduced to biology (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015, p. 245). Others argue that interpretation is to go beyond the immediate, and that we should refrain from it and instead, focus on thick and elaborate descriptions of the immediate that will convey presence. Fangen (2010) uses the concepts of first-, second-, and third-degree interpretations. With first-degree interpretation, the researcher remains close to the empirical data and concrete experiences, sticking to the immediate. This implies using concepts that are close to or identical to those used by the informants. Second-degree interpretations go a step further, drawing on other relevant contexts as well as theoretical paradigms. This implies oscillating between concepts that are close to, or more distant from, the experiences of the informants. Third-degree interpretations go even further, looking for underlying structures, hidden interests, or conflicts. The idea of hidden structures has been criticized as essentialist, assuming that there is something real to be revealed

underneath the surface. In addition to the questions about the reality of these structures, third-degree interpretations have important ethical implications. If the conditions for participating have been that the researcher is interested in understanding the life and perspective of the informants, applying third-degree interpretations may be a violation of the premises (Fangen, 2010, p. 231). At an early stage of the analytical process, the analysis of the data material was closer to Fangen’s first-degree interpretation. During the process of writing the articles included in this study, the interpretations incorporated theoretical concepts and evolved to second-degree interpretations. When I was looking for underlying power differences, the analysis also involved some degree of third-degree interpretation.

Credibility, transferability, and dependability of the study

In line with Denzin and Lincoln’s (2018) recommendation for qualitative research, I used credibility, transferability, and dependability as parameters for assessing the quality of the study (Guba, 1981; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). The parameters are parallel to validity, generalizability, and reliability, often used in quantitative studies. Table 9, adapted from Krefting (1991, p. 217), presents the criteria applied to assess this study’s trustworthiness.

Table 9: Assessment of the study’s trustworthiness

Parameter	Criteria
Credibility	Prolonged and varied field experience Triangulation: sources of data, methods, variety of events Member checking Peer examination (conferences, research group, supervisors, students) Structural coherence, deviant cases Reflexivity (field notes during observation)
Transferability	Thick descriptions Comparison of sample to demographic data
Dependability	Dependability audit: dense description of research methods and process Triangulation Peer examination

I used several measures to ensure credibility. I spent a substantial amount of time observing in the nursing homes, interacting with a large number of managers and employees to acquire different perspectives. A total of 158 informants were registered during the observation. The high number of informants from different organizational positions, professions, and country backgrounds represents triangulation of data sources. The research process included additional triangulation strategies. Combining observation and interviews provided different types of data and offered opportunities to validate different observations and interpretations through member checking (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Preliminary findings and interpretations of data from the observation and interviews were validated in meetings with selected groups in the nursing homes.

Another way to grant the participants greater influence over the interpretation was by offering interpretations to the participants during the interview (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015). This allows for what Fangen calls ‘participating objectification’ (2010, pp. 224, my translation), letting the participant validate or correct the interpretations of the researcher. Fangen argues that this also has a liberating potential, as the participant through interpretation may discover or identify oppressing structures, understand these structures, and even break away from them. Following Fangen’s recommendation, I used the interviews as a space for discussing possible interpretations with the interviewees.

Throughout the doctoral project, peer reviews of manuscripts submitted to journals have represented opportunities for validation and feedback. Early drafts of the articles were presented at different conferences: Organization Studies Summer Workshop 2018, EGOS 2018, Nordic Work Life Conference 2018, NEON 2018, and Academy of Management 2019. Feedback from peers in these settings elicited discussions on theoretical perspectives used in the articles and reactions to the empirical material. Drafts were also presented to the research group Leadership and Institutional Values-Work in Practice (LIVAP) at VID Specialized University and at seminars organized by the research school Religion, Values and Society (RVS). The extensive peer examination contributed to this study’s credibility.

In terms of transferability, the research context and the sample are described in detail in Chapter 3 and earlier in this chapter. The articles contain a considerable number of quotations and descriptions from the fieldwork. The intention is to offer the reader thick descriptions to assess the transferability to other settings. The choice of nursing homes offers advantages and

limitations. As argued above, nursing homes represent a common case within the healthcare sector, and I have argued that the findings from this case may have relevance for other nursing homes, for the health sector, and for other multicultural workplaces. However, choosing a workplace where employees with an immigrant background make up the minority would have provided a different perspective on cultural diversity and inclusion.

For the dependability of the study, I sought to be transparent in the detailed description of the sampling, data collection, and analysis of the data. As stated above, different measures of triangulation (methods and data sources) have been applied. All the interviews were conducted, transcribed, and coded by the same researcher. This ensures familiarity with the data material and may increase consistency in interpretation. The research process as well as the findings and interpretations were discussed with my supervisors at different stages of the process. However, the alternative perspectives and interpretations that a larger group of researchers in the data collection process could have offered are lacking.

Reflection on my role as researcher

As stated above, a characteristic of the social sciences is that the researcher does not investigate something of a different kind than oneself. With the use of qualitative methods, the researcher plays an active part in knowledge production, and there are no clear boundaries between the researcher and the researched. Qualitative studies, therefore, require the researcher's reflexivity throughout the research process, from choosing the topic and gathering and analyzing data to presenting the findings.

My academic background includes master's degrees in theology and intercultural studies and management studies, and an undergraduate degree in sociology and education. I worked for 15 years in international development, overseas as well as in Norway, and I have taught intercultural studies. These experiences have enriched my life, they have brought me great joy, and they have generated an interest in the role of culture in management and cooperation. My own experience from living in other countries spurred reflections about the differences between going from Norway to a country in the Global South and coming from the Global South to Norway. Whereas I went as a foreigner to a relatively culturally homogeneous organization in South America, in my current position as an assistant professor at VID

Specialized University, I interact with students who are managers at workplaces in Norway that are highly multicultural, and some of these managers have different countries of origin themselves. These encounters have surfaced new questions about how organizations handle cooperation across multiple cultural backgrounds, and how the structural context frames leadership in any given country.

To build trust and rapport with the informants, I actively used my own intercultural background. I acknowledge that my experience was quite different from that of people coming to Norway as refugees or asylum seekers. Still, my perception was that we managed to establish connections of mutual trust. Throughout the research process, I sought to be sensitive to the power relations involved—my privileged position as a researcher and a representative of the majority population. The unequal distribution of power was especially evident when I initiated conversations with employees with an immigrant background about their reasons for coming to Norway, the process of acquiring employment, and their experiences of discrimination. Thus, my intercultural experiences and my identities as a female, white representative of the academic community certainly influenced the knowledge production in the gathering and interpretation of the data (Delamont & Atkinson, 2009; Zanoni & Van Laer, 2015).

I had no previous experience in the healthcare sector. As an outsider, I often found myself in situations where knowledge and practices were taken for granted by the insiders. Therefore, I may have missed or misinterpreted what was going on. However, the novice perspective made me alert, and as the staff knew I was new to the context, I was allowed to ask all the ‘silly’ questions. To increase my understanding of the context, I read reports, policy documents, and research from the healthcare sector throughout the research process, and I sought information from people working in the sector.

Research ethics

The topic of ethnicity and religious affiliation, and nursing homes as the empirical context, required ethical considerations. The study was reviewed and approved by The Norwegian Center for Research Data (NSD; Appendix 1). Before the fieldwork was conducted, a confidentiality agreement was signed with the nursing homes. Written consent was obtained

from all interviewees, and during my fieldwork collecting observational data, the information letter about the study was posted on the notice board in the staff rooms (Appendix 4). The staff was told that interacting and talking with me was voluntary. I did not make any audio or video recordings during the observations, and my field notes were kept in a secure location.

Ethical considerations made me opt out of certain situations. Especially during the mornings, the care workers spent time in the residents' rooms in more intimate care situations. I did not join them in these moments. Although it could have been an interesting setting for observing how culture comes into play in the interaction between the care worker and the resident, ethical considerations led me to decide not to. First, the focus of the study was the employees, and the employees received information about the study. The residents were not formally informed about the study. If any of them asked, I told them that I was visiting for some days to learn more about what it was like to work in nursing homes. Second, my assessment was that the negative effect of the presence of a stranger in a very intimate and vulnerable situation would not justify the additional information observation in these situations would provide. Several residents in the nursing homes suffered from cognitive deficits. Therefore, information about the residents has been anonymized and altered to protect private information, and personal details about the residents are kept to a minimum.

Managers and employees in the nursing homes included in the study have different experiences of access to resources, influence, and power, some more privileged than others. It would be stigmatizing to label immigrants per se a vulnerable group. Still, I sought to keep in mind the power differences that are in play between different levels in the hierarchy of an organization, as well as between different social groups. In terms of possible negative consequences of the research project, there is a risk that the focus on cultural diversity and inclusion may bring more attention to a certain aspect of the participants' identity than what they are comfortable with. Despite the potential negative effect on employees and residents, my assessment was that the importance and relevance of the study justified it as long as precautions were taken to reduce the negative effect.

Summing up and the way forward

A moderate social constructionist epistemology and an openness to a materialist-realist ontology underpin the present qualitative study. Core characteristics of a qualitative and constructionist approach include the understanding that there is no clear boundary between the researcher and the researched, and knowledge is cocreated during the research process. Nursing homes were chosen as a common case of culturally diverse workplaces, and three nursing homes with different operating structures were selected as a single case with embedded units. The study combined different sources of data: participatory observation, semi-structured shadowing, interviews, and document analysis. The data material consisted of field notes from 200 hours of participant observations and semi-structured shadowing and transcripts from 27 interviews. Thematic analysis was used, and the analytical process was abductive which implies iterating among the data material, literature, and theoretical categories. Several measures were taken to ensure the study's credibility and dependability. Based on the thick descriptions of cultural diversity and inclusion in the three nursing homes, the reader may assess the transferability of the findings to other contexts. I believe the findings have relevance beyond the specific case. The following chapter presents the articles included in this thesis and demonstrates how the research design and methodology generated the findings of this study of cultural diversity and inclusion in the multicultural workplace.

5. PRESENTATION OF THE ARTICLES

In this chapter, I summarize the findings and contributions of the three articles. The articles address different aspects of practices in the multicultural workplace and different research questions, which together respond to the overall research question of the thesis: *How do organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace?* Empirical material from the observations and interviews is used in all three articles. Table 10 presents the research questions and the main findings in the three articles.

Table 10: Research questions, theoretical perspectives, and findings in the articles

Article	Research question	Theoretical perspectives	Main findings
1	Why do many immigrants end up in uncertain employment?	Practice theory Institutional theory	The configuration of recruitment-related practices locks in the recruitment practice. The net effect of the recruitment-related practices is that immigrant employees remain in uncertain employment. Regulative and normative mediators order and align related practices.
2	<i>(Implicit)</i> What shapes the implicit ideas of good and bad leadership in the multicultural workplace? How is leadership negotiated in everyday practices?	Cross-cultural management theory Implicit leadership theory Institutional theory	Implicit leadership theories are shaped by a dynamic cultural configuration, consisting of multiple factors: experiences in the country of origin, experiences in Norway, and factors at the institutional, field, and organizational levels. Unit managers with an immigrant background draw on their dynamic cultural configuration in their management practice. Acceptance of managers depends on to what extent they respond to implicit leadership theories at the workplace.

3	How can the religious competence of immigrant employees be accessed and used to develop religious literacy to provide equitable services to residents with a religious minority background?	Sociology of religion <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious literacy • Everyday religion Adult education and conversational learning	Developing religious literacy in the workplace requires that employees bring their religious identity and practice to the workplace and into the conversational space. CEOs enhance development of religious literacy by establishing an organizational culture that welcomes religion into the workplace. Unit managers contribute by facilitating a team climate of psychological safety.
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Article 1

Lindheim, T. (2021). Ambiguous practices and conflicting interests: why immigrants end up in uncertain employment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EDI-02-2020-0046>

Immigrant employment and the goal of stable participation in the labor market is the topic of the first article. The topic is related to what I labeled the formal or objective aspect of inclusion—access to employment (see Chapter 2). The article responds to the following research question: Why do many immigrants end up in uncertain employment? The article applies an ethnographic and practice-theoretical approach (Nicolini, 2012) to examine recruitment-related practices. The data material obtained through observation, shadowing, and interviews demonstrates that recruitment as it is accomplished in nursing homes differs from the canonical description of recruitment (Nicolini, 2009), derived from the formal recruitment policy. The recruitment practice forms part of a configuration of practices (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017) and is connected to related practices, through regulative and normative intermediators. With the categorization of the regulative and normative aspects (Scott, 2014) connecting practices, this article responds to the call for studies that connect institutional theory and practice theory (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Smets et al., 2017).

In this article, the group of immigrants with little or no formal qualification in their country of origin is the focus. A way to ensure secure and stable employment is by acquiring formal qualifications to work as, for example, healthcare workers. For adult immigrants, who are often supporting dependents, the common way to obtain formal qualifications is as practice

candidates, starting as a care assistant in a temporary position. After accumulating 8,000 work hours as care assistants, the candidates can sign up for the theoretical and practical exam to obtain the healthcare credential. Recruitment of care assistants in the nursing homes usually happens informally. Applicants approach the unit managers in the nursing homes and acquire a zero-hour or on-call contract. These contracts may serve as a steppingstone to acquire formal qualifications as healthcare workers, and more stable employment. The on-call contracts do not guarantee a number of work hours per week but are dependent on the unit's need and calls from the unit manager who offers individuals shifts. In this way, the recruitment practice is connected to the daily staffing practice in the units. The Working Environment Act, intended to protect employees from precarious employment, ensures that employees who have had temporal positions with an employer for three years are entitled to a permanent employment contract. To avoid offering employees without healthcare credentials a permanent contract, unit managers avoid giving them shifts over a longer period of time. This way, the Working Environment Act functions as a regulative intermediary connecting the recruitment practice and the staffing practice. The preference for employees with formal qualifications is supported by the trade unions at the workplace, and thus, the recruitment practice is also connected to the unionization practice, with the norms of the union as an intermediary. The supervising unit in the municipality of Oslo, SYE, supports the unions in their demand to prioritize employees with healthcare credentials for permanent contracts and uses the percentage of employees with formal healthcare credentials on the shifts as a key performance indicator in the reports from the nursing homes. This way, the recruitment practice is also connected to the reporting practice, with the key performance indicator of the report as a normative mediator.

The study demonstrates how the configuration of recruitment-related practices locks in the recruitment practice. The net effect of recruitment-related practices is that many immigrant employees remain in uncertain employment. The analysis of the role of regulative and normative intermediaries in ordering and aligning practices demonstrates how regulative and formal structures frame immigrants' access to the labor market. The study further demonstrates the indeterminacy of practices, and how practices are open to CEOs' and unit managers' choice to accept, resist, challenge, and change existing practices. Recruitment-related practices in nursing homes are performed in the interplay of structure and agency, and may enhance as well as hinder immigrants' stable employment and inclusion in the labor market.

Article 2

Lindheim, T. (2020). 'Good leaders do the dirty work'. Implicit leadership theory at the multicultural workplace. In H. Askeland, G. Espedal, B. J. Løvaas, & S. Sirris (Eds.), *Understanding values work. Institutional perspectives in organizations and leadership*, pp. 97–115. Palgrave. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37748-9_6

The chapter analyzes the understanding and expression of culture in the multicultural workplace and challenges the dominant approach to culture within cross-cultural management research, where cultural universals are used to compare cultures at the societal or national level (Hofstede, 2001; House, 2004; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 2012). The chapter builds on and extends the concept of culturally endorsed implicit leadership theories (CLTs) developed in the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness (GLOBE) study (House, 2004). The central tenant of the concept is that managers and employees bring to their daily interactions implicit, taken-for-granted ideas of good and bad leadership, and that these ideas are culturally contingent and culturally endorsed. In studies that use cultural universals, culture is often equated with values. This approach has been criticized by other researchers, who argue that the understanding of culture ignores important structural aspects (Mahadevan, 2017; Nathan, 2015). Cultural universals have also been criticized for maintaining and underpinning cultural stereotypes that do not take into account the present multicultural reality (Fang, 2005).

The chapter addresses the following (implicit) research questions: What shapes the implicit ideas of good and bad leadership in the multicultural workplace? How is leadership negotiated in everyday practices? In formal interviews and in informal conversations during the observations, informants expressed their ideas about good and bad leadership. Across country backgrounds, employees described leadership in their country of origin as hierarchical, authoritative, and unapproachable. More than accurate accounts of leadership in different countries, these descriptions should be interpreted as relative descriptions in light of the employees' current experiences in the nursing homes. The employees highlighted the flat structure and the approachability of managers in their current work context, and they expected managers to be available in the unit, to listen to and support their employees, and to be ready to do 'the dirty work'—sharing employees' tasks and pitching in when it was needed. The employees were aware of the regulative framework that delimits leadership in the Norwegian context, and they made use of complaints mechanisms when they were not satisfied with their manager. The impression was that employees in general favored the flat, approachable

management style, despite their origin in cultures where other styles were dominant. However, employees also expressed their reservations about the Norwegian leadership style.

The chapter develops the concept of dynamic cultural configuration, which shapes implicit leadership theories in the multicultural workplace. The dynamic cultural configuration is composed by experiences from different cultures and contextual factors. Immigrant employees have experiences in their country of origin and in Norway. The role and weight of these experiences vary with, for example, the employees' length of stay in Norway, where they received their education and professional training, and their work experiences. This way of considering employees' cultural backgrounds seeks to break away from fixed cultural stereotypes. Implicit leadership theories in the multicultural workplace are also shaped and framed by contextual factors at the institutional level (e.g., the Working Environment Act and the Basic Agreement), the field level (e.g., the same type of activities and same set of actors across nursing homes), and the organizational level (e.g., managers' access to office space and use of uniforms). The chapter argues that the use of cultural universals in cross-cultural management studies implies a too narrow approach to culture when it equates culture with values and a too general approach when it compares culture at the societal level. The chapter argues that it is necessary to zoom out to include institutional, regulative structures and to zoom in to include specific field- and organizational-level factors, when seeking to understand culture and implicit leadership theories in the multicultural workplace. The concept of dynamic cultural configuration nuances the understanding of cultural diversity and contributes to cross-cultural management as well as diversity management research.

Using three unit managers with an immigrant background as examples, the chapter shows that the unit managers draw on their dynamic cultural configuration in their management practice, and that the employees' acceptance of the unit managers' leadership depends on to what extent the employees respond to the implicit leadership theories at the workplace. Creating an inclusive work environment at a culturally diverse workplace, enhancing communication and cooperation, requires managers to inquire into employees' implicit ideas of leadership, holding cultural categories loosely, ready to modify them or acknowledge that they do not fit in a given situation.

Article 3

Lindheim, T. (2020). Developing religious literacy through conversational spaces for religion in the workplace. *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, 33(1), 16–29.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.18261/issn.1890-7008-2020-01-02>

The article focuses on acknowledging and valuing the special competence of employees with a minority background as a resource, which is an expression of what I called the subjective side of inclusion in the multicultural workplace (see Chapter 2). The study contributes to and extends research on religious literacy (Dinham, 2011, 2018) by analyzing how the conversational space in the multicultural workplace can be a site for developing religious literacy. The approach to religion builds on Ammerman's (2013, 2014) concept of everyday religion with its emphasis on practice, combined with religious literacy's emphasis on identity (Dinham et al., 2017). The article uses the approach of conversations as experiential learning from adult education (Baker et al., 2005; Baker et al., 2002) and applies it to the multicultural workplace (Wyss-Flamm, 2002). The use of the conversational space for sharing and building competence in the multicultural workplace is seen as a strategy for enhancing inclusion in the workplace.

The article addresses the following research question: How can the religious competence of immigrant employees be accessed and used to develop religious literacy to provide equitable services to residents with a religious minority background? Developing religious literacy in the multicultural workplace requires that employees bring religious identity and practice to the workplace and into the conversational space. Findings from the observations and interviews show that there is a general reluctance to bring religion to the workplace, but that this is contingent on the organizational culture. Employees undertake different strategies in this regard: explicitly bringing religious identity and practice to the workplace, bringing religious identity and practice to work but not into the conversational space, and avoiding mixing work and private matters, relegating religion to the private sphere. The study shows that CEOs play a central role through institutional leadership (Kraatz, 2009; Selznick, 1957), establishing an organizational culture that welcomes religion in the workplace and by providing formal organizational structures for learning and reflection. Assimilation and multiculturalism (Brochmann & Djuve, 2013; Sandal et al., 2013) were promoted to different degrees in the three nursing homes. Unit managers contribute to the development of religious literacy by establishing a team climate characterized by psychological safety (Wyss-Flamm,

2002), where employees may experience acceptance for their diverse backgrounds (Shore et al., 2011). The extent to which employees bring religion into the conversational space depends on their perception of the quality and safety of the conversational space. The article shows how different management practices contribute to opening or closing the doors for cultural and religious diversity and the opportunity to build religious and cultural competence at the workplace. The management practices were embedded in formal structures and had normative and cultural-cognitive features (Scott, 2014). The analysis of the conversational space for religion in the workplace contributes to the field of sociology of religion as well as diversity management.

Table 11 displays how the focus of each article relates to different aspects of cultural diversity and inclusion as discussed in Chapter 2. Article 1 focuses on the objective aspect of inclusion, accessing the labor market. Article 2 focuses on acknowledging and valuing cultural diversity and relates to inclusion in the workplace. Article 3 focuses on the subjective side of inclusion in the workplace, experiencing acceptance of diversity and acknowledgement of immigrants' special competence. The third column in the table summarizes themes from the articles that are brought forth in the discussion in the following chapter.

Table 11: Focus of the articles and the themes

Article	Focus	Themes
1	Inclusion of immigrants in the labor market	<p>The use of a practice-theoretical approach to capture the complexity and connectedness of organizational practices.</p> <p>The connection between practice theory and institutional theory: regulative and normative characteristics of the intermediaries connecting practices.</p> <p>Unit managers as gatekeepers of access to employment, shifts, and capacity building to qualify for more stable employment.</p>
2	Acknowledging and valuing cultural diversity	<p>Dynamic cultural configuration: a configuration of institutional-, field-, and organizational-level factors together with experiences from the country of origin and the host country shape organizational practices.</p> <p>The institutional framing of organizational practices in the multicultural workplace.</p>

3	Inclusion of immigrants at the workplace	<p>Acknowledging and valuing immigrant employees' special competence.</p> <p>The indeterminacy of managers' practices and their identity regulation.</p>
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Summing up and the way forward

The three articles focus on how organizational practices in different ways enhance or hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace. Together, the articles address the two aspects of inclusion: the objective aspect expressed as access to secure and stable employment, and the subjective aspect expressed as experiences of acceptance and valuation of their diverse background and competence. The three articles highlight the role of formal structures like the legislative framework and formal arenas for cooperation in shaping organizational practices. Paying special attention to the role of managers in general, and unit managers in particular, the articles describe the indeterminacy of practices and the managers' room for agency, opening and closing doors for immigrant employees. The three articles apply different theoretical perspectives in the presentation and discussion of organizational practices, but the use of institutional theory and practice theory stands out. In the following chapter, the main contributions of the study are discussed, with attention to the connection between institutional theory and practice theory in a practice-driven institutionalism.

6. DISCUSSION

In a culturally diverse context, how can organizations provide inclusive workplaces? This is the question that motivated this study. Figure 3 displays the conceptual model of inclusion-related practices as they are discussed in this thesis. Inclusion as a social phenomenon is at the heart of the overall research question of the thesis. The unit of analysis in this study of cultural diversity and inclusion is inclusion-related practices, depicted as the larger circle of the model. The fabric texture of the circle illustrates how inclusion-related practices are nested in a texture of practices and arrangements (Nicolini, 2009; Schatzki, 2012). By connecting practice theory and institutional theory in a practice-driven institutionalism, as illustrated with the three overlapping circles, the study offers a bridge between society-level aspects of practices and practices as local accomplishments. The inner circle of the model illustrates the net effect of inclusion-related practices, enhancing and hindering inclusion. The arrows inside the circle show how the objective and subjective aspects of inclusion mutually influence each other.

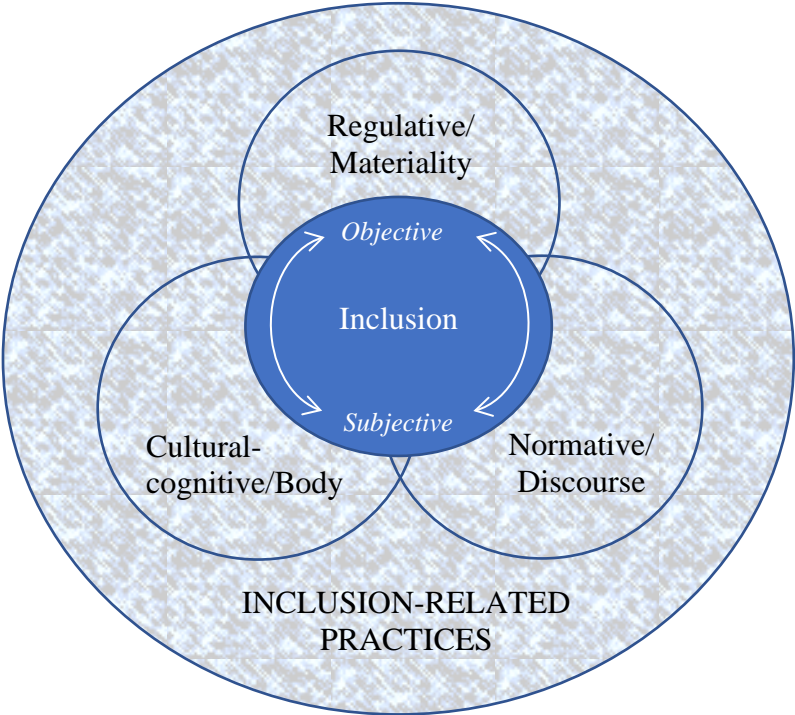


Figure 3: Conceptual model of inclusion-related practices

In the following, the chapter elaborates on the articles' theoretical and empirical contributions and discusses how they shed light on the overall research question: *How do organizational practices enhance and hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace?* The chapter starts with connecting practice theory and institutional theory in a practice-driven institutionalism. The following section argues for inclusion as a phenomenon with an objective and a subjective side and analyzes how the two aspects of inclusion mutually influence each other. The third section analyzes the role of unit managers as door keepers and change agents, followed by a discussion of the role of power in inclusion-related practices. The last section highlights the methodological contribution of the thesis.

Applying a practice-driven institutionalism

To better understand the antecedents and effects of organizational practices, this study argues for connecting practice theory and institutional theory in a PDI (Smets et al., 2017). Recent studies have identified commonalities and potential for fruitful borrowing across the two disciplines (Lounsbury et al., 2021b). This section elaborates on three contributions of PDI to this study of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace. First, PDI broadens the understanding of organizational practices by focusing on their dynamic framing. Connecting Scott's three pillars of institutions (2014) with practice theory's general and practical understanding (Schatzki, 2012), this study seeks to explain how organizational practices are institutionally framed but also how they shape institutions (Zilber, 2020). Second, by combining the vocabularies of institutional theory and practice theory, PDI bridges macro and micro in a way that helps understand how the social phenomena of cultural diversity and inclusion play out across levels. Third, PDI helps explain the agency of unit managers by connecting the concept of institutional orders from institutional theory and the concepts of general and practical understandings from practice theory. The section ends with an argument for the use of practice theory to capture the complexity and connectedness of organizational practices.

The dynamic framing of organizational practices

The study of cultural diversity and inclusion in nursing homes demonstrated the intricate relation of organizational practices and institutional elements. In Article 1, I argue that

regulative and normative elements frame leadership and function as intermediaries connecting and shaping practices (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). The Working Environment Act influences the staffing practice, and the norms of the trade unions shape the recruitment practice. Article 2 describes how the regulative framework is one of the factors that influence implicit leadership theories and thus, shapes management practices. However, the relationship between organizational practices and institutional elements is dynamic. In Article 2, I develop the concept of dynamic cultural configuration. Figure 4 (adapted from Lindheim, 2020, p. 108) demonstrates how organizational practices emerge and develop within the context of institutional-, field-, and organizational-level factors, and a set of different experiences. In a multicultural workplace, the actors draw on experiences and understandings from their country of origin as well as their host country. Building on practice theory, we may say that actors' general and practical understanding (Schatzki, 2012) are shaped by their experiences from different cultural contexts. As argued in Article 2, the boundaries between the different elements that influence organizational practices are fluid, and the weight and importance of each factor are not given. This understanding seems to be in line with Schatzki's (2021) view that a constellation of practices may be imbued by several different general understandings (p. 128).



Figure 4: Dynamic cultural configurations

The practice-theoretical foundation of PDI explains the basic character of the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive elements of institutions by showing that these are practices that transcend the local context (Schatzki, 2021). A regulative element like the Working Environment Act is an institutionalized and materialized practice (Watson, 2017). Normative elements are practices that are institutionalized through values and norms indicating what is appropriate (Gehman, 2021), and cultural-cognitive elements are practices that are institutionalized and assimilated into the tacit knowledge or practical understanding (Schatzki, 2012) through acquiring taken-for-granted ways of doing things. As institutionalized practices with regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive features (see Chapter 2), the practices transcend the local site and travel between the local and the translocal (Nicolini, 2017b), shaping other organizational practices. This way, a materialized practice like the Working Environment Act, which has emerged elsewhere, affects local practices in nursing homes. The influence also acts in the opposite direction when organizational practices shape institutional elements (Zilber, 2020), exemplified by how the SYE policy was changed as a result of the language practice introduced by Hope and Justice⁹ (see Article 1).

In Chapter 2, I questioned Greenwood, Oliver, Sahlin and Suddaby's (2008, p. 5) approach to regulative frameworks in institutional theory and argued for broadening the understanding of how regulative elements influence practices. In line with Greenwood and colleagues' argument, the data material of this study demonstrated that regulative elements like the Working Environment Act had a function of transmitting values and norms, shaping the roles and self-understanding of employees and managers. Vince in Article 2 illustrates that point: "Here it is the employees who manage the boss. 'I am protected because I am an employee.' Here it is the Working Environment Act and all that stuff." On the other hand, the regulatory framework influenced practices in more direct ways, which cannot be reduced to transmitting values and norms, as when unit managers avoided offering care assistants shifts over a longer period of time. In line with Besharov and Khurana (2015), I argue that there is an interplay between the ideational and the technical or direct effect of regulative frameworks. Underscoring the interrelatedness of these two aspects of the institutional elements avoids a reductionist view that focuses solely on the symbolic meaning of regulative structures (Hasenfeld, 2010). Although these structures are social constructions infused with values and meaning (Selznick, 1957), they are more than that. They are experienced as realities that

⁹ The owner of Riverside nursing home

represent demands and constraints on the actors (Besharov & Khurana, 2015; Hacking, 1999). Thus, regulatory frameworks frame practices in a direct and an indirect way. This aligns with Jarzabkowski and colleagues' (2013, p. 367) argument that the context is "not only institutional but also mundanely material" and Smets and colleagues' (2017) call for dissolving the boundary between the material and the social.

Bridging macro and micro

PDI bridges macro and micro by leaving behind the idea of different levels of reality, ascribing to a flat single-level ontology, but affirming the usefulness of different levels of analysis of social reality (Lounsbury et al., 2021a; Schatzki, 2021). The bridging of macro and micro is useful when seeking to understand the meaning and effects of a social phenomenon and how it plays out in local everyday practices as well as in the larger social context. Institutional theory and practice theory have conceptual apparatuses which denote resemblances. The regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars in institutional theory (Scott, 2014) are elements of institutions that regularize and constrain individual and organizational behavior as discussed in the previous section. In practice theory, practices are mediated, and thus shaped, by artifacts, discourses, and bodies (Nicolini, 2017b). The descriptions of organizational practices in the articles included in this study show how body, discourse, and materiality are entangled. Managers engage with employees' implicit, or embodied, theories of good and bad leadership, and the physical location of office spaces and the use of uniforms shape management practices (Article 2). The practice of bringing religious identity into the workplace is mediated by artifacts like headscarves and necklaces, discourses of what identities belong in the nursing homes, and embodied knowledge of what is appropriate in the workplace (Article 3).

Figure 5 illustrates the parallels between the vocabulary of institutional theory and practice theory; Scott's regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars and the material, discursive, and bodily aspect of practices. Regulative texts such as laws and policies are materialized practices and artifacts that organize people's actions and connect practices across time and space from the local to the translocal, and vice versa (Schatzki, 2017). In the present study, the Working Environment Act has this characteristic. The normative pillar resembles the discursive aspect of practices, as a discourse is a way to talk about, understand, and construct the world that reflects underlying structures and power relations (Fairclough, 2005;

Skrede, 2017; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 1999). The norms of the trade unions are incorporated in the discourse on the use of skilled personnel, and core values of hope and justice are reflected in the solidarity discourse arguing for ensuring just opportunities for immigrants. The cultural-cognitive pillar of institutions has much in common with practice theory's embodied, practical understanding (Schatzki, 2012). The way employees assess leadership as good or bad and how they feel about bringing religion to the conversational space in the workplace may stem from the cultural-cognitive aspect of institutions or from the actors' practical, embodied knowledge.

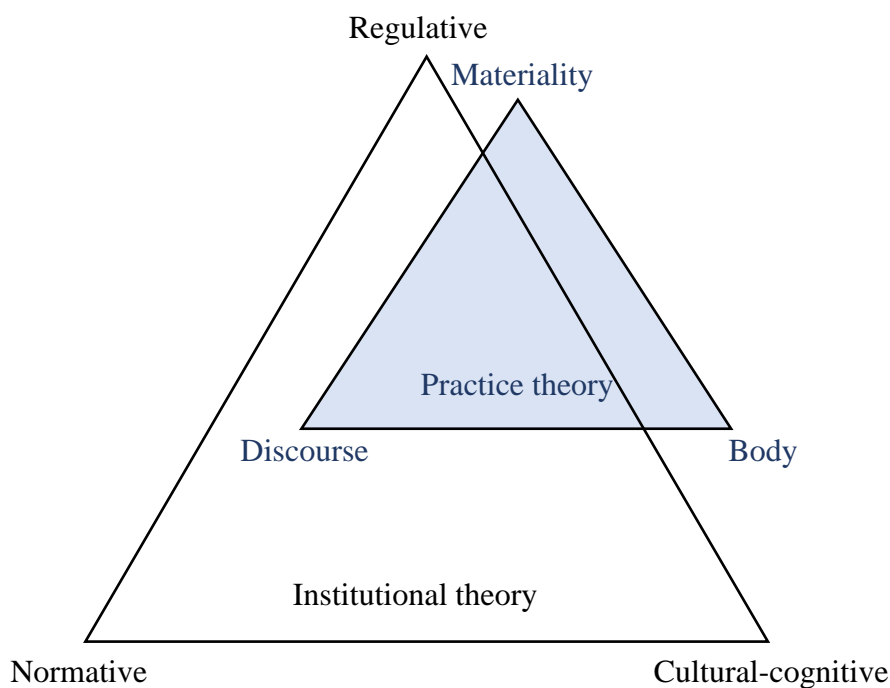


Figure 5: The parallel concepts of institutional theory and practice theory

Whereas the material, discursive, and bodily aspects of practices guide attention to local micro-practices, the regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive pillars guide attention to macro-societal structures. The resemblance of the concepts from institutional theory and practice theory represents a bridge between institutional theory and practice theory and analytical vocabularies that connect the micro and macro. Recognizing the resemblance of the vocabularies is useful when seeking to bridge micro and macro in a multi-level analysis of social phenomena such as cultural diversity and inclusion.

Agency and the indeterminacy of practices

Connecting practice theory and institutional theory is also beneficial for understanding agency and capturing the tension between conflicting institutional demands and the indeterminacy of practices. Institutional theory has traditionally been focused on explaining stability by examining the institutional context's pressure on actors. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the institutional logics perspective opens up a space for agency (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012), as organizations and individuals operate at the intersection of competing institutional orders and demands. Practice theory, however, highlights the indeterminacy of practices and carves out a space for individual and collective agency (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017).

In this study, the three nursing homes were embedded in the same institutional environment and subject to the same regulations prescribed in their contract with SYE. However, the actual practices of the unit managers in the nursing homes differed. Article 1 shows how the Riverside CEO established a language practice to work around SYE's language requirements, whereas managers at Cornerstone reduced the positions of employees who did not meet the language requirements. Article 2 describes how the three unit managers with an immigrant background chose different strategies to engage with implicit leadership theories in the workplace. Why did managers accomplish practices differently in these examples? As discussed in Chapter 2, nursing home managers operate at the intersection of various institutional orders or logics (Friedland, 2013; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012): the state, the market, the profession, and religion. The presence of competing and conflicting institutional orders offers managers a space for agency. What practice theory labels general understanding, and institutional theory labels institutional order or substance (Schatzki, 2021, p. 127), guides managers to appropriate action in a given context (Smets et al., 2017), and the manager's 'practical understanding' allows the manager to choose between available general understandings or institutional orders. The presence of competing institutional orders in nursing homes, combined with the unit managers' practical understanding, may explain why the practices were accomplished differently. Whereas institutional theory offers institutional orders at the society or field level, practice theory helps unpack how unit managers use their discretion in everyday situations through use of their practical understanding.

Capturing the complexity and connectedness of practices

This study demonstrated that use of practice theory enriches understanding of organizational practices, capturing their complexity and connectedness (Nicolini, 2009, 2017b). Analyzing organizational practices is not uncommon in diversity management studies (Janssens & Zanoni, 2014; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2014; Yang & Konrad, 2011; Zanoni & Janssens, 2007), but most scholars consider practices as things people do, without considering the ontological and epistemological assumptions of practice theory (Smets et al., 2017). In practice theory, practices are understood as accomplished performances (Nicolini, 2009), and not as abstract canonical descriptions of activities defined by their intention or derived from formal policies. The analysis of the recruitment practice in Article 1 showed the difference between recruitment as it was prescribed in the policy and recruitment as it was accomplished in the units. The analysis also showed that the recruitment practice was nested in a configuration of practices (Nicolini, 2012), which enabled, constrained, conflicted, and interfered with each other. From a practice theoretical perspective, therefore, it does not make sense to single out isolated practices to identify which practices enhance or hinder inclusion. Practices must be examined as part of a larger configuration, and the net effect of inclusion-related practices must be considered (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019).

Identifying a practice as inclusionary or exclusionary is also difficult for another reason. As described above, the unit managers in the nursing homes performed inclusion-related practices differently, and their practices had different effects. Contrary to structural approaches that render limited space for agency, the practice-theoretical approach insists on the indeterminacy of practices (Nicolini & Monteiro, 2017). The same practice may be performed in different ways (O'Leary & Sandberg, 2017), its effects may differ, and thus, it may enhance or hinder inclusion.

Inclusion as access and belonging

The empirical material of the study provided support for an objective and a subjective dimension of inclusion—inclusion as access and belonging as outlined in Chapter 2. Article 1 focuses primarily on the objective dimension, demonstrating that gaining access to employment represents an experience of inclusion. Employment relates to the initial step of acquiring a work contract but also includes moving on from precarious employment to more

stable and secure participation in the labor market. Article 3 focuses the subjective dimension of inclusion, how immigrant employees may experience belonging to the workgroup when their diverse backgrounds are valued, and managers acknowledge and use their employees' special competence. Article 2 does not explicitly discuss inclusion. However, the concept of dynamic cultural configuration developed in the article, and the proposed strategy of inquiring into employees' implicit leadership theories, implies acknowledging cultural diversity and alludes to the subjective dimension of inclusion.

The objective dimension of inclusion is safeguarded by the Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act,¹⁰ which intends to protect minorities from differential treatment based on ethnicity and other characteristics. In the workplace, the Act is meant to protect employees from discrimination in processes of recruitment and promotions, and it entrusts employers with the duty to make active, targeted, and systematic efforts to promote equality and prevent discrimination. However, despite the legal framework for inclusion, the use of a practice-theoretical approach in this study showed that the legislation did not guarantee equal access to employment opportunities, as the accomplished recruitment-related practices differed from the prescribed practices.

Article 3 focuses on the subjective aspect of inclusion and documents how employees were satisfied when they could use their cultural and religious background to offer what they felt was 'quality care' to residents with a minority background. They experienced inclusion when their special competence was recognized and appreciated by their managers. The literature review (Chapter 2) pointed out that diversity management studies that emphasize the subjective aspect of inclusion often take an individualist approach. But treating experiences of inclusion as an individual phenomenon runs the risk of concealing group-level differences and barriers to inclusion (Nkomo et al., 2019; Van Laer & Zanoni, 2020). An important finding of this study is that although inclusion is experienced individually, the experience is tied to acceptance and acknowledgment of group-level differences or the lack thereof. Article 1 showed how Norwegianness was considered an informal, desired, and lacking competence, and that employees with an immigrant background assimilated the 'discourse of lack' (Ponzoni et al., 2017). The employees felt that, compared to their colleagues with a majority background, they were not able to provide what the residents needed. The feeling was

¹⁰ <https://lovdata.no/dokument/NLE/lov/2017-06-16-51>

confirmed and reinforced by the managers. Article 3 points to how the group of Muslim employees frequently underscored that they did not mix their job and their religion, and that they did not need any accommodation for their religious needs. For organizational practices to be inclusive, they must acknowledge and relate to group-level differences.

The subjective and objective dimensions of inclusion are interrelated, as illustrated with the arrows in Figure 3. Article 1 shows that employees' access to employment, the objective side of inclusion, is dependent on the manager's perception of the employee's fit with the position, the subjective side of inclusion. In this case, objective inclusion follows subjective inclusion. Immigrant employees depend on the manager's perception of fit for acquiring an on-call contract as well as for getting shifts to accumulate enough hours to obtain formal qualifications. Data material from the study (not quoted in the article) also showed that when employees had acquired a permanent employment contract they experienced being included and acknowledged as members of the workgroup in a different way. In this case, subjective inclusion follows objective inclusion. The relationship between the subjective side and the objective side, thus, may be mutually reinforcing.

An understanding of inclusion that connects the objective and subjective dimensions may bridge diversity management research that applies a structural and critical perspective and research that applies an individualistic and psychological perspective. For the informants in this study, the subjective experience of inclusion without the objective dimension of gaining access is hollow; however, access alone is not enough to ensure a subjective experience of belonging.

Managers opening and closing doors

This study demonstrates the role of unit managers in enhancing or hindering inclusion in the workplace and shows how they open and close doors for immigrant employees. Use of practice theory draws attention to how individual practitioners, and not only organizations, contribute to creating, maintaining, and disrupting institutions (Lawrence & Suddaby, 2006; Smets et al., 2017). All three articles highlight the agency of unit managers, which connects to the discussion above on the indeterminacy of practices. Article 1 discusses the role of unit managers in recruitment and staffing practices, choosing to offer or not to offer formal

positions and shifts to immigrant employees without healthcare credentials. Article 2 shows how the unit managers made creative use of their cultural background when managing units with immigrant employees with different cultural heritages. Article 3 demonstrated that the unit managers to different degrees were able to establish a team climate characterized by psychological safety where cultural and religious diversity could enter the conversational space. This study confirmed the findings of other studies that underscored the role of first-line managers in interpreting and implementing organizational policies and practices (Lipsky, 2010; Rogstad & Solbrække, 2012).

I argue that focusing on practitioners, and unit managers in the nursing homes of this study, is crucial for understanding how to develop inclusive multicultural workplaces. By combining institutional theory and a practice-theoretical approach, this study showed how managers related to, used, twisted, and manipulated the institutional framework in their everyday practices. The study demonstrated unit managers' room to maneuver and their initiative and creativity in finding ways to enhance or hinder inclusion in the workplace.

Power and inclusion-related practices

In the literature review in Chapter 2, I concluded that I would apply a critical perspective on diversity management, and that I would focus on structures and contextual factors that influenced to what extent existing unequal power relations were reproduced by organizational practices. How does connecting institutional theory to practice theory enlighten the understanding of the power dynamics in organizational practices? Analyzing the effect of unit managers' practices on immigrant employment calls attention to unit managers' power and influence in the workplace (Willmott, 2015). The everyday life of a unit manager may not elicit the feeling of being particularly powerful. But shifting the focus from power as a property to power as an effect on those who reside in the inclusion-related practices (Janssens & Steyaert, 2019; Lukes, 2005; Watson, 2017) may surface another awareness. Before discussing how power is expressed in this study, I would like to acknowledge that in the nursing homes I met CEOs and unit managers who demonstrated open and positive attitudes toward employees with a minority background and who expressed concerns for their employment status and possibilities to acquire healthcare credentials. However, this fact does not imply that the organizational practices in the nursing homes challenged the existing social

order and the immigrants' less privileged status. The reproduction of the unequal power relations was expressed in different ways in the nursing homes: practices counteracting and undermining diversity-friendly policies, identity regulation, and naturalization of the existing social order.

Article 1 describes in detail how the recruitment policy was undermined by the accomplished recruitment practice, the staffing practice, the unionization practice, and the reporting practice. Practice theory locates the end goal, or the telic dimension, and its associated interests in the practice rather than in the practitioners. When one practice or one end goal trumps another, it is a sign that one practice has gained more legitimacy than another. The institutional vocabulary of coercive, normative, and mimetic pressure (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983) is helpful to explain this dynamic. On the other hand, my critique of practice theory as well as institutional theory is that practitioners or actors are easily lost out of sight and are not held accountable for their use of power. Institutional ethnography—a methodology and perspective with relevance for practice theory and institutional theory—insists that agency always resides in people, not in what is called ruling relations nor in the texts that coordinate action (Smith, 2006). I believe it is imperative for a critical approach to diversity management to hold on to an understanding of people as acting and accountable subjects, ascribing agency to people.

Power is also expressed in the organizations' identity regulation (Sveningsson & Alvesson, 2003). At times, it took an explicit shape as when the CEO of a nursing home stated that “when entering the doors of the nursing home, it is Norwegian culture that counts” (Article 3). The statement defined which identities were pertinent and relevant in the workplace. At other times, identity regulation was more subtle, as when immigrant employees perceived that cultural or religious identity markers would be offensive to residents (Article 3) or that they were not able to provide the same quality service as majority employees (Article 1). These findings are in line with the ‘discourse of lack’ identified by Ponzoni et al. (2017). In their study, refugees assimilated the discourse of lack, which had Foucauldian connotations of power (Lukes, 2005; Mik-Meyer & Villadsen, 2007). When the dominant discourse is internalized, there is no need for additional use of power: The employees with an immigrant background take over the task of identity regulation, regulating themselves. Discourses assign people to subject positions, which it may be difficult to break out of.

A third expression of power is the naturalization of the existing social order. As presented above, the Working Environment Act includes a regulation that states temporary employees are entitled to a permanent position if they have worked for an entity for more than three years. The clause is incorporated to protect employees from precarious employment. Hege, the Marigold CEO, explained that it is difficult for care assistants to accumulate the required work hours to obtain healthcare credentials. Hege stated, “Now [the guidelines say] that you must have 8,000 hours to get it approved, and you won’t get that much when we have this limitation of three years.” Although Hege felt sorry for the care assistants, she did not challenge the way the Working Environment Act influenced the staffing practice. The existing policies and practices were taken as given, although they reproduced unequal power relations.

Practice theory and an ethnographic approach, observing practices as they are accomplished, bring these incidents to the surface. This implies that qualitative methods and observation are important methodological approaches in critical diversity management research. If organizational practices shall enhance not only inclusion but also equality, as discussed in Chapter 2, it is crucial that the expressions of power discussed here are addressed, not least the more subtle ones, like the internalization of a dominant discourse and the naturalization of institutionalized practices.

The methodological contribution of the thesis

In addition to the empirical and theoretical contributions presented above, the thesis offers methodological contributions. Researchers have called for the use of ethnographic methods to analyze how inclusion is accomplished in specific organizations through everyday practices (Acker, 2006; Amis et al., 2018; Ortlieb & Sieben, 2014). This research project used an instrumental case study with embedded units as the strategy of inquiry to examine organizational practices for managing diversity. The three nursing homes were specific work organizations where these organizational practices unfolded. An ethnographic approach was used in the study, and multiple sources of data were included: participant observation, semi-structured-shadowing, interviews, and documents. The different data sources offered information and understanding from different perspectives, which gave a broader understanding of the phenomenon under study. During the research process, field notes from

the participant observation and shadowing spurred new questions for the interviews. The study also combined data from different hierarchical levels within the nursing homes. I shadowed unit managers, I spent time with employees during the less structured participant observations, and I interviewed CEOs, unit managers, and employees from different professional categories. The perspectives shared by temporary care assistants reshaped my questions to the managers. Three of the six unit managers I shadowed had an immigrant background. Selecting immigrants in management positions as informants is not common in diversity management studies and represents a contribution of this study. Combined, the multiple sources of data and data from different organizational levels and social groups yielded a thick description of inclusion in the multicultural workplace.

Another methodological contribution of the study was the use of validation meetings with a selected group of informants in two of the nursing homes. After a preliminary analysis of the data material from observation and interviews, I presented and discussed the findings with informants in the nursing homes. Participant validation strengthened the trustworthiness of the study (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Birt et al., 2016; Harvey, 2015) but also generated additional data. When the informants saw the data from their workplace in relation to data from the other two nursing homes (keeping the identity of the other nursing homes confidential), it generated new reflections and justifications of organizational practices. Through this form of participant validation, the informants and the researcher co-created knowledge, which is in line with the study's constructionist epistemological underpinnings.

Summing up

In this chapter, I discussed and further elaborated on what I consider the major contributions of the thesis: the use of a practice-theoretical approach to examine organizational practices for managing diversity and the application and extension of a practice-driven institutionalism. A practice-driven institutionalism demonstrates the dynamic framing of organizational practices and bridges macro and micro. By developing the concept of dynamic cultural configuration, and by demonstrating the parallels between institutional and practice-theoretical concepts, the study contributes to institutional theory, practice theory, and diversity management research.

The study has brought to the forefront the role and agency of unit managers and has demonstrated how managers may open or close doors for immigrants through the way they enact inclusion-related practices. The study demonstrated that the net effect of inclusion-related practices is that the social order is reproduced, and unequal power relations are naturalized. The discussion also pointed out that practitioners may be lost out of sight in institutional theory and practice theory. Perspectives from institutional ethnography, which insists that agency always resides in people, may be helpful to hold organizational actors accountable for their role in reproducing inequality.

7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

So, how do organizational practices enhance or hinder inclusion in the multicultural workplace? The use of practice theory in this study demonstrated that organizational practices are ambiguous, and that they should be studied in their configuration to assess their net effect on immigrants. The study also highlighted the role of managers and the indeterminacy of practices. Managers may open as well as close doors for immigrants in the multicultural workplace. In this final chapter, I reflect on the study's limitations, offer suggestions for future research in this field, and discuss implications of the study for practice.

Limitations

A limitation of this study of cultural diversity and inclusion in the workplace is that the nursing homes included in the study were all workplaces where immigrants made up the majority of employees. Studying workplaces where immigrant employees are in minority would probably yield different experiences and perspectives. In the process of developing Article 1, the analysis of the data material emphasized the special challenges faced by temporary care assistants with an immigrant background. The study could have benefitted from adding more interviewees from this group. In line with the ethnographic approach, the present study could also have benefitted from even more time spent in the different nursing homes and units. More time spent on observation could have revealed clearer patterns in the organizational practices.

Despite the use of participant validation, a limitation of the study is that the analysis of the data to a large extent happened after the data material had been gathered. An option to increase the validity of the study would have been to return to the nursing homes for a new round of observation and interviews to reconsider the results of the analysis. Thus, the study could have been strengthened by further reiteration between data collection and data analysis.

Future research

The theoretical, methodological, and empirical contributions of this thesis generate suggestions for future research. First, the stream of practice-driven institutionalism is still

emerging (Lounsbury et al., 2021b; Smets et al., 2017) and merits further theoretical and empirical studies to better understand how the traditions of institutional theory and practice theory may mutually enrich each other.

The concept of dynamic cultural figuration developed in this thesis may encourage researchers of multicultural organizations to combine attention to institutional-, field-, and organizational-level factors with attention to experiences from the country of origin and the host country. In this kind of qualitative research, the methodology developed within institutional ethnography may be helpful (Campbell & Gregor, 2002; Smith, 2005, 2006). The entry point of institutional ethnography is people's everyday lives, their actions, and their knowledge—not very different from practice theory. Through observation and interviews, the researcher inquires into the person's work knowledge. Core questions include, how do you know what to do and how to do it? Answers to these questions may guide the researcher in the direction of regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive features of institutionalized practices, from different cultural contexts. Is the source of the person's work knowledge connected to formal texts like laws, policies, and instructions? Is it related to the values and norms in the workplace or in the country of origin, or is it tacit, taken-for-granted, implicit knowledge? The answers may point in the direction of societal-level features of institutions and regulations, as well as local everyday practices. The local and the translocal may be connected in one way or the other. Tracing the connections is a way to bridge micro and macro when studying organizational practices.

The use of immigrants' special cultural and religious competence merits further research. Demographic changes in the population changes the profile of the work stock as well as the profile of service users. To provide equitable services to a changing population, the cultural and religious competence of minority employees is an under-explored resource, which has implications for practice and research. In the current context marked by increased skepticism, especially toward Muslim immigrants, research could investigate and identify conditions that enhance the use of this resource. Another related area for research is the identity work of employees with a minority background (Creed & Scully, 2011; DeJordy, 2008; Gray et al., 2018; Watson, 2008) as they juggle cultural identities and professional identities at work.

Implications for practice

What are the implications of the findings from this study for practice and practitioners? Each article offers suggestions for implications for practice. Article 1 shows how immigrants' secure and stable employment is hindered in the configuration of recruitment-related practices. When I describe the conflicting practices and the difficulties care assistants on zero-hour contracts face in the process of acquiring healthcare credentials, a common reaction is that this sounds ridiculous, and there must be a way to fix it. Immigrants' participation in the labor market and more qualified healthcare professionals are crucial for society in general. In the article, I suggest that managers could analyze competing practices and interests to make informed and explicit decisions about what interests should be prioritized. The process of inquiry should bring unit managers into strategic discussions, because they are often the ones implementing decisions and practices in their everyday management of the workplace (Lipsky, 2010; Rogstad & Solbrække, 2012). In Article 2, I encourage managers and employees in a multicultural workplace to inquire into each other's implicit ideas of good and bad leadership to make mutual expectations explicit. A better understanding of managers' and employees' expectations may open up the space for adjusting them to improve communication and cooperation in the multicultural workplace. Article 3 analyzes how managers can strengthen religious literacy among the employees through a deliberate use of conversational spaces at the workplace. Two factors seemed crucial for this to happen: an organizational culture that welcomes religion into the workplace and conversational spaces in the work teams characterized by psychological safety (Wyss-Flamm, 2002).

This study showed that the potential to create organizations and workplaces that are inclusive to immigrants is in our hands. Managers can make a difference by being attentive to how organizational practices may counteract or support each other, challenging naturalized structures and inequality. Managers can include immigrants in the workplace by inquiring into their knowledge and understanding with cultural categories that are held loosely, and by promoting an organizational culture that welcomes cultural diversity in the workplace.

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Article 1

Lindheim, T. (2021). Ambiguous practices and conflicting interests: why immigrants end up in uncertain employment. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/EDI-02-2020-0046>

Abstract

The aim of this study is to investigate why many immigrants end up in uncertain employment. The paper describes a qualitative case study of three nursing homes in Oslo (Norway), which investigates immigrant employment and recruitment-related practices. Practice theory is used as the theoretical and methodological framework. The study takes an ethnographic approach and combines participant observation, semi-structured shadowing, qualitative interviews and document review. A practice-theoretical approach, analyzing organizational practices as they are accomplished in space and time and not as isolated activities defined by their purpose, provides a richer understanding of the complexity and connectedness of organizational practices. Combining practice theory and institutional perspectives, the paper demonstrates how normative and regulative mediators order and align related practices. The study demonstrates the importance of examining the configuration of practices to understand how the net effect of related practices affects those who dwell in them, in this case immigrants pursuing secure and stable employment. This study contributes to the field of diversity management by using practice theory to explain why measures for enhancing immigrant employment may not have the intended effect because they are interwoven in a nexus of practices with conflicting interests that (un)intentionally undermine the measures.

Article 2

Lindheim, T. (2020). 'Good leaders do the dirty work'. Implicit leadership theory at the multicultural workplace. In H. Askeland, G. Espedal, B. J. Løvaas, & S. Sirris (Eds.), *Understanding values work. Institutional perspectives in organizations and leadership*, pp. 97–115. Palgrave. http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-37748-9_6

Abstract

Today, workplaces are increasingly culturally diverse, and organisational members interact across various societal cultures. Managers and employees bring with them implicit ideas of good and bad leadership, which are influenced by their cultural backgrounds. Facilitating communication and cooperation among individuals to accomplish shared goals is central to leadership, and the multicultural workplace represents new challenges and opportunities in this regard. The chapter explains how contextual factors at the institutional field and organisational levels along with individual experiences of leadership from the country of origin and the current country of residence shape the implicit ideas of leadership. This approach to culture and leadership, considering the dynamic cultural configuration, represents an alternative to the paradigm of cultural universals in cross-cultural management research. Inquiring into the implicit ideas of leadership at the workplace with loosely held cultural categories serves as an example of values work.

Article 3

Lindheim, T. (2020). Developing religious literacy through conversational spaces for religion in the workplace. *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society*, 33(1), 16–29.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.18261/issn.1890-7008-2020-01-02>

Abstract

With immigration, there will be an increasing number of residents with a religious minority background in nursing homes in Norway. This group has the right to live in accordance with their beliefs, and nursing home managers have a duty to ensure residents' rights. Employees with an immigrant and religious minority background represent an under-used source of competence in this context. How can this resource be accessed and put to use to provide equitable services to citizens with a religious minority background? This study proposes using religious literacy as a practice-oriented framework to strengthen the ability of healthcare personnel to engage with religion. To develop religious literacy, managers should facilitate an organizational culture that welcomes religion in the workplace, deliberately inviting religion into the conversational space. For sharing and mutual learning, the conversational space must be hospitable and safe. Developing religious literacy through conversational spaces for religion in the workplace is a contribution to diversity management practices.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1	Approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data
Appendix 2	Example of letters sent to the nursing homes
Appendix 3	Example of information letter sent to interviewees
Appendix 4	Example of information letter sent to nursing home units
Appendix 5	Interview guide for CEOs
Appendix 6	Interview guide for unit managers
Appendix 7	Interview guide for employees

Appendix 1

Approval from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (in Norwegian)

Tone Lindheim
Boks 184 Vindern
0319 OSLO

Vår dato: 09.08.2017

Vår ref: 54749 / 3 / HIT

Deres dato:

Deres ref:

Tilbakemelding på melding om behandling av personopplysninger

Vi viser til melding om behandling av personopplysninger, mottatt 15.06.2017.

All nødvendig informasjon om prosjektet forelå i sin helhet 09.08.2017.

Meldingen gjelder prosjektet:

<i>54749</i>	<i>Cultural diversity and inclusion at the workplace</i>
<i>Behandlingsansvarlig</i>	<i>VID vitenskapelig høgskole, ved institusjonens øverste leder</i>
<i>Daglig ansvarlig</i>	<i>Tone Lindheim</i>

Personvernombudet har vurdert prosjektet, og finner at behandlingen av personopplysninger vil være regulert av § 7-27 i personopplysningsforskriften. Personvernombudet tilrår at prosjektet gjennomføres.

Personvernombudets tilråding forutsetter at prosjektet gjennomføres i tråd med opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet, korrespondanse med ombudet, ombudets kommentarer samt personopplysningsloven og helseregisterloven med forskrifter. Behandlingen av personopplysninger kan settes i gang.

Det gjøres oppmerksom på at det skal gis ny melding dersom behandlingen endres i forhold til de opplysninger som ligger til grunn for personvernombudets vurdering. Endringsmeldinger gis via et eget [skjema](#). Det skal også gis melding etter tre år dersom prosjektet fortsatt pågår. Meldinger skal skje skriftlig til ombudet.

Personvernombudet har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet i en [offentlig database](#).

Personvernombudet vil ved prosjektets avslutning, 01.08.2021, rette en henvendelse angående status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

Dersom noe er uklart ta gjerne kontakt over telefon.

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Hildur Thorarensen

Kontaktperson: Hildur Thorarensen tlf: 55 58 26 54 / hildur.thorarensen@nsd.no

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering



FORMÅL

The question this project seeks to address is: How do organizational practices, institutional work and organizational identities in the nursing homes affirm cultural diversity and enhance inclusion?

Preliminary research questions

1. How is cultural diversity and inclusion reasoned and interpreted by leaders and employees in the nursing homes?
2. In what practices is cultural diversity and inclusion expressed?
3. What practices enhance cultural minorities' experience of inclusion and cultural equality?
4. How does the organization use institutional work to negotiate organizational identities in a culturally diverse context?
5. What kind of organizational factors enhance cultural minorities' identification with the workplace?.

DATAINNSAMLING

Data vil bli innhentet ved hjelp av tre metoder: personlig intervju, gruppeintervju og observasjoner. Det er kun ved personlig intervju at det registreres personopplysninger, datainnsamlingen i de øvrige metodene gjennomføres anonymt og vil således falle utenfor meldeplikten.

Siden observasjonene skal foregå ved sykehjem legger vi til grunn at nødvendige tillatelser innhentes fra institusjonenes ledelse.

INFORMASJON OG SAMTYKKE

Utvalget informeres skriftlig og muntlig om prosjektet og samtykker til deltakelse. Informasjonsskrivet er godt utformet.

SENSITIVE OPPLYSNINGER

Det behandles sensitive personopplysninger om etnisk bakgrunn.

INFORMASJONSSIKKERHET

Personvernombudet legger til grunn at forsker etterfølger VID vitenskapelig høgskole sine interne rutiner for datasikkerhet. Dersom personopplysninger skal lagres på mobile enheter, bør opplysningene krypteres tilstrekkelig.

PROSJEKTSLUTT OG ANONYMISERING

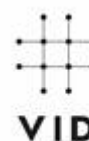
Forventet prosjektslutt er 01.08.2021. Ifølge prosjektmeldingen skal innsamlede opplysninger da anonymiseres. Anonymisering innebærer å bearbeide datamaterialet slik at ingen enkeltpersoner kan gjenkjennes. Det gjøres

ved å:

- slette direkte personopplysninger (som navn/koblingsnøkkel)
- slette/omskrive indirekte personopplysninger (identifiserende sammenstilling av bakgrunnsopplysninger som f.eks. bosted/arbeidssted, alder og kjønn)
- slette digitale lydopptak

Appendix 2

Example of letters sent to the nursing homes (in Norwegian)



xx

Oslo, 14. september 2017

Forskningsprosjekt om kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet

Vi vil med dette invitere xx til å delta i et forskningsprosjekt om kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet. En av tre innbyggere i Oslo kommune er første- eller andregenerasjons innvandrere, og sykehjemsetaten er en kommunal virksomhet med mange ansatte med ulik kulturell bakgrunn. En utfordring, og uttalt målsetting for både Oslo kommune og det norske samfunnet, er å skape et inkluderende arbeidsliv der personer med ulik kulturell bakgrunn får mulighet til å bidra til fellesskapet med sine ressurser og oppleveseg inkludert.

Forskningsprosjektet er en del av et doktorgradsprosjekt ved VID vitenskapelige høyskole (tidligere Diakonhjemmet) innen organisasjon og ledelse. Prosjektet er drøftet med Senter for fagutvikling og forskning i sykehjemsetaten og anbefalt av dem. Studien tar sikte på å bruke tre sykehjem med ulik eierstruktur i Oslo kommune i et case studium av hvordan ulike organisasjonsmekanismer fremmer og hemmer kulturelt mangfold og inkludering. Vi håper at et slikt prosjekt kan være interessant for deres virksomhet. Vi ønsker at denne studien skal være til nytte for dere, og vil gjerne formidle resultatene fra studien tilbake til ledelsen og de ansatte når disse foreligger.

Forskningsprosjektet er en kvalitativ studie der vi vil samle inn data gjennom ulike metoder – observasjon, gruppeintervju og individuelle intervjuer – i tillegg til analyse av dokumenter. For xx vil studien innebære 8 dager med observasjon og skygging av ledere og medarbeidere ved sykehjemmet. Det vil være ønskelig å kunne observere aktiviteter som vaktskifter, personalmøter, opplæring av nyansatte, medarbeideres interaksjon med beboere og deres pårørende, etc. Observasjonen vil bestå av både følgeobservasjon av enkelte medarbeidere og tilstedeværelse i miljøet på sykehjemmet. Vi ønsker å gjennomføre ett gruppeintervju/workshop på ca 1 ½ time med 8-10 av medarbeiderne i institusjonen med fokus på hvordan medarbeiderne vil beskrive sin arbeidsplass og organisasjonens identitet. Etsentralt element i studien er individuelle intervjuer med daglig leder, to avdelingsledere (helst norsk og en med annen etnisk bakgrunn) og tre medarbeidere med både norsk og ikke-

norsk bakgrunn fra hver av de to avdelingene – i alt 9 individuelle intervjuer. Hvert av intervjuene er estimert til ca 1 time. Tid og sted for intervjuene vil innrettes etter de ansattes og sykehjemmets ønsker. Det er ønskelig å gjennomføre datainnsamlingen i løpet av høsten 2017. Hele prosjektet er planlagt avsluttet innen august 2021.

Det er de ansatte og ikke beboerne eller de pårørende som er fokus i studien. Det vil ikke registreres personopplysninger om beboere eller ansatte i forbindelse med observasjon eller gruppeintervju. Det er utarbeidet et informasjonsskriv til deltakerne i observasjonsstudien og gruppeintervjuet som vil bli distribuert i forkant av studien. I forbindelse med de individuelle intervjuene vil det registreres personopplysninger. De som intervjues vil bli forelagt et informasjonsskriv og vil signere på samtykke til deltakelse i studien. Det skal selvfølgelig være frivillig å delta både i gruppeintervju og individuelle intervjuer. Når det gjelder observasjon, skal det være frivillig å snakke med forskeren og det skal være mulig å reservereseg mot å bli observert spesielt. I avhandlingen og artiklene som publiseres vil både deltakerne og institusjonene som deltar anonymiseres.

Forskningsprosjektet er meldt til og godkjent av Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste (NSD), som er personvernombud for denne typen forskningsprosjekter.

Høres dette interessant ut for deres sykehjem? Vil dere være villige til å delta i studien? Vi håper dere vil være interessert i å delta. Vi ber om en tilbakemelding fra dere for å i neste runde kunne gå videre med den konkrete planleggingen av gjennomføringen av studien. Hardere spørsmål eller behov for utfyllende informasjon ber vi dere om å ta kontakt med undertegnede.

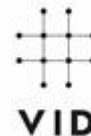
Med vennlig hilsen

Tone Lindheim
Doktorgradsstudent
Høgskolelektor
Mobil: 91 65 65 05
E-post: tone.lindheim@vid.no

Harald Askeland
Veileder
Professor i organisasjon og ledelse
Mobil: 95 75 60 83
E-post: harald.askeland@vid.no

Appendix 3

Example of information letter sent to interviewees (in Norwegian)



Forespørsel om deltakelse i forskningsprosjektet «Kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet»

Kjære medarbeider ved XX sykehjem,

Som du sikkert er kjent med, er ditt sykehjem med i et forskningsprosjekt om kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet. Prosjektet ledes av høskolelektor Tone Lindheim. Formålet med studien er å øke forståelsen av hvordan organisasjoner og ansatte håndterer kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet. Prosjektet er en del av en doktorgradsstudie ved VID Vitenskapelige Høgskole med professor Harald Askeland som hovedveileder.

Personene som blir spurt om å delta i intervjuundersøkelsen velges ut med tanke på at gruppen av informanter skal representere ulike nivå i organisasjonen (toppledere, mellomledere og ansatte i operative stillinger) og ulik etnisk bakgrunn.

Hva innebærer deltakelse i studien?

Deltakelse i undersøkelsen vil innebære et individuelt intervju med forsker, Tone Lindheim. Intervjuet vil ta ca. 1 time. Spørsmålene vil handle om ulike erfaringer som ansatt i organisasjonen, særlig med tanke på etnisk/kulturelt mangfold på arbeidsplassen. Du vil også få spørsmål om egen etnisk bakgrunn, utdanningsnivå, stilling og alder slik at informasjonen fra ulike intervjuer kan sammenlignes med utgangspunkt i noen av disse opplysningene. Det vil bli gjort lydopptak av intervjuene.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg?

Alle personopplysninger vil bli behandlet konfidensielt. Det er kun jeg som forsker som vil ha tilgang til lydfile og personopplysningene om deg. Jeg vil lage en liste med koblingsnøkkel med navn og nummer på informantene. Denne listen og lydfile vil bli oppbevart adskilt fra resten av materialet i studien

Deltakerne og institusjonene vil bli anonymisert, og de vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i avhandlingen eller artiklene som publiseres som en del av studien. Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. august 2021. Etter prosjektets slutt, vil lydfile slettes og det øvrige datamaterialet anonymiseres.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å delta i studien, og du kan når som helst trekke ditt samtykke uten å oppgi noen grunn. Dersom du trekker deg, vil alle opplysninger om deg bli anonymisert. Det vil ikke få noen konsekvenser for ditt arbeidsforhold dersom du ikke ønsker å delta eller om du senere velger å trekke deg fra studien.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med
Tone Lindheim, epost: tone.lindheim@vid.no, mobil: 91 65 65 05.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdata AS.

Samtykke til deltakelse i studien

Jeg har mottatt informasjon om studien, og er villig til å delta

(Signert av prosjektdeltaker, dato)

Appendix 4

Example of information letter posted in nursing home units (in Norwegian)



Informasjon om forskningsprosjektet «Kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet»

Kjære medarbeider ved XX sykehjem,

Som du sikkert er kjent med, er ditt sykehjem med i et forskningsprosjekt om kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet. Prosjektet ledes av høgskolelektor Tone Lindheim. Formålet med studien er å øke forståelsen av hvordan organisasjoner og ansatte håndterer kulturelt mangfold og inkludering i arbeidslivet. Prosjektet er en del av en doktorgradsstudie ved VID Vitenskapelige Høgskole med professor Harald Askeland som hovedveileder.

Hva innebærer studien?

En viktig del av studien vil være observasjon og deltakende observasjon på din arbeidsplass. Iløpet av høsten 2017 vil jeg være til stede i arbeidsmiljøet og på ulike møter 5-10 dager. Dissedagene ønsker jeg å følge ulike ansatte, observere samspill mellom ansatte og mellom ansatte og brukere og ha uformelle samtaler med de som er på jobb. Det er de ansatte og ikke brukerne som er fokus i studien.

Jeg vil ta notater i forbindelse med observasjonene, men jeg vil ikke samle inn personopplysninger som en del av observasjonsstudien.

Hva skjer med informasjonen om deg og din arbeidsplass?

Siden det ikke samles inn personopplysninger om deg vil du heller ikke kunne identifiseres i studien. Institusjonene som inngår i forskningsprosjektet vil bli anonymisert, og de vil ikke kunne gjenkjennes i avhandlingen eller artiklene som publiseres som en del av studien. Prosjektet skal etter planen avsluttes 1. august 2021. Etter prosjektets slutt, vil datamaterialet anonymiseres.

Frivillig deltakelse

Det er frivillig å snakke med meg under denne observasjonsstudien. Det vil ikke få noen konsekvenser for ditt arbeidsforhold dersom du ikke ønsker å delta.

Dersom du har spørsmål til studien, ta kontakt med
Tone Lindheim, epost: tone.lindheim@vid.no, mobil: 91 65 65 05.

Studien er meldt til Personvernombudet for forskning, NSD - Norsk senter for forskningsdataAS.

Appendix 5

Interview guide for CEOs (in Norwegian)

Intervjuguide/temaguide daglig leder

Bakgrunnsinfo

- Navn
- Utdannelse
- Antall år i organisasjonen

Spørsmål

1. Hvordan vil du beskrive dette sykehjemmet? Er det noe som er typisk for dette sykehjemmet i forhold til andre steder du har jobbet?
2. På hvilken måte preger det sykehjemmet at det er kommunalt/ideelt/privat? Har det noe å si for din rolle som daglig leder?
3. Er kulturelt mangfold og inkludering tema i styringsdialogen med sykehjemsetaten? Får dere føringer i forhold til dette? Støtte fra SYE eller andre instanser i Oslo kommune?
4. Har du noen egen agenda eller målsetninger i forhold til kulturelt mangfold og inkludering på dette sykehjemmet? Har du noen tanker om at det er folk fra så mange ulike kulturer som jobber på sykehjem?
5. Hva synes du er det viktigste for å få til å jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange kulturer? Hva synes du er det vanskeligste med å jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange ulike kulturer?
6. Har du et eksempel på en utfordrende eller vanskelig situasjon på dette feltet der det ble en bra løsning? Hva var med å bidra til forandringen / hva gjorde du?
7. Snakker dere noen ganger om forskjeller i kultur og religion i organisasjonen? Hva slags temaer snakker dere om da? Hva er rammene rundt samtaler om slike temaer?
8. Har du noen religiøs tilknytning selv?
9. Hvordan vil du beskrive de mer uformelle relasjonene mellom ansatte på tvers av kulturer? Vil du beskrive miljøet som – integrert eller segregert?
10. Opplever du at det er kulturforskjeller i måten ansatte fra ulike land kommuniserer? Hvordan vil du beskrive det? Tror du dette er mer Individuelle forskjeller eller kulturelle forskjeller? Handler det mest om språk eller om måte å kommunisere på?
11. Er kulturelt mangfold og inkludering tema på ledermøtene deres? Hva slags saker dreier det seg om da?
12. Er kulturelt mangfold og inkludering et tema når du følger opp avdelingsledere? Hva forventer du at avdelingsledere skal gjøre i forhold til sine ansatte på dette feltet?
13. Har dere spesielle tiltak eller målsetninger for rekruttering av personer med minoritetsbakgrunn? På hvilken måte følges det opp når avdelingsledere rekrutterer?
14. Har dere tiltak når det gjelder karriereutvikling og kompetanseheving for ansatte med minoritetsbakgrunn? Felles for hele institusjonen?
15. Har dere tiltak for å begrense diskriminering og rasisme overfor ansatte? Hvordan opplever du at de fungerer? Eksempler?
16. Er det noe annet du ønsker å kommentere?

Appendix 6

Interview guide for unit managers (in Norwegian)

Intervjuguide/temaguide avdelingsledere

Bakgrunnsinfo

- Navn
- Stilling
- Utdannelse
- Antall år i organisasjonen
- Etnisk bakgrunn
- Antall år i Norge

Spørsmål

1. Kan du fortelle litt om hvordan du ble avdelingsleder her?
2. Er det noe som er typisk for dette sykehjemmet i forhold til andre steder du har jobbet? Denne avdelingen?
3. Preger det sykehjemmet på noen måte at det er kommunalt/ideelt/privat? Har det noe å si for deg? Evt. på hvilken måte, eksempler
4. Snakker dere noen ganger om forskjeller i kultur og religion på jobben? Hva slags temaer snakker dere om da?
5. Har du noen religiøs tilhørighet selv?
6. På hvilken måte bistår du ansatte med tilrettelegging i forhold til kulturell/religiøs bakgrunn?
7. Er det forskjeller i hvordan ansatte fra ulike land kommuniserer? Har du eksempler på det? Tror du dette er mer individuelle forskjeller eller kulturelle forskjeller? Handler det mest om språk eller om måte å kommunisere på?
8. Opplever du at språk er en barriere for de ansatte på din avdeling? Skriftlig/muntlig? I forhold til beboer/pårørende/kollegaer?
9. Har dere hatt situasjoner der ansatte har blitt utsatt for diskriminering eller situasjoner som har vært vanskelige i møte med beboer/pårørende/kollegaer? Hva gjorde du i den situasjonen?
10. Har du eksempel på en utfordrende eller vanskelig situasjon (som omhandlet kultur/diskriminering/mangel på inkludering el.l.) som endret seg til en grei/god løsning? Hva var med å bidra til forandringen? Hva gjorde du, andre?
11. Hvordan vil du beskrive din måte å være leder på? Opplever du at det at du er norsk/fra XX har noe å si for hvordan du er leder? Har du eksempler på det?
12. Er det forskjeller i det å være leder for norske/utenlandske ansatte? Har du eksempler på dette?
13. Hvilken rolle spiller kulturbakgrunn når du skal ansette pleiere på din avdeling?
14. Har du noen spesielle strategier i forhold til det å bruke og utvikle kompetanse hos dine medarbeidere? Hva er utfordringene for norske/utenlandske pleiere?
15. Har dere spesielle tiltak for å skape trivsel/styrke samhold blant de ansatte på din avdeling?
16. Hva synes du er det viktigste for å få til å jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange kulturer? Hva synes du er det vanskeligste med å jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange ulike kulturer?
17. Har du noen tanker om at det er folk fra så mange ulike kulturer som jobber på sykehjem?

Appendix 7

Interview guide for employees (in Norwegian)

Intervjuguide/temaguide pleiere

Bakgrunnsinfo

- Navn
- Stilling
- Utdannelse
- Hvor har du tatt utdannelsen din?
- Antall år i organisasjonen
- Etnisk bakgrunn
- Antall år i Norge

Spørsmål

1. Hva var bakgrunnen for at du begynte å jobbe her?
2. Er det noe som er typisk for dette sykehjemmet i forhold til andre steder du har jobbet? Denne avdelingen?
3. Har det noe å si for deg at det er kommunalt/ideelt/privat?
4. Er det noen forskjell på hvordan du og norske pleiere/pleiere fra andre land forholder dere til beboerne? Har du eksempler på det?
5. Snakker dere noen ganger om forskjeller i kultur og religion på jobben? Hva slagstemaer snakker dere om da?
6. Har du noen religiøs tilknytning selv? Er det ting i jobben din som du har syntes har vært vanskelig pga. din kulturelle eller religiøse bakgrunn?
7. Har du opplevd diskriminering eller situasjoner som har vært vanskelige i møte med beboer eller pårørende (kjønn og etnisitet)? Hvordan håndterte du det? Ble lederen din involvert? Hvordan håndterte hun/han situasjonen?
8. Hvordan vil du beskrive din leders måte å være leder på? Har det at din leder er fra Norge/XX har noe å si for hvordan hun/han er leder? Har du eksempler på det?
9. Er det forskjeller i hvordan kollegaer fra ulike land kommuniserer? Har du eksempler på det? Tror du dette er mer Individuelle forskjeller eller kulturelle forskjeller? Handler det mest om språk eller om måte å kommunisere på?
10. Synes du det er vanskelig å kommunisere på norsk/synes du det er vanskelig å forstå kollegaene dine? Muntlig/skriftlig? I forhold til beboere/kollegaer?
11. Hva er det som gjør at du trives i jobben din? Er det noe du savner?
12. Synes du at du får brukt kompetansen din her? Er det noe av kompetansen din som du synes at du ikke får brukt? Hva kan være årsaken til det? (Hvordan har det vært å få godkjent utdanning/kompetanse fra hjemlandet?)
13. Har du noen gang følt deg urettferdig behandlet på jobben – av kollegaer, leder eller av institusjonen? Hvordan håndterte du det? Opplevde du at du fikk støtte av noen i situasjonen?
14. Har du eksempel på en utfordrende eller vanskelig situasjon (som omhandlet kultur/diskriminering/mangel på inkludering el.l.) som endret seg til en grei/godløsning? Hva var med å bidra til forandringen? Hva gjorde du, andre, lederen?
15. Hva synes du er det viktigste i forhold til å få til å jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange kulturer? Hva synes du er det vanskeligste med å

- jobbe sammen på tvers av så mange ulike kulturer?
16. Har du noen tanker om at det er folk fra så mange ulike kulturer som jobber på sykehjem?

