

Master's thesis

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Faculty of Humanities

Kamilla Disendorf

Eastern European immigrants in Norway: a case study on regulations, integration and social dumping from Trøndelag

Master's thesis in European Studies
Supervisor: Francisco J. Beltrán Tapia
May 2019

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List of abbreviations

ECTS	European Credit Transfer System
EEA	Economic European Area
ET2020	The strategic framework for European cooperation in education and Training
EU	The European Union
IMDi	The Directorate of Integration and Diversity (Integrerings-og mangfoldsdirektoratet)
LDO	Likestillings- og diskrimineringsombudet
NOK	Norske Kroner (Norwegian Crowns)

1. Introduction

Migration to Norway has a long history. Before 1970s the labour migration was defined by migrants from Scandinavian countries (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014). The first big waves of migrants from outside Scandinavia came from Turkey and Pakistan. The foreign employees from these countries dominated the labour migration to Norway between 1971 and 1975 (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014). Later, the Norwegian government stopped the labour migration from Turkey and Pakistan. Highly skilled labour migrants from West-Europe could still move to Norway (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014).

In the 1980s Norway experienced a new type of migration. Migrants from Chile, Sri Lanka, Iran, Vietnam were coming to Norway in order to escape bad humanitarian conditions in their home countries (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014). Political refugees from Eastern Europe were among other refugees moving to Norway (Bahaa, 2015).

With the developing conflicts and war in the Balkan countries, Iraq and Somalia, in the 1990s Norway received more refugees. With the collapse of the communist regime, Eastern European seasonal employees came to work in Norway via bilateral agreements (Bahaa, 2015).

The next milestone in the Norwegian migration history was the EU-enlargement in 2004. Norway is a member of the EEA, which was established by signing the EEA agreement in 1994. For Norway it means that it has to open its labour market for labour migrants from other EEA countries. In 2004, East European countries became members of the EU and of the EEA (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014). Labour migrants from Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (European Commission, 2017) were allowed to freely move to Norway and legally stay in the country for six months (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014). Intensive labour migration replaced the humanitarian movement to Norway "... and became a controversial and hotly debated issue in Norwegian policy." (Bahaa, 2015).

This research will take the recent developments in the labour migration to Norway after 2004 and focus on the migrants from the Eastern European countries. It is important not to take all migrants moving to Norway as one group since there are differences between the labour migrants from different countries. Foreign workers from Eastern Europe take low skilled jobs, which makes their employment highly unstable. The person is usually easily replaceable,

therefore, the Eastern European labour migrants are more likely to lose their low skilled jobs, than for example, employees originating from Germany occupying high skilled positions (Muriaas, 2016).

Two factors were crucial for the choice of topic for the master research. On the one hand, labour migration after the Eastern-enlargement was one of the interesting topics of a course within the master program in European studies at NTNU. On the other hand, I worked as a Norwegian teacher in the company where more than 80% of its employees were from Eastern Europe coming to Norway after the EU-enlargement in 2004, according to the interviews with the management of the company. The name of the company will be anonymized in this research due to the company's request.

I have had more than 750 hours of teaching with 15 different groups of workers. Close relationship with my class participants encouraged me to do research on the labor migration to Norway from Eastern European countries using the example of the company. Due to the fact that I got an opportunity to be a part of the company and got to know the employees working there, the research will be based on the questionnaires and interviews conducted in that company.

The company is one of the main actors being responsible for meat production in Norway. The workers from Eastern Europe are employed in different sections specializing on production of, for example, sausages, ground meat, nuggets, marinade, etc. They take low-paid positions of the company. The managers and the heads of the production sections are Norwegians¹.

The company is moving to a new location. About 50% of the employees will lose their jobs according to the interviews made in the company.

The reality which is described in the secondary literature differs in some points from the impression I got when teaching there. Therefore, a literature review is needed in order to get more familiar with the labour migration from Eastern Europe to Norway.

¹ In this research it will be referred to *managers* as to employers having higher positions in the company, working in the office. *Heads of the production section* work together with the labour migrants in the meat production. They have leading positions in the sections they are responsible for. As both, managers and the heads of the production section are involved in the hiring process of new employees, they will be called as *Norwegian employers* in this research.

2. Literature Review

The literature review will provide an overview of the existing research and will help to identify themes for the research.

Rules and regulations from the EU and Norway on labour migration to Norway

Since 2004, Norway has experienced increased migration from Eastern Europe. Some migrants came on their own, others got employed through agencies (Evju, 2014). When the borders opened for the labour migrants from Eastern Europe, Norway was not prepared for it. Norway still did not have minimum wages for the foreign employees ensured by law. In order to ensure equality at work according to the EU regulations, Norway adopted transnational arrangements (overgangsordning), which lasted from May 2004 until the 1st of May 2009 (Friberg, Dølvik & Eldring, 2013). It ensured wages for employees from the new EU countries, which are normally paid in Norway, for those who are employed full time (Dyrlid, 2017). However, the transnational arrangement did not include posted workers (Friberg, Dølvik & Eldring, 2013).

Norwegian system is based on the general application (Allmengjøring) from 1993. The general application meant to give both sides, the employer and the employee, the freedom to decide upon the wages on their own. It was supposed to ensure higher wages. However, this process needs a strong labour union (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). That is one of the Norwegian labor traditions. Construction industry is an example which shows that the labor union is not as strong as it was once (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015) due to high number of labour migrants. The general application from 1993 lost its function.

Staffing agencies were established as a method in the Norwegian labour market to improve the working and living conditions of the foreign workers (Friberg, Arnholtz, Eldring, Hansen, Thorarins, 2014). The Norwegian undertakings can hire workers from staffing agencies for temporary or long-term work. The workers are not employed in the company and the employers have less responsibilities for those workers. The staffing agencies give the employers greater flexibility and allow them to easily hire or dismiss the workers (Friberg & Eldring, 2013). The employers pay less tax, wages, and they have lower social cost (Friberg, Dølvik & Eldring, 2013). In favor of temporary workers, a directive 2008/104/EC on temporary agency work

(Europaloven, 2017) was established in January 2013. It ensures that workers temporary employed in an undertaking have the right to get the salary and the working conditions as employees being employed by that undertaking (Friberg, Dølvik & Eldring, 2013).

Another directive 96/71/EC concerning the posting of workers in the framework of the provisions of services (Europalov, 2018) ensures rules and regulation to improve the working and living conditions for posting workers who work in Norway but are employed by a foreign company (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). The sending country has to be able to ensure the following minimum requirements for the posted workers: longest working hours and shortest vacation, length of payed vacation, minimum wages, terms and conditions for posting (utleie) of workers, health, safety and hygiene conditions at work, rights for pregnant women and equality. That means, that Norway can ask any of the Eastern European countries sending their workers to Norway to ensure the minimum requirements. According to the EU, the receiving country cannot require more than these minimum requirements (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). The EU laws in labor migration which restrict the receiving country's freedom to decide what laws suit best is one of the issues discussed in the existing literature.

The most literature is based on scientific research done by, for example, the FORMULA-project or Fafo. The FORMULA-project at the University of Oslo, Department of Private Law, was one of the main actors dealing with the movement in the EU and investigating what impact it has on Norway (Department of Private Law, 2014).

Fafo, a foundation which does research on the connections between the society, politics, democracy and living and working conditions, is another important actor in the research on labor migration (Fafo, 2019a). Cooperation between Norway and EU/EØS was one of the research topics done by Fafo.

Other studies focus more on Norway and the Nordic model (Dølvik, Flotten, Hipp & Jordfald, 2015). The most analysis and discussions can be found in the Committee-documents. *Velferd og migrasjon – den norske modellens framtid* is a document which analyses the future and the consequences of the Norwegian welfare model (Regjeringen.no, 2019). *Utvalg om langsiktige konsekvenser av høy innvandring* is one of the recent documents which provides discussions and analysis of the Norwegian welfare model (Regjeringen.no, 2019). It is more connected to the high

number of refugees who came to Norway, but it also includes the vulnerable labor migrants who take low payed jobs in Norway and are at risk of missing their jobs.

Labor migrants from Eastern European countries compete in the minimum wages. That can weaken the sustainability of the Nordic model (Eldring & Friberg, 2013). Political and scientific discussions aim to better understand the development of that issue and provide recommendations on how to solve the problem and make the system capable of dealing with such a high number of the labor migrants competing in low payed jobs. Possible solutions are for example establishment of minimum wages which cover more labour branches or more regulations from the state (Friberg, Arnholtz, Eldring, Hansen, Thorarins, 2014).

However, any political changes and solutions have to be compatible with the EU-regulations (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). Which leads back to the discussions about the EU/EØS-Norway relationship and how much freedom Norway actually has when trying to deal with its internal problems. *Europa-utredningen* is another document which discusses the EU/EØS-Norway agreements and what it means for Norway (Regjeringen.no, 2019).

When signing the EØS-agreement, Norway feared social dumping. It tried to organize the labour migration in a way that social dumping does not occur. However, it is not the case as the research shows.

Social dumping

The rules and regulations implemented by the EU and Norway and the cooperation between the two actors has a direct impact on the foreign employees and the issues they face in their everyday life. Whether Norway does have a limited role in the issue of labour migration or not, social dumping is still an issue which the labour migrants are exposed to.

The labour migrants from Eastern Europe are one of the core groups being affected by social dumping. The labour migrants are a vulnerable group of usually low skilled posted workers, being employed by a staffing agency, competing in low payed jobs and having unstable contracts (Capellen & Muriaas, 2018). These groups are the core of the research. The existing research discusses and analyses the causes and the consequences of that issue. The main focus is, besides,

on the development of the situation which migrants are facing while living and being employed in Norway.

Literature refers to social dumping as a problem of inequality between the Norwegian and the foreign employees. One of the aspects which is included in the definition of social dumping are the wages. Labour migrants from Eastern Europe get payed less for the same kind of work as their Norwegian colleagues (Eldring, 2013). Other aspects of social dumping are "... breaches of health, safety and working environment regulations." (Regjeringen.no, 2008). Newspapers, political debates and scientific research of both quantitative and qualitative character based on surveys and interviews, show cases of social dumping. Experiences shared by the labour migrants and institutions fighting social dumping (like the Norwegian Inspection Authority (Norwegian Inspection Authority, 2019a)) show that the problem still defines the every-day life of many labour migrants from Eastern Europe who work and live in Norway. Construction industry appears to be the most challenging sector having the most cases of social dumping.

Social dumping is discussed with focus set on different groups. Some researchers focus on the labour migrants while the others on the Norwegian welfare state. What does the social dumping mean for the foreign workers and the welfare state? Depending on the perspective, different approaches are used. Research focusing on the labour migrants is qualitative and is based on interviews and surveys. Usually, the research has a descriptive character focusing on the development of the process. While research with focus on the welfare state is more based on the discussions of analysis of political debates and state documents (*utvalget*). The research analyzes the regulations which define the working and living conditions and makes suggestions to changes which would improve the situation. It usually has a causal character explaining the relationships between the different aspects of the research. *Frisch-senteret* had made a range of research in this field.

Social dumping is well-discussed in Fafo-reports, seminars and articles. Every year updates on social dumping are published, showing new development in the field and measures taken by the government (Fafo, 2019b).

The main findings in the research are that the minimum wages used to be a bigger problem than it appears to be now. The research and data provided on the webpage of the Norwegian

Inspection Authority, which fights and prevents social dumping, shows that more and more collective agreements have been established. Collective agreements ensure minimum wages for labour migrants (Dølvik, Eldring & Fafo, 2008). Even though labour branches has been successfully covered by the collective agreements, there are still cases of social dumping showing the need for more collective agreements. The existing research states that the method works successfully against social dumping. However, it is still a long way to go (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018).

Another key finding discussed and analyzed in the research is inefficient work of Norwegian Inspection Authority. The research shows that it is one of the solutions for social dumping as well. Its tasks have been expanded and its power has been growing. However, it still has to improve. For example, the employees of the Norwegian Inspection Authority need more education in order to work more effectively (Dyrlid, 2017).

One of the implications of social dumping is the competition in minimum wages which is a challenge for the Norwegian economy. The labour migrants compete in low payed jobs and some undertakings save money through paying wages below the minimum. In addition, they avoid paying as much tax as other undertakings. That leads to unfair competition among the Norwegian undertakings (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). That legal side of the issue covering the Norwegian welfare-state is well discussed in political and in scientific research dealing with social dumping. The other approach is from a social perspective presenting the well-being of labour migrants from Eastern Europe who are exposed to social dumping. It is one of the most important issues in literature dealing with labour migration to Norway. *Polonia-undersøkelse* is one of the biggest quantitative studies being done on the labour migration providing a detailed overview over the extent of social dumping in Norway. It sheds light on the Polish labour migrants working and living conditions in Norway. *Polonia-undersøkelse* was conducted first in Oslo and later in Copenhagen and Reykjavik. Based on the provided data, comparative analysis was used in the research in order to understand the issue with focus on the different political systems in Oslo, Copenhagen and Reykjavik.

Integration

One of the issues raised in the research when analyzing the labour migrants' situation is integration. Different researchers define it differently.

Most of the research focuses on poor language skills and criticizes the fact that the labour migrants do not get any rights to learn the language of the receiving country (Ihle, 2017). It is argued that language instruction is another solution to fight social dumping (Dyrlid, 2017).

Some studies suggest that sufficient language skills will play an important role in case the labour migrants lose their job. Since they have unstable contracts, the chance is high that they can get unemployed any time. In order to not be dependent on the Norwegian welfare state, the labour migrants need better language skills to be more attractive in the labour market (Bratsberg, Raaum, Røed, 2014).

Others refer to integration as being employed. It means that if someone is not employed then he/she is not integrated. The focus is on the integration from the economical rather than the human (social) perspective (Nystad, 2017). These articles usually have the Norwegian welfare state in focus when they touch upon the aspects of integration. When the focus is on people then the social aspect is the core of the research (Cullen, 2017). Research of this kind usually looks at the EU or national policies and how they affect the labour migrants in the receiving country.

Some of the existing research is comparative. It looks at the development of the language instruction in different European countries showing the strengths and limitations of the different methods of integration (language instruction) being used in the different countries over time (Höhne, 2013).

Other research, which is not necessarily connected to the labour migration to Norway from Eastern European countries, states that the integration includes much more than just a language instruction and that the social aspect plays a big role as well (Ferrari, 2015).

Integration is quite hard to define, and it depends on the research how the integration is understood by the research and what does he/she focus on.

The research states that the achievement of integration is an important factor in labour migration. There is research which looks at the integration from different perspectives. How the following actors will benefit from it: the Norwegian welfare state, the labour migrants, the

Norwegian employees and employers and the society in general. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used in the research. Some of the researchers use qualitative approaches in order to interview undertakings about the importance of the integration (language instruction) at work. They stated that language instruction used to be financed by the state before but remains mostly the employers or the labour migrant's responsibility now. It shows that these new changes do not work in practice. Even though all agree that the integration (language instruction) is important, it is not practiced anymore as it used to be (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009).

The research suggests that integration would improve the communication and strengthen the social boundaries between the Eastern European labour migrants and Norwegians. Not only in terms of the relationship between the labour migrants and the Norwegian employees and employers but also in terms of the relationship between the society and the Norwegian state. It deals with the trust the society has to the welfare state which has been established over many years (Nystad, 2017).

Regardless of the aspect the research was focused on, whether it is the Norwegian state, the labour migrants, the Norwegian employees and employers or the Norwegian society in general, integration is important in labour migration. The research suggests that integration, whether it is the language instruction or the cultural and social aspects, is one of the ways to a successful labour migration. It is expressed in both the scientific research and political debates. There is a range of EU-programs which aim to integrate labour migrants (European Commission, 2019c; Cullen, 2017).

Many articles on integration suggest that integration of the labour migrants has to improve. There is a chance that it would fight social dumping and ensure a more stable relationship between the labour migrants and the labour market in Norway. In case of job loss, the labour migrants would have a better chance finding another job if they are integrated (socially and especially in terms of language skills). The communication at work would improve and strengthen the relationships between the foreign and native employees (Friberg & Haakested, 2015). In order to improve the integration, the EU has to adjust their integration programs so that they

aim better at the needs of the labour migrants (Cullen, 2017). The Norwegian state is another actor which can evoke positive changes by taking the responsibility to integrate the labour migrants (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009).

When looking at the research being done on integration in general, achievements were made in integration of refugees through the introduction program they get when they come to Norway (Nystad, 2017). When looking at labour migrants who move to Norway, high achievements of the integration depend on the policy of the countries they move to and the industry sectors the labour migrants are employed in. The ones working in construction have lower motivation and interest in language instruction than employees from other sectors (Friberg & Eldring, 2013). Migrants who take high skilled jobs and the ones who got language classes before arriving in Norway are classified as well or better integrated than other labour migrants (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009).

To use the literature review as a starting point, the following issues were identified:

a) The rules and regulations introduced by the EU and implemented by Norway.

- What are the rules and regulations which define the working and living conditions of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe in Norway? And how well do they know them?
- How does it affect the well-being of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe in Norway?
- How do the existing rules and regulation affect the working and living conditions of the labour migrants?
- How are the labour migrants employed in Norway and what position do they have? Are they employed through a staffing agency or the company? Do they have stable contracts? What rights do they have by being temporary employed?

b) Social dumping is another issue which was identified and will be covered by the research.

- Who are the labour migrants being employed in the company (gender, age, country of origin and educational background)?
- Are there any cases of social dumping in the company?

- Would the labour migrants who experience social dumping complain? And do they know where and who to ask for help?
- How effective are the laws which aim to fight social dumping?
- Does the EEA-agreement stop Norway from fighting against social dumping? And how well does the cooperation between Norway and the EU work in fighting social dumping in Norway?

c) Integration is another point which will be analyzed in the research based on following supplementary questions:

- How to define integration?
- To what extent are the foreign employees from Eastern Europe integrated in the company?
- How well do they speak Norwegian? And what possibilities do they have to learn the language?
- How much do they want to integrate in Norway? And how many possibilities do they actually have to get integrated in Norway?
- Is integration important for the well-being of the foreign employees in Norway, according to the employees themselves and their Norwegian employers?
- How well does the state, the company and the labour migrants themselves organize their integration in the society, at work and in terms of language?
- How important is integration? And whose responsibility is it?

All the three themes are connected with each other. The rules and regulations are supposed to fight social dumping which is the main problem of the labour migrants living in Norway. Social dumping is the reason why changes are being made in the laws of labour migration. The integration is the aspect which seems to be important to improve the well-being of the labour migrants in Norway. However, it lacks rules and regulations and seems to be not well-organized by the law in Norway. Even though some of the case studies show how important the integration of the labour migrants seems to be for their Norwegian employers and the labour migrants from

Eastern Europe themselves (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009). Therefore, it is important not to separate these three themes but rather to consider them together in the research.

The objective of the research is to answer the supplementary questions asked in points a, b and c in order to provide a picture of well-being of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe living in Norway. The research will be an update on the labour migration and will present another case study, which is an additional piece to complete the picture of the situation the labour migrants face while being employed in Norway. Every new case will approve or disprove some of the general points made by the previous research. It will provide a more detailed overview of the issues which define the labour migration. The more case studies performed, the more precisely it is possible to say which industry sectors experience which issues and to what extent. For example, while construction sector has the most cases of social dumping, restaurant business could face other issues. It is important not to generalize, but to look at more cases first before it is possible to say more generally, but with higher probability, which measures different sectors need to take in order to ensure positive development of labour migration. Not every company treats its employees poorly by not paying salaries, overtime work or sick pay. Not every company provides precarious working conditions or working environment. Before getting a wrong picture of the situation in general, more current case studies are needed in order to get a better picture of what is going on. Do the generalizations provide the right picture of all of the industry sectors in all the regions in Norway? Most of the qualitative research has been done in Oslo. For example, the construction branch in Oslo seems to have the worst working conditions (Elstad, 2018) compared to other regions in Norway. However, it is important to look at different companies all over Norway.

There is a need for more qualitative data based on experiences the labour migrants have while working in Norway. Therefore, it is worth conducting more research which will provide a better insight into the situations described by the ones who face them. *Polonia-undersøkelse* had made a big contribution to the research. However, the rules and regulations are being reviewed and changes are being made in order to improve the situation the labour migrants face. Therefore, it is important to collect data from them to see whether the changes provoke positive or negative changes.

To sum up the introductory part of the research, this master thesis will deal with the well-being of labour migrants from Eastern Europe coming to Norway after 2004 and occupying low skilled positions. Integration and social dumping of the labour migrants will be analyzed in terms of rules and regulations which the labour migrants are exposed to.

The research will not have one specific research question, but rather several questions (supplementary questions) asked in order to ensure a full update on the well-being of the labour migrants. At the same time the literature review will help identifying questions which can be asked in the questionnaires and interviews in order to gather data for the research. It is important to realize which questions are *relevant* in order to contribute to the research and at the same time which of these questions are *realistic* to provide an answer on through the questionnaires and interviews.

The case will be put in the general context of knowledge about the labour migration to Norway, and it will be analyzed what the chosen case approves or disproves.

To be able to formulate expectations of the finding during the research, it is necessary to include my experience and impressions which I have gotten from teaching Norwegian in that company. Social dumping did not seem to be an issue in terms of working conditions in the company. The conditions which are described in other case studies are precarious and dangerous for health of the workers. *EØS på 1-2-3* is one of the sources which gathered several cases to illustrate the issues in labour migration. Impression gotten in the secondary literature cannot be confirmed by the first impression I got when working as a teacher in the company. The workers were provided a full equipped kitchen in both lunch rooms with a dishwasher, two refrigerators and two coffee machines in each of the rooms. There was always music playing and there were enough tables and utensils for the employees in both lunch rooms. All of the equipment was fully functioning. There was a copy machine which could be used without charge by every employee. Therefore, I expect to find contrasting information in working conditions compared to other case studies presented in the secondary literature. However, based on the existing research, minimum wages and working environment could be an issue in the company.

The migrants' poor conditions gave me motivation to do more research on the labour migration to Norway. Close interaction with the course attendants and their experiences, which they openly

shared at the Norwegian classes, provided some interesting data on the labour migration to Norway. It was difficult to believe some of the negative experiences the participants had had since Norway is known for being a democratic country which is based on inclusion, equality and tolerance. The conflicting ideas between what I experienced as an immigrant from Germany working in Norway was different to the experiences the labour migrants from Eastern Europe had. Different cases illustrate their living and working conditions in Norway. However, the cases show a more challenging reality the labour migrants from Eastern Europe struggle with, compared to what I was expecting to read. For example, big differences between the Norwegian employees and their colleagues from Eastern Europe in terms of minimum wages, poor working standards and working environment. More research and discussions are needed in order to find solutions and motivate people to take action.

I have learned that more research is needed in order to understand the topic better. Apparently, not everything described in the labour migration studies can be found in every case. In order to analyze how bad is the well-being of the labour migrants in Norway and reveal the grey zones which get obscured by the generalizations of the topic, this research will be a case study looking at the data which does not appear at a generalizing research (Barbour, 2014).

The study will show which themes need more attention and propose some recommendations on what can be done in order to improve the well-being of the labour migrants. The recommendations will be based on analysis of the data provided by the employers and employees of the company.

Given existing research and my impression, it is likely that I will find poor level of integration and weak attachment to work among the labour migrants from Eastern Europe.

3. Methodology and methods

The opinions and individual experiences of both the labour migrants and their Norwegian colleagues will be taken as the core of the research. The research will be based on the answers and experiences obtained through questionnaires on the well-being of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe in Norway. Since the research is a case study of the company with a high number of employees from Eastern Europe who came to Norway after 2004, questionnaires and interviews will be used as a methodological approach in order to collect data which will provide an insight into how the labour migrants and their Norwegian employers experience the situation. The following questions will be covered. What issues do the survey participants face? What explanations do they provide? How do they understand their situation? What are their opinions? How do the labour migrants define their well-being in Norway? And what do the Norwegian employers think about their employees' well-being in their company and in Norway?

3.1. Sampling

Purposive sampling was chosen as a sampling method for the research due to the limited time available. 50 foreign employees and 7 Norwegian heads of different sections within the company participated in the research. The purposive sampling method allows the researcher to choose the cases on purpose which makes it possible to get a deep insight into the topic looking at respondents' experiences (Matthews & Ross, 2010 p. 167). The criteria for the choice of the sample are:

- a. foreign workers
- b. working in Norway
- c. who came after 2004
- d. being employed in low skilled jobs
- e. working in that specific company chosen for the research

On the probability scale the sampling method is rated non-probable. The data extent is not as big to be able to generalize the results (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 164).

3.2. Case study

The world is complex, and it is not easy to understand it. There are many issues, which have to be discovered and explored. The research will be based on the macrotheory which focuses on the bigger groups of people (Babbie, 2004, p. 35). Labour migrants from Eastern Europe employed in

Norway will be taken as a case which will be studied in depth in this research. The intention of the case study is to focus on one specific group or individuals and distance from generalizations (McQueen & Knussen, 2002, p.36). The labour migrants from Eastern Europe in that specific company which they work for will not be studied over time, the case will provide data on their well-being at the point when the research is being done.

Deductive approach will be used. "It moves from (1) a pattern that might be logically or theoretically expected to (2) observations that test whether the expected pattern actually occurs." (Babbie, 2004, p. 25). In this case the secondary literature provides an insight into the situation of the labour migrants in Norway. It leads to formation of expectations what to see in the case company. Now, this research will be testing whether the pattern which will be seen in the case company actually occurs in the labour migration in general.

Only observations without the theory are not enough when working with cases. A case represents a negative occurrence with bad consequences. Therefore, reflection is needed to be able to provide solutions. The theoretical framework defines the perspective from which the case will be analyzed and what meaning or relationships will be uncovered through the analysis (Vennesson, 2008, p. 230). The way of understanding the world depends on the knowledge, the values and experiences which were made before. The issue will be seen from the ontological position, the constructivism. According to this position, the individuals are active actors reflecting and renewing their reality. This reality gets its meaning through the interaction and reflection of the individuals' participation in it. Individuals give meaning to their interaction through their understanding and reflection over the reality they live in (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 43-49). The labour migrants live in a world which was constructed for them by the Norwegians and the EU. Cultural, sociological and legal expectations are dictated, which the migrants have to follow.

Interpretivism will be used as an epistemological way of gathering the knowledge. Individuals' understanding and way of thinking will be used in the research in order to look at different personal opinions people have about their reality (Matthews & Ross, 2010 p. 28). The labour migrants' experiences will be used as an important source in order to gather knowledge about their well-being in Norway. How do they feel in the reality created for them by the natives?

The case will be defined and constructed by a theoretical approach (Vennesson, 2008, p. 227-229). The use of theory tries to provide explanations for the research topic answering the question *why?* (Babbie, 2004, p. 24-25). However, there are two different types of explanations. This research

will use the *ordinary* explanation focusing on the description of an issue. It tries to illustrate and explain it in a way which makes it understandable for the audience (Neumann, 2007, p. 34-35). It will have exploratory character (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 57) showing how it is to be a labour migrant from Eastern Europe in Norway. It will not provide logical arguments to explain why the issues occur which affect the well-being of labor migrants. It will provide an insight into their situation in order to get a clearer picture on the issues which they face when they come to Norway. There are different exploratory approaches which can be used. This case study will take the interpretative explanation. It will allow to present the issue from the point of view of the labour migrants and their Norwegian employers. The interpretative explanation will allow to explain the well-being of the migrants in Norway from the perspective of actors who are involved in the issue, which are the labour migrants themselves and their Norwegian employers. The issue will be seen from the respondents' perspective (Neumann, 2007, p. 40).

3.2.1. Qualitative approach

Based on the interpretivist, ontological and epistemological approaches, it is stated that the reality is shaped by its participants (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 142). The qualitative approach does not try to answer the questions *How many?* or *What are the causes?* It rather looks for the explanations provided by the affected people (Barbour, 2014, p. 13). Interpretivism will allow to “[...] view the world through a “series of individual eyes” and choose participants who “have their own interpretations of reality” to encompass the worldview.” (Thanh & Thanh, 2015). The explanations will be collected through the interviews and questionnaires conducted in the company, which was chosen for the research. Data will not be based on numbers but rather on words (Neumann, 2007, p. 328-329) which make the respondents messages unique. It allows the researcher to describe and interpret the meaning of the information provided by the participants.

3.3. Interpreting the data and analysis strategy

One of the features of the qualitative approach is that the analysis starts while data collection. The analysis of the data is inspired by *Analysis of qualitative data* by W. Lawrence Neumann (Neumann, 2007 p. 330). The first questionnaire was designed based on the secondary literature and some experiences shared by the course participants during the classes. Based on the total of information gotten, the first idea of the case could be developed. By analyzing the themes which arouse from organization of the data, new relations between the data was found and new questions

arouse (Neumann, 2007, p. 331-332). To be able to get a better structure into the case and include the new relations being found, subthemes were developed. These subthemes became the major themes of the research: integration, rules and regulations and social dumping. The second questionnaire was made which aimed better the new themes. Interviews were conducted during the collection of the data since there was close contact to the participants during the (at that time) ongoing classes in Norwegian. The results of the interviews were recorded by making notes. With the information gotten from both questionnaires and interviews final adjustments in the themes were made and the case was officially completed.

The data will be analyzed and set in the context of the labour migration to Norway in general. The data provided by the respondents will be described, explained and evaluated to create a reliable picture of the situation of the labour migrants in the company. The respondents' social and cultural background affects their understanding of life. Therefore, these aspects will be relevant in the interpretation and the analysis of the data (Barbour, 2014, p. 287). In addition, personal experiences and observations which were made when teaching in the company might be relevant for the analysis. For example, it will be observed whether the labour migrants had access to the kitchen, did they feel free to use it? Without performing a linguistic analysis, it might be important to look at the way of how the labour migrants talk and what words they use to express the content they communicated to me.

3.4. Data collection

Questionnaires will allow to get structured information about the issues and the situation defining the work life of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe and their Norwegian employers. The questionnaires are meant to present people's knowledge, ideas and experiences (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 201). The opinions and experiences on the issue of both sides will be presented in the research in order to cover the perspectives of both parties being involved in the situation. Both parties get questions covering the same issues of labour migration. However, answers given by the employees from the different sections of the company will provide different perspectives on the chosen issues, social dumping, integration and the rules and regulation made for the labour migrants by the EU and Norway. It will ensure the validity of the research.

3.4.1. Questionnaires as a method for data collection

The first questionnaire was designed and conducted in the company at the initial stage of the research. The questionnaire (see attachment) aimed to collect data on the integration and well-being of the workers from Eastern Europe in terms of integration. The questions sought to gather information on how well integrated the workers feel socially and in terms of language and culture, whether they would like to get more integrated in Norway and how well they are doing now compared to the time when they just came to Norway and why. The comparison was supposed to make the participants think deeply about their situation in Norway. Possibly they would provide some data which can help to see some unexpected relationships between different themes of labour migration to Norway. What did they realize while staying in Norway? This question did not provide any answer opinions to choose from. The participants were required to come up with their own reasons and ideas. What was good when they came to Norway? Is anything better now? How do the respondents from this specific company in Trøndelag experience the developments in the labour migration to Norway?

The questionnaires used in the research are designed for each group (the labour migrants from Eastern Europe and the Norwegian employers) in order to catch the reality each of the groups lives in. Then it may be possible to uncover more issues and relations the groups can provide answers to. The presentation of the questionnaires below does not explain every question in detail but sums up the sets of the questions and provide explanation the chosen design of the question and how the answer to the question will help in further research.

3.4.1.1. Questionnaire for the labour migrants from Eastern Europe

The questions asked (see attachment) to the labour migrants from Eastern Europe aim to gather the following information:

1. Gender, age, the country of origin, the length of stay and the educational background in order to introduce the group of labour migrants which are subject to the research. This information may be of importance in order to place the migrants in the right context. The research that has been done and the research which will be done on this topic will need this informational background of the groups which is the subject of the research in order to have a valid base for their statements and findings. For example, between 25 and 30, with high degrees in science from Western Europe would represent a different group of migrants

than foreign employees from Eastern Europe who did not attend university and take low skilled jobs in Norway.

2. The section the employee works in in order to provide an overview of the range of the company where the opinions and perspectives come from. How many sections were covered by the questionnaire? How reliable are the results of the research if it would provide information from few sections?
3. The type of employment, the community at work and the way how the employees obtained their working positions in the company to reveal the patterns for employment and labour migration to Norway in the case of the chosen company. How do the foreign employees get their jobs and what kind of positions do they have? Another aspect which will be taken as a part of the pattern is the segregation at work. How closely do the foreign employees work with their Norwegian colleagues and what kind of relation and how much contact do they have to each other? By stating whether the labour migrants would like to have contact to Norwegians would indicate how willing they are to integrate in their host country.
4. A set of questions about the wages of the foreign employees, their working conditions and the working environment aims to provide necessary information to analyze to what extent social dumping is an issue in the company, whether the foreign employees would complain, whether they know about the support they can get from the authorities, whether they would list authorities in the field called "other" in the questionnaire?
5. Question about their knowledge of Norway, such as language, politics, history, traditions, cuisine and literature, are supposed to show how integrated the labour migrants are. The choice of the points was made based on the topics the migrants understand and which most of the them presented as their fields of interest or hobbies when attending the Norwegian classes. The points used in the questionnaire cover both the knowledge of Norwegian culture as well as the language skills and their rights and obligations in Norway.

In the end of the section to the integration the participants get asked about whether they would like to learn more. If so, what of the listed points would they chose then? In what extend is it necessary for their stay in Norway. This will show what the labour migrants are interested in (other than economy) and how willing they are to integrate in the society.

6. In the end of the questionnaire the participants get asked about their degree of happiness in Norway. This section comes in the end in order to make the participants think deeply about

the aspects which affect their well-being in the foreign country. This way the research intends to achieve the most reliable answer on that question.

The following question “What do you need to feel happy in Norway?” allows the participants to give an answer without being manipulated/affected by the possible answer suggestions provided by the interviewer. That gives the participants the freedom to choose what comes to their mind first.

Looking at their development of happiness over time would show whether they gradually felt less and less happy in the country when being affected more and more by, for example, exploitation at work or other factors. The answer to the question may be important in the further analysis when presenting the development of the labour migration in terms of foreign employees’ well-being in the residing country.

7. In the end of the questionnaire the participants are given a chance to add a comment.

3.4.1.2. Questionnaire for the Norwegian employers in the company

1. Information about the lengths of employment and the working position in the company is relevant for judgement of the statements the respondents will give. Limited experience with the foreign employees would affect the impression the respondent has gotten. The same idea applies to the question about the working position in the company. An office worker might not have much contact with the foreign employees working in the production.
2. The question about the employment procedures of the foreign migrants is asked in order to cover the gaps in information the labour migrants would not provide because of the limited number of participants being asked. The heads of the production section probably can provide more information on that. That will complete the picture of the employment patterns of the foreign workers in Norway.
3. Another question focuses on the positive aspects of work with labour migrants. The heads of the production sections are given options to choose from and to rate what they consider as positive. The options are taken from the literature stating the common reasons for employment of the labour migrants. Both positive and negative points are listed in the questionnaire. Besides, the respondents are given a chance to write reasons which were not listed in the question.

4. The following set of questions tries to cover the negative aspects of work with the foreign employers. However, the participants do not get a list of options to choose from. They are given the freedom to think of negative situations at work. Here, the participants are challenged to think what *they themselves* and what *the foreign employees* could have done or should do in order to improve the situation. The answer to that question could reveal whether there is a tendency to look at integration as a one-way-process where only the foreign part has the responsibility to integrate themselves.
5. The question about how often the employers get complaints can provide evidence on whether there is a connection between poor working conditions or/and working environment and the amount of complaints (if the participants give an honest answer).
6. The next set of questions covers the integration and the contact between the Norwegian and foreign employees from Eastern Europe. It provides an opinion on integration from the perspective of the Norwegian employees of the company.
7. The last question is meant to get some data on what the Norwegian employers think about the labour migrants' well-being in their company and in Norway in general. The answers to these questions are supposed to reveal how much the Norwegian employers know about the labour migration to Norway, the issues related to that topic, and how much they know about their employees. The answer to this set of questions will provide the opposite perspective to the one of the labour migrants on their well-being in Norway.
8. The questionnaire designed for the Norwegian employees provides a section where the participants can add their comments.

3.4.2. Interviews as a method for data collection

3.4.2.1. Interviews with labour migrants

In order to get as much data on the topic as possible, interviews were conducted in addition to the questionnaires, since I was working in the company as a Norwegian teacher and had a chance to actually speak with the employees and employers of the company.

One method of collecting the data was one-to-one interview. The initiative was taken by some of the participants before, after or during the Norwegian classes. Without me asking any questions, the participants openly explained to me their issues at work. Some of them asked me for advice. The follow-up questions asked by me served to understand the problem and to find a solution to

the problem. Even though the questions were not prepared to be asked and designed in the way which would contribute to the research, the information provided by the participants was useful. This way of interviewing is called unstructured and is used as a method to collect data. The interviewer does not have any prepared questions in advance. A reason could be that the interviewer does not have any knowledge about the participants' background. This kind of interview which is almost similar to a conversation allowed me to get an insight into the participants situation (Miller & Brewer, 2003, s. 167-168). This very first insight was not only relevant for the data collection, but it served as the motivation to study the topic more deeply. This interview helped to design new questions for the research topic (Leonard, 2003, 167-168) and contributed to finding themes which are relevant to cover when doing research on labour migration.

It was not possible to talk to all of the staff due to limited time for the research. However, some of the employees were interviewed in groups of 5-7 after the Norwegian classes. There were three groups in total.

Some interviews were with individuals, other interviews were made with groups. The respondents stayed in the same groups which they were divided in for the Norwegian classes. All of them agreed to participate in the interview, therefore it was easier to keep the participants together and ask them the same questions as a group.

To start the interview some of the questions from the questionnaire were used. They aimed to collect more data on the research topic: rules and regulations made for the labour migrants by the EU and Norway, social dumping and integration. Once the conversation started, the respondents kept it going through sharing of their experiences and making comments. The interviews had a character of a conversation allowing the respondents to reveal information they were not asked about.

3.4.2.2. Interviews with Norwegian employers

Interviews with Norwegian employers were semi-structured. They were prepared in advance. The questions were based on the questionnaire designed for this group of respondents. It was supplied by additional follow-up questions during the interview. The supplement questions meant to clarify and confirm the information which was provided by the respondents in order to avoid misunderstandings. To be able to actually talk to the respondents and eventually ask more questions on one or another topic, the interviews got priority in data collection. Questionnaires

were filled out by respondents who could not come to the interviews. The interviews were not conducted in groups, but one on one with the Norwegian employers of the company.

3.4.3. Strengths and limitations of the chosen approaches

When conducting the questionnaires, it is important that there are no linguistic or technical mistakes made (Babbie, 2004, p. 256). The first questionnaire suited well to pretest the data collection. It showed how the data is organized by the program and what options offered by the program (google.forms) (Google, 2019) suit best to provide an answer to different kinds of questions. Knowing the technical opportunities helped designing the second questionnaire. For example, that it is possible to ask the respondents to rate their well-being in Norway instead of asking whether it is good or not. Pretesting showed also whether the formulated questions are understandable.

Answers in the first questionnaire raised several questions which were included in the second questionnaire.

Half of the questionnaires were done when the researcher was personally present in the room in order to introduce the topic, explain the respondents the ethical aspects of the research and elucidate the questions. The research does not cover many employees of the company, but it includes respondents from each production section.

Besides, it is not possible to be sure that all of the respondents understood the questions correctly. The time for answering the questions was not limited. Therefore, the respondents had enough time to translate the questions or think about their meaning. Even though the time was not limited, and many possibilities were given to ensure understanding of the questions, respondents tended to write little in the questionnaires (Miller & O'Leary, 2003, s. 254). Instead of giving a full answer, participants would write single words or incomplete sentences. That can make it difficult to interpret the data in the analysis.

In interviews people tend to say more than they do when they are asked to write (Miller & O'Leary, 2003, s. 254). It made it easier for both the Norwegian employers and the foreign employees to express their thoughts and experiences. They did not have to spend their time on writing stories, structuring them in an understandable way and focusing too much on the grammar. To avoid misunderstandings, I clarified the information provided by the respondents (Leonard, 2003, p. 168). It was possible to get more background information on some stories which were difficult to understand. That increased the validity of the results of the research.

Most questions had answer options. It made it easier for the labour migrants to find and formulate an answer to the questions. It gave them an idea on what can be answered. Due to the limited skills in Norwegian, it is already difficult for them to understand the questions. Even more difficult it is for most of the respondents to find answers to the questions on their own without any help. However, interviews were necessary in order to get more detailed information which was missing in the questionnaires because the answer-suggestions were offered. Since the language skills of the respondents are limited, the interviews were a chance to explain the questions once more and make sure that nobody misunderstood them. In these situations, respondents with limited language skills needed each other in order to encourage each other to talk. Therefore, it was helpful to get data from the respondents who took initiative themselves since it is difficult for the respondents with limited language skills to have a conversation with the interviewer alone.

The limited language skills is a challenge for the research. However, the interviews allowed me to explain each of the questions and ask follow-up questions in order to avoid possible misunderstandings.

The analysis of data starts while gathering it. In the case of this research, the data collection started early in the research process. More in the phase where the research started to get organized. I was not prepared for the conversations, which I had before starting to work on the research. That is a challenge for providing quotations when telling the participants' story in the analysis of the data. However, the amount of provided stories is little and it is enough for the research to have the point or the summary of it.

In addition, there was no clear research question at the time when some of the participants took the initiative themselves to share their experiences. However, they were necessary to get first impressions of the themes which can be covered by the research. The ideas for the themes came directly from the participants of the case study.

The interview was designed in the way that gave room to the respondents to communicate freely, ask questions if needed and answer in the way they chose themselves (Befring, 2010, p. 125). The time was not limited. The interviews were not conducted during the break at work and it had a character of a conversation rather than a short questions-answer situation. It was possible for the interviewer to ask questions which helped to build connections between the themes and to achieve a deeper understanding of the research topic.

Questionnaires was a bigger challenge in this preparational phase of the research. The very first conducted questionnaire was organized without a deep theoretical background on how to design

the questions. However, the order of the questions did not manipulate the assessment of the situation that the labour migrants provided data on. That criterion is one of the most important aspects chosen for this research. In addition, this very first questionnaire provides interesting and relevant data for the analysis.

Questionnaires give little room to express body language or to choose own words. This kind of information could be important in the interpretation of data. It can affect the results of the analysis. Interviews gave the respondents the freedom to use their own words. At the same time, I had an opportunity to observe the body language of the respondents, which could be important in the analysis of the data.

Another limitation of the second questionnaire is the order of the following questions:

How much do you earn per hour before tax?

Are you satisfied with your salary?

Some of the participants were not serious at the point when answering the question. They expressed it through their comments and reaction to the question. My presence in the room was necessary in order to make the participants give a serious answer to these questions.

The questions are grouped by topics. It might enable the participants to better follow the questions. The order of the question tries not to make the participants answer what the researcher expects to hear. (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 212). However, the fact that I was a teacher of Norwegian in the company could have provoked the foreign and Norwegian respondents to focus more on the lack of language and integration rather than some other possible issues.

The questions were put in a way which made the respondents deeply think about their situation in Norway and possible issues they face at work or in their every-day life. These questions were asked before the respondents reached the concluding question about their well-being in Norway in general and what is needed in order to improve it. The content and the wording of the questions did not provoke the respondents to think negatively. Therefore, it can be stated that the respondents were not manipulated to focus only on negative results.

The questions have different designs to enable the best possible and easiest way to provide an answer and to get as much information as possible for the research. Yes/no-questions, question giving the participant a category or a list of options to choose from, rating scale and open questions were used in the questionnaire (Matthews & Ross, 2010, p. 207-212). Choose-from-list-questions limited participants' freedom to come up with their own answer. However, every question (where

necessary) has a comment line for the participants which enabled them to say more or come up with their own answer, which is not suggested in the question.

The level of language used in the questionnaire designed for the foreign employees is not advanced in order to ensure the correct understanding of the questions. Optionally, the respondents could write in their native language in order to allow every respondent to express their feelings in the way that would reflect the reality in the best possible way. Since the research approach is all about the world as it is seen through the eyes of the respondents, they should get a chance to present the reality they live in in a way which will not be misunderstood due to the language barrier. Through the use of their mother tongue the respondents would be able to choose the right words to provide the most exact description of the way they experience the world they live in.

Since the questionnaires were online, it ensured anonymity of the participants. While filling out and later turning in the questionnaires, the respondents could not see each other's answers. The respondents could not look over to their neighbors while answering the questions since most of them filled out the forms on their smartphones with small screens, which made it difficult to understand what was being chosen. When turning in questionnaires filled out on papers, it is still possible to track the respondent of the questionnaire. For example, at school, often could be seen how students try to mix their questionnaires to ensure their anonymity. The less respondents, the easier it is to track the questionnaires back to the people who filled them out. The online questionnaires ensure complete anonymity of the respondents.

In the interviews, the participants do not have the anonymity they could have had in the questionnaires. However, in the questionnaires, there is a risk for the researcher not to get any answer on some of the questions. In the interview, the participant is confronted with the question and will not forget to provide an answer to it. If the participant does not want to answer the question, it has to be respected by the researcher. However, the information that the respondent rejected to answer the question could be used in the analysis of the data.

Both methods have strengths and limitations. Interviews do not have something which the questionnaires have and the other way around. Therefore, both methods were chosen to collect data. They do not exclude each other.

3.5. Presenting the results of the analysis

The results will be presented in chapter 4. Diagrams and statistics will be used as a supplement to the text in order to illustrate the results of the analysis (Neumann, 2007, p. 340). They will sum up

and present the amount of all the data provided by the participants. Even though, working with numbers and statistics is usually used by quantitative method, qualitative approach does not exclude this form of visualization (Neumann, 2007, p. 110-111). The process of data collection and analysis is qualitative, as the ideas and themes were developed during the data collection and analysis (Neumann, 2007, p. 110-111). Based on the results, the well-being of the Eastern European labour migrants in Norway will be shown in terms of social dumping, the integration and the regulations established by the EU and Norway.

3.6. Ethical issues

According to *The A-Z of Social Research* by Roobert L. Miller and John D. Brewer, in the chapter about the ethics written by Caroline Mcauley, it is important to have a good relationship with the participants. They took the initiative themselves to tell me about some issues they have been facing at work. Before the research started, there was a relationship between the researcher and the labour migrants working in the company based on trust. When designing the questions for the questionnaires and the interviews, in order to collect data for the research, the ethical responsibility each researcher has was taken into account (Mcauley, 2003, p. 95). The ethics has a great importance through the whole process of the research. It includes the research design, the choice of participants and the way how they are treated through the whole process. In the end, it is important to be aware of the consequences of the research and to base the conclusions on the ethics as well (Mcauley, 2003, p. 98). It was important not to ruin the relationship which was built over time with the participants. Labour migration from Eastern Europe to Norway is a topic that is not tabooed. That reduces the risk of causing any kind of harm to the participants by asking questions about their well-being or discovering issues they face at work. However, the labour migrants from Eastern Europe are one of the vulnerable groups in Norway. The questions were formulated in the language that they can easily understand and would not feel discriminated or insulted by the themes or formulations of the questions.

Voluntary consent covers the aspect of the participation of the responders in the questionnaires and interviews. It states that the participation must be voluntary (Mcauley, 2003, p. 96). This aspect was taken into account when conducting the interviews and the questionnaires. None of the respondents were forced or manipulated in order to participate in the research.

Informed consent states the intent of the research. The respondents have to be aware of why they are asked and what the information is used for (Mcauley, 2003, p. 96-97). All the necessary

information about the intended study was provided to the participants before the questionnaires and interviews were conducted.

The tricky aspect are the participants who took the initiative to provide some information on the issues they face at work before the study started. Even though they did it voluntarily, they were not informed about the use of their data in the research. Therefore, it would be ethically wrong to take the experiences and opinions they shared into the research without the participants knowing about the use of the information they have voluntarily provided. Therefore, the participants were asked for allowance to use their data anonymously in the research, which they granted.

Limited language skills were another challenge to ensure that the participants understand all of the information provided to them, why it is gathered, and what is going to happen with the information they share. Participants with high level of language proficiency explained the information to the participants with poor language skills.

Limited language skills were a problem for some participants who talked very little Norwegian. It was ensured that nobody was excluded and had a person they trust to help them fill out the questionnaire.

Anonymity and confidentiality has the identity of the participants as a core aspect. It means that the respondents have the freedom of sharing anonymously what they like while being sure what is going to happen with the information. That it “will not fall into the wrong hands” and that their anonymity will not be revealed (Mcauley, 2003, p. 97). All of the respondents participating in the data collection were ensured their anonymity and confidentiality.

No harm to participants plays a great role in the research of vulnerable groups with participants who might have mental harm after being asked about some difficult topics like e.g. rape or suicide. After providing information on the topics the participants struggle to talk about because they experience humiliation or because of any mental or psychological reasons which might cause damage to the respondents after the data collection. Therefore, it is important that the participants have contact details of the researcher. At the same time the, researcher has the responsibility to follow up the participants after the data collection (Mcauley, 2003, p. 98). The participants of the intended research on the labour migration to Norway from Eastern Europe were in contact with me after the conducted interviews and questionnaires so that they had a chance to withdraw from the research. As a researcher, I was able to examine whether my questions did any harm to the participants. No signs of damage or harm were noticed after the interviews and questionnaires were conducted.

The participants will not be able to read the research paper due to their limited English skills. Therefore, their data will be presented with special regard to the provided information. However, it does not mean that negative results of the research will be hidden. The results of the research will not be falsified.

3.7. Dissemination

The results from the research on labour migration from Eastern European countries to Norway after 2004 serve first of all the purpose of this master thesis. Possibly it will provide valuable data that can be used to start a project with a purpose to help the labour migrants integrate themselves in Norway, in term of better language education, social integration and better understanding of their rights and obligations in Norway.

4. Data analysis

The questions in interviews and questionnaires were divided into sections which are supposed to provide answers to the following topics: rules and regulations, social dumping and integration. Social dumping and integration are some of the main issues connected to labour migration to Norway.

In this research, the integration in general includes language proficiency sufficient enough to communicate, basic knowledge about the culture, understanding cultural and linguistic codes, and being a part of society. Lack of integration, which makes the migrants vulnerable, contributes even more to social dumping. Lack of language leads to difficulties in job seeking and increased vulnerability of the labour migrants in the labour market (Friberg & Eldring, 2011).

Rules and regulation set by the state are supposed to prevent and solve the issues. How much responsibility does the state take and how well do the employers and the foreign employees follow the regulations? Are they effective enough to cause changes in the fight against social dumping and integration of the labour migrants?

The analysis of social dumping will focus at the issues that can be found in the case company. The EU-Norway cooperation in fighting social dumping will be taken into account. Starting with the data provided by the case company in connection with the existing research, it will be analyzed whether something has changed so far and whether any new developments or arising issues can be observed.

The data provided by the foreign employees and the Norwegian employers will be described and analyzed in relation to each other. No correlation may be found. The data will be analyzed in connection with political documents and existing research on the topic. The case is supposed to shed light on the three chosen topics and position itself in the problem of labour migration to Norway in general.

Who are the labour migrants working for the company?

Most respondents come from Poland (68%) and Slovakia (26%). Their ages evenly distribute between three groups of 18-30, 31-40 and 41-55. Most labour migrants are ages 26-35 and 46-55. One third of the participants do not have a university degree. 96% of the respondents came to Norway because of economic reasons.

Foreign employees. Why did you come to Norway?

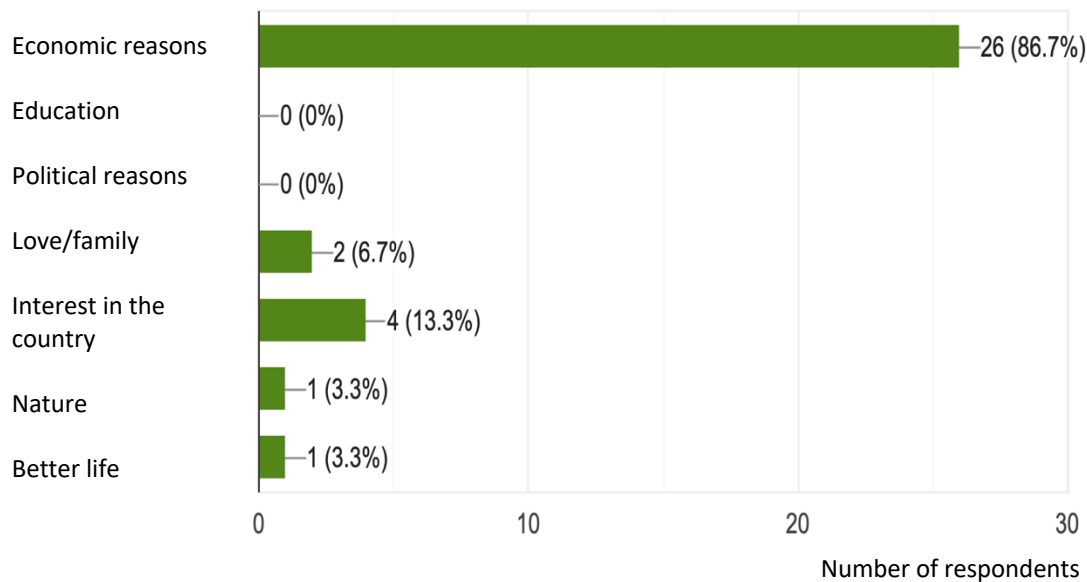


Figure 1

More than a half have been living in Norway between 5-9 years. One third have been residing in Norway for more than 10 years. That means that only 16% of the participants have been living in Norway for less than 5 years.

4.1. Integration

How integrated do the respondents feel in Norway? In general, the analysis shows that the labour migrants need better language skills and integration. The term integration was not used in the formulation of the questions of the survey. Some respondents of the survey used this term when answering the questions.

Integration has different definitions depending on the perspective. The state and most studies of economic and political character refer to integration as successful if the individuals are well-educated, are employed and pay tax. Many studies define integration as a condition when people work and contribute economically to the welfare state (*velferdsstaten*) (e.g. Østby, 2017).

Indeed, Norwegian integration policy was developed in order to support the Norwegian welfare model (NOU 2017:2, 2017). Equality plays a big role in Norway (Fafo, 2019d). The goal is to integrate the immigrants in the country so that they can participate in social life and work equally with the natives. Since the refugee crisis broke out, the focus was set on the refugees who need to

improve their language skills in order to get a better education so that they can participate in the Norwegian work life. The social aspect of integration is less present in the debates and research than the economy one. It looks like the integration policy covers well problems connected to the integration of refugees. However, it does not aim at the labour migrants. A positive assessment of the integration policy was made in terms of integration of refugees (Østby, 2017). However, based on the interviews made in the company and other case studies, no such development was observed by the labour migrants (Valenta, Thourshaug & Berg, 2009).

Money and economy (Fafo, 2019e) play a bigger role than the physical well-being of individuals. However, the social aspect should play a big role as well. Even though the labour migrants from Eastern Europe are employed in Norway, it does not mean that they are integrated. It does not necessary mean that they are economically integrated since they do not have permanent contracts here, which means that they can lose their jobs easily (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015). In fact, that is one of the main problems related to the labour migration. By losing the job, the migrants would become dependent on the welfare state, and integration would be defined as failed according to *God intergering- forutsetning for velferdsstaten* (Nystad, 2017). That might happen to the respondents from the case-company. Once the company has moved, about 50% of the employees would lose their jobs, according to the data gathered from the interviews. Then they would lose their economic integration and would not be able to benefit from any social integration since they do not have it (including language skills). This kind of scenario was described in the research stating that the labour migrants need better language skills to be prepared for the worst (Bratsberg, Raaum & Røed, 2014).

The labour migrants appear to be a blind spot that is not seen because they seem to be economically integrated and do not represent a big challenge for the welfare state. 76,4% of men and 66,9% of women of all migrants from Eastern Europe in Norway were employed in 2017. The percentage is higher than of those from Western Europe (men: 74,8%, women: 65,9%) (Barne,- likestillings- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2017). The politicians suggest that the best way to integration goes through employment. It is supposed to ensure language acquisition and social boundaries, as stated by the Norwegian Parliament (Enes, 2017). However, the reality is different. Integration through employment does neither ensure language acquisition nor social integration.

In the 70- 90s, the social aspect played a bigger role in the policy making (Midtbøyen, 2017). Even though in the last decade much more research has been done on the integration and migration,

economy has remained the mechanism causing changes in the integration policy. With changes in the Norwegian integration policy, new goals have been set on the agenda to ensure employment for the immigrants and to integrate them so that they can be treated equally with the other representatives of the Norwegian society (Regjeringen.no, 2017). However, no concrete measures were found of how to achieve that. Does it mean that the integration has to be redefined? How Norwegian are the labour migrants supposed to get? How much of their own culture can remain? What situation should be reached to be able to say that the labour migrants are treated the same as Norwegians?

How well have the labour migrants handled the integration themselves? According to the data gathered through the questionnaires, 80% of the labour migrants have taken Norwegian classes. However, 92,3% of the classes were not compulsory. The labour migrants did not have the rights to language instruction (Nystad, 2017). Compulsory classes taken by some migrants were organized by the company they worked for, according to the interviews. The company took responsibility for the integration of labour migrants and strongly recommended them to take the classes. Other migrants who attended the same classes called the classes “voluntarily” in the questionnaire because they skipped them without any consequences. That means that the company tried to solve the national issue (lack of language proficiency) itself. However, some of the participants did not cooperate due to lack of a motivational factor, perhaps in form of a governmental rule or a consequence showing the importance of the class.

Foreign employees. Norwegian classes.

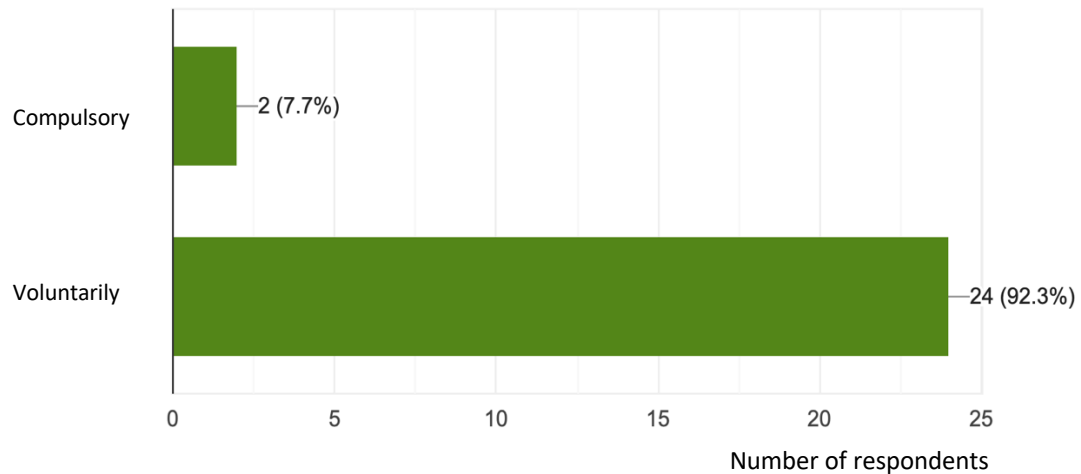


Figure 2

Motivation for integration

It will be analyzed whether there is a connection between the integration and the factors like length of stay, age, level of education, employment and the production section the respondent works in. Some of the Norwegian employers stated that they have much contact with the labour migrants at work. Therefore, it will be interesting to see whether the Norwegian employers are able to motivate the employee to become a part of the society and learn Norwegian.

Individual responses will be studied in order to get more detailed information on the length of stay in Norway and its relation to the level of integration. Since there is no question in the survey using the term integration, it will be referred to the question about whether the respondent feels as a part of the Norwegian society or not. It is an open question which can be understood in terms of economy, language skills or social integration in free time or at work. It is not relevant for the research to look at a special kind of integration but rather at the fact of being a part of Norway because that is what matters in feeling well in the country. The well-being is the core of the research rather than a specific kind of integration.

When analyzing the answers, no relationship between the length of stay and the need for integration was found. That means that respondent A who has been staying in Norway for less than 7 years can feel more integrated than respondent B who has been staying here for over 13 years. Does it mean that respondent B is not willing to integrate in Norway, to learn Norwegian and become a part of the society? A small part of the respondents stated that they are not interested in

learning more and that they do not need it. What factors seem to be a reason for not willing to become a part of Norway?

The analysis of individual answers to the questionnaires shows that the gender, age, educational background, employment (or the monthly wages) do not seem to affect the disinterest in learning Norwegian or having more contact with Norwegians.

However, there was an interesting feature in relationship between the length of stay and the interest in being a part of the society. Most of the respondents who have been living here around 10 years and longer are not interested in a better integration in terms of language or social aspects. Individual questionnaires show that these respondents state that they already have a lot of contact with Norwegians and know the language quite well. The other group of respondents stated that they have been living in Norway for less than 10 years and know the language quite well as well. However, this group still wants to improve and learn more.

According to one of the Norwegian employers of the company, the feeling about integration and language acquisition is very subjective. None of the foreign employees who master the language quite good should be excused from taking Norwegian classes offered by the company. These employees do not realize that their language skills are not sufficient. They make mistakes and misunderstand messages. The Norwegian employers participating in the questionnaire were very concerned about the language skills at work. All of the employers who participated in the research wrote “communication at work” as the only improvement they could come up with. 82% of the foreign employees (figure 3) chose language as an option they need to improve in. In this case, both employers and employees agreed that *communication* is a missing aspect at work place.

Foreign employees. What do the labour migrants want to learn more about.

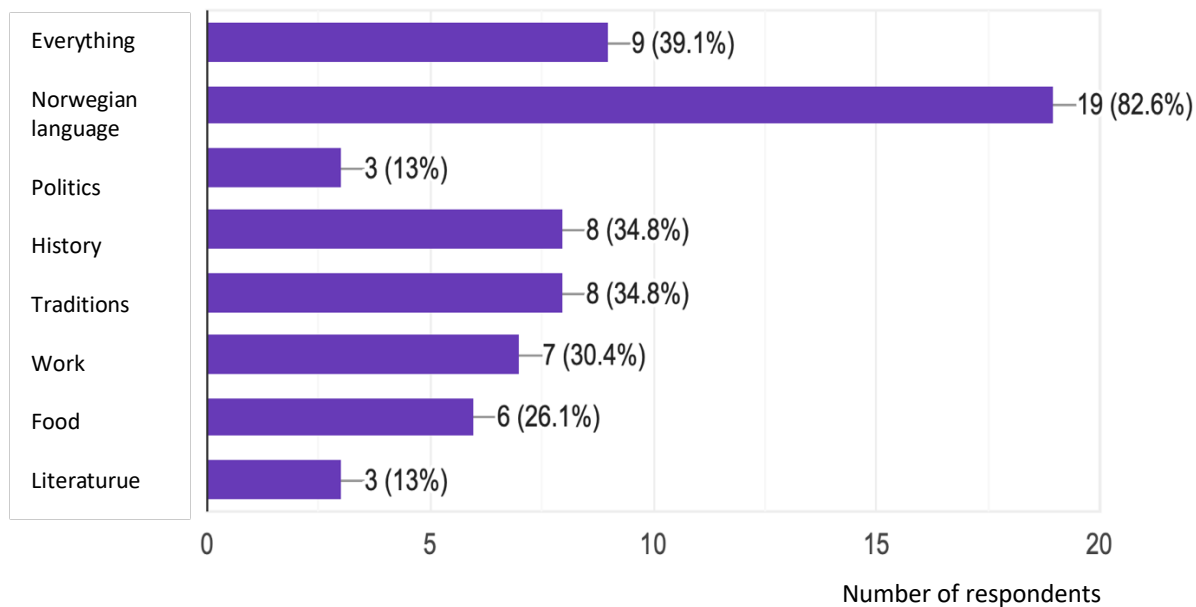


Figure 3

An interesting relationship was found between the data provided by the managers and the employees on the integration. However, the reliability of this fact is not certain. It attracted my attention that respondents from the meat processing section (kjøttkjære) have much more contact with Norwegians at work than employees from other production sections. The question about interaction at work (both during the breaks and during the work time) provides two contradicting pictures. The most foreign employees say that the contact with Norwegians at work in general is very limited, while the Norwegian employers say that they have much contact with the foreign employees.

So, it appears that there is a much closer contact between the foreign employees and the employers at the meat processing section, as compared to other production sections in the company. A reason for that could be the head of the production section. The Norwegian employer stated that he/she does socialize with the foreign employees as much as possible. There is a good and including cooperation in the production section, according to the respondent. This fact suggests a possibility that the amount of contact at work between the two parties depends on the head of the production section.

Respondents who stated that they do communicate much with Norwegians have been living in Norway for more than 13 years. Even though this case study and other case studies show that there is no connection between the length of stay and the level of integration, it is still possible that the employees who have been living in Norway longer have better language skills, especially since they have much contact with their Norwegian employer at work.

Figures 2, 3 and 4 show that there is a difference between the statements of the Norwegian employers and foreign employees in terms of the contact at work.

Foreign employers. Contact to their Norwegian colleagues at work.

Number of respondents

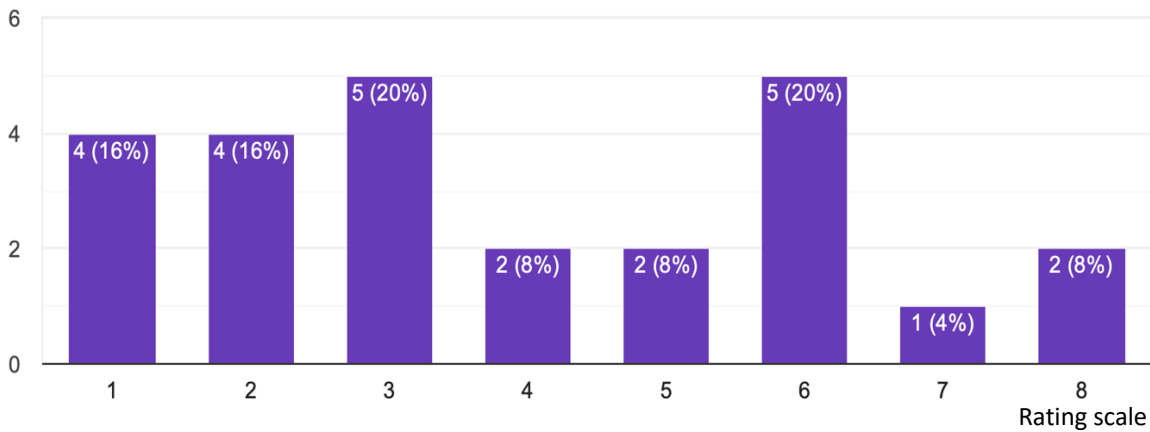


Figure 4

Norwegian employers. Contact to the foreign employees at work.

Number of respondents

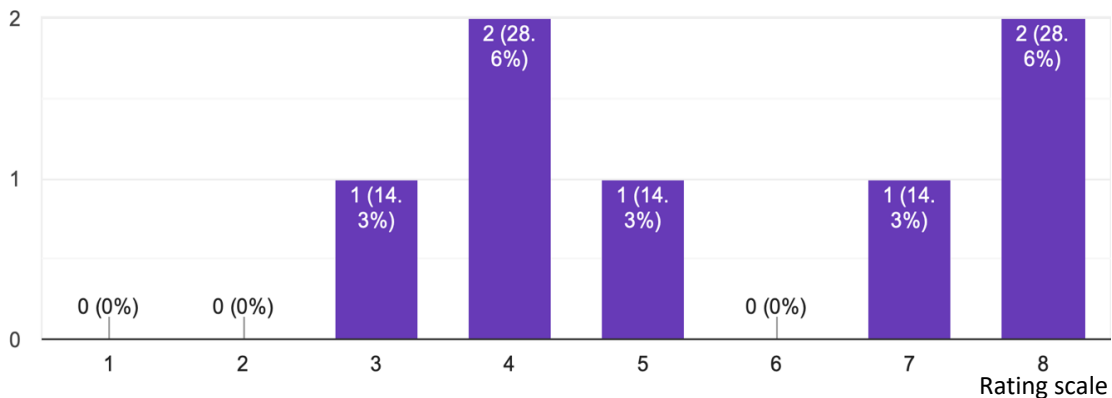


Figure 5

Norwegian employers. Contact to the foreign employees during the breaks.

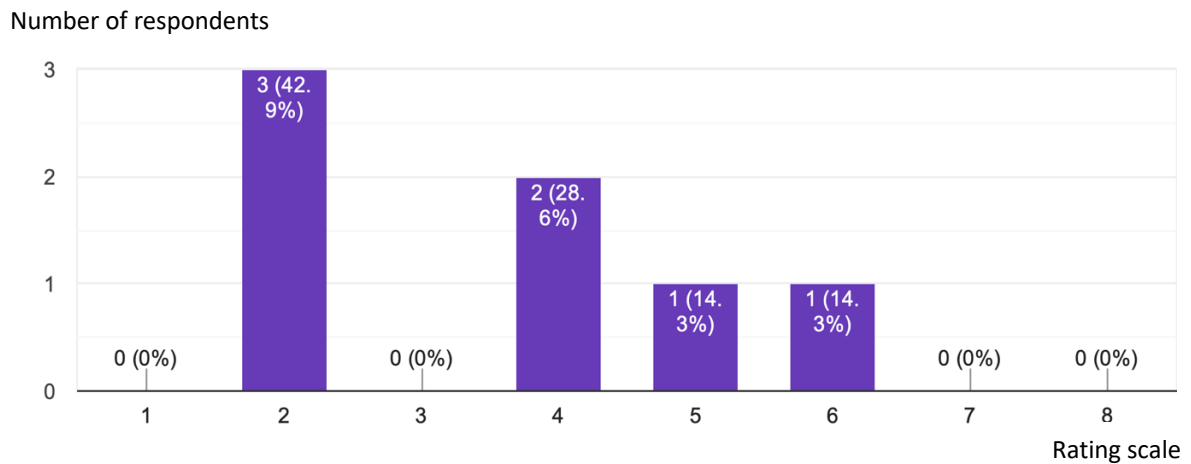


Figure 6

Most employees feel like they have little contact with their Norwegian colleagues, while the Norwegian employers state that they have much contact with the foreign employees. As figure 4 shows, there is little contact between the parts during the breaks. A possible explanation could be the fact that both parties are forced to communicate with each other at work and chose not to when there is a break. The Norwegian employers explain the difference by the fact that there are different times for breaks. Other employers state that people stay in groups according to their countries of origin. Some employers said there are employees they are not acquaintant with. The language barrier could explain the phenomena. In the interview, the foreign employees said that they cannot communicate with Norwegians because they do not speak the same language. An employee from Eritrea expressed his dissatisfaction saying that there are no employees from his country of origin but only from Eastern Europe. At the same time the East-Europeans complain about being too many from the same country since they do not have motivation to speak Norwegian with each other, according to the interviews. 76% would like to have more contact with Norwegians (figure 7).

Foreign employees. Would you like to have more contact with Norwegians?

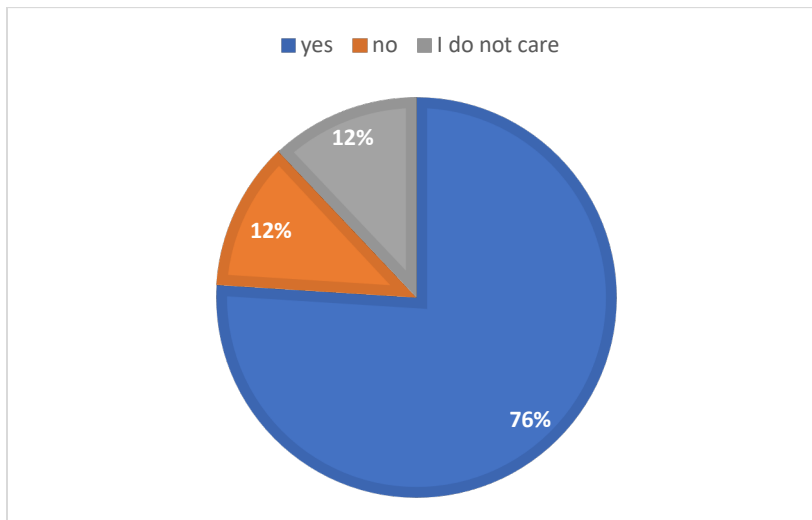


Figure 7

The research shows that certain nations from Eastern-Europe dominate in certain labour branches. Slovaks prevail in meat carving, Lithuanians – in fish industries (Friberg & Eldring). In the meat producing company considered in the thesis, for example, Lithuanians are outnumbered. Some Lithuanian respondents said in the interview that they had to learn Polish in order to communicate at work. Since Polish dominate in the case company.

Who is responsible for integration?

Previously, the state was responsible to integrate the labour migrants by providing free Norwegian classes. Now it has been shifted onto the companies. It is called governmentality (Cullen, 2017). It defines the situation in Norway at the moment. Individuals are getting responsible for the tasks which used to be the responsibility of the state (Cullen, 2017). For example, the language instruction is now the responsibility of the labour migrants themselves or the companies which they work for (Dyrlid, 2017). It gets critical with the fact that not all of the companies can cover the costs for language instruction (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009).

The state has legal responsibility for the society (Bjørnset, Rogstad & Sterri, 2018). Therefore, it should make the first step and ensure social integration as well. This is a great responsibility which should not remain on the labour migrants and the companies. Lack of social integration can limit trust in the welfare state and common values of the country (Ihle, 2017). So, it affects the state and the Norwegian society in a negative way.

Recent developments (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019) show that the responsibility for education of vulnerable employees, like labour migrants, goes back to the Norwegian government. Now, it is becoming responsible for the development, implementation and coordination of the skills policy (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019).

More than a half of individuals who already have much contact with Norwegians, as they state, would like to learn more Norwegian. According to the interviews, they felt treated unjustly by the Norwegian government for giving free Norwegian classes only to refugees. By assessing their own language skills, most respondents choose 1 - 4 on a scale from 1 (low) to 10 (high).

Foreign employees. Language skills.

Number of respondents

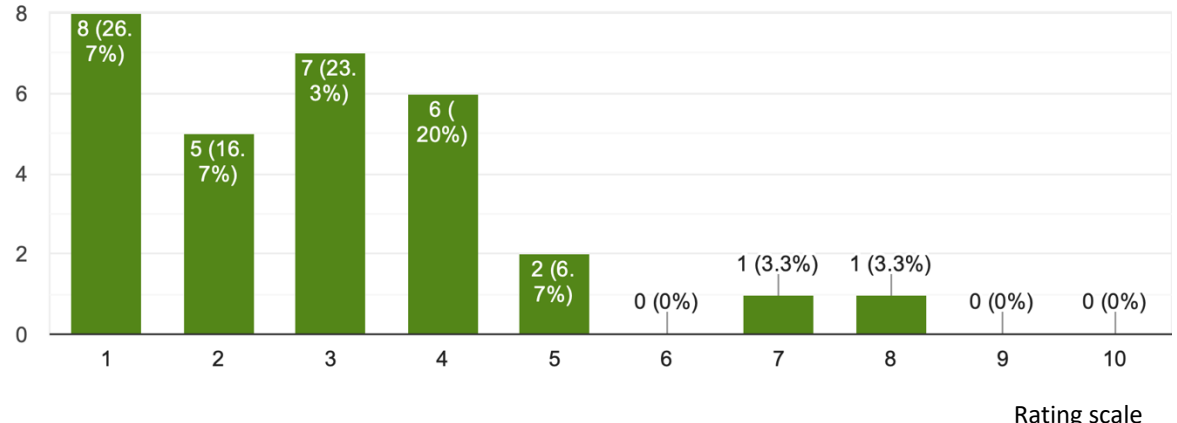


Figure 8

Some questions aimed to provide answers on how much the foreign workers think they know about Norway and whether they would like to learn more. Language, politics, history, traditions, work life (rights and obligations), music, food and literature were given as the criteria.

Foreign employees. General knowledge about Norway.



Figure 9

An interesting observation is that most of the respondents rate their knowledge about the language much higher here than they did when rating their language skills in figure 7 without comparing it to other aspects. It is doubtful that the respondents have linguistic knowledge about the Nordic languages. A possible explanation of this observation could be the fact that they know even less about other aspects, like Norwegian politics, history or literature. Perhaps, the respondents do not face these aspects in their everyday life. However, language plays a big role for them. Perhaps, some or many of the respondents try to learn Norwegian at home or by taking classes. Therefore, they might feel like they know much more about the language than about other aspects.

Phenomena like Norwegian food and traditions got the highest score. Apparently, the respondents have more knowledge about them because they have encountered them since they moved to Norway. Just by being a part of the work life, the labour migrants experience Norwegian *julebord*² and common free time activities. In the interviews, the respondents said that they have some gatherings organized by the company where they barbeque outside and do other activities that are very common in Norway, like for example having a football game.

When comparing the level of happiness and wellbeing of the respondents when they just arrived in Norway to their current wellbeing, it can be seen that they are doing better now than before (figure 10).

² *julebord* is a Norwegian tradition to celebrate Christmas with colleagues and employees. Companies organize a Christmas meal before Christmas eve and the time when employees travel away for Christmas (Store norske leksikon, 2019).

Labour migrants. Well-being when arriving in Norway.

Number of respondents

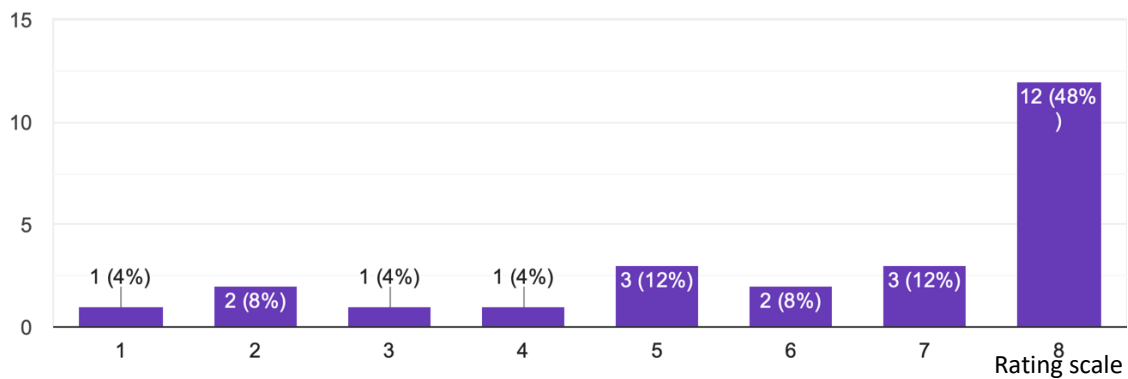


Figure 10

Labour migrants. Well-being in Norway now.

Number of respondents

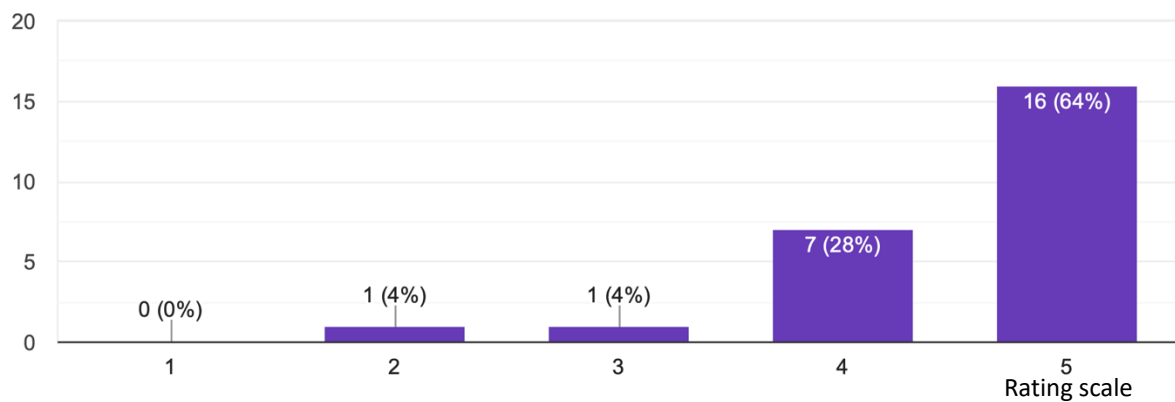


Figure 11

According to the interviews with the respondents, the reasons affecting their happiness and well-being in the receiving country depend on better understanding of the language, the culture and the country itself, on being used more to living in Norway and on being employed. The only issue that affects their well-being negatively is distance to the family that still lives in their country of origin. Figures 10 and 11 confirm the fact that integration is an important factor affecting the respondents' well-being in the foreign country. As long as they lack understanding of the situation, they feel lost. According to the first questionnaire, more than a half of the respondents chose their home countries as their "dream-country". The interviews revealed that the reason is their understanding of the language and proximity to their families and friends.

Recently, the Norwegian government started giving priority to the language instruction (Kompetanse Norge, 2016). The economical factor is not as much in focus anymore as it used to be. As the Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021 shows, the immigrants are not only the refugees getting the right to language instruction, but also labour migrants as well. It can be criticized for focusing on the language acquisition rather than on the importance of culture, for the cultural knowledge is necessary as well in order to succeed in integration (Ferrari, 2015). The knowledge of culture can be shown in an iceberg model. The upper part of the model, like the top of the iceberg that can be seen above the water surface, includes aspects of the culture, which can be experienced, for example, by tourists who come to a new country. These include food, music, literature, games, ways to say goodbye or hello, etc. The lower and the biggest part of the culture iceberg includes aspects of culture which cannot be seen and experienced easily. Values and norms, ways to communicate, feelings, expectations, etc. (Hall, 1976). These are the aspects that can be learned the longer an individual stays in the country and the more he/she interacts with the natives in order to experience the depth of the culture.

The questionnaire does not reveal any information on how deeply and how well the labour migrants know the Norwegian culture. However, the answers show that not all of the respondents know much about it. More than a half state that they have limited knowledge about some of the cultural aspects of Norway, like politics or literature, which are located at the top of the iceberg model. Experience shows that the respondents have limited knowledge about many cultural aspects which are actually visible and easy to experience. It can be due to the limited interest in these aspects or due to the poor integration in the country. When taking into account interviews and personal observations, it is possible to say that not all of the obvious aspects of the culture could be experienced due to the isolation and poor language skills. The workers themselves complained about meeting only people from their origin country or people speaking language same as or similar to their mother tongue. Since they live in a small Norwegian village where the company is located, or other villages around, they form a niche (Friberg, 2018) where they have almost no chance to interact with Norwegians due to working 8 hours a day, sometimes 6 days a week, and living far away from the nearest big city. Regardless the age, all of the participants go to the city approximately once in a month. That means that they do not experience many of the obvious aspects of the culture when living in the countryside. And due to the limited language skills, they do not get much information from newspapers or Norwegian TV. As the respondents stated in the

interviews, they do not use any of Norwegian media, like TV, radio or newspapers, due to difficulties in understanding the content and lack of interest.

To come back to the criticism of the new Norwegian strategy on integration through language there is a question arising, do the labour migrants need to understand the Norwegian culture in depth? Common language is an important part of constructing the identity (Wodak & Boukala, 2015). Thorough language, an individual can create its own and collective identity. Language helps people to understand the reality by dividing between *us* and *the others*. The labour migrants have already a group they belong to, the East-Europeans, however, they do not belong to the Norwegians. There are evidences that Polish migrants speak about themselves as a better educated society with stronger culture and background and having a more eloquent and multifaceted language (Sokol-Rudowska, 2013). In order to avoid misunderstandings and shorten the distance between *us* and *them*, communication is needed (Sokol-Rudowska). By learning the host country language, the labour migrants would get a chance to interact more with the Norwegians in order to learn more from them about Norway. The East-Europeans do not have to become Norwegians and miss an important part of their East-European identity (Djuve & Grødem, 2014). However, through the language, they would get a tool to learn more about the culture and integrate more into the society (Ihle, 2017). Research shows that language is a tool to inclusion of migrants (Cullen, 2017). However, the labour migrants need to achieve a certain level of language, preferably B2, to be able to integrate themselves individually (Ferrari, 2015) and get the missing codes in communication, culture and society (Dale-Olsen, Røed & Schøne, 2014). Only 3% of immigrants achieve level B2 (Bjørnset, Røgsatd & Sterri, 2018). The interviews show that the labour migrants from the company were not interested in taking any exams to get a certificate showing their language proficiency.

The idea of focusing on language instruction is effective since it would provide an important tool for the labour migrants to integrate in the society. Deep levels of the culture knowledge might be not necessary for the migrants. They would be able to learn the culture through active interaction with Norwegians. The analysis suggests that language improvement would lead to better well-being. Therefore, the new strategy can be seen as one of the biggest developments in terms of improvement of labour migrants' well-being and inclusion in Norway, both socially and economically.

Labour migrants were neglected the right to free language classes, unlike other migrants (Friberg & Eldring, 2013). Withal 84% of all respondents of the case company stated that they would like to learn more.

Foreign employees. Would you like to learn more about Norway?

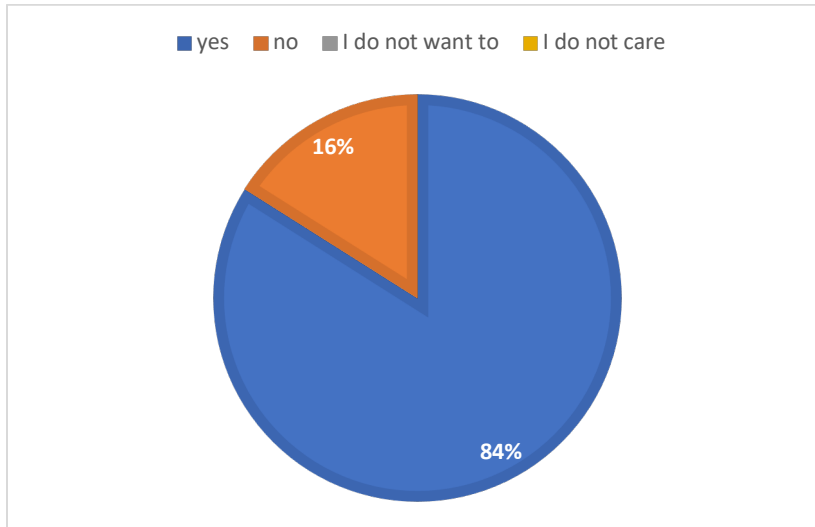


Figure 12

In addition, the strategy tries to connect work with integration policy (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019). This raises the chance for achieving results in integration by adjusting the integration policy. Given the opportunity by the government through better aiming of rules and regulations, the labour migrants are getting the right to integrate themselves through language instruction. Only 8% of the participants stated that they do not want to live in Norway anymore. That means that the labour migrants are not planning to leave and need help to be able to become a part of the Norwegian society.

4.1.1. Summary

The survey shows that the labour migrants working in the case company moved to Norway because of economic well-being. The majority is willing to stay in Norway and is motivated to learn the language and the culture of the country. The respondents assess their Norwegian skills as insufficient. Indeed, both the employees and the employers listed communication as the most important aspect missing. Language skills is an important tool to ensure economic and social integration of the labour migrants. Sufficient language skills provide protection in getting a new

job and cultural integration in the society. At the moment, the labour migrants have experienced little from the Norwegian way of life since they live far away from the closest city and need better language skills in order to follow the Norwegian news in the media. However, by working in the company, they got some insight into the Norwegian traditions, including food. The companies and the Norwegian employers do have the power to make the labour migrants more a part of the society. They are excluded by the society, and they contribute to that exclusion even more by not being able to communicate. They are not able to understand or to be understood. The society is divided into two.

Integration is difficult to define. No certain ways to achieve it have been found. The responsibility to integrate remains in the hands of the labour migrants and the companies they work for. However, due to lack of money and time, it is not possible for the parties to handle it. The labour migrants have been a blind spot in terms of integration. The regulations introduced by the state aimed exclusively at the refugees. However, in cooperation with the EU, a new strategy was implemented which aims at the labour migrants more than ever in the last years. Finally, the integration does not focus on the employment as a tool but rather the language. The respondents do wish more contact with the natives at work. However, it is hard to achieve, and one of the main reasons could be the lack of language skills. Slavic languages dominate in the company and are an obstacle for communication at work. Now, the government is giving the labour migrants the right to the language instruction which is an important tool for their well-being. Directorate for Lifelong Learning called Skills Norway (Kompetanse Norge) is the bridge between the EU and Norway ensuring the implementation of the strategy. It is too early to say whether the strategy leads to positive changes. However, more cooperation between the actors is needed to make it work.

4.2. Rules and Regulations

Language Instruction in Norway

What is Skills Norway (Kompetanse Norge)? Skills Norway is “Directorate for Lifelong Learning and belongs to the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research” (Kompetanse Norge, 2019). Its goal is to ensure inclusive economy and society in Norway. As the analysis show, technology develops fast. 80% of the Norwegian labour market is covered by technology (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019). What does it mean for the labour market? On the one hand – more effective and productive development. On the other hand, the technology replaces some of employment positions, and for the workers who stay it will be challenging to work without sufficient IT and technology skills. The most vulnerable group of this kind will be the low-skilled workers (Kompetanse Norge, 2019). They will be the first ones to lose their jobs and to get confronted with the lack of knowledge in this new growing field. The very same issue has already hit the case company. Soon, it will move to a new location and will start using newly developed machines for meat processing. Therefore, about 50% of the East-European employees will lose their jobs, according to the interviews. Skills Norway distributes financial support between the organizations and companies which provide classes in basic skills, like reading and writing, digital skills, numeracy and oral skills (Kompetanse Norge, 2019) and Norwegian as a foreign language (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019).

The language instruction started in the company before its relocation was announced. The motivation of and the attendance by the East-European employees was low. More than 20 classes were held with usually the same participants who were interested. Now, with the movement of the company, the ones who speak Norwegian are most likely to stay employed. That means that the state took its responsibility and provided classes while the employees themselves did not take the opportunity to get education fully payed by the government. Now, they will have to face the consequences of refusing to cooperate. As labour market studies show, applicants with language skills are more likely to get employed (Friberg & Eldring, 2013). That means that the labour migrants who are willing to integrate get a chance to stay and work in the country.

Previous analysis showed that the companies which employ labour migrants do not take the responsibility to ensure language instruction (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2009). This is still a problem in the case company, too. Even though it got free evening classes for their employees, some of the motivated participant could not attend due to collision with their working schedule. In the interviews, upset employees stated that it could have been easily solved, but it was not.

Rules and regulation set by the state have a big impact on the residents of the country. However, in this case the residents and companies had the freedom to directly influence the individual outcome of the policy. A case of one company is an insufficient sample to judge how well all residents and companies make use of the policy. However, it shows the arising challenges.

In cooperation with the EU, the policy is supposed to improve over the years. ET2020 is a forum for the member states where they can discuss and exchange their practices in order to improve the educational policy in each country (European Commission, 2019b). It goes hand in hand with the following EU objectives.

1. Quality and efficiency of educational training must strengthen. As statistics show, better skills will be required in 20% of all jobs by 2020. The education and training are supposed to lead to “active citizenship, personal development and well-being” as stated by the European Commission in document 52012DC0669 (EUR-Lex, 2012).

The more recent documents focus on both efficiency and education for the course attendants and the teachers (Kompetanse Norge, 2019). In order to provide good quality education, the teachers have to be qualified. My personal experience confirms the implementation of strategy. Now, the teachers without 30 ECTS in Norwegian language cannot teach classes financed by Skills Norway. According to the information from Skills Norway, it gives financial priority to the schools that can prove that their teachers have relevant education in teaching (Kompetanse Norge, 2019). The rules set by the government lead to the fact that the schools require good quality of teacher’s education in order to stay employed.

Besides the teachers’ education, researchers emphasize the duration of courses (Friberg & Haakerstad, 2015). In the study done by Valenta, Thorshaug and Berg in 2009, the respondents stated to have courses of 50 hours. It is the same number of hours that was assigned several times to the case company, even after the participants criticized such a short duration.

Another challenge that was criticized by the European Council is the low motivation of the participants. My experience shows that the certificate which the participants get by attending over 75% of classes (Metis Kompetanse, 2019) gives them motivation in the beginning of the course. This vanishes rapidly. Usually, less than a half of the participants get the certificate in the end. If quality of teaching is not a reason for the demotivation, then it has to have another reason. It could be the lenient way of handing out the certificates, which does not necessary prove any language proficiency. Perhaps, the participants need stricter rules for getting it. Then they would pay

attention in the classes and really try to improve their language skills. Otherwise they do not follow in the classes. The participants do not really understand the value of the language instruction, which is even free of charge for them. According to one of the findings from previous chapter on integration (figure 2), more regulations are needed which could show the importance of the language instruction and give the labour migrants motivation for further education. For example, the labour migrants have to achieve a certain level of language proficiency verified by an exam if they want to be employed in the country. There were companies in Poland which prepared the labour migrant for their employment in Norway by giving them Norwegian courses and job-related information. The ones passing the exam in the end were sent to work in Norway (Friberg & Eldring, 2013).

The Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021 is supposed to be revised this year (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019). However, no information has been released yet.

2. Equity, social cohesion and active citizenship.

Policies can exclude groups of citizens (Wodak & Boukala, 2015). Indeed, the labour migrants were excluded from the right to language instruction until the Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021 came into force. As stated before, EU labour migration policies dialed with economy, but did not focus on cultural, social or emotional issues (Guillemot & Shubin, 2010). The following two goals of the Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021 aim at the labour migrants more than any other regulations: “promote learning at the workplace and effective use of skills” and “enhance skills among adults with weak labour market attachment” (*Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021*, 2019). The policy aims to solve some of the main problems in labour migration: 1) the fact that economic integration does not mean social integration, and 2) the foreign employees’ weak attachment to the labour market. Two thirds of Norwegian employees have a good attachment to the labor marked (Nergaard, 2018). Whoever has a part time position, is willing to have one (Torp, 2016) due to, for example, family (Svalund & Nielsen, 2017). However, foreign employees are willing to work as much as they can, but they do not get the chance (Nergaard & Svarsatd, 2019). According to the research, employment by a temporary staffing agency does not serve as a start into the permanent employment. Neither do the employers use temporary

employment to choose good workers for their companies (Svalund, Peixoto, Dølvik & Jesnes, 2018). Temporary employment has been used to fill the gaps (Frberg, 2016).

Actually, every legal employee has to get a permanent position according to the Working Environment Act (Arbeidsmiljøloven) §14-9. However, there are exceptions. The changes in the law in 2015 made it possible to employ workers temporarily for up to 12 months. In 2016, the Norwegian government made one more regulation stating that an employee has to get a permanent position in the company if he/she has been working there for a period of 4 years (Bergene, Nergaard, Svalund, 2018). However, the research shows that temporary employment is a problem among labour migrants. It became “a true migration industry” (Friberg, 2016). The staffing agencies grew since the EU enlargement (Fafø, 2019f). The undertakings have found a way to avoid the rules for their benefit.

The case company is not an exception. Employment here goes through staffing agencies

Norwegian employers. Way of employment of the foreign workers.

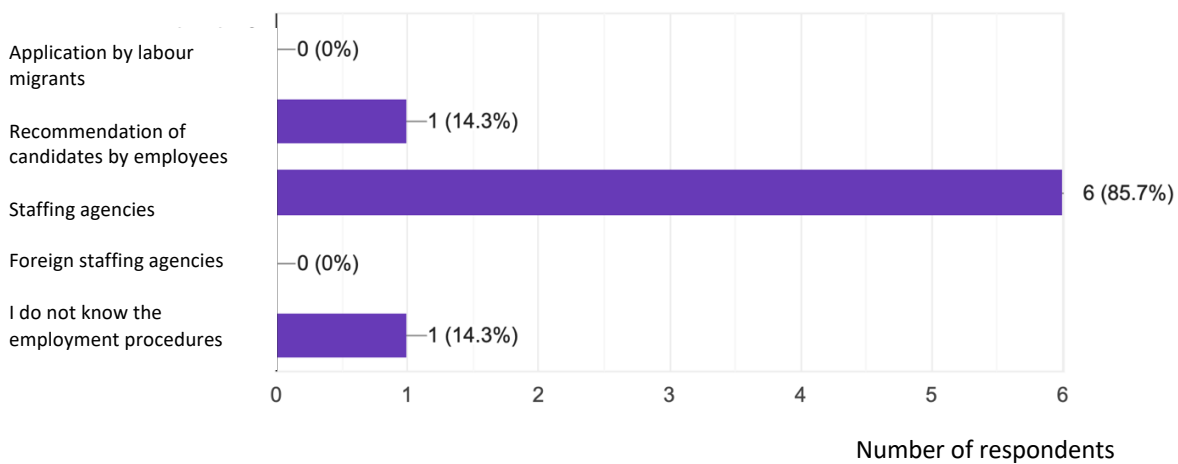


Figure 13

In one of the interviews, a respondent revealed that the company makes sure not to employ him/her a continuous employment for 4 years. The company gives this worker some extra days off in order to avoid giving him/her a permanent position. According to the Working Environmental Act, if the employee has been working in a company for 4 years at a stretch, it means that the company has a need for this position to be covered (Arntsen, 2019). It could be presumed that the company did not need any workers on this position when the respondent got the days off. However, he/she

stated that the company got another person to cover the position for these days. To the question whether he/she complained, the respondent gave a negative answer saying that it never helps. The interview responses in general suggest that it has become a new trend in the company. All the respondents who moved to Norway more than 6 years ago got permanently employed. The respondents who entered more recently have temporarily employment. The following two charts (figure 14 and 15) confirm that observation and have to be analyzed in relation to each other.

Foreign employees. Duration of residence in Norway.

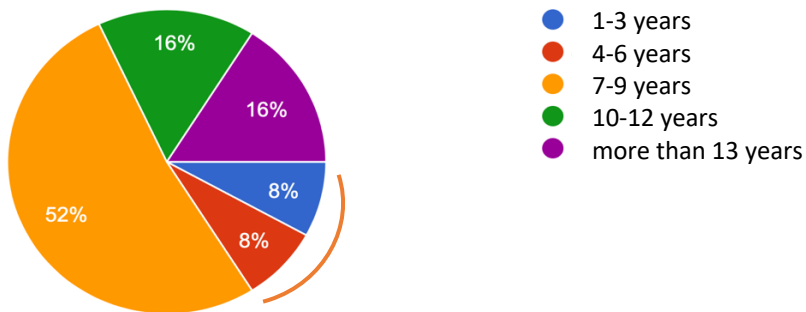


Figure 14

Foreign employees. Type of employment.

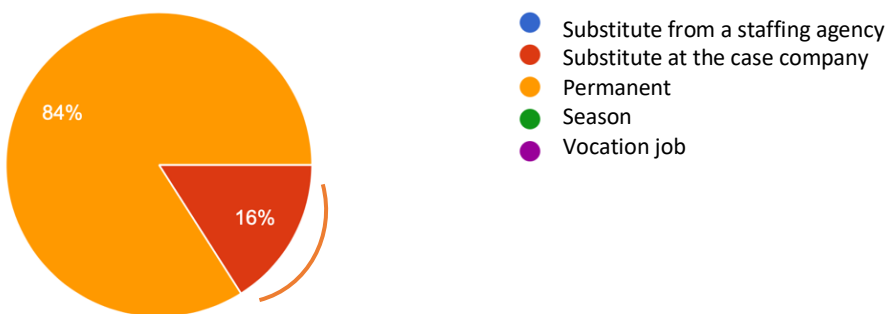


Figure 15

They show that whoever has a temporary employment has been living in Norway for less than 6 years. It is exactly 16% in both charts. Apparently, the company follows the trend of temporary staffing in Norway. Interviews with the respondents confirm that observation. More regulations are needed in order to solve that issue since it affects the well-being of the labour migrants in

Norway. They do not have any stability. They get “fewer rewards and less status” (Friberg & Eldring, 2013). The employers see their power and (ab)use it (Dale-Olsen, Røed & Schøne, 2014) since the government does not set any limits on it. Nevertheless, the government has the power to stop it.

Construction industry is the most common example where unqualified workers from Eastern Europe get temporary positions rather than qualified specialists getting permanently employed (Friberg & Midtbøyen, 2017). The low qualification of employees does not permit them to make decisions at work, which grants the management more power. The jobs are simple, do not require any language or communication skills, so they are filled with the immigrants (Haakerstad & Friberg, 2017). Indeed, one of the current researches on equality shows that the immigrants do not occupy any leading positions (Jensen & Strand, 2018). The issue has gone so far that the labour branch became unattractive among young people willing to get their education in construction (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). Average age in construction decreased to 57 years (Friberg & Haakerstad, 2015). Because of low-skilled workers who cannot communicate at work and are not permanently employed, the quality of work life became worst. If a construction company employs an extemporary team, usually the youngest and less experienced member get the leader position just because he speaks better Norwegian or knows some English. This may have a negative impact on the results (Friberg & Haakerstad, 2015).

There is no base for experience exchange between Norwegians and the East-European workers, even though both groups could learn something from each other and it has been one of the goals according to the Norwegian Parliament in 2012 (Stortinget, 2013).

Companies offer further training to their employees, except to those who are not permanently employed, like the labour migrants (Bjørnstad, 2017). Since the labour migrants are not permanently employed, they are not motivated to improve their language skills (Wodak, 2015). It becomes a doom loop.

As one of the biggest survey of the (Polish) labour migrants in Norway (Poloniaundersøkelse) shows, the temporary employment is one of the reasons for the labour migrants to take undeclared work. Even though the working conditions there are more precarious (Friberg & Eldring, 2011). Besides, the state cannot offer protection to these workers. Why do the labour migrants take undeclared work? One reason could be the weak attachment to the labour market. The other reason is the desire for more work in order to spend the time productively (Cappelen & Muriaas, 2018).

Limited qualifications and language skills contribute negatively to the routine of never getting permanent positions (Bratsberg & Roed, 2016).

What does it mean for the temporarily employed workers? They have less protection from the state and can easily lose their jobs (Bygnes & Erdal, 2017). The directive for temporary workers and posting of workers was an important change to ensure quality in the labour market. It ensures that temporary workers get same wages and working conditions as permanently employed workers (Vikarbyråderiktivet, 2012). The case company (figure 15) does not confirm the issue with the temporary employment described in other studies. Perhaps, that is one of the reasons why the company’s employees feel happy in the country and would like to stay here (figure 16).

Foreign employees. Well-being in Norway.

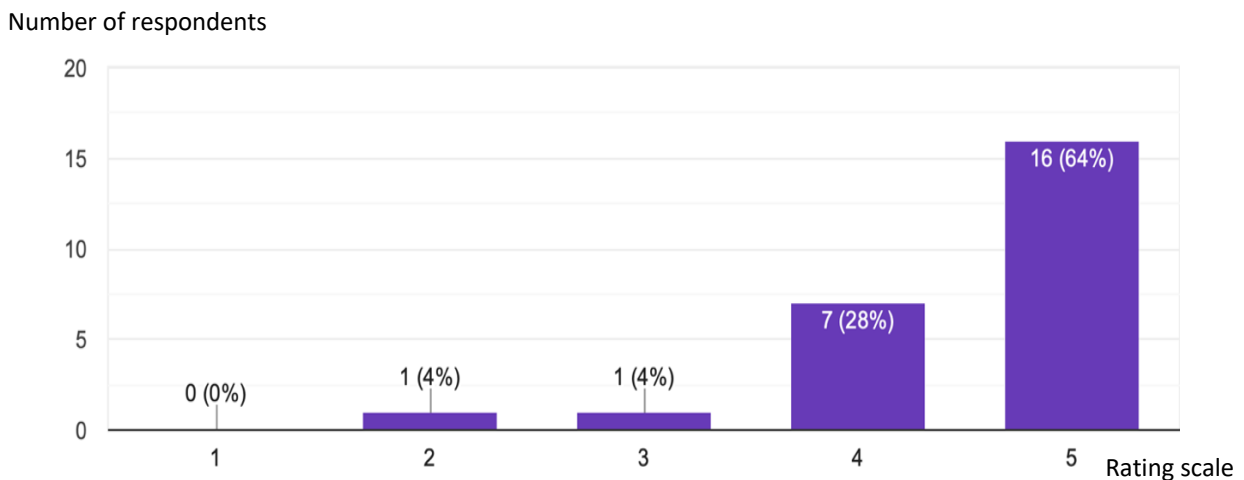


Figure 16

Friberg (2016) states that the state failed to provide protection to the labour migrants. However, it is the undertakings which chose flexibility at the costs of the labour migrants. The undertakings have less responsibilities towards temporary employees. This is the case where the labour migrants do not have power to change the situation and have to follow the rules set by the companies they work for. However, the government still holds most power and implements rules to ensure the well-being of the labour migrants and to prevent worsening of the current issues and development of new challenges.

3. Mobility is another important EU objective pursued by ET2020 (European Commission, 2019b) which tries to offer protection to the labour migrants regardless of the companies avoiding the existing laws. The European Council, European Parliament and European Commission agreed on

adoption of the *European Pillar of social rights*. When working on the common future, it is important to ensure “social, cultural and educational dimensions of the EU policies” (European Commission, 2019b). The first principle of the European Pillar of social rights states that "everyone has the right to quality and inclusive education, training and lifelong learning in order to maintain and acquire skills that enable them to participate fully in society and successfully manage transitions in the labour market" (European Commission, 2019d). It means that the government finally looks at the issues connected with the labour migration from the social perspective. It appears that policies used to focus too much on economy and economic well-being. However, with the implementation of the European Pillar of social rights, the human aspect of labour migration gets the relevance which was missing. Democracy, human rights and equality are some of the values which the EU is based on. By providing help to the third countries in need, the EU promotes these values (Keukeleire & Delreux, 2014). Apparently, these values were not in focus in labour migration before the implementation of the new pillar. More research is needed on whether the new pillar will cause positive changes in labour migration.

4.2.1. Summary

There are two main problems which Norway has been facing since the increase of labour migration from Eastern Europe after 2004: the migrants’ weak attachment to the Norwegian labour market and their lack of social integration. In addition, the foreign workers are the most vulnerable employees due to the low education level and lack of Norwegian language skills. The new Norwegian Strategy for Skills Policy 2017-2021 aims to solve the problems. In cooperation with the EU, Skills Norway tries to achieve an inclusive economy and society. Fast development of technology leads to reduction of low skilled jobs and challenges employees to work with new machines and programs. Therefore, more education is needed.

For the labour migrants, the education should include language skills above all. Through the classes provided and financed by the government, they give the labour migrants a chance to stand stronger in the labour market. However, the classes are neither fully agreed by the employers due to the work schedule, nor are they taken by the labour migrants due to the lack of motivation. The research shows that the voluntary basis does not work. Perhaps, the parties do not see the need of the policy.

Since the lack of skills affects the Norwegian state in a negative way, it should implement stricter rules and regulations. In cooperation with the EU-member states, Norway works on efficiency of

the integration policy. In theory it looks promising. However, in practice the policy needs to get stricter. It requires the teachers' education, which is an important aspect. However, more changes are necessary in order to achieve good results. For example, sufficient duration of classes is important to impart the necessary skills.

Another challenge is the power of the employers in the Norwegian company. As the survey shows, temporary employment became a trend in the last 6 year. It increases vulnerability of the employers from abroad. Temporary employment gives them less rights and privileges. The employers abuse their power trying to get more flexibility. It led to growth of temporary employment, to shortage of specialists interested in the career in the field, to decrease of the level of experience of the team leaders, and to the managers' abuse of power.

Through the directive for temporary workers and posting of workers, the government achieved more equality among the employees and ensured some protection for the temporary employed workers. However, more rules are needed. The state has more power than the employers. Therefore, it should use it and offer more protection to the vulnerable employers. Recent changes, like implementation of the European Pillar of social rights, enables to look at the labour migrants from the social perspective as at human beings. It contributes to democracy, equality and human rights. However, more research is needed to analyze how efficient the changes and the results are. The following chapter on social dumping will analyze the pillars in terms of social dumping.

There are three actors which interact with each other: the state, the companies and the labour migrants. Even though the state takes the initiative and implements regulations to organize the labour migration, it does not necessary mean that the other actors follow it or take the initiative to cooperate. Therefore, more regulations showing the importance of the outcome are needed in order to achieve a better organization of the labour migration. More cooperation is needed between all the three actors in order to understand each other and each other's situations and to create the most effective policies everybody would follow.

4.3. Social Dumping

Changes in the EU policy have direct impact on Norway, since it is one of the EEA-members. Previously described changes in the EU's social pillar system and implementation of the EU's objectives in education for adults apply in Norway as well. Indeed, a lot of discussions about being an EEA-member define Norwegian politics (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). The ongoing discussions are mostly about the EU stopping Norway in fighting against social dumping, which was caused because Norway is in EEA-agreement with the EU (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018).

What does it mean for Norway to have an EEA-agreement with the EU? Since 1994, Norway is a member of the EEA. It does not mean that Norway became a member of the EU, but it has to follow certain rules and regulations introduced by the EU. For example, the labour migrants from the EU-member states can freely move to Norway. Norway must ensure the same rights for them which apply to Norwegian citizens. Among others, it includes the right to Norwegian welfare goods (Cappelen & Muriaas, 2018). This is where discrimination starts.

Cornelius Cappelen, Stein Kuhnle and Tor Midtbø (2016) made a research on welfare chauvinism in Norway. The chauvinism is reflected in a wish to exclude migrants from the welfare. At the same time, the natives do not want to reduce the welfare regulations for themselves. However, people in Norway do not want to admit their discriminative attitude. At the time of the survey, 38% did not want to share the welfare goods with the migrants before they have been employed and payed tax. 37% said that the migrants need to become citizens of the country before enjoying its welfare goods (Cappelen, Kuhnle & Midtbø, 2016). That means that the labour migrants are not protected from being discriminated. Even though they pay tax and it would satisfy one part of the society, the other part does not accept that.

Another kind of discrimination which the labour migrants are exposed to is social dumping. It is discrimination in terms of *wages* (Eldring, 2013), *health, safety and environment at the work place* (Norwegian Inspection Authority, 2019b). Norwegian employers create working standards and wages below the average for the labour migrants because they know that these conditions are still better than in their home countries (Friberg, Arnholtz, Eldring, Hansen & Thorarins, 2014). What is considered as social dumping in Norway is actually social jump for the labour migrants

from Eastern Europe (Eldring, 2013), as compared to the situation in their home countries where their wages are about 4 times lower than in Norway (Friberg & Eldring, 2013).

Even though Norway feared social dumping when increasing labour migration, it had to accept and integrate the labour migrants from the new EU-member states after the Eastern enlargement in 2004 since it is a member of the EEA. Two following stories illustrate the consequences of free movement to Norway and how much power Norway has in the EEA-agreement.

One issue occurred on a cargo boat in Bergen, Norway, in 2003. Polish labour migrants were living in overcrowded containers without restrooms or showers (Ervik, 2008) and working without rainwear (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). The Norwegian state proposed to cover the labour migrants' expenses for living and traveling. However, Norway was not able to do that according to the EU-law (Regjeringen.no, 2016) because the costs would not be a part of their minimum wages. If the state made the expenses a part of the minimum wages, the labour migrants would get payed way below the minimum wages, and it would cause bigger differences between wages in Norway (Ødegård, 2016). There was a lawsuit, which Norway lost and as a result was not able to do anything about these precarious working conditions to help the labour migrants and fight social dumping (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018).

Another case occurred in 2013. A Danish ship came to Drammen, Norway. Workers employed in Norway were ready to unload the ship. However, the ship had its own loaders to do the same job (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). This conflict became a case, which Norway finally lost. Since 1973 Norway has a regulation giving registered loaders priority to work in order to ensure their regular employment when possible (Jensen, 2016). However, it was argued that Norwegians cannot limit others' access to the market. EU-law has more power than the national laws (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). Both cases show that Norway has limited power to have an impact on the national issues. Apparently, Norway could have fixed social dumping, which has a negative impact on the country, but the Norwegian state could not use its power to solve the problem. Even though EEA-agreement is supposed to give Norway more freedom in designing Norwegian policy, the EU-laws still have priority (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018), which the Norwegian Parliament agreed on (NOU 2012:2, 2012).

It has been criticized that the EU does not take Norwegian laws and issues into account. Besides, the EU takes the freedom to decide what will apply in the country away from Norway. (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018).

However, some positive changes in the fight against social dumping have been made. On the 8th of March 2016, European Commission made a proposal for changes in Directive 96/71/EC concerning the posting of workers³. Two years later, on the 28th of June 2018, the changes were approved by the European Council and the Parliament, and they come into force in 2020. It has three main goals: 1) to better organize the free movement, 2) to ensure protection for posted workers and 3) to ensure fair competition between the natives and the labour migrants (*Utsendingdirektivet*, 2018). Finally, the coverage of expenses for room and board in article 3 (7) is under discussion now and is listed under a new letter “i” in article 3 (1). However, the changes are supposed to cover only travel expenses and the use of internet in the receiving country as long as it is in compliance with the employment laws of the country (*Utsendingdirektivet*, 2018). Equality outside work is not included into the definition of social dumping, according to the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority (Norwegian Inspection Authority, 2019b). However, the living conditions of posted workers are precarious. There are industries which employ the labour migrants for a season, and then they are unemployed again when the season is over (Friberg & Midtbøyen, 2017). In this case, living conditions could be a part of working conditions, because when the workers come and work for some months, it can be difficult to find a place to live for such a short period. Making them stay in an accommodation far below the Norwegian standards increases the inequality in the society.

The changes in the directive do not solve the main problem that causes bad treatment of the labour migrants. Traveling across Europe does not pose a big issue for the immigrants (Bahaa, 2015). It is important to take better care of these workers at the host country. Therefore, more rules and regulations are needed to solve the problem. The EU directive should include living expenses for short-time posted workers. It would give Norway the freedom to implement its own regulations and to decide how to handle the issue.

³ Posted workers are employees of an undertaking being sent abroad (to another EU member state) for temporary employment (European Commission, 2019a).

The new directive made other changes. It redefined *minimum wages* which are called *wages* now. The term *wages* includes compensations which *minimum wages* do not cover (Utsendingdirektivet, 2018). It is a little improvement, however, and it probably has the smallest relevance in fight against social dumping at the moment since it applies only to the posted workers within work.

Apparently, Norway and the EU have different opinions and give priority to different issues. For example, it was important for Norway to cover living expenses in the 2013 cargo boat case. While it can actually use other tools to fight social dumping, e.g. through implementation of higher minimum wages, which is allowed by the EEA (Ulserødt & Opsahl, 2017).

For now, the EU is still in the position that gives it the most power. It is doubtful that the EU would allow to cover the expenses for living. It could be fixed according to the collective agreements (allmengjøringavtale). However, this possibility was taken out from the law after the cargo boat case (Bergsli, 2016), which means that Norway has gotten even less power to make improvements.

What are the collective agreements? Most research states that they have been the most effective tool in the fight against social dumping so far (Bjørnstad, 2017; Trygstad, Andersen, Jordfald, Nergard, 2018). The collective agreements are supposed to ensure equality in wages and working conditions between the labour migrants and the natives (Allmengjøring av avtaler, 1994). Once social dumping occurs (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018), the whole labour branch or a parts of it can get collective agreements (Ødegård & Andersen, 2014). It would be against the law to pay the employees less than what has been laid down by the collective agreement (FriFagbevegelse, 2015).

This chapter will now move away from the global level and narrow the issues down to the national level. It will analyze the issues observed in the case company, which represents the field of meat production.

The case company does not seem to be covered by the collective agreements since the branch is not listed as fully or partly covered (Lovdata, 2019).

Foreign Employees. Hourly wages after tax.

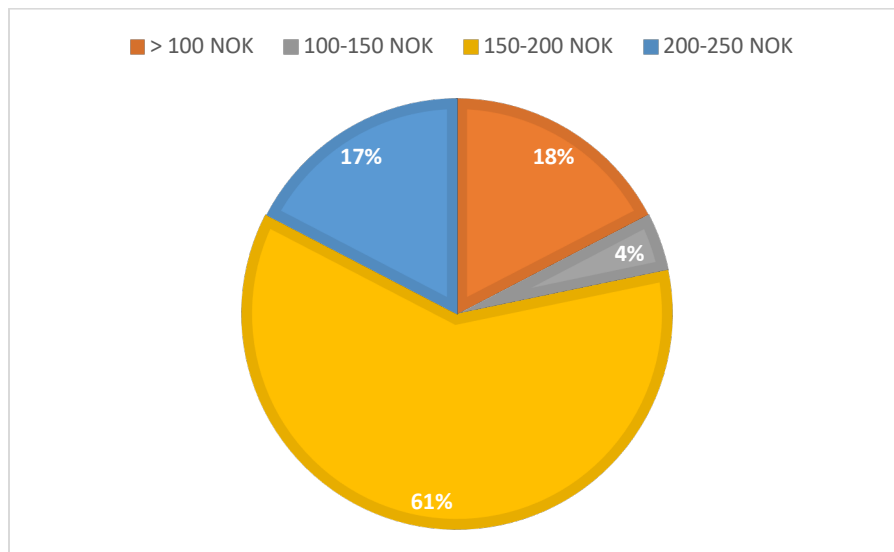


Figure 17

Even though the company is not covered, the wages do not seem to be a problem there. All of the respondents earn more than 100 NOK per hour after tax (figure 17). The most get between 150-200 NOK. Compared to the minimum wages in labour branches covered by the collective agreements, these wages do not differ much. It is not clear whether the hourly wages on the page of Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority are before or after tax. However, the difference cannot be very big, so it would not affect the analysis (Norwegian Inspection Authority, 2019c). 68% of the respondents are satisfied with their wages, according to the questionnaires. Even though the company is not covered by the collective agreements, the employer does not pay his/her employees below the average, which contributes in the fight against social dumping. Besides, the collective agreements ruin trade unions, which are an important aspect in the Norwegian system. Trade unions are organizations that represent the workers and their interests. The representatives are chosen by the workers. All members of the unions help and support each other (Fellesforbundet, 2015). The main idea is to be organized and contribute together for a better work life.

Originally, the function of labour unions was, for example, to agree on minimum wages through collective bargaining without the involvement of the state (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). Aspects not covered by the law could be covered by the collective bargaining (Fafo, 2019c). However, in

1993, the first collective agreements were implemented, and the state started to get the power to decide about minimum wages. That is how the minimum wages moved from collective bargaining to collective agreements (Bergsli, 2016). Collective agreements have gotten more power by replacing the collective bargaining (Nicolaisen & Trygstad, 2019). The break of labour traditions and lack of democracy destroy the Norwegian model (Alsos & Evans, 2018). Previous research has shown that collective bargaining has higher wages as a result. Norwegian minimum wages decreased (Svarstad & Oldervoll, 2018) just as the power of the trade unions (Arnholtz, Meardi & Oldervoll, 2018) with the shift to the collective agreements.

The respondents from the case company have never heard about the trade unions before. They state that they did not get any information about it.

Lack of understanding of own rights could be an obstacle according to Caritas, an organization working with migrant (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). The labour migrants are not able to take initiative and to make changes to improve their work life, perhaps, because they do not understand their rights. Indeed, the employees of the case company are afraid to complain because, as they state, they do not have any rights in Norway since they are foreigners. 40% of the respondents, which are the biggest group according to figure 18, state that they would not complain in case of precarious treatment at work.

Foreign Employees. Complaints in case of precarious treatment at work.

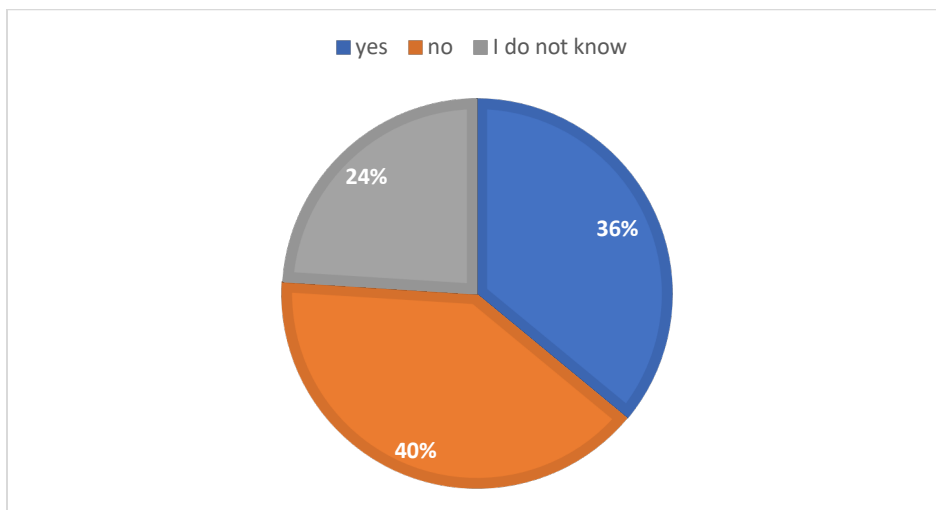


Figure 18

It means that the respondents overestimate their knowledge about their rights and obligations (see figure 9).

Due to the lack of language skills and insufficient knowledge of their rights, the labour migrants do not even have a chance to discuss the issues at work and to get familiar with the Norwegian working culture. The language skills are the key to successful integration (Übelmesser, 2017). Through communication, they would know that it is possible to solve the problems through bargaining, that they cannot stay passive but have to face the challenges and take action. By not complaining, as shown in the case company, nothing can be changed. The lack of democracy and the passive attitude to their own work situation show how little the labour migrants are integrated in the country in terms of work life. The *Polonia-undersøkelse* states that the migrants' participation in the trade unions is an indicator on how well integrated they are (Freiberg & Eldring, 2011). Due to the vulnerability of the labour migrants from Eastern Europe, they should take initiative and become members of a trade union. To do so, the employees need information about the Norwegian trade unions and their functions and services. Indeed, evaluation of the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority from 2015 already criticized the lack of strategies to spread information among the affected persons (Kosrvold & Stokland, 2015). It is also important that foreign employees know about trade unions and fully understand their function and purpose.

The employees of the case company do not seem to have problems hard enough to be in need to become a member of a trade union. According to figure 19, the employers treat the labour migrants fairly by paying them wages, overtime and sick pay. This is not provided by every company employing labour migrants. Indeed, the industry of changing employers has gone so far that the employers do not hesitate before dismissing an employee (Frieberg & Haakestad, 2015).

Foreign employees. Payments received by the employees.

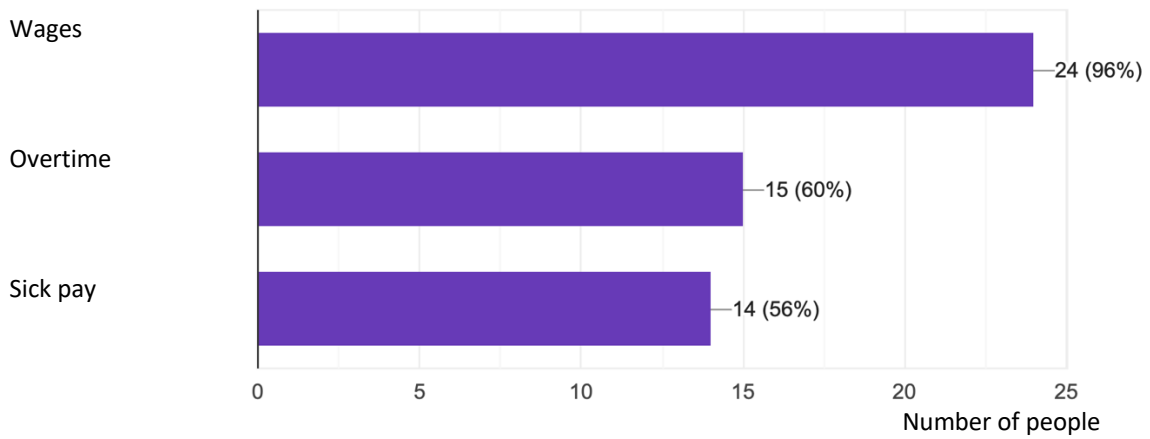


Figure 19

The analysis shows that 96% are getting payed regularly and over half of the respondents received overtime and sick pays. It seems that payment is not an issue in the company. In the section about issues at work, none of the respondents stated that payment has been a problem. Three women were pregnant and got maternity leave. Neither them nor other respondents stated in the interviews that they are afraid of losing their job due to sickness. When explaining the reasons for their choice, none of the respondents complained about any payment issues. Therefore, the incompleteness of two options out of three in figure 19 can mean that not all of the respondents received payments of these types, that not all of the respondents realize that they could have chosen several options, or that the respondents misunderstood the question. While economic discrimination is not a problem in the company, 4 respondents out of 25 experienced social discrimination at work (table 1).

Foreign employees. Dissatisfaction at work.

4 responses

Jeg føler meg diskriminering	Feeling discriminated
Behandler urettferdig	Got treated unfairly
ikke lov å snakke på jobb	Cannot talk at work
Han er utålmodig	He is impatient

Table 1

As figure 20 shows, most respondents feel discriminated rather by their colleagues than by the management.

Foreign employees. Satisfaction at work.

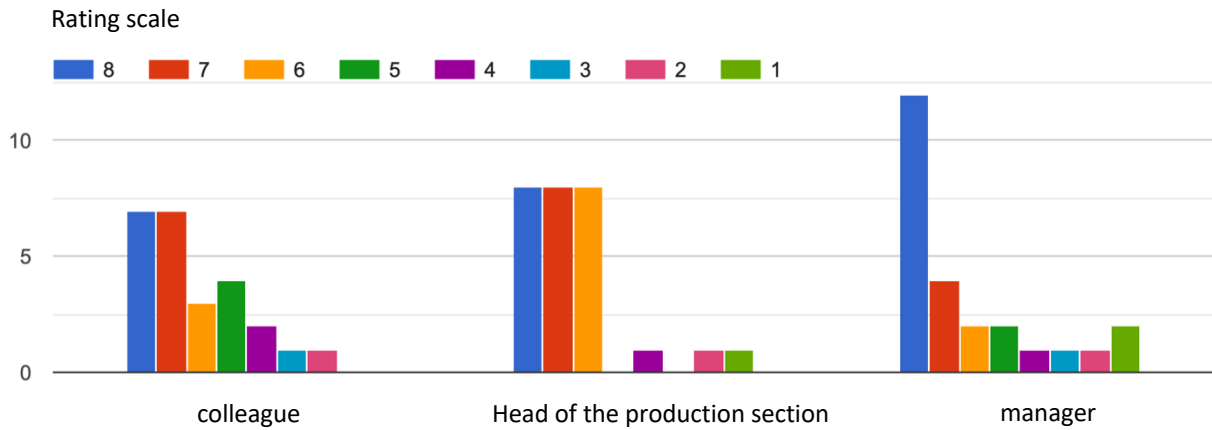


Figure 20

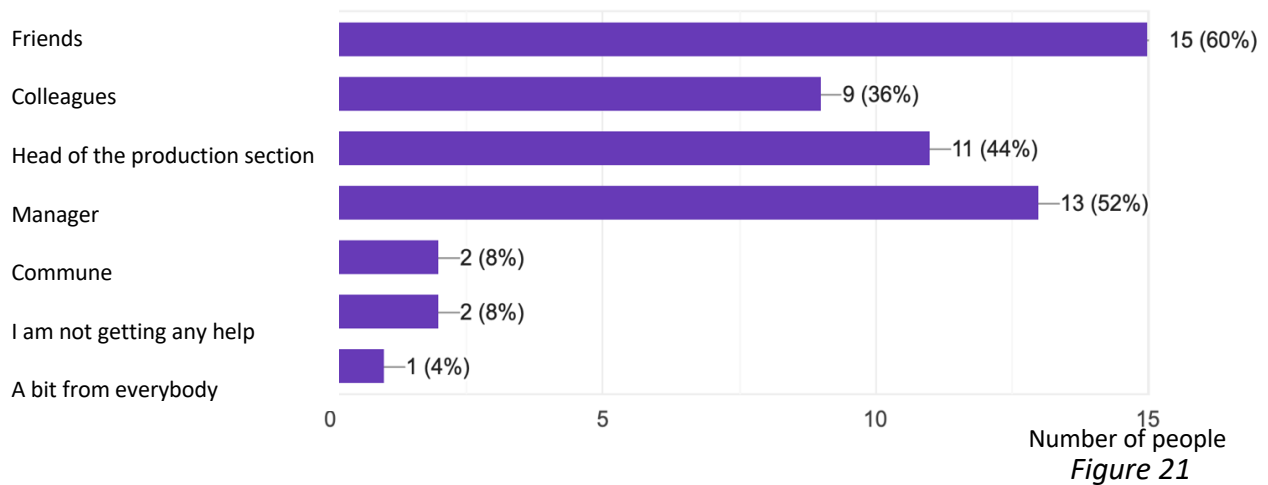
The unsatisfied respondents stated that the issues with their colleagues arise because of different languages, personal issues and political conflicts between the Eastern European countries. In addition, the most educated employees are discriminated by the less educated ones.

In order to get help, the employees reach out to their managers (figure 21). That is an interesting observation since the cases presented in other studies show big distance between employers and

employees. As shown in the previous chapter, the employers rather tend to abuse their power to get more out of their employees.

As the analysis shows, the labour migrants in the case company have good relationships with the heads of their production sections. Therefore, it is doubtful that the employers did not inform their employees about the trade unions intentionally. The lack of information is probably a communication issue in the company. Firstly, the labour migrants lack skills in Norwegian language and culture to understand this kind of information. Secondly, the company could have not thought of informing their employees about the trade unions because it is not directly related to the company itself. Which means, whenever the company has meetings, they probably deal with the company or production related issues rather than with the national issues of social dumping. Since the company does not seem to have any heavy issues of social dumping as the analysis shows, the information about the trade unions is not on the agenda.

Foreign employees. Where to get help.



However, where should the employers seek help if they have problems with the managers? Communes in Norway and IMDi are responsible for welcoming and integration of refugees (Djuve, 2014). IMDi provides Norwegian courses free of charge, but they do not cover labour migrants (IMDi, 2018) No institution has been found which takes responsibility for the labour migrants. The Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority (Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority,

2019d) and LDO seem to provide help. LDO helps in case of discrimination (LDO, 2019). The Norwegian Labour and Inspection Authority specializes on labour migration. It provides information on its homepage regarding labour migrants' rights in Norway. However, these institutions cover the consequences. What is important here is to prevent the problems. The interviews show that none of the respondents have ever heard about the institutions. It would be a tool in fighting social dumping if the labour migrants knew about the institutions responsible for them and fully understood their rights in Norway.

It has been suggested that an introduction program, like an existing program for refugees, would be helpful for the labour migrants (Valenta, Thorshaug & Berg, 2014). There they would get information about the rights they have in Norway in order to help to uncover any potential break of laws and to contribute to development of the Norwegian system. If the affected labour migrants do not speak out, the Norwegian employers breaking the law will never experience the consequences. The EEA-agreement does not forbid to strengthen one's resources in order to fight social dumping (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018). Therefore, Norway has the power to solve this issue.

The EU seems to realize the issues with social dumping in the receiving countries and implemented the European Pillar of Social Rights (European Commission, 2019d). Without knowing the content of it, I expected to find changes which are necessary to fight and prevent social dumping. However, after looking at 20 key principles of the pillar, no concrete measures were found. The pillar appears to sum up what is already covered by the existing laws. Legal changes lead to changes in the society (Gunnar, 2017). Perhaps, it is a good first step in underlining the social rights of the labour migrants, but it does not provide any effective measures yet.

The 6th point about the wages appears to be important in the fight against social dumping. However, the formulations like "the decent standards of living" and "satisfaction of the needs" (European Commission, 2019d) are not concrete. As mentioned above, social dumping in Norway appears to be a social jump for the labour migrants from East-Europe. Are the formulations supposed to be understood in compliance with Western or Eastern understanding? For example, the cargo boat case attracted attention not because the foreign employees complained about their living and working standards. The initiative was taken by a third party (*EØS på 1-2-3*, 2018).

Perhaps, the foreign employees did not complain because they did not feel like the working/living conditions were precarious. Therefore, the chosen definitions have to be reformulated to be effective.

The 5th point is about employment. *“Employment relationships that lead to precarious working conditions shall be prevented, including by prohibiting abuse of atypical contracts. Any probation period should be of reasonable duration.”* (European Commission, 2019d). It is important to define what is meant by atypical contracts. Do they include undeclared work or the employers not giving their employees permanent contracts as presented in the issue of temporary employment in Norway (figures 13, 14, 15)?

The rights about the dismissal (point 7) seem promising since they reduce unfair treatment by dismissing a worker *“Prior to any dismissal, workers have the right to be informed of the reasons and be granted a reasonable period of notice. They have the right to access to effective and impartial dispute resolution and, in case of unjustified dismissal, a right to redress, including adequate compensation.”* (European Commission, 2019d).

The 20th point covers the access to essential services. *“Everyone has the right to access essential services of good quality, including water, sanitation, energy, transport, financial services and digital communications.”* (European Commission, 2019d). This is not directly included in the definition of social dumping, because social dumping is related to working conditions. It could improve the living conditions in the cargo boat case. However, this case is an exception rather than the average. Therefore, it is questionable to what extent the new pillar is necessary. Besides, some of the formulations can be misunderstood.

As the research and the case company show, there are other kinds of social dumping that are more common in Norway. *Discrimination at work*, the labour migrants *not speaking out about it*, *lack of knowledge of their rights* are some issues discussed in this research.

Does the EU define social dumping and social conditions from the Norwegian perspective or from the perspective of the Eastern Europeans? Does the EU know other cases of social dumping in Norway at all since the pillar is more designed to cover the exceptional cases like the cargo boat case? How well does the cooperation between Norway and EU work?

In the end, the fear that stops the labour migrants from complaining is similar to the fear that stops Norway from vetoing in the EEA (Ulserød & Opsahl, 2017). There is always an actor with a

higher position and greater power that one fears to upset in order not to lose one's position. It appears to be a very strong hierarchy that needs to decrease. More cooperation is needed between the involved parties. It does not matter if it is a global issue (EU-Norway-relationship) or a national one (employer-employee-relationship). The ones who get influenced should get a chance to create the reality they live in (Fjørtoft, 2016). It is necessary to find a common ground (Sokol-Rudowska, 2013) to cooperate nationally and globally.

4.3.1. Summary

This chapter discussed three main points: the EU-Norway-relationship, social dumping in Norway illustrated by the case company, and the measures used to tackle social dumping.

To sum up the findings on the EU-Norway-relationship, one of the main questions should be answered. Does the EEA obstruct Norway from fighting social dumping? It can be answered with yes and no. The EU laws are superior to the Norwegian law in case of disagreement. It limits Norwegian sovereignty. However, the EEA does not stop Norway from improving its resources (e.g. implementation of higher minimum wages) in order to stop social dumping.

The pillars of social rights do not appear to be an effective solution. They seem to cover exceptional situations and lack concrete definitions. Apparently, more cooperation between Norway and the EU is needed in order to set common priorities and jointly use their power to fight social dumping and improve the labour migrants' working conditions.

The case company does not show any hard cases of social dumping. However, the fear of negative consequences, discrimination and lack of knowledge of labour rights are issues in the company. That leads to not complaining about the issues that require a solution. The labour migrants are especially vulnerable since they lack language skills, understanding of the Norwegian model and knowledge about their rights in Norway.

Apparently, the case company is lucky its employees are satisfied with their management that does not abuse its power and can be asked for help if needed. However, if the management abuses its power, where to seek help then?

Trade unions and the Norwegian Labour and Inspection Authority are responsible for the labour migrants. However, the labour migrants appear to be unaware about the institutions. They do

not bargain or take the initiative to improve their situation. Unity and willingness to actively participate is what the trade unions need in order to fulfill their purpose. Both good working environment in the company and lack of language and cultural knowledge at work can be a reason why the labour migrants did not get told about the trade unions.

With the labour migration, the collective bargaining was replaced by the collective agreements controlled by the law. The collective agreements have not solved social dumping. Moreover, they have contributed to destruction of the Norwegian model. It is important that the labour migrants know about the unions and institutions responsible for them.

Norway is getting split economically and socially. The society pushes the labour migrants away to not let them have the Norwegian welfare goods. In addition, the labor migrants separate themselves from the society due to language and culture barriers (both working culture and their way of life).

Changes in the Directive 96/71/EC for posting workers do not seem to be effective in preventing social dumping either. They redefine the definition of minimum wages and include the right to cover the travel expenses and internet. However, its contribution to fight social dumping for all labour migrants in Norway in general is of a small relevance.

5. Conclusion

The research was based on the experiences of labour migrants from Eastern Europe moving to Norway after 2004 and their Norwegian employers at the case company in Trøndelag. The research, based on the individual interviews, tried to provide an answer to the well-being of the labour migrants from the case company based on three points: their level of integration, social dumping and rules and regulations which affect their well-being in Norway.

The three chosen points for the research have to be seen in relation to each other since they form a base for analysis and understanding of the situation described by the respondents.

Lack of communication at work and in the everyday life appears to be one of the big obstacles according to the labour migrants and the Norwegian employers. It has a direct effect on the labor migrant's well-being in the receiving country.

Looking at it from the social perspective, the labour migrants are excluded by the Norwegian society at work and outside of work. The issues grow bigger with the fact that the labour migrants lack language skills to communicate and get to know the Norwegian culture both at work and outside of work. The Norwegian employers could have created a Norwegian speaking environment for the foreign employees, but the basic language skills are missing to be able to create this environment.

From the economic perspective the language is needed since the labour migrants, especially the ones coming in the past 6 years, are temporary employed. That means that these migrants can easily lose their job. The lack of language could be a reason itself that the labour migrants do not get a permanent position. And at the same time, it is an obstacle for them to find other jobs. In addition, the technological development replaces low skilled jobs. These jobs are usually taken by the labour migrants. Therefore, better social and economic integration of the labour migrants is needed in order to make them a part of the society.

The working society in Norway follows its country specific rules which had been destroyed with the growing labour migration. It used to have strong trade unions with people fighting for their rights. Now it is getting replaced with collective agreements introduced by the state. These agreements did not solve social dumping. Besides they contributed to the destruction of the Norwegian model. As the case company has shown the foreign employees lack knowledge of their rights and the institutions being responsible for them in case of precarious conditions and treatment at work. Therefore, they choose being passive and accept the conditions created for them by the companies and the Norwegian law.

The Norwegian law is not just an outcome from the Norwegian state alone. Indeed, the EU has a big impact on it. As the research has shown it does not necessarily stop Norway from fighting social dumping. However, it sets limits on what can and cannot be implemented in Norway. The EU-Norway-relationship appears to lack more cooperation and unity on implementation of laws and rules against social dumping. They should jointly decide about the priorities and use their power to jointly solve the issues.

As the research has shown the new pillar of social rights appears not to be an effective tool against social dumping as it should aim more the issues being faced. That was one of the expected results. Another recent change was made in the directive of temporary workers. More quality and protection for the workers has been achieved. However, they still have less rights and privileges than the workers being permanently employed.

The directive 96/71/EC of posting of workers includes changes in definition of minimum wages to wages and coverage of internet costs. These changes are no effective tools in fight against social dumping neither. The case company does not show any serious cases of social dumping which are found in other research. However, issues like lack of complaining about precarious working conditions or not knowing one's rights are issues being found in other research as well. Solution on these kinds of problems were not found in the recent legal changes.

However, the new strategy in the language policy appeared to be one of the examples being effective since the recent labour migration challenges after 2004. This is an example where the EU appears to work jointly with Norway. Positive effect is expected in the language issues. Language is needed to protect the labour migrants more from being vulnerable. The EU and Norway jointly take the responsibility and work on a new strategy enabling the labour migrants to gain more knowledge. It helps both, increasing their skills in general and giving them skills in Norwegian which they need to decrease the distance in the spilt of the society socially and economically. With better language skills the labour migrants would be able to get to know the Norwegian culture socially and economically: perhaps become a member of a trade union, communicate more and better at work with their employers and perhaps become a member of the Norwegian society. As the research company has shown, most labour migrants are willing to learn more about Norway and are willing to stay in the country.

The new strategy needs more research to be done in order to see how well it works. Some problematic points were already found. Lack of motivation by the labour migrants, crash between the working schedules and the Norwegian language classes and the efficient duration of classes.

To make the new strategy more efficient stricter rules are needed. It is important to increase the understanding of the importance of the new strategy. Since not everyone follows the rules finding ways to escape it.

To sum up the expectations to the research being made in the introduction, the poor integration and the weak attachment of the East European migrants to the labour market got confirmed by the research. However, the working environment in the company appears to be better than expected. While there were many discussions about discrimination at work during the interviews, most of the respondents assessed the working environment as positive. Therefore, the overall impression did not correspond with the reality. The issue of minimum wages did not get confirmed either. Payment of wages, overtime or sick pay is another aspect described as an issue in other case researches. However, it is not an issue in the case company.

Based on the research some recommendations can be given. The foreign employees appear not to know about the Norwegian trade unions and authorities which can be asked for help, like the Norwegian Inspection Authority. Therefore, it is important to strengthen the dissemination of information. To make sure that the labour migrants know and understand their rights in the receiving country.

Language is an important tool. As mentioned above, the labour migrants should get a proper duration of classes which would allow them to learn the new language. Taken in consideration low educational background of the labour migrants, they should get at least 100 hours of language instruction. In addition, stricter rules are needed to measure the migrant's language proficiency. Attending and completing the classes without any exam as a documentation of language proficiency is not an indication that the participant knows the content of the classes.

The research does not cover a big part of the case company. Besides, the case company alone might not be representative for other Norwegian companies hiring Eastern European migrants. However, it is a case which contributes as a puzzle to the bigger picture of the labour migration to Norway. The more knowledge about other companies can be gathered, the better picture can be gotten of labour migration to Norway. Even a small number of experiences counts and is a contribution to the research on the well-being and well-functioning of labour migration. As the research shows labour migrants in the case company are doing well in Norway. Comparative

research can be made on other labour branches. What branches need least support and what branches the state has to focus most on. Perhaps, the production industry does not have the same issues as the construction. The solutions for the issues can be designed to directly aim the construction without having an effect on other labour branches. It might be interesting to analyze the location as a factor affecting well-being of labour migrants. Perhaps Trøndelags villages and islands show less issues than Oslo as a city.

With the new changes in the directives, strategies and policies it is important to provide updates and analyze the results in order to make changes as early as possible, if any changes are needed. Since it has an impact on human beings.

6. Annexes

Labour migrants

6.1. First questionnaire (on integration)

1 Gender

(male, female)

2 Age

(18-25, 26-35, 36-45, 46-55, 56-70)

3 Where are you from?

(Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Latvia, Lithuania, other)

4 Production department

5 How long have you been living in Norway?

(less than 5 years, 6-10 years, 10-14 years, 15-17 years, more than 18 years)

6 Reasons for coming to Norway

(economy, family/love, interest in the country, education, political reasons, other)

7 Did you work in other countries before coming to Norway?

8 How did you experience Norway in the beginning?

9 How do you experience Norway now?

10 Have you taken Norwegian classes? Where and for how long?

11 Were the classes compulsory or voluntarily?

12 How well do you speak Norwegian?

(scale 1-10)

13 How much do you know about Norway?

(politics, history, traditions and holidays, Norwegian mentality, cultural understanding; scale 1-7 for each point).

14 Would you like to learn more?

(scale 1-7)

15 How do you like living here?

(scale 1-7)

16 What is your dream country? Why?

17 Comments

6.2. Second questionnaire

1 Gender

(male, female)

2 Age

(18-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, 60+)

3 Where are you from?

(Poland, Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia, other)

4 How long have you been living in Norway?

(1-3 years, 4-6 years, 7-9 years, 10-12 years, more than 13 years)

5 Education

(middle school (grades 8-10), high school (grades 10-13), college, university)

6 Production department

7 Employment

(temporary worker employed through a recruitment agency, temporary worker employed by the company, permanent, seasonal, holiday work, other)

8 How did you get employed in the company?

(I contacted the company, with the help of my friends, with the help of my family, recruitment through a staffing agency in my home country, recruitment through a staffing agency in Norway)

9 Are you satisfied with your position

(scale 1 to 8)

10 Reason for moving to Norway?

(economy, family/love, interest in the country, education, political reasons, other)

11 How much do you get payed before tax (NOK per hour)?

(less than 100, 100-150, 150-200, 200-250, 250-300, 350-400, 400-450, more than 450)

12 Are you satisfied with your salary?

(yes, it is too small, I do not care, other)

13 Do you always get payed?

(monthly salary, overtime, sick pay)

14 Are you satisfied at work?

(with your colleagues, manager, head of the department; on the scale 1-8 for each point)

15 If not, why?

16 How much contact do you have with Norwegians at work?

(scale 1-8)

17 How much contact do you have with Norwegians in your free time?

(scale 1-8)

18 Would you like to have more contact with Norwegians?

(yes, no, I do not care)

19 How much do you know about Norway?

(Norwegian language, politics, history, traditions, work (rules and obligations), music, food, literature; on the scale 1-8 for each point)

20 Would you like to learn more about Norway?

(yes, no, I do not need it, I do not want to, I do not care, other)

21 If so, about what of the categories?

(everything, Norwegian language, politics, history, traditions, work life, food, literature)

22 Do you feel like a part of the Norwegian society?

(scale 1-8)

23 What do you need to feel like a part of the Norwegian society?

24 Do you experience mistreatment at work?

(head of the department, colleagues; on the scale from 1-8)

25 If so, will you complain?

(yes, no, I do not know)

26 Why?

27 How often have you complained before?

(never, 1-5, 6-10, 1-15, more than 15 times)

28 If you need help, where do you get help from?

(friends, colleagues, head of the department, manager, commune, I do not get help, other)

29 How happy did you feel when you came here?

(scale 1-8)

30 How happy do you feel now?

(scale 1-5)

31 What do you need to feel happy in Norway?

32 Would you like to stay in Norway?

33 Why?

The questions were asked in Norwegian and are summarized in English. The original questionnaires are available upon request.

Norwegian employers

6.3. Questionnaire

1 Gender

(male, female)

2 What is your employment in the company

(production, head manager, manager, office, other)

3 How long have you been working for the company?

(1-3 years, 4-5 years, 6-8 years, 8-10 years, over 10 years)

4 What are the employment procedures for the foreign employees?

(applications from employees, recommendations of workers from employees in the company, recruitment through Norwegian staffing agencies, recruitment through foreign staffing agencies)

5 What is positive in working with labour migrants?

(less expenses for the company, international working environment, good quality of production, foreign employees work hard, other; on the scale from 1-8 for each point)

6 What can/must become better?

7 What should the labour migrants do?

8 What can you do?

9 Are you receiving many complains? Why?

(scale 1-8)

10 Do you have much contact with the labour migrants during the breaks? Why?

(scale 1-8)

11 Do you have much contact with the labour migrants at work? Why?

(scale 1-8)

12 How well integrated are the labour migrants in the company?

(scale 1-8)

13 If little, why? And what can we do better?

14 In your opinion, how do the labour migrants feel in the company?

(scale 1-8)

15 What do you think, how do the labour migrants who live and work in Norway feel in general?
(scale 1-8)

6.4. Interviews

The interviews were based on the questions. Transcription of the interview is available on request.

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