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Immigration and the Norwegian Labour Movement

An analysis of causes and effects of a lower union density among immigrant workers than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce

Master's thesis in Globalisation and Sustainable Development

Supervisor: Marianne Garvik

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Abstract

Through a qualitative approach, this thesis addresses the link between immigration and union density in the Norwegian context. More specifically, it analyses perceived causes and effects of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce – and how this tendency is reflected in industries with low union densities. The empirical data was collected through 10 semi structured interviews of immigrant workers, union representatives, and employers from the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry.

The findings suggest that linguistic barriers make a central cause for a lower union density among immigrants. Bad communication hinders information from reaching immigrant workers with broad varieties of impressions of the trade union movements in their origin countries. Additionally, seemingly small differences between trade union members and non-members weaken the incentives to organise. For the industries, a lower union density among immigrants is especially reflected through an increase in contract labour, as well as part-time, seasonal, and temporary positions. However, there are large varieties between and within the industries.

The perceived effects differ between the groups of informants. The workers recognise no effects of a lower union density among immigrants, largely because of the small differences between trade union members and non-members. Positive effects of organising are however recognised for workers in particularly vulnerable situations, for instance as newly arrived immigrants. A selection of the other informants, however, perceive the differences between organised enterprises, and the growing number of non-organised enterprises as an effect. While the former is often perceived as stable, larger enterprises characterised by full-time work, the latter is often recognised as smaller and more precarious enterprises, characterised by contract labour, or part-time, temporary, or seasonal positions.

Most of the informants in the study are trade union members. Therefore, the thesis suggests that further research could benefit from collecting perceptions of a larger share of non-organised workers.

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1 Introduction

At a global scale, complex labour markets generate demands for low- and high- skilled labour, while uneven opportunities in wealth and jobs motivate people to migrate in search of better lives (de Haas, Castles & Miller, 2020, p. 4). Migration can be a reaction to challenging conditions at home, though it can also be facilitated by the seek out for better opportunities elsewhere¹. At the European level, the enlargements of the European Union (EU) in 2004 and 2007 caused an extensive increase in labour migration (NOU 2016:1, p. 118). Through these enlargements, twelve new member states were included in the European Economic Area (EEA), where free movement across national borders is a ground pillar.

Flows of migration have comprehensive effects on sending and receiving countries. For origin societies, emigration causes hopes of development through knowledge and money obtained abroad, but also concerns of brain drain and depopulation (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 1). For receiving nations, immigration can change the composition of society – culturally, politically, and socially. After the EU enlargements, Norway reached a new peak in labour immigration, changing the Norwegian working life comprehensively (NOU 2016:1, p. 118). During recent years, attention has largely been directed at the labour immigrants from the new EU member states – however, other groups of immigrants are also firmly represented in the Norwegian working life (Nergaard, 2015, p. 60). Firstly, the Norwegian workforce additionally includes immigrants originating from Asia, Africa, South and Central America, as well as other Nordic countries. Secondly, people migrate for numerous reasons, where one reason does not necessarily exclude the other. While labour is the prevailing motive, family reunion, education, and protection are also frequent causes.

Simultaneously, the Norwegian working life is experiencing a declining union density. At large, the decline has been subtle and stable since the density peaked in the 1980s and the early 1990s (Nergaard & Svarstad, 2021, p. 82; Kjellberg & Nergaard, 2022, p. 53). The term “union density” describes the relationship between the number of organised people, and the number of organisable people (NOU 2016:1, p. 114). On the worker-side, it refers to the relationship between the number of organised wage-earners, and the number of all active wage-earners

¹ A distinction must be made for the legal term “refugee”. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees’ (UNCHR) Convention from 1951, a refugee is “someone who is unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion” (UNHCR, 2010, p. 3).

(Nergaard, 2020, p. 10). While the decline has been subtle at large, the variations are considerable between sectors. Especially the private sector is experiencing comprehensive decreases, and some workplaces have no trade union support or collective wage agreements. Many of the workers that are new to the Norwegian labour market are employed in these workplaces “on the side” of the organised working life (Nergaard, 2015, p. 43; Nergaard, Barth, Dale-Olsen, 2015, p. 18). Furthermore, in its entirety, the union density is lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, however with great varieties between lengths of residence, occupations, as well as origin countries.

Union density is considered an indicator for union strength, as it influences the trade unions’ bargaining power, and arranges for the existence of pro-labour policies (Finseraas, Røed & Schøne, 2020, p. 3). Furthermore, sturdy worker- and employer-organisations have traditionally been cornerstones of the Norwegian working life model (NOU 2021:2, p. 31). Through collective wage agreements and worker participation, the model has secured Norwegian society with stable wage and working conditions, fair wage distributions, and low income inequality compared to most other countries in the Organization for Co-operation and Development (OECD). A decreasing union density, joint by the growth in labour immigration raise concerns of social dumping, as employers gain access to a larger share of workers “accepting” of lower wages than the prevailing standards (Nergaard, 2015, p. 46).

Far-reaching literature exists on the causes and effects of immigration and the inclusion and exclusion of immigrants in receiving labour markets (Ugreninov & Turner, 2021; Canales & Pérez, 2007; Larsen, Rogne & Birkeland, 2018). There is, however, less literature researching immigration’s influence on union density and its potential effects. A sample of the existing literature is presented in the following chapter. This study is meant to be a contribution to the field. The thesis investigates the connection between immigration and organisation through the causes of a lower union density among immigrants, and its potential effects. The emphasis is placed on the workers’ and employers’ perceptions of these causes and effects within industries characterised by low union densities. Thus, the thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. Why is the union density among immigrants lower than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?
2. How is this tendency reflected in industries with low union densities?
3. What are the perceived effects of this tendency among workers and employers?

To explore these questions, the study analyses three industries in the Norwegian working life: the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry. The three were selected based on their generally low union densities, and high shares of immigrant workers (Nergaard, 2015; Friberg & Haakestad, 2015; Henriksen, 2020; Iversen, Aalen & Jakobsen, 2017). The study's empirical data is based on 10 semi structured interviews conducted within the three industries among immigrant workers, union representatives, and employers. The purpose of these interviews has been to study the informants' experiences with, and perceptions of the connection between immigration and choice of organising within the Norwegian working life.

1.1 Thesis Outline

The thesis consists of 9 chapters. The first chapter introduces the study's research topic and defines the subsequent research questions. Chapter 2 provides relevant background information by introducing the cornerstones of the Norwegian working life model, as well as patterns and trends of immigration and union density in the Norwegian context. The second chapter also presents a sample of existing literature on causes and effects of the choice of organising. Chapter 3 includes an overview of immigration- and organisation- trends in the industries in question – the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry. Chapter 4 introduces the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework includes an outline of views on the international labour market, the functionalist and historical-structural paradigms of migration theory, as well as the theory of abilities and aspirations. Chapter 5 provides the thesis' methodological framework, accounting for the collection and analysis of the study's empirical data.

Chapters 6 to 8 form the thesis' analysis. Here, the empirical findings are presented and discussed, reflecting existing literature (chapters 2 and 3) and the theoretical framework (chapter 4). Chapter 6 addresses the first research question, discussing the informants' experiences with immigration and the Norwegian trade union movement. Research question 2 is addressed in the seventh chapter, describing central trends of immigration and organisation in the industries in question. Chapter 8 discusses the informants' perceived effects of a lower union density among immigrant workers than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, addressing research question 3. The final chapter collects the threads, and provides the thesis' concluding remarks, as well as suggestions for further research.

2 Overview and Previous Findings

The aim of the following chapter is to introduce cornerstones of the Norwegian societal model, together with an overview of the most prominent trends and patterns of immigration and union density within this society. In addition, the chapter provides a selection of existing literature on the topic, discussing motives to organise or not organise, why some of these motives are particularly present among immigrant workers, as well as the potential effects declining union densities can have on the workers and the working life.

2.1 The Norwegian Model

At the core of the Norwegian working life are two fundamental relationships: the first at the enterprise-level between employer- and worker organisations, the other at the national level between the authorities, the central organisations, and the employer- and worker sides (NOU 2021:2, p. 27). Income policies and wage determination are central in these relations, backed by the Master Agreement between the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions, and the Confederation of Norwegian Enterprise from 1935, commonly referred to as “the Constitution of the Norwegian Working Life”.

Descriptions of Norwegian society are often linked to the “Nordic Model” – a general term used to describe the societal models of the small, open economies in Northern Europe (Blomquist & Moene, 2015, p. 1). In broad outline, these Nordic societies are characterised by large welfare states, stable labour market organisations, and frequent consultations between the authorities, social partners, and interest groups. Other characteristics are public aims for full employment, wage levelling through collective agreements, and provisions of goods for all citizens.

Economically, the Nordic states use a combination of public provisions and market behaviour with worker security and capitalist dynamics (Blomquist & Moene, 2015, p. 1). Welfare agreements are mainly managed by the public sector, and trade unions and employers in the export-oriented sector set the pace for the economy’s wage increases. Through these arrangements, the trade union movement has had great influence in all the Nordic societies, contributing to relatively small wage differentials, and comparatively stable circumstances within the working life (Skjelbostad & Hernes, 2021, p. 141). The union densities in the Nordic countries are relatively high, however somewhat lower for Norway than for the other countries (NOU 2021:2).

Although the Nordic Model largely reflects its foundation, the Norwegian working life is constantly under development, adjusting to other changes in society (Fløtten & Jordfald, 2019). One example reflecting these adjustments is the introduction of general applications of collective wage agreements, allowing for collective agreements to apply for entire sectors of the working life. General applications were introduced to secure stable terms for all parts of the working life, partly as a reaction to the increase in labour immigration following the enlargements of the EU in 2004 and 2007.

Many of the recently arrived workers are employed in workplaces without collective agreements or trade union representatives, raising concerns of potential social dumping (Fløtten & Jordfald, 2019). “Social dumping” refers to the act of companies increasing their competitive abilities through weakened working conditions and wages compared to the established standard of collective agreements or regulations within a region (Bengtsson, 2016, p. 24). Bengtsson argues that while social dumping is not necessarily connected to migrant workers, it often is, because immigrants often end up in precarious occupations and have lower expectations to working conditions and wages.

2.2 Immigration Trends

The Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity (2022a) defines an immigrant as a person with residence in Norway, born abroad to two foreign-born parents, and four foreign-born grandparents. The Directorate informs that there were 800,094 immigrants living in Norway at the opening of 2021 (Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2022b). Together with the 198,000 people born in Norway to immigrant parents, the groups amount for 18 percent of the Norwegian population. People migrate for a manifold of reasons – economic, labour, family reunion, or in search of protection from war or humanitarian crises. In 2020, labour was the main motive for migration to Norway among non-Nordic citizens. 11,000 immigrants came for labour, while 8,300 migrated for family related causes, and 2,500 were granted residence for protection.

2.2.1 Employment Rates

The employment rate is lower for immigrants than for the rest of the population, although it increases with period of residence (Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2021). In 2020, the average employment rate for immigrants was at 65 percent, and 78 percent for the

rest of the population. These numbers are diversified according to length of residence, gender, and cause of migration. Cause of migration has been evaluated as one important factor for the immigrants' integration in the labour market, where numbers show that immigrants who migrated for labour have a much higher employment rate than immigrants who migrated for family reunion, or humanitarian reasons (Thorshaug & Valenta, 2012, p. 12). Furthermore, numbers show that the rate of part time employees is somewhat higher among immigrants than among the rest of the population (Statistics Norway, 2019). Especially immigrants from outside of the EU work part time, largely correlating to the occupations in which they work. Refugees are for instance over-represented in occupations such as sales, cleaning, and care work, where part-time work is the prevailing employment form.

2.2.2 Labour Immigration and the Enlargements of the European Union

As mentioned above, labour is the prevailing reason for immigration to Norway among non-Nordic citizens (Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity, 2022b). Especially after the EU enlargements, labour immigration has changed the Norwegian working life (Nergaard, Barth & Dale-Olsen, 2015, p. 102; Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 9). The EU enlargement of 2004, lead to a rapid increase in labour immigration – from a few thousand in 2004, to almost 25,000 in 2012 (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 9). While Norway is not an EU member-state, it is subject to the same obligations to free movement through its membership in the EEA (Eldring, Fitzgerald & Arnholtz, 2012, p. 24)

The EU enlargements gave Norwegian enterprises access to a larger workforce, with workers accepting considerably lower wages than the prevailing standards of the Norwegian working life (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 9). Many of the workers that are new to the Norwegian labour market are recruited in enterprises outside of the organised working life. Approximately one third of the labour immigrants from the new EU-countries in East- and Central Europe have entered the working life through the building and construction sector. 70 percent of these workers have settled permanently in Norway. In addition to building and construction, labour immigrants from the newer EU member states have often been employed in the industrial sector and in parts of the service sector.

The increase in labour immigration is not unique to the Norwegian context (de Haas, et al., 2020, p. 281). De Haas et al. point to an out-of-date stereotype of unskilled migrants arriving in receiving countries only to take the least-qualified positions of the working life. Immigrant

workers are found across the entire skill spectrum. However, if seen as one group, immigrant workers remain over-represented in lower-skilled jobs such as mining, manufacturing, catering, and other service occupations (p. 282). In 2017, about 65 percent of the employed migrants in the OECD-area worked in low- or medium-skilled jobs. The numbers were 10 percentage points lower for native-born workers in the respective countries.

2.3 Union Density

When union density is observed over time or compared between countries, the data often originates directly from the trade unions (Nergaard, 2020, p. 10). The Norwegian union density peaked in the 1980s, and the early 1990s, followed by a modest, yet stable decline lasting until today. Throughout the past decade, the union density has stayed at an estimated 50 percent. Between 1995 and 2012, the decline was at approximately 5 percentage points, which outwardly does not seem too dramatic (Nergaard, 2015, p. 106). Nevertheless, the gap in union density rates between the private and the public sector is comprehensive. Soon, only a third of the workforce in the private sector will be organised if the current decline continues.

When union densities are studied in closer detail for factors such as age, gender, sector, and education, surveys are often used in addition to the trade unions’ lists (Nergaard, 2020, p. 10). Nergaard especially emphasises the use of additional surveys to the Labour Force Survey (AKU). The greatest differences are between the public and the private sector, and the large variations within the private sector (Nergaard, 2020, p. 12). According to Nergaard, some 80 percent of the workers in the public sector are members of a trade union, while only 38 percent of the workers in the private sector can say the same. Within the private sector, the union density is higher for production occupations such as the building- and construction industry, and lower for the private service sectors (p. 13).

Sector	Union density (in percent)	Sector	Union density (in percent)
Public administration and defence	83	Scientific and technological services	41
Education	76	Other services	36
Electricity	73	Information and communication	36
Healthcare	71	Culture and entertainment	34
Mining	70	Commercial service	34
Finance and insurance	58	<i>Building and construction</i>	<i>30</i>

Water, drains, and renovation	54	Retail and repairing of vehicles	-
Industry	52	<i>Land use, forestry, and fishing</i>	22
Transport and storage	50	<i>Hotel and catering</i>	18
		Real estate	18

Table 1: Variety of union densities among Norwegian sectors based on wage earners in a-ordningen and tax-deductions as of 2018 (Nergaard, 2020, p. 12)

The variety in union densities between sectors are presented by percentage in Table 1. Here, Fafo, an independent social science research foundation has used a dataset including data on all wage-earners included in “a-ordningen”² to map out the union density between groups and sectors of the Norwegian labour market (Nergaard, 2020, p. 15). In their analysis, Fafo also found that data from the AKU additional surveys correlated with data from a-ordningen.

2.3.1 Union Density Among Immigrants

As presented in the introduction, the union density among immigrants is lower than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce if categorised as a single group (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 102). In 2012, the difference was at approximately 20 percentage points (Nergaard, 2015, p. 43). Similarly to the employment rates, the gap in union density tends to decrease accordingly to the immigrants’ period of residence. Among immigrant workers who have lived in Norway for under two years, only one out of ten are organised. Among immigrant workers who have lived in Norway for 10 years or longer, however, the union density is at approximately 50 percent, similarly to the union density among native Norwegian workers (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 103). In addition, immigrants from Asia, South- and Central America, as well as Africa have the highest union densities, while immigrants from East and Central Europe are the least organised (Nergaard, 2015, p. 43).

Period of residence can also be seen in correlation to origin country and regional events that cause increased migration, such as the EU-enlargements or regional conflicts. For instance, the largest proportion of labour immigrants from East- and Central Europe arrived in Norway after the enlargements of the EU (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 103). This can partly explain why the union density is the lowest among immigrants from these states. In the building and

² «A-ordningen» is a coordinated arrangement used by employers to report data on income and employees (Nergaard, 2020, p. 15).

construction sector, the gap in union density between immigrants and non-immigrants has increased since the mid-2000s, which could also be connected to the EU-enlargements.

The duration of residence is more varied among other groups of immigrants (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 103). Some have stayed in Norway for several decades, indicating sufficient time to integrate into the Norwegian labour market, while others have not. At their arrival, immigrants and refugees often have a considerable disadvantage in wages, quality of work, and employment (World Bank, 2018, p. 22). They are therefore dependent on the degree to which their employers invest in their skills and human capital. Time, effort, and financial resources are required to establish a new cultural and social life, overcoming linguistic barriers, and adopting to a new work environment (p. 23). If the intention is to stay for only a short period, one could be reluctant to devote resources and efforts in country-specific investments, such as becoming a trade union member.

2.4 The Choice of Organising

Nergaard (2015, p. 44) emphasises that it is a paradox that workers in the most vulnerable areas of the labour market have the lowest union densities, as safety in the working situation is one of the most frequent arguments in favour of organising. “Vulnerable” working situations could mean low wages, intensive work, and long working hours. These are all signs pointing to an objective interest to organise. However, acquiring a trade union membership is often based on more than just protection – it could be linked to professional identity, or the community at the workplace.

Nergaard and Svarstad (2021, p. 82) use “social custom theory” to understand the choice of organising. The theory refers to the tradition at the workplace. In workplaces where organising is the norm, the social cost of not organising is high due to social pressure from colleagues. For workers with many organised co-workers, there is a strong social motive to join the union, as “free riding” could give you a bad reputation (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 6). Therefore, attributes at the workplace, and co-workers’ attitudes can explain the choice of organising. Vice versa, the social cost of not organising is much smaller in a workplace where most people are not organised, and trade unions have a harder time getting a foothold.

Nergaard (2015, p. 45) has recognised numerous additional factors that could hinder a worker from organising: (1) The size of the enterprise could have an effect, as trade unions are more often present and established in larger enterprises. (2) The worker’s relationship with its

employer, or the employer's attitudes could be a factor, as not all employers consider trade unions and collective agreements as positive additions to their workplace. (3) The worker could find it unnecessary to organise in a labour market where the conditions are relatively stable for unskilled workers, as finding a new occupation could be a valid solution to a conflict at work. (4) For immigrants, the worker could have emigrated from a society where organising is considered risky, and where trade unions have a bad reputation. (5) Choosing not to organise could be economically motivated, for instance due to high membership fees. (6) Lastly, a worker could be under the impression that he or she is excluded from the community that makes a trade union.

One factor that is especially prominent in the Norwegian context is that Norway does not have a Ghent system for social insurance (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 7; Kjellberg & Nergaard, 2022, p. 61). Most industrialised countries have compulsory programs for unemployment insurance, where all employees are enrolled by law, mainly financed by workers' and employers' contributions (Shin & Böckerman, 2018, p. 922). However, some countries, including Sweden, Finland, and Denmark use a Ghent system. This is a system of voluntary unemployment insurance, where workers decide whether to register for funds linked to trade unions rather than the government. Therefore, in Norway, trade unions are not the responsible actors for social insurance, which could weaken the incentives to organise (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 7). Additionally, enterprises are often covered by a collective wage agreement, meaning that all the employees in that enterprise are covered by the system of agreements. Finseraas et al. argues that the absence of discrimination between members and non-members could weaken the perceived importance of becoming a member.

2.5 Effects of a Declining Union Density

Union density is considered an indicator of union strength as it correlates with the existence of pro-labour policies, and the unions' abilities to secure their wage demands (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 3). Furthermore, the unions' power in wage bargaining depends on the share of the workforce they represent. A strong trade union can use its political influence on secure social insurances and regulations that benefit the workers. One could therefore ask whether a declining union density could weaken the incentives to organise accordingly to the unions' ability to influence employers and policies.

Another potential effect of a declining union density is the employers' access to a labour force willing to work lower wages than the prevailing standards of the labour market (Nergaard, 2015, p. 46). A larger share of workers "accepting" of lower wages could potentially push down the wages in entire sectors, hence weakening the competitiveness of companies that are tied and wish to remain tied to collective agreements. Furthermore, a gap could form in the labour market between sectors where the union densities are high, and sectors with low union densities, with consequent gaps in wage- and working conditions.

2.6 Chapter Summary

The chapter aimed at introducing cornerstones of Norwegian society, and an overview of current trends and patterns of immigration and union density. At the core of the Norwegian societal model is the relationship between social partners and the authorities – where trade unions have traditionally played an important role in securing low wage differentials and safe working conditions (NOU 2021:2, p. 27). Nevertheless, the Norwegian working life has been subject to a modest decline in union density over the past decades, especially characterising the private sector. Simultaneously, labour immigration has increased comprehensively, largely as an effect of the EU enlargements (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 102; Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 9).

The union density is lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, yet strongly dependent on how long the immigrants have stayed in Norway (Nergaard et al., 2015, p. 102). Previous findings show that numerous factors affect the choice of organising. While protection is one main motive – social pressure, perceptions of the working life, tradition, economic motives, the size of the enterprise, employers' attitudes, and the contrast between members and non-members are also interesting aspects for the choice (Nergaard & Svarstad, 2021, p. 82; Finseraas et al. 2020, p. 7; Nergaard, 2015, p. 45). Lastly, existing literature points to union density as an indicator of a trade union's strength and influence, hence declining union densities could weaken a trade unions' negotiating power.

3 The Industries

The following chapter presents an introduction of the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry. These industries provide the context and foundation for the thesis' empirical findings. While the industries share similarities concerning low union densities and high immigration rates, there are also great varieties within and between them. This chapter draws attention to some of the characteristics.

3.1 The Building and Construction Industry

The building and construction industry has experienced a comprehensive increase in labour immigration over the past decades (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015, p. 183). Immigration has been especially large from East and Central Europe following the EU-enlargements, however somewhat lower during the Covid-19 pandemic (Høydahl, 2021). Between 2005 and 2012, the industry's employment rates increased from some 120,000 workers to 200,000 workers (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015, p. 188). Among the new workers, 60,000 were foreign citizens. In most of the newer EU member states, the wage levels are considerably lower than the Norwegian levels. Friberg and Haakestad argue that the increased supply of cheap labour has formed low wage competition in the industry, as it makes it easier for questionable employers to place pressure on wage and working conditions. Traditionally, the industry has been characterised by strong trade unions, especially among the larger companies. Today, however, a minority of the workers are trade union members.

Friberg and Haakestad (2015) also recognise a shift from permanent employment and piecework to contracted labour. Piecework has traditionally been the reigning wage system in large entrepreneur enterprises, often supported by both the worker- and the employer-side (p. 189). Piecework is a production-based wage system with set prices for workpieces. For the worker-side, it contributes to counteract underpayment, while for the employer-side, it hinders price-growth in times of labour shortages. The use of piecework has decreased comprehensively over the past decade, replaced by an increase contract labour. Contract labour was illegal except for traditional office jobs until it was liberalised in 2000, and includes a contractual relationship between a lessor, a worker, and an employer. With the liberalisation in 2000 and the EU-enlargements in 2004 and 2007, the staff industry gained access to workers accepting of the conditions the contractors offered. Friberg and Haakestad further argue that this new

opportunity to rent Eastern and Central European labour has made it easier to divide between a stable, internal labour force and a flexible, external labour force.

A Finnish study by Berntsen and Lillie (2016) actualises the challenge of trade unions in reaching the flexible, external labour force Friberg and Haakestad refer to. Berntsen and Lillie studied the efforts of Dutch trade unions in reaching hyper-mobile workers at Dutch construction sites. Hyper-mobile workers are workers on short-term, project based contracts. The study emphasises that transnationally mobile workers within the EU often work on contingent contracts under worse conditions and for lower wages than domestically recruited workers, repeatedly remaining outside of the trade unions' scope of presentation (p. 172). In addition, the authors point out that these workers often have limited security and little connection to the society in which they work. Through the study, Berntsen and Lillie found that despite the Dutch collective bargaining system, Dutch unions struggle to enforce local labour standards for hyper-mobile workers within the construction industry (p. 184).

In addition to the gap between an internal and an external labour force, Friberg and Haakestad (2015), indicate that a dualization is increasing between full-time, often Norwegian workers on one side, and mainly Eastern European part-time workers with far more uncertain working conditions on the other side (p. 188). The labour immigrants' comparatively weak negotiating position is reflected in their wage levels. The authors report that in 2012, craftsmen with Norwegian citizenships had an average annual wage at 450,000 Norwegian kroner (NOK), while craftsmen with citizenships from the newer EU member states had an average wage at 330,000 NOK. The lowest wage levels were among the East European sub-contracted craftsmen in the industry with an average income at approximately 290,000 NOK per year.

3.2 The Fishing Industry

At the international level, there is an increasing demand for farmed fish (Tiller, Hansen, Richards & Strand, 2015). The consequent increase in production, together with the development of spin-off industries has created large numbers of jobs in rural areas of the Norwegian coast. Concurrently, the Norwegian fish processing industry has a long history of labour shortages, as the wage levels, type of work, and the seasonal character of the industry has weakened its attractiveness (Henriksen, 2020, p. 216). Additionally, many of the small coastal societies where the fish processing takes place, are experiencing large-scale depopulation (Tiller et al., 2015). Especially in the northern parts of the country, recruiting

enough labour has offered challenges, and the industry is dependent on international labour supplies (Henriksen, 2020, p. 217). The shortages of labour supplies were well reflected in northernmost area Finnmark's county plan from the 1990s, stating that the coastal communities were experiencing high levels of unemployment at the same time as the fishing industry struggled recruiting people.

Between 2003 and 2018, the number of enterprises in the Norwegian fishing industry decreased from 597 enterprises to 280, where for the most part, the largest ones remain, and most of the workers are employed in production (Henriksen, 2020, p. 218). The EU enlargements had a great impact, giving the industry a comprehensive upturn in recruitment (p. 219). While the share of Norwegian full-time workers fell from 88 percent to 49 percent between 2003 and 2018, the share of foreign labour, seasonal workers and sub-contracting has increased significantly. The Norwegian labour market is considered attractive due to comparatively high wages in low education jobs (Tiller et al., 2015). In 2018, more than one third of the workers in the Norwegian fish processing industry came from East and Central Europe, while 13 percent of the full-time workers came from countries that are not included in the EEA (Henriksen, 2020, p. 219).

The increase in foreign labour has brought social dumping on the industry's agenda, often referring to terms of employment within the industry, especially connected to sub-contracting (Henriksen, 2020, p. 222). Discoveries of questionable conditions among trade unions, the media, and the Norwegian Labour Inspection Authority led to a general application of collective wage agreements for the industry in 2015. Additionally, the government established centres for labour criminality around the country (p. 224). In 2019, after continued tip-offs and flourishing rumours of questionable conditions, the centre on labour criminality in Nordland County decided to carry out a comprehensive round of inspections. The inspections were named "Operation Blue Silent" and were carried out within the fishing industry in Lofoten and Vesterålen at the North-Norwegian coast. In a selection of 84 enterprises, 20 were picked out for a risk evaluation, where violations of varying severity were found in 19 out of the 20. These violations included everything from the lack of fire safety considerations to severe exploitation of foreign labour.

3.3 The Hotel and Catering Industry

Similarly to the two other industries, the hotel and catering industry experienced great levels of labour immigration after the EU-enlargements (Iversen, Aalen & Jakobsen, 2017, p. 65). Put into perspective, the share of immigrants in all sectors at large increased from 10 percent in 2008 to 14 percent in 2014. For the hotel and catering industry, the share of immigrant workers increased from around 25 percent in 2008 to almost 40 percent in 2015. Furthermore, only a small share of the workers in the sector are covered by collective wage agreements. This can partly be explained by the high rates of turnover in labour, as well as high levels of part time work and seasonal work. It is however important to note that it is not unusual to follow collective wage agreements also for enterprises who are not contractually covered by these agreements.

As opposed to the building and construction industry, the hotel and catering industry is not characterised by a decline in union density, but rather a stable, low union density (Nergaard, 2015, p. 40). In other words, trade unions have always had a hard time recruiting members in these occupations. One explanation is the high number of smaller enterprises with few positions, where trade unions struggle to get a foothold. In a British study from 2005, Wills highlights several obstacles for achieving high union densities in low-paid service occupations in the United Kingdom. The study specifically investigates a London-based hotel (p. 148). The author points out several factors hindering the incentive to organise within this occupation: (1) if the staff that is spread, and/or isolated from each other, it could hinder a sense of community that in other cases promotes organising. (2) High rates of turnover labour can make it difficult for trade unions to recruit new members, as the workers are not planning to stay within that field of work. (3) As discussed in the two other industries, a comprehensive use of sub-contracting could create a distance between the workers and the trade unions. (4) Organising is often not the tradition in these workplaces. (5) A segmented nature of the labour market for low paid work, second-job holders, students, and immigrants could also affect the incentives to organise.

3.4 Chapter Summary

The foregoing chapter has introduced some general trends of immigration and organisation practices within the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and hotel and

catering industry. All three industries have experienced comprehensive increases in labour immigration, especially after the EU-enlargements. However, other trends differ between the sectors. For the building and construction industry, the transition from piecework as the prevailing practice to contracted labour is especially prominent (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015). The fishing industry has a history of a shortage in labour, that has been reduced largely due to the influx of migrant workers (Henriksen, 2020). The industry is also highly characterised by seasonal work. Similarly to the building- and construction industry, the hotel- and catering industry has had high levels of contracted labour, as well as a challenge with recruiting trade union members due to high levels of turnover labour (Iversen et al., 2017).

4 Theoretical Framework

The following chapter includes the thesis' theoretical foundation. The chapter's first section provides an insight in perceptions on the interplay between globalisation and the international labour market, emphasising structures of labour and migration. The second section of the chapter presents an overview of two prevailing paradigms within migration theory: the functionalist paradigm, and the historical-structural paradigm, reflecting two poles of the theoretical spectrum. The push and pull model, and neo-liberal migration theory represent the functionalist paradigm, while segmented labour market theory represents the historical-structural paradigm. These theories have in common that they provide a macro-level perspective on migration, emphasising structures, patterns, and developments such as labour market forces, national legislations, and international cooperation (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 43). The chapter's third section introduces the aspirations and abilities model for migration, weighing the individual migrant's capabilities to migrate within a set of constraints, helping us understand the complex nature of migration at the micro-level.

4.1 Globalisation and the International Labour Market

World Bank (2018) emphasises that immigrants and their families must have legally secure residency- and employment rights, as uncertainty will only lead to greater inefficiency for both migrants and their employers in destination countries (p. 25). In 2021, the Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs made the same statement, stressing how high immigration rates to Norway increase the demand for sufficient integration in the labour market (NOU 2021:2, p. 34). Working promotes network building, independence, and self-realisation. Additionally, it can provide an increased sense of belonging to society and level out inequalities. High employment rates are also a premise for the Norwegian Model to succeed long-term. High-skilled workers often have high employment-specific investments, receiving protection by the destination country with privileged legal statuses (World Bank, 2018, p. 25). In contrast, low-skilled immigrants often face greater barriers to integration, and limited access to the formal labour market.

There are large varieties in the views of globalisation's effects on labour market structures and migration. Castles (2011) argues that neoliberalism masks the exploitation that is occurring at a global scale, promoting prosperity and economic efficiency (p. 311). He reasons that the international mobilisation of workers and their differentiation on criteria of ethnicity, race,

origins, gender, and legal status are crucial parts of the current economic order. The neoliberal argument is that privatisation and economic deregulation strengthens economic growth in poorer countries, consequently reducing poverty (p. 312). Castles, however, claim that the outcome has been the opposite, as the inequality rates of the mid 2000s reached one of the highest levels ever recorded.

Potrafke (2013) acknowledges the widespread concern of globalisation's effects on labour market institutions in decreasing employment and wages (p. 829). He argues that the scepticism towards globalisation stems from two concerns: (1) that internationalisation increases competitive pressure, making companies decrease wage levels and make the production more effective, and (2) that globalisation makes governments deregulate labour markets, reducing employment protection, minimum wages, and unemployment benefits to investors' advantage. Increased liberalisation and competition between firms is expected to promote low wage competition at the workers' expense, and deregulation of the labour market is expected to deteriorate the workers' well-being. Potrafke however, argues that despite these widespread concerns, there are gains in terms of specialisation, comparative advantages, and improved trade. Additionally, he stresses the varying levels of influence of globalisation between different countries, given their different legal frameworks and norms (p. 830).

Increased flows of commodities, capital, technology, and labour across borders have been used as liberalistic means to reduce inequality, by securing optimal allocation of resources – keeping the production costs as low as possible and promoting increased productivity everywhere (Castles, 2011, p. 314). Different stages of production are sited in places where they can be carried out as cheap as possible, hence production costs are reduced by the transnational division of labour. Castles emphasises how these flows were never fully liberalised, as richer countries protect their agriculture, while poorer countries remove their barriers. Castles refers to this tendency as “hypocrisy”, where people with high human capital from rich countries have almost unlimited rights of mobility, while others are differentiated, controlled, and included or excluded in a variety of ways (p. 312).

De Haas et al. (2020) point to sub-contracting as a central element of neoliberal employment. Sub-contracting includes turning wage earners, previously protected by collective agreements into independent contractors (p. 288). Through sub-contracting, wage earners must often buy their own equipment, and bear all the risks of lack of work, accidents, or sickness (Castles, 2011, p. 315). Castles also points to casual employment as a trend of enhanced employer control

and reduced demands for better wage- and working conditions. Casual employment is when a worker is hired by the hour for a specific task, typically for cleaning, catering, and construction. Through his cross-country study, however, Potrafke (2013) does not find that globalisation induces labour market deregulation (p. 839). He uses Norway as an example of a country where rapid globalisation has not eroded labour market institutions. However, as previously discussed, one can expect large varieties between different sectors (Nergaard, 2020, p. 15). Potrafke's argument is that globalisation on the contrary influences labour markets to regulate more strongly, compensating for the external risk global economic integration causes (Potrafke, 2013, p. 839).

4.2 Migration Theories

Very often, migration theories represent one out of two paradigms – the functionalist, or the historical-structural theoretical paradigm (de Haas et al. 2020, p. 44). Functionalist theories see societies as systems of interdependent actors, tending towards an equilibrium. Here, migration is considered a positive matter, optimising the interests of most people, and creating greater equality both between and within societies. Historical-structural theories see migration as more of an exploiting mechanism, emphasising cultural, social, economic, and political structures, reinforcing inequalities. These theories argue that political and economic power is distributed unequally, and that migration provides a cheap, exploitable labour force, serving the interests of wealthy populations in receiving areas, causing “brain drain” in origin areas.

It is debatable whether it is useful to develop theories for different categories of migrants, as there are often manifold motives to migrate (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 42). A migrant could for instance primarily have economic motivations to move, but also flee from political oppression. Notwithstanding, political oppression is often accompanied by economic exclusion. Economic, social, cultural, and political causes of migration are difficult to clearly separate. However, migration theories can be helpful in recognising the general trends and patterns.

4.2.1 Push-Pull and Neoclassical Migration Theory

Zimmermann (1995) defines demand-pull migration and supply-push migration in accordance with the classic analysis of aggregate supply and demand for receiving economies (p. 314). The model is a central theory of the functionalist paradigm, identifying economic, environmental, and demographic factors assumed to push people out of places of origin and pull them into

destination places (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 45). Push-factors often include population growth and -density, political oppression, and a lack of economic opportunities. Pull-factors are often factors such as demand for labour, available land, economic opportunities, and political freedoms.

Push- and pull models are appealing, as definitions help organising thoughts even if they are difficult to implement empirically (Zimmermann, 1995, p. 315). In practice, push- and pull models have a hard time explaining why some countries and regions experience both comprehensive emigration and immigration, why some immigrants return, or why most people do not migrate (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 45). Additionally, they do not account for people having different perceptions, preferences, and ambitions, and therefore react in different ways to similar circumstances. Push- and pull models are therefore most effective for categorising main tendencies and causes of migration trends.

Neoclassical migration theory sees migration as part of the development process where surplus labour in rural sectors supplies the urban industrial economy (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 46). This theory assesses migration mostly as a function of supply and demand for labour, depending on geographical differences (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998, p. 96). The consequent wage differences encourage workers to emigrate from areas with low wages and labour-surpluses to areas with higher wages and labour scarcity. Migration is considered an optimising process where production factors are allocated; labour is made scarcer in origin areas, and less scarce in destination areas. Therefore, the theory argues that migration flows cause the wages in high-wage regions to fall, and in low-wage regions to rise. Consequently, the migration flow will end when the costs of movement from low- to high- wage regions reflect the wage differential between them.

4.2.2 Dual Labour Market Theory

Piore (1979) argues that the most prominent explanations for the demand of labour suggest that migration either (a) is a response to shortages in the labour supply, (b) satisfies a need to fill the lowest positions of the social hierarchy, or (c) meets the requirements of the dual labour market's secondary sector (p. 26). Furthermore, he uses the "dual labour market hypothesis" to assess "explanation c" (p. 35). The hypothesis claims that the labour market is best understood by a model dividing the market into one primary and one secondary sector, where migrants are found in the latter. The theory emphasises institutional sectors, race, and gender in the case of

this segmentation (de Haas, et al. 2020, p. 291). Workers in the primary labour market are selected based on formal skills or degrees, and often in accordance to being part of the majority ethnic group, their male gender, and for migrants a regular legal status. In contrast, workers in the secondary labour market are disadvantaged by a lack of education, or for migrants – a lack of formal recognition for their foreign degrees, as well as gender, race, and uncertain or irregular legal statuses.

Larger and larger shares of jobs are being outsourced or automatised (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 293). Nevertheless, for industries such as agriculture, building and construction, as well as for numerous service industries, these are not effective solutions. A central argument of dual labour market theory is that despite a common notion of wealthy nations primarily needing high-skilled immigrants – advanced economies also demand low-skilled workers to carry out tasks within the production- and service industries. Employers in receiving countries have become increasingly reliant on migrant workers to fill the gaps in occupations native workers are no longer willing to do – as there has been an increase in labelling precarious jobs as low status jobs (p. 53). These jobs are often referred to as “3D jobs” – dirty, difficult, and dangerous. The theory claims that these structural demands promote international migration.

4.3 The Aspirations and Abilities Model

De Haas (2021) emphasises how both functionalist and historical-structural theories of migration are unable to provide a meaningful understanding of human agency (p. 8). While functionalist theories often portray migrants as individual utility-optimisers, historical-structural theories tend to frame migrants as passive victims of larger forces. His argument is that migration is an intrinsic fragment of larger economic, political, cultural, demographic, and technological processes such as globalisation and social transformations. The aspirations and abilities model places a larger emphasis on the migrants’ agencies.

The aspirations- and abilities model was first used to explain involuntary immobility – an aspiration to move without the ability (Carling & Schewel, 2018, p. 946). A migration aspiration is defined by Carling & Schewel as the conviction that migration is preferable to non-migration. Consequently, those who do not migrate are either aspiring to migrate without the ability (involuntary non-migrants) or prefer non-migration to migration (voluntary non-migrants). De Haas describes a migration aspiration as “a function of people’s general life aspiration and

perceived geographical opportunity structures”, and a migration capability as “contingent on positive (“freedom to”) and negative (“freedom from”) liberties” (de Haas, 2021, p. 17).

From this perspective, aspirations reflect preferences and perceptions about life and its opportunities, and are affected by information, education, personal disposition, and culture (de Haas, 2021, p. 18). Migration aspirations have an instrumental, and an intrinsic dimension, where the two often reinforce each other. Instrumental aspirations typically include a functional means to achieve, such as higher income, better education, or protection from violence. Intrinsic aspirations refer to the attached perceived value to the experience, such as exploring a new culture, or pursuing a new lifestyle.

Amartya Sen introduced a conceptualisation of development as a process where substantive freedoms are expanded (de Haas, 2021, p. 18). Though Sen’s analysis was not developed for the purpose of migratory research, his framework has been used to better understand human mobility (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 62). In his work, Sen used the concept of human capability, which included human’s abilities to lead lives they perceived as valuable, and to enhance their substantive choices (de Haas, 2021, p. 20). The intrinsic quality of these freedoms is their adding to people’s life qualities, while their instrumental value is their contributing to better opportunities.

Abilities to migrate increase together with factors like improved education, transport, and income growth (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 62). The same factors often increase people’s awareness that there are opportunities elsewhere. When opportunities at the local level no longer match the individual’s preferences, it often increases their aspirations to migrate. This tendency explains why development in low- and lower-middle income societies is often accompanied by increased emigration. The relation between development and aspirations to migrate is, however, not linear. Capabilities to migrate will continue to increase together with increased development, while aspirations will decrease after a certain development level, when the opportunity gap between the countries has decreased. Occupational specialisation and higher educational levels often make people migrate in search of matching their skills and specific job preferences.

Seeing migration as a function of capabilities and aspirations to mobilise within a set of opportunity structures can be helpful to bridge distinctions between migration categories (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 63). For instance, rather than making a divide between forced and voluntary

migration, one can see migration within a continuum of low to high constraints, where migrants' agency is relative to structural constraints in varying degrees.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has accounted for the thesis' theoretical fundament. Globalisation, dynamics of the international labour market, as well as large scale migration are complex and highly interconnected processes, and their liberalistic nature has brought widespread debate. While some argue that increased flows of labour across open borders have led to a strongly hierarchical international labour market, others see it as function of supply and demand, and appreciate the gains of specialisation and comparative advantages (Castles, 2011; Potrafke, 2013). Migration theories represent different perspectives to why people migrate, and are used to recognise the central patterns and trends of such complex processes (de Haas et al., 2020). Although with two very different approaches, functionalist, and historical-structural theories are helpful to recognise patterns and trends in mobility at the macro level. The theory of aspirations and abilities is more suitable to assess the migrants' agency, and their individual choice to migrate or not migrate at the micro level.

5 Methodology

This chapter provides a rationale for the study's methodological foundation. The chapter is introduced with explanations of the processes of collecting and analysing the thesis' empirical data. Furthermore, the chapter includes a reflection of the study's reliability and validity, as well as limitations and ethical considerations that had to be made during the research process.

As the thesis studies people's perceptions of their realities, and the ways in which their perceptions affect their surroundings, it embodies a social constructivist perspective. As indicated by the term, social constructivism claims that our realities are created by society – and emphasises the production and reproduction of social life (Vera, 2016, p. 5). Hence, the perspective is dialectic, referring to the interaction between the individual and society (Berger & Luckmann, 2006, p. 9). Social constructivism is well manifested by the Thomas theorem: “when people define situations as real they are real in their consequences” (Scott, 2014). This thesis aims to study immigrant workers' definitions of their situations in the Norwegian working life, their consequent choice of organising or not organising, and how it affects their surroundings.

5.1 Data Collection

Qualitative research produces “findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification” (Strauss, 1990, p. 17). Qualitative methods are used to study the ways in which we live our lives, and help us understand social phenomena (Thagaard, 2018, p. 11). A qualitative approach was considered the most suitable option for this study, as it allowed me to deepen in people's reflections of their own views and experiences with immigration and the choice of organising (Cope & Hay, 2021, p. 4).

5.1.1 *Semi Structured Interviews*

Through the process of collecting my empirical data, I conducted 10 semi structured interviews during March 2020, after receiving the approval to conduct my study from the Norwegian centre for research data (NSD) in October 2021 (see Appendix 4). Interviews are among the most frequent applied methods within the qualitative approach because they provide insights in views, understandings, and experiences of people (Thagaard, 2018, p. 12). The opportunity to gain these insights made interviewing the most fitting choice for the study. Interviews allowed

me to talk to the informants about their lives, and their perspectives, opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about their experiences and the social world (Saldaña, 2011, p. 31). In my case, interviewing allowed me to analyse how a sample of immigrant workers, union representatives, and employers perceive their experiences with immigration, and/or organising.

Interviewing is a method of gathering data through a spoken exchange of information (Dunn, 2021, p. 148). All the interviews for this study were conducted digitally, through video calls in Microsoft Teams. The advantage of conducting interviews in person is the opportunity to capture the atmosphere and the informants' signals. For this reason, Dunn argues that relative to face-to-face interviews, video calls lack some context that could increase the researcher's understanding of the participants lives (p. 182). Nevertheless, compared to phone calls or e-mail exchanges, video calls have an advantage in their resemblance to face-to-face interviews (p. 148). Digital interviews were used due to spatial and economic limitations, as none of the interviewees were based in Trondheim. For the most part, the method was unproblematic. Especially after the Covid-19 pandemic, people have become more familiar with the use of digital platforms for communication. In one interview, however, we had to use our cell phones for sound, as the interviewee had some technical issues with the microphone on her computer.

The interviews were semi structured. This means that the questions were fully worded and organised by order, yet flexible in the sense that I could add follow-up questions and was not restricted to deploy all questions (Dunn, 2021, p. 158). The advantage of using semi structured interviews was the opportunity to further discuss unforeseen topics that could be relevant to the research questions. This again required me to get back on track when the conversation moved too far away. Another advantage was that it allowed for me to compare different informants' responses to the same topics.

For the data collection, I used three different interview guides; one directed at the immigrant workers, one at the employers, and the last one at the union representatives (see Appendix 1-3). I used different interview guides for the different roles as some topics are more relevant for one particular group. For instance, the workers had hands-on experience from migrating, while the union representatives had specific experiences with recruitment. When developing the interview guides, I used questions I considered to be relevant for the research questions, after reading relevant literature (Dunn, 2021, p. 158). The interview guides were also helpful during the data analysis. Having the questions ordered in themes made it easier to find common features among the answers.

With the informants' approval, the interviews were audio recorded, which is the most frequently employed technique for recording interviews (Dunn, 2021, p. 168). Recording the interviews opened for a natural conversation, as I was able to pay full attention to the informants. However, audio recordings do not capture non-verbal data such as body language or air quotes, which could have been obtained had I also been taking notes. Another consideration when recording interviews is the informant's awareness of their opinion becoming fixed on a hard drive, which could make them less forthcoming. The effort to make the informants comfortable in the interview setting is therefore essential. After the interviews were finished, the recordings were transcribed to facilitate the analysis. The data analysis is explained in further detail in section 5.3.

5.1.2 Selection of Participants

A selection of participants is used to collect a representative overview of perspectives on the topic in question (Saldaña, 2011, p. 33). Saldaña argues that the choice of informants should be based on people who are likely to provide substantive responses to the research questions, while simultaneously representing a diverse landscape of the social setting. The industries in question were used as a starting point for the selection of participants. The choice of industries was grounded on their generally low union densities, and their high shares of immigrant workers. The first reason for this was the aim of research question 2 to analyse how a lower union density among immigrants is reflected in industries with low union densities. Secondly, I expected the workers within these industries to have a larger variety of experiences with the causes and effects of a low union density. Thirdly, the sectors' high rates of labour immigration gave me reason to believe that I would be able to interview workers who have experienced migration. It is, however, assumable that studying other, or a larger variation of industries could produce different results.

Furthermore, I found that a combination of immigrant workers and employers would create a more nuanced composition of experiences with the choice of organising. However, I prioritised talking to most immigrant workers due to their experiences with both immigrating and adapting to the Norwegian working life. In addition, I found it interesting to interview union representatives from the same enterprises because of their insights in the trade unions' influence at the workplaces. The distribution between immigrant workers, employers, and union representatives is presented in Table 2.

	The building- and construction industry	The hotel- and catering industry	The fishing industry
Workers	2	1	4
Union representatives	1	1	-
Employers	1	-	1

Table 2: Distribution of informants according to role and industry.

As mentioned above, the interviewees represent three industries within the working life that are generally characterised by low union densities. I conducted interviews in three enterprises – one from each industry. I got in contact with the enterprises in different ways. During the process of providing empirical data, it was decisive to have someone supporting the process by providing access to participants for the study (Clarke, 2010, p. 486). These contact persons are often described as “gatekeepers”, referring to individuals or organisations that hold an intermediary role between the participants and the researcher.

I got in contact with the informants from the building and construction industry through an acquaintance who works in the entrepreneur enterprise. Typically, gatekeepers are not directly part of the research, and neither was my acquaintance (Clarke, 2010, p. 486). However, he put me in contact with some of his colleagues who were willing to participate. Parat, an independent trade union worked as a gatekeeper in assisting me to encounter the informant from the hotel and catering industry. The informant works as a union representative for the trade union. While I initially only gained access to one informant from the hotel and catering industry, the union representative was accompanied by a colleague during his interview, who also wanted to share his views. While the two shared quite similar views, access to a second informant from the industry granted me with some additional, valuable perspectives. Lastly, I contacted the production company from the fishing industry through e-mail. The employer (Interview 5) functioned as a gatekeeper and arranged for me to interview some of the workers in the production company. Unlike the other gatekeepers, she also ended up representing the employer side of the company for my research. The gatekeepers were critical for my access to relevant informants. Nevertheless, it must be stated that all human actors, including gatekeepers, have their own interests, aims, and priorities that could potentially affect which informants the researcher gains access to (Clarke, 2010, p. 489).

The immigrant workers that were interviewed represent the building and construction industry and the fishing industry. Table 3 provides an overview of these informants and their backgrounds. The immigrant workers represent a variety of origin countries; four of which are part of the EU, while two are located in the Middle East. As portrayed in Table 3, the origin countries represented in this study corresponds to migration cause. While the four informants originating from EU member states refer to labour or economic factors as their motive to migrate, the two workers originating from the Middle East stated violent conflicts as their cause. Furthermore, the informants' ages range from 26 to 43. In terms of length of residence, which has been identified as an indicator for union density, half of the workers have lived in Norway for longer than ten years, and five out of six express that they plan on staying (Nergaard, 2015, p. 43).

Informant	2	3	4	6	7	10
Industry	Building and construction	Fishing	Fishing	Fishing	Fishing	Building and construction
Age	34	30	43	26	27	39
Origin country	Poland	Romania	Latvia	Palestine	Syria	Poland
Education	Master craftsman certificate in hydrogeology and geology from Poland, and a craft certificate in Norway	Primary and lower secondary school	Teacher, psychology	Upper secondary school	-	Bachelor's degree in engineering within building and construction
Duration of stay	16 years	11 years	8,5 years	12 years	6 years	7 years
Planning on staying	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	-	Yes
Occupation	Shuttering carpenter	Production worker	Production worker	Production worker	Production worker	Carpenter
Cause of migration	Labour/Economic	Economic reasons	Labour/Family	Protection	Protection	Labour/Economic
Member of a trade union	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes

Table 3: Overview of informants

Another important information is that five out of the six workers are members of a trade union. Because the study seeks to investigate lower union densities among immigrants, this

distribution could have great effects on my findings. As will be presented in chapters 6 to 8, the informants did discuss their non-organised colleagues, and their own experiences from times when they have not been organised themselves. However, it is important to note that I would possibly have collected a richer distribution of answers had a larger share of the informants represented the non-organised group.

It is my impression that one central reason for the lack of non-organised workers in my sample is that organised workers are more accessible for discussing trade union memberships. It is also worth mentioning that the intentions of the gatekeepers could have affected this distribution, as presenting me with a larger share of organised workers could give the impression of more stable wage and working conditions at their workplace. For the production company, I was informed that approximately 45 percent of the full-time workers are organised (Interview 5). This means that my sample is not statistically representative for the company. However, I was under the impression that the informants spoke freely about their workplace and the prevailing attitudes on organising. As will be discussed in the chapter 6, the workers shared both their views on advantages and disadvantages of being organised, as well reflections around the views of their more “union-sceptical” colleagues.

5.2 Data Analysis

The analysis is a way of seeking meaning of the empirical data through the creation of themes, relations, and patterns (Dunn, 2021, p. 173). For my analysis, I applied a latent content analysis, where I browsed the transcribed interviews for themes (Saldaña, 2011, p. 26). In this type of analysis, recognising meanings in the informants’ answers represent a type of coding. I initiated the analysis by making overviews of the questions and the associated answers in tables. The tables made it much easier to compare the answers and recognise reoccurring topics. Furthermore, I categorised the reoccurring topics in categories.

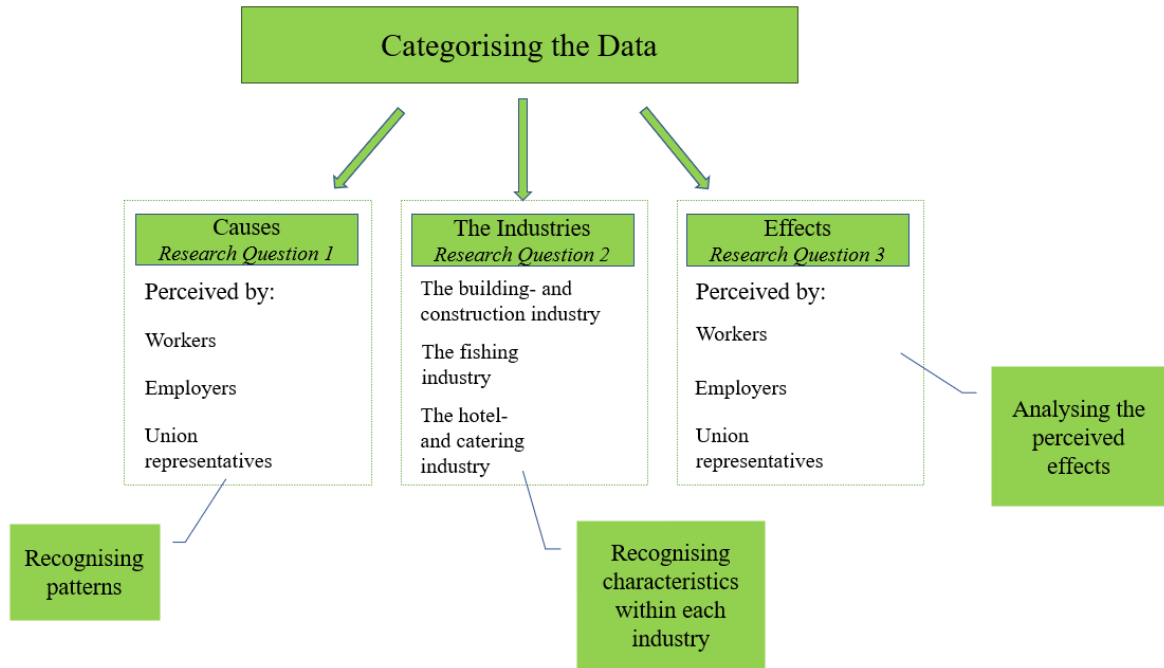


Figure 1: Processing the data.

Three primary categories were selected: causes, industries, and effects. The categories were chosen to make a sufficient overview of the answers' relation to the thesis' three research questions. Figure 1 portrays the data analysing process. I started out with a large variety of answers that were not necessarily compatible for the same patterns or tendencies, owed to the use of semi-structured interviews and different interview guides. For this reason, the initial categories were quite broad. An advantage of this approach was that one category could include a large assortment of answers. A disadvantage, however, was that the initial categorisation was quite difficult to grasp. The categories therefore had to be divided into different subcategories – by different actors, different industries, or by reoccurring answers of tendencies and patterns.

For the first category, the aim was to recognise patterns among the immigrants to why they had chosen to organise or not. In addition, it included the union representatives' experiences with recruiting immigrant workers, and all the informants' perceptions of why the union density is lower among immigrants than non-immigrants. Examples of such patterns were language barriers and previous experiences with the trade union movement. The category for the industries included statements of how the informants have perceived tendencies of immigration and organising within their industry, such as sub-contracting, or turnover of labour. The third category included the informants' perceived effects of the irregular union density between immigrants and non-immigrants.

5.3 Reliability, Validity, and Ethical Considerations

The empirical data provides the basis for analysing the perceived causes and effects of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce. “Reliability” refers to whether the results from a data collecting method are reproducible had the study been carried out under similar circumstances by a different researcher, or at a different time (Hay & Cope, 2021, p. 464; Thagaard, 2018; p. 187). As presented in section 5.2.2, the choice of informants was based on their experiences from industries with typically low union densities and high levels of labour immigration. The sample is quite diverse in the sense that it includes three different industries, and represents perceptions of both immigrant workers, union representatives, and employers. However, as previously mentioned, interviewing a larger share of non-organised immigrant workers would provide a more representative sample, and again possibly affect the results.

Using a qualitative approach can be challenging due to its subjective nature (Stake, 2010, p. 29). While interviews can provide in depth understanding of people’s experiences and opinions, the results are often difficult to generalise, because the ways in which people perceive their circumstances vary greatly between individuals. However, patterns and tendencies can be found in reoccurring answers. Because the research questions of this study aim at analysing perceived causes and effects of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce – one main goal has been to present the answers as similarly to the ways in which they were articulated as possible.

The social settings indicated that conducting the interviews in English would be the most suitable approach. For both the native Norwegian informants and the informants originating from other countries, Norwegian was our “common language”. As the interview guides were semi structured, I was set to ask some of the questions in English, however, all the informants approached me in Norwegian, and the linguistic understanding between me and the informants was trouble-free in most cases. Because the interviews were conducted in Norwegian, the citations, as well as my interpretation of the transcriptions had to be translated to English to be presented in the analysis. One must be aware that while I did my best to reproduce the informants’ exact meanings when presenting the results, and to remain objective - the interpretations will be subject to how I understood the answers, and the ways in which I translated their statements (Saldaña, 2011, p. 22).

Using interviews as a research method also requires for some formal ethical considerations to be made. Studies processing personal data fall under the Personal Data Act (Thagaard, 2018, p. 20). This makes the studies subject to notification. For studies carried out in universities, the project must be approved by the Norwegian centre for research data (NSD). This project was approved in October 2021 (see Appendix 4). In accordance with the NSD policies, the interviewees were provided with sufficient information about the project before it was carried out – both in their invitations to participate per e-mail, and orally during the interviews before I started recording (Thagaard, 2018, p. 22). The information included who has access the information, the aims of the project, as well as the informants' anonymity, and their right to withdraw from the study whenever they wanted.

6 A Lower Union Density Among Immigrants

The following chapters provide the analysis of the study's empirical findings, collected through 10 semi structured interviews. The data is discussed considering previous findings (presented in chapters 2 and 3), as well as the thesis' theoretical framework (chapter 4). This chapter presents the informants' experiences with the trade union movement, and their opinions on organised labour. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the thesis' first research question: "*why is the union density among immigrants lower than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?*" based on their experiences. In what follows, chapters 7 and 8 address the two remaining research questions. Chapter 7 discusses the informants' descriptions of central trends of immigration and organisation within the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and hotel and catering industry. Moreover, chapter 8 discusses the informants' perceived effects of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce.

6.1 The Immigrant Worker Perspective

6.1.1 Cause of Organising

The immigrant workers were all asked about their choice to organise or not, to outline their impressions of the advantages and disadvantages of being organised. Both the craftsmen from the building and construction sector described organising as the natural choice (Interview 2 and 10). One of them was rapidly introduced to a trade union by the enterprise's union representative, while the other was introduced to a union at his previous workplace. They both expressed that due to the high levels of union density at their current workplace, staying a trade union member felt like the right thing to do. The feeling they describe falls under what Nergaard and Svarstad (2021) refer to as social custom theory. The high union density that characterises the craftsmen's workplace could create a strong social motive to organise, as free-riding can give you a bad reputation (p. 6). In addition, the two both had experiences with contract labour from their previous workplaces, described as jobs characterised by larger uncertainty than their current working situations: "*Especially in the contracting sector, one wants to feel safe, because there's a lot of uncertainty.*" (Interview 2, craftsman, 11 March, 2022). These experiences also motivated them to seek more steadiness through a trade union membership.

One of the production workers from the fishing industry explained that it took a few years before she became a member because of the language barrier (Interview 4). She had heard of the trade union during her first year at the company, however, she did not speak Norwegian at the time, consequently not understanding the information she was given. Nonetheless, she had a Latvian colleague who explained it from her point of view. Her colleague was sceptical to the union, and not a member herself. Therefore, first years later when the production worker and her husband had become more familiar with the Norwegian working life, they decided to become members. Their choice was based the advantages being a member gave them access to, such as collective agreements, loans, insurances, and legal help. Two of the other production workers received information about the trade union from the company's union representative, and decided it felt safer to be a member (Interview 3 and 6). The last production worker had linguistic barriers and did not express having any knowledge of the trade union movement (Interview 7). This opens for questions towards the available trade union-information for non-native Norwegians at the workplace. If you do not know that organising is an option, chances are big that you will not organise.

Most of the workers were under the impression that the trade unions were less established in their origin countries than they experienced trade unions to be in Norway (Interview 2, 3, 4, and 10). One of the craftsmen expressed that the Polish building and construction industry is solely run by private actors, and that the working life policies are shaped differently there (Interview 10). Nergaard (2015) states that emigration from a society where trade unions have a bad reputation, or where organising is considered risky could work as a counterincentive to organise (p. 45). One of the other production workers expressed that Romanian trade unions are designed as insurance agreements, while the Latvian production worker informed that she had no connection to trade unions before moving to Norway (Interview 3 and 4). The Palestinian worker was too young when he emigrated to have a real impression of the trade union movement in Palestine, while the Syrian production worker had no opinion on the topic (Interview 6 and 7).

6.1.2 Cause of Migration

The workers' causes of migration were varied, yet four of the informants mentioned labour or economy as central factors (Interview 2, 3, 4, and 10). The two remaining workers had fled from violent conflicts (Interview 6 and 7). Several of the informants had more than one factor

encouraging the migration, and referred to a want for change, or family members and friends in Norway (Interview 2 and 4). None of the informants mentioned migration cause as a direct influence on the choice of organising, nonetheless, a preliminary assumption can be made that migration cause has a spurious effect on the choice.

Firstly, several of the informants saw trade unions' societal position and reputation in origin countries as an important factor to the choice of organising in Norway (Interview 1 and 9). While not necessarily, events and conditions such as violent conflicts and political oppression, or legislations allowing for free flows of labour could connect the cause of migration to origin country. For the workers who participated in this study, those who migrated from countries within the EEA mainly emigrated for labour or for economic reasons, while the workers originating from countries outside of the EEA mainly left for protection from violent conflicts. Secondly, the employment rate is statistically higher among labour immigrants than among immigrants migrating for family reunion or protection (Nergaard, et al., 2015, p. 103; Nergaard, 2015, p. 43). As these numbers refer to participation in the labour market, it is also sensible to consider them in a union density context. These causes make it interesting to take a closer look at the informants' causes of migration.

Migration theories are helpful means to analyse migration causes. At the macro-level, functionalist and historical-structural theories can be used to recognise trends and patterns of such causes. From a neoclassical point of view, the EU enlargements of 2004 and 2007, together with the deregulations of contracted labour in 2000 can be seen as enablers for migration to serve the supply and demand of labour (Bauer & Zimmermann, 1998, p. 96). According to this theory, workers from lower-wage countries in East and Central Europe with larger labour supplies, migrate to Northern Europe to apply for higher-wage jobs in areas with higher labour demands. Here, the Norwegian fishing industry is a clear example. The fishing industry has been fully dependent on foreign labour supplies to serve its production growth, especially in rural areas experiencing depopulation (Tiller, Hansen, Richards & Strand, 2015). The neoliberal argument could be backed by statements such as "*Here I got the opportunity to make a lot more money than what I could dream of in my occupation in Poland.*" (Interview 2, craftsman, 11 March, 2022).

The push and pull theory makes it easier to map out central incentives for the workers to emigrate from their origin country and immigrate to the receiving nation (Zimmermann, 1995, p. 314). Similarly to the neoclassical perspective, the theory recognises the economic

advantages, and opportunities for work as central pull-factors, while labour surpluses and low wages are recognised as push factors. However, this theory also accounts for the workers fleeing from violent conflict. One of the workers referred to war as the only reason for his migration: “*War, quite simply*” (Interview 6, 15 March, 2022). From this perspective, protection is recognised as a pull factor, while violent conflict or political oppression can be seen as push factors. Dual labour market theory also recognises workers’ labour-motivated migrations. In contrast, this theory would see the workers motivation to migrate as a function of the Norwegian economy’s demand for workers to carry out tasks within production and service industries in the secondary labour market – or highly specialised work in the primary labour market (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 293). The dual labour market perspective would weigh the fishing industry’s need for foreign labour supplies as a function of its weakened attractiveness due to precarious, seasonal, or low-wage work (Henriksen, 2020, p. 216).

At the micro-level, the theory of aspirations and abilities is helpful to produce more detailed explanations to why individuals migrate. For instance, it could be used to address the choice of the Latvian production worker (Interview 4). She was at a crossroads after her maternity leave and had an aspiration to try something new. Her brother who worked in Norway suggested she tried to do the same. From the aspirations and abilities perspective, her choice was of instrumental value in achieving higher wages, while of intrinsic value as she could try something new, potentially improving her ability to lead a life she had reason to value (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 62). Her answer can be seen in contrast to the Palestinian and the Syrian informants who fled from war. While protection can be seen as an instrumental value from the aspirations and abilities model, fleeing from war can also be seen as forced migration, rather than a choice based the migrants’ aspirations. This assessment of forced and voluntary migration reflects the value of using both macro- and micro-perspectives when assessing migration causes.

6.1.3 A Lower Union Density among Immigrants

When asked directly about the causes of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, there were some reoccurring answers among the workers. One main impression was the language barrier for understanding the concept of trade unions and their work:

“The language is the most important reason. You feel a lot safer when you understand what the people around you are saying, and when you can read [...] I know how difficult it is in the beginning, you’re afraid to talk [...] I’m very glad I decided to learn Norwegian.” (Interview 2, craftsman, 11 March, 2022)

“I think it’s because of the understanding of what it’s really about. People who come here for work, living here, know very little about what it really means to be a member.” (Interview 6, production worker, 17 March, 2022)

Another answer that frequently occurred was previous and potentially bad experiences, or lack of experiences (Nergaard, 2015, p. 45). As discussed in the section 6.1.1, most of the workers had very different, or no impressions of the trade union movement before migrating to Norway. Additionally, the economic factor was mentioned repeatedly. One of the production workers was frustrated about the membership fee, and the indifferent treatment of members and non-members (Interview 3). She explained that a while ago, she had discussed the choice of organising with her non-organised colleague. Her colleague had argued that the organised workers are losing their money, while the non-organised workers get to keep their money, and the two groups are still treated equally. The production worker’s frustration refers to the challenge of non-paying passengers, receiving the same treatment as the trade union members, without paying the price. According to Finseraas et al. (2020) the challenge of a lack in discrimination between union members and non-members is especially clear in workplaces that are covered by collective agreements. The incentive to pay the membership fee decreases if one is under the impression that there is no purpose of being organised (Nergaard, 2015).

6.2 The Employer Perspective

The informants from the employer side represent the building and construction industry, and the fishing industry. The employer from the building and construction industry works as a personnel coordinator for all the craftsmen in the company (Interview 8). He has a twenty year-long experience as a trade union member from the time he worked as a carpenter. While he has not been organised since he transitioned to the employer side, he emphasised that he and the enterprise’s union representative communicate nearly daily. The employer representing the fishing industry works as a human resource manager for the group the production company is part of (Interview 5). The following quote expresses her connection to the labour movement:

“As an active worker I would say that the labour movement isn’t where I have my background, but of course by representing the employer side, we strive to have a good dialogue with the union representatives, maintaining and securing good communication with the workers.” (Interview 5, employer, 15 March, 2022)

While she does not have personal experience with the trade union movement, she emphasises the importance of good communication between the employer- and the worker side of the company.

I was interested to hear the employers’ opinions on organisation among the workers, as previous research show that not all employers see collective agreements and trade unions as positive additions to their workplace (Nergaard, 2015, p. 45). Furthermore, one of the workers that were interviewed expressed experiences of scepticism from the employer side in one of his former jobs (Interview 10). The employer from the building and construction industry argued that the enterprise wants their workers to be organised as they perceive an organised workforce as a tidier arrangement, especially because the company works by the piece (Interview 8):

“Already in the hiring process we talk to the workers; I have nothing to do with it, I won’t pressure them or anything, but I explain to them what they can expect of external pressure because we work by the piece [...] I tell them we have a high union density, and that we consider that a positive thing [...] I know that in smaller enterprises it’s harder to break through.” (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022)

Because of the trade union’s involvement in the enterprise’s wage system, the employer had recognised the emergence of an informal pressure on organising so that the entire team could join in on the piece work (Interview 8). This informal pressure is, again, well described by social custom theory, where the social cost of not organising is high, due to social pressure from colleagues (Nergaard & Svarstad, 2021, p. 82). In the quote, the employer also mentions the size of the enterprise as a factor for the high union density, as unions have a harder time getting a foothold in smaller enterprises (Nergaard, 2015, p. 45). The difference between smaller and larger companies in the building and construction industry is discussed in further detail in chapter 7.1. The employer from the fishing industry saw being organised as a way of securing oneself in terms of a support system from anything potentially happening at the workplace (Interview 6). She saw being organised primarily as an advantage if a worker had the same position as several of his or her colleagues – to secure the same practices for all. However, on

the same footing, she argued that the purpose of organising fades when a worker is individually paid.

When asked about the disadvantages of organising, the employer from the building and construction industry referred to a similar challenge as the frustration expressed by one of the production workers from the fishing industry: (Interview 8 and 3). *“They are all treated equally, which hasn’t been a problem here because so many of the workers are organised, but I can imagine that it would be problematic if the minority was organised”* (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022). He added that among the employers at his workplace, organising is only considered a positive thing – as the social partners are responsible for most negotiations, it removes the need to discuss every single situation: *“If not, we would have to hire two new people solely working with these things. Therefore we’re happy that there’s a tidy and structured working life, and that we receive it finished on paper”* (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022).

The employer from the fishing industry emphasises that it is not her, nor the other employers’ agenda to make the workers organise (Interview 5). She expressed that it is nice if they are, but that it is not something the employers necessarily encourage them to: *“We strive to have a good dialogue with the workers no matter if they’re organised or not”* (Interview 5, employer, 15 March, 2022). Similarly to the employer from the building and construction industry, moreover, she argued that an organised workforce makes it easier to cooperate. This is because they know who to turn to as the workers’ representative.

The employer from the fishing industry had not reflected upon the difference in union density between immigrants and non-immigrants before my inquiry, however, she assumed that it had to do with the traditions of the working life (Interview 5). She emphasised that the Norwegian working life is established, and has a legal system and a framework that to a large degree arranges for steady conditions:

“I don’t think that the workers coming here with a different background necessarily see the purpose. They perceive it as structured and organised. We are tied to the collective agreement, so the wages are the same based on experience and, they have a minimum wage that we must follow, so I don’t think they necessarily see the purpose of organising.” (Interview 5, employer, 15 March, 2022)

Her answer reflects some of the same impressions that the production workers from her company expressed about their colleagues choosing not to organise - because they did not see

the purpose (Interview 3, 4, 6). Because the company is covered by the collective agreement, the differences are small between those who organise and those who chose not to – a lack of discrimination as Finseraas et al. describes it (2020).

The employer from the building and construction industry emphasised that many of the workers that are new to the Norwegian labour market start out in smaller, less serious enterprises such as staff agencies (Interview 8). His impression is that first when these workers enter larger, organised enterprises, they become members. Additionally, he expressed some concerns regarding the larger companies becoming a minority among the many enterprises in the industry. As previously mentioned, the employer's impression was that many of the enterprises in the building and construction industry are small or medium-sized, and do not follow collective agreements.

6.3 The Union Representative Perspective

The union representatives I interviewed represent the building and construction industry, and the hotel and catering industry (Interview 1 and 9). The worker representative from the building and construction industry work as a concrete worker. He has been chief union representative since 2011 as well as chief safety representative since 1995. The union representative from the hotel and catering industry has been the hotel's chief union representative for the past 7 years, and a union representative for the past 15 years.

6.3.1 Experience with the Trade Union Movement

The union representative from the building and construction industry had been a trade union member for many years, although not during his first years of working due to a lack of information (Interview 9). After some years, he found it natural to organise as most of his colleagues were members. He expressed that as safety representative, he had the advantage of having the Working Environment Act backing him, while as union representative, the collective agreements decide. However, he added, much of the Working Environment Act is also related to the work as a union representative – working hours, resignations, and the like.

The union representative from the hotel and catering industry originates from Serbia and grew up in former Yugoslavia (Interview 1). He informed me that at the time he entered the working life, the trade union movement in Yugoslavia was well-established. However, he explained that

when the civil war broke the country into smaller states, liberalist capitalism and large enterprises ruined the trade unions. When he arrived in Norway, he was introduced to the Norwegian trade union movement and organised straight away. His trade union helped him acquire a permanent post at the hotel he works at. He chose to become a union representative because most of his colleagues were not motivated to take the post:

“Especially in our sector, it’s not a nice assignment to have, it involves quarrelling all the time. At our hotel it’s not that bad, but generally in the sector, even if the employer says he or she supports the Norwegian model and think it’s okay to be organised, I think it’s hypocrisy. They aren’t totally okay with being organised. This is a tendency that has emerged over more recent years. Less people are getting organised, as they don’t want bad communication with their employer.” (Interview 1, union representative, 8 March, 2022)

The union representative from the building and construction industry meant that being organised has several meanings, but that it first and foremost means being part of something bigger: *“Many believe that the trade union movement only works for higher wages, but this isn’t true”* (Interview 9, union representative, 17 March, 2022). He also emphasised the support of the Basic Agreement, regulating how employers and workers should relate to each other, so they do not have to quarrel all the time. None of the two union representatives saw any disadvantages of being organised (Interview 1 and 9). However, the representative from the hotel and catering sector pointed to the challenge of non-paying passengers – people that are not paying members, but still receive what has been negotiated by the trade union (Finseraas et al., 2020).

6.3.2 A Lower Union Density Among Immigrants

The union representative from the hotel and catering industry had noticed a difference in the recruitment process between immigrants and non-immigrants (Interview 1). He emphasised that all people are different, and that immigrants, especially the workers who originate from Eastern Europe are not used to the same kind of trade union culture from their origin countries:

“I have talked to several workers who see trade unions as corrupt organisations cooperating with the employers and the state to counteract the workers and their rights. When they come to Norway, they’re surprised that things work differently here.” (Interview 1, union representative, 8 March, 2022)

His quote reflects not just a lack of information, but a lack of trust to the trade unions as a counterincentive to organise. The union representative from the building and construction industry had also noticed some differences between immigrants and non-immigrants while recruiting (Interview 10). He stressed his industry's high rates of immigrants working on contracts, who are more difficult to recruit:

“Some do it and see the advantages of course, they have probably spoken to people here speaking the same language, and some have been members before, and go in and out. Normally, these contracted workers work in staff agencies, and then there aren't always a withholding tax, so they must pay the fee manually, and it might be received as a cost [...] they have no permanent employer. They are moved around, one week here and two weeks there [...] it must be hell for them that they don't receive the safety that we have.”

(Interview 9, union representative, 17 March, 2022)

The representative from the hotel and catering industry had several additional explanations to why the union density among immigrant workers is lower than among the rest of the workforce (Interview 1). His explanations included: (1) that immigrants often work in enterprises where the employers are not comfortable with the workers organising, (2) that the workers often lack access to information about the trade unions, and (3) that the culture in their origin countries differ from the Norwegian organising culture. He stressed that if the workers are under the impression that the trade unions will not help them, they will not see the purpose of paying the membership fee – especially in low-wage occupations it can be considered an unnecessary cost. He also added that bad work by the trade unions could be a factor. He stressed that the workers need to receive information about what the unions do, the Working Environment Act, and collective agreements.

A colleague of the union representative from the hotel and catering industry added the language barrier as a major cause to why many immigrants do not organise. He emphasised that they often see a large increase in members once immigrant workers *experience* the advantages:

“It can be hard to explain to the immigrant workers what trade unions do, and what the value is. What we have seen is that if we have managed to recruit one or two or a small minority, and they end up in a situation where they need a trade union and have received help and win their case [...] then we see many registrations afterwards from that department or the people that person has spoken to. Language is a large part of this.”

(Interview 1, service manager, 8 March, 2022).

His example points back to the factors of language barriers, as well as impressions of the trade union movement that can be based on the societal position or reputation of the trade union movement in the immigrant workers' origin countries (Nergaard, 2015). When convinced that the Norwegian trade unions can make a difference or be helpful in difficult situations at work, the incentives to organise are strengthened. Furthermore, real life experiences like these can pass on information to workers speaking the same language, despite the language barrier to understand information given in Norwegian or English.

6.4 Chapter Summary

In connection to research question 1: "*why is the union density lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?*", this chapter has discussed the informants' experiences and perceptions of the topic. There were some reoccurring perceptions to why migrants might be more hesitant in the choice of organising: (1) The language barrier, and the consequent lack of information was emphasised by all three groups of informants. Not understanding, or even distrusting what trade unions do based on previous experiences without receiving information weakens the motive to organise. The aspect of language barriers is well exemplified by the one worker who had not organised, as he had no opinion or impression of the trade union movement (Interview 4). (2) Contracted labour and companies with few Norwegian, or Norwegian-speaking workers is an extension of the language barrier factor, as trade unions struggle to reach these workplaces.

(3) The economic aspect was also mentioned in all three industries, together with the equal treatment of members and non-members. This correlates with not seeing the purpose of organising in a relatively stable labour market, as mentioned by the employer from the fishing industry, and the challenge of non-paying passengers. The union representative from the hotel and catering industry emphasised that this is especially prevailing in low-wage occupations. (4) Attitudes among the employers was also mentioned in both the building and construction industry, and the hotel and catering industry. Employers' expressed scepticism about an organised workforce could frighten workers from organising. (5) Sceptic employers were first and foremost referred to in smaller, less serious companies. The difference between smaller and larger companies was also emphasised as an important factor. This factor can both be seen in relation to the tradition or norm to organise in larger companies, and to the difficulty for unions to get a foothold in smaller companies (Nergaard, 2015; Nergaard & Svarstad, 2015).

7 Sectoral Tendencies

As presented in chapter 2, the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry represent some of the lowest union densities in the Norwegian working life (Nergaard, 2020). This chapter addresses the thesis' second research question: *“How is this tendency (of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce) reflected in industries with low union densities?”*.

7.1 The Building and Construction Industry

The interviewees from the building- and construction sector all represent a large entrepreneur enterprise producing domestic buildings in Oslo and the surrounding area. The enterprise has approximately 230 employees, where 135 are craftsmen. The informants include one employer, one chief employee representative, and two craftsmen. Both the craftsmen have chosen to organise and have immigrated from Poland.

All four informants communicated that the company in question is characterised by a very high union density among the 135 craftsmen (Interview 2, 8, 9, and 10). This complies with Friberg and Haakestad (2015), emphasising that larger companies within the industry traditionally have been represented by strong trade unions (p. 183). Nevertheless, the union representative mentioned that there are always a few workers who choose not to organise, and still receive the advantages the trade union negotiates (Interview 9). His experience was that especially younger workers and apprentices are uninformed on the benefits of being a trade union member, and so he must talk to them and explain what a membership involves. While the union density in the company is high, one of the construction workers expressed that he did not necessarily understand the reason why he was organised:

“Most people here are organised. Our union representative appreciates us all being organised. I don't know the reason for this, but that's how it is, so I said fine. It doesn't matter to me. Or it matters a bit because it costs, right? But as long as they take the fee directly from the salary, it's acceptable.” (Interview 10, craftsman, 17 March, 2022)

The other construction worker was under a similar impression (Interview 2). He meant that organising is more helpful when you are employed in a smaller, more precarious company. His argument and experience were that working in a larger company like the one he currently works at immediately secures him with safer conditions – therefore, being organised does not affect

him as much: *“I think it’s good to organise if you work for a company on the margin of following the rules. I think that’s the main thing”* (Interview 10, craftsman, 23 March, 2022).

This statement complies with the “paradox” addressed by Nergaard (2015, p. 44). The worker finds himself in a larger entrepreneur enterprise with a high union density and is under the impression that the need to organise is much larger in smaller, more unstructured enterprises, where the union density typically is lower. The enterprise’s union representative was also under the impression that the smaller enterprises are characterised by less secure conditions:

“As long as we use piecework, they understand that organising is something they should do. Yet in many companies, the workers don’t dare, as they are afraid of losing their jobs and so on because of the attitudes of their employers. But that’s in smaller, less serious companies. The larger ones run the same race”. (Interview 9, union representative, 17 March, 2022)

As introduced in the previous chapter, the employer also places an emphasis on the differences between smaller and larger companies as a central tendency within the industry (Interview 8). This correlates well with Friberg’s and Haakestad’s (2015) notion of a growth in smaller companies relative to the larger companies who usually use piecework as a wage system, and where close contact with trade unions has been the norm.

7.1.1 Piecework and Sub-Contracting

As exemplified by the quote above, the employer and the union representative from the entrepreneur enterprise both emphasised the firm’s use of piecework as an important factor to the enterprise’s high union density (interview 8 and 9). The reason why is that they prefer all the workers involved in a project to be organised if they are to be included in the piecework. The trade union representing the enterprise is closely involved throughout the piecework process (Interview 10). The union representative notified that around the time the company initiates a project, the trade union’s department for measuring is used to calculate the hours and prices of the project in question. Friberg and Haakestad (2015) described this wage system as beneficial to both the worker- and the employer side, as it counteracts underpayment for the worker side, and hinders price-growth in cases of labour shortage for the employer side (p. 189). The employer from the entrepreneur enterprise could confirm piecework as a wage arrangement that was of great help, as it secures stable conditions between the two parts (Interview 9).

Piecework is the traditional wage system for large entrepreneur enterprises, however Friberg and Haakestad (2015) have seen a transition in the industry – from the use of piecework to the use of contracted labour (p. 189). The employer also emphasised this tendency, having recognised that fewer and fewer of the enterprises in the industry use piecework (Interview 9). He identified this transition as an important factor for the industry’s general decline in union density, once again pointing out the difference between smaller and larger enterprises:

“Very few of the companies use piecework, the larger ones do, while all medium-size and smaller companies work with set hourly wages and don’t feel the need to be organised[...] I think that if they had used piecework, they would have seen the advantages more clearly.” (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022)

The union representative referred to the same tendency of an increase in contract labour (Interview 9). This tendency can largely be seen as an effect of the deregulations on contract labour in 2000, followed by the EU enlargements in 2004 and 2007, through which employers gained access to a larger workforce willing to work under less stable conditions (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015, p. 189). Castles (2011) argues that the neoliberal approach misleadingly portrays these deregulations as means to increase efficiency and reduce inequality. In contrast to Castles, Potrafke (2013) argues that labour markets have regulated more strongly as a reaction to globalisation to compensate for the external risk it poses (p. 839). One could argue that Potrafke’s argument is valid for sectors like the fishing industry, where the reveal of reoccurring violations led to a general application of the collective agreement for the entire industry (Henriksen, 2020, p. 222) However, this is not always the case.

Furthermore, the union representative described that while trade unions had recognised unfortunate conditions in these smaller enterprises using contract labour, they struggled to reach the workers (Interview 9). His statement is very similar to the Dutch example presented by Berntsen and Lillie (2016). In the Dutch example, the trade unions struggled to enforce local labour standards among transnationally mobile workers (Berntsen & Lillie, 2016, p. 172). In the enterprises the union representative described, almost all the employees were foreign (Interview 9). He explained that if the workers all speak the same language without having to learn Norwegian, Norwegian trade unions have a harder time reaching them. He further emphasised that this is problematic, as the unions observe that these workers might not work under the right conditions. Furthermore, the workers might not be aware, or do not know how

to solve it due to their distance to the Norwegian language and society (Berntsen & Lillie, 2016, p. 172).

7.1.2 Employers' Attitudes

When asked about the generally low union density in the building and construction industry, the union representative, and the employer from the entrepreneur enterprise both referred to other employers' attitudes (Interview 8 and 9). Nevertheless, they expressed that the communication between the union representative and the management worked well within their enterprise, and the two parts have monthly meetings. The union representative meant that one fundamental reason for these stable relations was the system of agreements: *"The advantage is having the collective agreement as a foundation, regulating what we are to negotiate and how we should do things"* (Interview 9, union representative, 17 March, 2022).

However, the two were under the impression that the attitudes of the employers could be a factor in companies with lower union densities (Interview 8 and 9). As presented in Nergaard (2015), not all employers see collective agreements and trade union memberships as positive additions to their workplace (p. 45). The employer thought that scepticism from the employer side could be based on a fear that a higher union density would lead to larger demands from the workers, and a fear that they would have to increase the wage levels: *"And if the enterprises' attitude shines through in the hiring process, that they don't want organising, then it won't be done"* (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022).

One of the craftsmen had previously worked in a company with a much lower union density (Interview 10). There, almost 90 percent of the workers had been Polish, and he and his former colleagues were under the impression that their employers would not appreciate it if they organised. With weak social motives to organise combined with sceptical employers, the bar is much higher for approaching a trade union (Nergaard & Svarstad, 2021, p. 82). In addition, the union representative thought that some immigrant workers might not oppose their employers' scepticism, not just to secure their working situation, but to work some extra hours (Interview 9). This way, he argued, the workers would be able to earn more in a shorter amount of time, opposing legislations on work hours and overtime pay.

7.1.3 Safety and Part-Time Work

The union representative informed me that the risk of work-related injuries is one specific reason why organising in an industry like building and construction is especially important (Interview 9). As chief safety representative, he stressed that the enterprise does take its safety considerations, nevertheless, there will always be a risk. He argued that if a worker is unfortunate and is injured at the workplace, being organised would mean having a support network for insurance and the like. Castles (2011) describes the risk of accidents or sickness as one major disadvantage of the transition towards sub-contracting (p. 315). Through sub-contracting, wage earners become independent contractors who bear all the risk themselves (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 288; Castles, 2011, p. 315). The union representative had heard examples of workers from other construction firms who had been injured at work and ended up with unpaid sick leaves for several months (Interview 9). The reason was these workers' lack of information to contact the Labour and Welfare Administration (NAV) to hand in their sick leaves and the like, which could have been avoided with the support from a trade union.

Friberg and Haakestad (2015) emphasised an increased dualization between full-time and part-time workers in the industry (p. 188). They describe this divide as often characterised by Norwegian, higher skilled workers with safer conditions on one side, and Eastern European workers with much larger uncertainties on the other. Their description can be seen in correlation to the theory of dual labour markets (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 291). Here, workers in the primary market are often selected based on formal skills or degrees, but also in accordance to being part of the majority ethnic group. Workers in the secondary labour market are, on the other hand, disadvantaged by factors such as lack of formal recognition for their foreign degrees. According to the union representative and the employer that were interviewed, however, part-time positions were very uncommon in the enterprise they represent (Interview 8 and 9). The exception was a "senior arrangement" for workers who have turned 62 and wanted to scale down, working 70- and 80 percent. There was also a specific arrangement of four-day weeks for the workers commuting from Sweden.

Furthermore, the employer informed that he preferred hiring workers who planned on staying in the enterprise for decades, therefore, most of the immigrant workers in the enterprise had settled in Norway with their families. If immigrants only intend to stay for a short period of time, they could be reluctant to devote resources such as membership fees in country-specific investments such as the trade union movement (World Bank, 2018, p. 22). This could also explain the high union density in the enterprise, as workers become more familiar with the

arrangements of the Norwegian working life, their incentive to organise typically increases (Nergaard, 2015, p. 43). His claim was true for the two craftsmen I interviewed, who did not plan on moving back to Poland in the nearest future (Interview 2 and 10). To increase the immigrant workers' incentives to settle in Norway, the enterprise placed an emphasis on offering Norwegian language courses, followed by courses to acquire Norwegian craft certificates (Interview 9).

7.2 The Fishing Industry

The workers I interviewed from the fishing industry all represent a production company that refines seafood, based in Lofoten. The company is affiliated to a larger corporate group, where the employer that was interviewed work as a human resource manager. Three out of the four production workers were organised, and all four had immigrated from different origin countries.

7.2.1 The Purpose of Organising

The three production workers that are trade union members all expressed that they would prefer it if more of their colleagues became members (Interview 3, 4, and 6). Simultaneously, the three initiated that many of their colleagues are reluctant to organise due to the small differences between those who are members and those who are not, combined with the rate of the membership fee:

“Some of us are organised, but not all. Many foreign workers aren't members. In my department, we are four, maybe five out of twelve. I think many don't want to become members, and that there are only some small differences between us who are organised and those who aren't. They usually say that we only lose money, and so they end up with a plus, as they don't lose the money we pay. When our wages are raised, their wages are raised as well [...]. And the insurances are the same. Therefore I know that they don't want to become members to avoid losing some hundred kroner every month. I think it's a bit unfair.” (Interview 3, production worker, 15 March, 2022)

“I wish we were more that were organised. A few more have organised over the past years, but we are still so few that we could hardly choose a union representative [...] People aren't interested in paying every month when we all receive the same in terms

of loans for instance. But I don't care too much what the others think, I want to stay a member." (Interview 4, production worker, 15 March, 2022)

"I know very many of my colleagues aren't organised, and I know the reason. Because some think it's too expensive." (Interview 6, production worker, 15 March, 2022)

As explained in the previous chapters, an absence of discrimination between those who are members and those who are not could weaken the workers' perceived importance to organise (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 7). The impression that the differences are too small compared to the price of the membership fee between members and non-members is stated in the unfairness expressed by the quote above (Interview 3). Many Norwegian companies are covered by collective agreements, covering all the workers in a workplace, which is the case for this production company (Interview 5, Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 7). In addition, Norwegian trade unions are not primarily responsible for social insurance, which could weaken the incentives to unionise even further.

Figuratively, Sen's description of substantive freedoms could be used for these situations (de Haas, 2021, p. 18). One could describe the workers' choice to organise as an evaluation of potential intrinsic and instrumental values to their lives (p. 20). Intrinsic values could be a sense of security, or a better working environment, while instrumental values could be higher wages, opportunities for further education, or cheaper insurances. However, these values are compared to the financial cost of being a member, and while most of the workers I spoke to had chosen to become members, they had also evaluated their colleagues' arguments towards not becoming members. The last production worker I interviewed expressed that he did not know what a trade union was (Interview 7). Again pointing to the importance of acknowledging language barriers as a challenge in the work of informing workers on the work trade unions do.

The employer had also noticed an increase in the production company's union density over recent years (Interview 5). She thought one important reason was the work of the company's union representative. In terms of the generally low union density in the industry, the employer's impression was, like several of the workers', that the stable conditions of the Norwegian labour market left many workers with the impression that it is unnecessary to organise (Finseraas et al., 2020). In a labour market that is stable for unskilled workers, the worker could simply find it unnecessary to organise, or find a new job as the solution to work-related conflicts (Nergaard, 2015).

7.2.2 Tradition and Seasonal Work

The employer also referred to the industry's history and traditions (Interview 5). Due to the seasonal character of the work, the company hires more workers during the busiest seasons:

“I think it's based on a practice over many years. The type of work. When the fish is there, it's expected to be refined while it is, and so I think it has a lot to do with an established practice over many years and a part of the culture in the fishing industry, making it difficult to organise and structure it to a larger degree. In some areas however, it works out fine.” (Interview 6, employer, 15 March, 2022)

The company in question, however, is one of the few actors within the industry that keeps its' production running all year. In addition, the employer emphasised that a higher union density could improve the external reputation of an enterprise (Interview 6). She argued that when many workers are organised, it witnesses steady conditions within the enterprise. This can be seen in connection to the critique the industry has been subject to by the Labour Inspection Authority, as reflected in Operation Blue Silent (Henriksen, 2020, p. 224).

The employer's notion of the industry's type of work and practice can be seen in relation to its long history of labour shortages, and dependence on foreign labour (Henriksen, 2020, p. 216). From a dual labour market point of view, the industry's dependence on foreign work is a result of having to fill the gaps in the secondary market of jobs that native workers are unwilling to take – due to its seasonal character or low wage levels, or reflected by the depopulation of the areas where the production takes place (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 291). Nevertheless, it can also be seen as foreign workers fulfilling their aspirations of higher wages or better opportunities within a certain set of abilities or being “pulled in” by the open borders of the EEA, and the labour demands that characterise the industry (Henriksen, 2020, de Haas et al., 2020).

7.3 The Hotel and Catering Industry

Initially, I only got in contact with one informant from the hotel and catering industry. My informant currently works as a banquet waiter at a large hotel located in Oslo, which is part of an international string of hotels. He is of Serbian origin and is also the hotel's main chief employee representative. While my interview was mainly directed towards him, his colleague, the hotel's service manager was present during the interview, and had some opinions on the topic he wanted to share.

The union representative informed that the union density at the hotel he works is high, due to his hard work for member recruitment (Interview 1). However, the union density had declined a little during the Covid-19 pandemic. During the pandemic, the hotel had been subject to a great deal of turnover, where many of the temporarily resigned workers had found new jobs. Furthermore, he was under the impression that his colleagues' attitudes towards organising were very varied, depending on their previous experiences with the trade union movement, origin countries, and age.

Moreover, the union representative referred to the general union density of the hotel and catering sector being the lowest in the country (Interview 1). This correlates quite well with Fafo's numbers, which only places real estate with a lower rate (Nergaard, 2020). He discussed the low union density in accordance with the low wage levels of the industry. His impression was that the low union density largely was an effect of the workers' capacities to pay the membership fee, and the employer's attitudes:

“In our sector, only 17 percent are organised, this is the lowest rate in Norway. Simultaneously, it has the lowest wages. That speaks for itself. We are the only occupation with an average wage lower than 400,000. It makes it difficult to pay the fee when you earn that little. You must pay 350 NOK every month. Then you think about what you really receive for that money.” (Interview 1, union representative, 8 March, 2022).

The low wages and the high membership fee could arguably be an explanation to Nergaard's paradox that the union density is the lowest in occupations where the workers need trade union support the most (Nergaard, 2015, p. 44). Additionally, the notion of evaluating what you receive in exchange for the fee compared to your wage levels is connected to recognising the purpose of organising.

7.3.1 Turnover and Part-Time Work

In accordance with Iversen et al. (2017), the union representative emphasised that high levels of turnover were not just consequences of the pandemic, but a general characteristic for the hotel and catering industry (Interview 1). He recognised turnover as one main challenge to achieve a higher union density. In addition, he emphasised that a large share of the workers has part-time positions. While 68 of the workers have full-time positions, 34 work part-time. In addition, 28 workers are hired as temporary relief-staff.

The union representative further emphasised that these part-time, and temporary relief-positions place workers in very vulnerable situations (Interview 1). This is because there is a lack of sufficient structures to support them. The union representative emphasised that these workers lack regular contracts, which leaves them without the access to stable income and the opportunity to apply for loans. He further emphasised that a 50 percent position with a 400,000 salary in Oslo requires that you get a second job. The unfortunate situation these part-time and temporary workers are placed in again portrays the secondary labour market, with much larger uncertainties than for the workers who have access to regular contracts (de Haas et al., 2020).

The service manager added that while many of the workers who have part-time positions desire full-time positions, some of the workers with part-time positions do not wish a full-time position at the hotel (Interview 1). This is largely due to a large share of the part-time workers being young students who work parallel to their studies. He argued that this tendency weakens the status and the quality of the occupation, making it something people do “on the side”. The reputation of the work is further discussed in the following section.

7.3.2 The Reputation of the Work

The union representative recognised that fewer and fewer people with craft certificates were applying for jobs at the hotel (Interview 1). When he had first started working there, most of his colleagues had craft certificates as receptionists, waiters, or chefs. However, this share of the workforce had declined substantially. Consequently, he had noticed a more frequent use of the job description “hotel worker”, which he argued was ruining the reputation of the work. “Hotel workers” could be used for different roles around the hotel, rather than for specific roles as in the past. The union representative saw a connection between this tendency and the increase in foreign labour that was characterising the industry.

His statement of the occupation’s ruined reputation and increase of labour immigration could once again be seen considering the dual labour market theory (de Haas et al., 2020). As discussed for the fishing industry, an occupation’s bad reputation could make employers dependent on foreign labour, filling the gaps of jobs that native workers are unwilling to do. Together with the use of the title “hotel worker”, the union representative pointed out the turnover labour, reflecting the occupation as something people “do on the side” or temporarily (Interview 1). Furthermore, he meant that immigrants who migrate to Norway for labour are more focused on acquiring a job than the type of job they acquire.

The service manager stressed that while some of the causes of the industry's generally low union density are linked to conditions at the workplace or in the working life, some causes could also be more underlying:

“For instance, in the reception there are a lot of young students coming straight from upper secondary school. They don't know what a trade union is or does. So when we try to recruit them, they answer “why?” (Interview 1, service manager, 8 March, 2022).

He meant that given their lack of knowledge about the labour movement, the workplace is not the only one to blame for the declining union density, as a lack of information about organising also characterises other parts of our society, such as educational institutions.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has provided a discussion of central tendencies and patterns of immigration and organising within the chosen industries, reflecting research question 2: *“How is this tendency (of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce) reflected in industries with low union densities?”*. For the building and construction industry, the transition from piecework to sub-contracting, accompanied by the shift from larger to smaller companies were recognised as essential factors to the declining union density. The informants expressed how immigrants often get hired in smaller companies that use contract labour when they arrive in Norway. These companies are also often characterised by few native Norwegian workers, and a lack of trade union support.

For the fishing industry, a reoccurring issue was the workers' frustrations related to non-paying passengers, as many of their colleagues were reluctant to organise. A common perception was that non-organised workers evaluate organising as too expensive compared the differences between members and non-members. From the employer side it was noted that the immigrant workers perceive the conditions of the Norwegian labour market as stable, and do not see the purpose of organising. Additionally, the seasonal character of the work, and its traditions were recognised as influences on the industry's low union density. The informants from the hotel and catering industry emphasised turnover, part-time positions, and the decline in specialised workers as factors for a maintained low union density among immigrants. The union representative especially emphasised the membership fee and the low wage levels as hinders for a higher union density.

8 Perceived Effects

Finseraas et al. (2020) describes union density as an indicator for the trade unions' strength because it affects the unions' abilities to secure their demands in wage negotiations, and the existence of pro-labour policies (p. 3). Strong trade unions have a better chance of securing social regulations and insurances that benefit workers because of their political influence. The following chapter addresses research question 3: “*What are the perceived effects of this tendency (a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce) among workers and employers?*”. The chapter is introduced with the immigrant workers' perceptions, followed by employers' perceptions, and lastly the union representatives' perceptions on the matter.

8.1 The Immigrant Worker Perspective

Most of the immigrant workers I interviewed expressed that they saw no effects of a lower union density among immigrants (Interview 2, 3, 4, and 7). They were at least not under the impression of being affected themselves. One of the workers expressed that a reason for this was the intention of Norwegian society to treat everyone equally (Interview 2). He recognised that workers who have arrived very recently might be the exception from this equal treatment, but only until they learn the Norwegian language and come to know the conditions of the labour market:

“The main reason is the language. They receive a document, and they don't know what it tells them – then one can find some help, I think. Therefore, for newly arrived people, it can be a big help, but for those who have stayed here for a while, who speak Norwegian and know a lot about society and what happens here, they are able to manage on their own.” (Interview 2, Interview 2, craftsman, 11 March, 2022)

The other craftsman from the building and construction industry did, however, emphasise that trade unions are only effective when most of the workforce are members (Interview 2). His notion was not related to the difference between immigrants and non-immigrants, but to the importance of a majority of the workforce being organised if the trade unions are to successfully arrange strikes and the like.

Similarly to the tendency discussed in chapters 6 and 7, one of the production workers meant that the reason why workers are not affected by the uneven union densities between immigrants

and non-immigrants is because the differences remain small between those who organise and those who do not:

“I don’t think the workers are affected, as those who aren’t organised receive the same as those who are in terms of bonuses, loans, and so on. The same with vacations. Many of the things are the same for everyone, and the things that aren’t for all, they think that the day will never come for them to need it.” (Interview 4, production worker, 15 March, 2022)

As previously discussed, this notion can be seen as a lack of discrimination between members and non-members of the trade union (Finseraas et al., 2020, p. 7). Additionally, the informant’s argument must be seen in relation to her workplace being covered by a collective wage agreement. One of the craftsmen also requested further incentives to organise (Interview 2):

“The people who have already stayed in Norway for a longer period need to see that the organisation doesn’t work only for those who need the most help[...] that we all receive something extra. Because I don’t feel any advantages of being a member right now.” (Interview 2, Interview 2, craftsman, 11 March, 2022)

He meant that the trade unions mainly prioritise the most vulnerable workers who are new to the Norwegian labour market. His request was for trade unions to also help workers who are more familiar with the working life, who work under more stable wages and conditions, and pointed to opportunities for further education as an example.

8.2 The Employer Perspective

The employer from the building and construction industry argued that the gap in union densities between immigrants and non-immigrants has the potential to affect the conditions in the entire industry (Interview 8). He underlined that larger, trade union-bound enterprises like the one he works in are affected by having to compete on the wrong grounds – with enterprises who do not follow the same rules and guidelines. Furthermore, he emphasised that most of the projects his enterprise work on are too large to compete with these smaller enterprises, however, he had an example from some years ago:

“During a time when we had very little to do, we had to calculate on a smaller job that really is too small for us, but we had to keep our guys employed, so we went down to a minimum – a minimum in organising, in sheds, in everything about the project, and we

were not near winning the project. Afterwards, when we saw the project being carried out by another company, we saw that the workers had no sheds, they had to go to the toilet in petrol stations, the scaffolds were not right, they didn't even have the right workwear – and that's what we're competing with at times [...] we are seldom at the same competition level, but smaller and medium-sized enterprises have these problems I believe.” (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022)

In contrast, the employer from the fishing industry was not under the impression that a difference in union density between immigrants and non-immigrants would affect the workers – neither in a positive, nor a negative matter (Interview 5). However, she emphasised that we should not be without a sense of history in terms of how trade unions have contributed to establishing the working life we have today. Her impression was that Norwegian society is founded on an established culture and practice of being organised.

Moreover, the employer from the building and construction industry thought that the gap in union densities between immigrants and non-immigrants could have specific effects on immigrant workers (Interview 8). He had noticed that immigrant workers often are employed in enterprises with no native Norwegian colleagues, largely because Norwegians receive information and advice before entering the labour market, while foreign workers do not. Therefore, correlating with dual labour market theory, the employer argued that enterprises that are not organised do not get a hold of the native Norwegian workforce, and become reliant on migrant workers to fill the labour gaps native workers will not fill (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 53): *“The enterprises that aren't organised don't get a hold on the Norwegian workforce, so they end up with 90-95 percent foreign speaking immigrants”* (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022).

Furthermore, he emphasised that this difference between smaller, non-organised enterprises with large shares of immigrant workers, and larger, organised enterprises with more native Norwegian workers creates a gap in wage levels:

“As recent as the other day, I talked to someone applying for a job here, who works at an enterprise that isn't organised, and he thinks he should receive the same wages as his colleagues on the jobs he is rented out to – but because he works for an enterprise that isn't organised, he receives 45 kroner less than the people he works with every hour. There are plenty of these cases of unfair treatment where Per and Pål who are

Norwegian work in the enterprise have one wage, while Marcin coming in has 40 NOK less". (Interview 8, employer, 17 March, 2022)

The gap he refers to portrays the divide between organised and non-organised enterprises, as well as the industry's increased use of contract labour over piecework (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015, p. 189). Contract labour, and the decreasing trend of organising make these immigrant workers independent contractors in the secondary labour market, with lower wages and worse working conditions than their counterparts in larger, organised enterprises (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 291). Furthermore, they have no sufficient framework of agreements supporting them. Moreover, the employer pointed to an aspect he meant many employers failed to recognise (Interview 8). He emphasised that when immigrant workers receive the opportunity to organise, it strengthens their incentives to settle in Norway, to bring their families, and to make their Norwegian workplace last. He was under the impression that due to the high union density characterising his workplace, he received a more serious workforce with higher production levels.

8.3 The Union Representative Perspective

Similarly to the employer from the building and construction industry, the union representative from the hotel and catering industry had recognised a growing difference between immigrant workers and the rest of the Norwegian workforce (Interview 1). He argued that while labour immigrants get the poorly paid jobs in the service sectors – as waiters, chefs, and drivers, many native Norwegian workers apply for further education and find jobs with better wage- and working conditions:

"I think as a society we are not aware of how we're ruining the society at large when the differences are this big. Say in our occupation, you earn less than 400,000 a year, while the average wage in Norway is 550,000[...] I have experiences with people basically working for free. They come from foreign enterprises, they work for 90 NOK in hour, 10 people sleep in the same house, they don't receive loans, it's chaos."(Interview 1, union representative, 8 March, 2022)

The union representative's statement reflects the increased inequality rates Castles (2011) refers to (p. 312). Castles notion is a counter-argument to neoliberal advice of deregulated markets to reduce inequality. The union representative sees the tendencies of part-time work, turnover, and outsourced labour as destructive to the conditions in the industry, creating large wage gaps

between immigrants and non-immigrants. Similarly to the discussion in section 8.2, the union representative from the hotel and catering industry also refers to independent contractors employed in foreign companies representing the secondary labour market (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 291). The workers he describes have worse wage- and working conditions than their Norwegian counterparts, lacking sufficient support networks due to the low union densities (de Haas et al., 2020, p. 291).

The union representatives from both the building and construction industry and the hotel and catering industry emphasised an increase in workload per worker as an unfortunate effect of a generally low or decreasing union density (Interview 1 and 9). *“As long as you are young you are fine, but it will not work long-term. When you get older, you could meet the wall. People work overtime a lot. I think we must take notice in that in the time to come”* (Interview 9, union representative, 17 March, 2022).

The union representative from the hotel and catering industry illustrated how this increased workload especially affected immigrant workers (Interview 1). A foreign company had become responsible for much of the cleaning services at the hotel he works at. He informed that the foreign company hires women with low education levels, and almost no native Norwegians. While these women are supposed to work 8 hour shifts, they work for 10 hours, because their workloads are far too large to finish in 8:

“Before outsourcing, the girls had to clean 18 rooms, but when the foreign company came, they had to clean 32 rooms. They don’t have the time to finish, but the employer says it’s a job they must finish. Therefore, they work two extra hours without extra payment. We notice that the older maids are gone from the hotel. We used to have 50/50, but now there are no one over the age of thirty. What do you think happens with the people working at this speed for a few years? They get sick, and society must pay the price.” (Interview 1, union representative, 8 March, 2022)

The union representative from the building and construction sector also argued that one of the factors affecting immigrant workers had been their lack of access to influence decision making processes (Interview 9). This is because they are underrepresented in board positions in the trade unions. He had, however, seen a positive trend where more and more immigrant workers acquired these positions.

8.4 Chapter Summary

The chapter has discussed perceived effects of a lower union density among immigrant workers than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, in accordance with research question three. No one of the immigrant workers saw effects of a gap in union densities, largely because of the small differences between trade union members and non-members. Based on previous experiences, however, several of the workers recognised positive effects of organising for workers in more vulnerable situations – as newly arrived immigrants, or in precarious jobs. Nonetheless, in safer environments, or when familiar with the language and the labour market, these effects were no longer perceived as clear – reflecting Nergaard's (2015) paradox of stereotypically low union densities in precarious jobs, considering that most of the workers I spoke to were organised.

Another effect that was recognised was a gap between organised companies using piecework, and non-organised companies using contract work. The employer from the building and construction industry meant the gap produces unfair, low-wage competition pressing companies that still following collective agreements. He worried that this pressure could affect the entire industry, and harm workers and their livelihoods. Because immigrant workers often enter the Norwegian working life through these smaller, precarious jobs, he argued, this gap further differentiates them in wages and working conditions compared to their native Norwegian counterparts. A similar tendency was recognised in the hotel and catering industry, of non-organised immigrant workers to a larger extent having part time or contracted positions without sufficient support systems. Another effect that was recognised was a growing workload and unpaid overtime, which could eventually wear out the workers. The union representative from the hotel and catering industry recognised this trend as especially distinct among immigrant workers employed in foreign companies, further emphasising that worn out workers ultimately are society's responsibility.

9 Concluding Remarks

Through a qualitative approach, this thesis has sought to analyse perceived causes and effects of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce. By way of introduction, three research questions were presented: (1) “Why is the union density among immigrants lower than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?”, (2) “How is this tendency reflected in industries with low union densities?”, and (3) “What are the perceived effects of this tendency among workers and employers?”. In this chapter, I attempt to pick up the threads and answer the three.

1. Why is the union density among immigrants lower than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?

Several factors were expressed as causes of a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce. While most of the workers in this study are organised, a central understanding was that linguistic barriers hinder the spread of information on what trade unions can offer. This leaves many immigrants without a real impression of what becoming a member involves. Additionally, all the immigrant workers had different views, or no views of the trade union movement before arriving in Norway. Hindered communication, a lack of trust, or a perception that there is no help in organising weakens the immigrants’ motivations to organise. Bad work by the trade unions was also recognised as a cause – the effort to reach immigrant workers despite challenges like linguistic barriers must also be made by the trade unions.

Connected to the challenge of linguistic barriers is the element that many immigrant workers are hired in smaller companies where organising is not the norm, often as sub-contractors, and sometimes in workplaces with no native Norwegian colleagues, also hindering the information on trade unions from reaching them. Additional factors could be employers that are sceptical to an organised workforce, or a lack of organised colleagues. The social cost of not organising in a company where most workers are not organised is marginal, with little pressure from colleagues – while the cost is large in a company where the employer is sceptical (Nergaard & Svarstad, 2021).

Another reoccurring topic was the frustration related to so-called “free-riders”. Several of the informants expressed that the purpose of organising was unclear, or that they were unsatisfied

with their non-organised colleagues. Minor differences between trade union members and non-members, or an impression of a sufficiently safe labour market could weaken the incentives to organise (Finseraas et al. 2020; Nergaard, 2015). Often, companies and/or entire sectors are covered by collective agreements. Especially in low-wage occupations, the size of the membership fee is carefully weighted towards the advantages of being organised.

2. How is this tendency reflected in industries with low union densities?

The industries used in this study to represent “industries with low union densities” are the building and construction industry, the fishing industry, and the hotel and catering industry, chosen because of their high shares of immigrant workers, and their generally low union densities.

For the building and construction industry, the lower union density among immigrants is especially reflected in the shift from larger to smaller enterprises, and the transition from piecework to sub-contracting as the prevailing wage arrangement (Friberg & Haakestad, 2015). According to the industry’s informants, immigrant workers are differentiated in wages and working conditions from their native Norwegian counterparts. The differentiation is reflected in the divide between smaller, more precarious companies using sub-contracting, and larger, trade union-supported companies with safer practices. Another important factor connected to the shift towards sub-contracting is the inherent risk of the work. Safety considerations are essential as there are always risks of work injuries in manual labour, and particularly at construction sites. Without the support network trade unions make, sub-contractors are left on their own in cases of injuries, and not provided with information and help for sick leaves and insurances (de Haas et al., 2020).

In the fishing industry, a similar duality can be recognised in connection to the seasonal character of the work. Seasonal, and part time workers are more vulnerable due to their irregular statuses. The company representing the industry in this study keeps its production running throughout the entire year, however, hire more workers during busier seasons. Apparent for the production workers I spoke to representing the fishing industry was that although most of them were organised, many of them failed to see the differences between themselves and their non-organised colleagues (Finseraas et al. 2020). This can be seen in relation to industry being covered by a collective agreement – a countermove to tendencies of social dumping, following

the violations that were discovered during campaigns like Operation Blue Silent (Henriksen, 2020).

For the hotel and catering industry, the share of immigrant workers has increased comprehensively, a trend the union representative saw in connection to other tendencies characterising the industry. One tendency is the weakened reputation of the work, connected to a decrease in specialised applicants, and the frequent use of the title “hotel worker”. The term opens for workers to do a large variety of tasks around the hotel, a tendency the informant argued many immigrant workers “overlook”, as having a job is more important than what job. Another factor influencing the reputation of the work is the high levels of turnover labour and part-time positions. Many of the workers either fail to acquire full-time positions, or work beside their studies. Seen in connection with the industry’s low wages, only obtaining a part-time position is challenging, and makes the workers carefully evaluate the purpose of paying the trade unions’ membership fees.

3. What are the perceived effects of this tendency among workers and employers?

Lastly, all the informants were asked to consider the potential effects a lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce, on workers and on society. The immigrant workers were not under the impression that the gap in union densities between immigrant and non-immigrant workers had any profound effects on workers or society. They were at least not under the impression that it affected them. This largely reflects the workers’ expressed lack of differentiation between members and non-members in general, and/or the impression of stable working conditions at their workplace (Finseraas et al., 2020; Nergaard, 2015). Several of the workers did, however, point out that workers in more vulnerable situations, such as newly arrived immigrants or workers in more precarious jobs, could have positive effects from being organised. Nevertheless, one of the workers noted that this effect diminishes when the workers learn the Norwegian language and gets familiar with the Norwegian language and working life. Their expressions mirror the fact that the workers in this study represent larger companies with many organised workers, even though they represent industries with generally lower union densities – suggesting that the results could have differed had the sample represented smaller companies or more non-organised immigrant workers.

Another effect that was recognised, resulting from the general decrease in union density was the increase in workload and unpaid overtime work. One of the informants suggested that this

tendency is profound in companies with an over-representation of immigrant workers exposed to exploitation by their employers to produce more, and work longer without wage compensation. This effect ultimately affects society at large, as these workers get “worn out”, and society must pay the price.

Finally, the increased use of contract labour was recognised as an important factor in creating unfair conditions of competition between trade union-bound companies and companies “independent” from trade unions and collective agreements. A decreasing union density – or fewer companies bound to trade unions could pressure wages and working conditions down in entire sectors, making it an employers’ market rather than a workers’ market. The employer from the building and construction industry recognised how this tendency established the previously mentioned duality, or gap in the industry. His argument was that these conditions make immigrant workers especially vulnerable to exploitation. His notion was based on these workers’ entrance to the Norwegian labour market through smaller enterprises using contract labour. It is sensible to assume that this tendency becomes even more profound if immigrant workers are under-represented in the organised workforce, lacking backing from the collective agreements.

In the future, analysing the lower union density among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce in other sectors would be interesting. Studying smaller companies characterised by lower union densities could also provide vulnerable, new insights. Finally, yet again, an appropriate approach would be to interview a larger share of workers that have chosen or have not been offered the opportunity to organise. Their perceptions could offer additional insights to the trends and tendencies caused by the link between immigration and organisation.

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Appendices

1: Interview Guide 1, Immigrant Workers

Part 1: Opening questions

- How old are you?
- What education do you have?
- For how long have you lived in Norway?
- Where did you live before moving to Norway?
- What was the reason you moved to Norway?
- What is your occupation?

Part 2: Organising

- Are you a member of a trade union?

	If yes:	If no:
Cause	How did you hear about the trade union?	Is there a reason why you are not a member?
	What was the reason you became a member?	Were you offered the opportunity to become a member? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ If no, do you think you would have said yes if you were offered?
	Do you receive much information on organising at your workplace?	Do you receive much information on organising at your workplace?
Conditions at the workplace	Is there a union representative at your workplace?	Is there a union representative at your workplace?
	Are you under the impression that many of your colleagues are trade union members?	Are you under the impression that many of your colleagues are trade union members?
	Have you discussed organising with your employer?	Have you discussed organising with your employer?
Relations to the labour movement	What connection did you have to the labour movement before you came to Norway?	What connection did you have to the labour movement before you came to Norway?
	Why did you choose this exact trade union?	
	Do you receive the help you need?	Do you receive the help you need?
	What do you consider as the largest advantages of being a member?	Do you have an impression of what advantages being a member could have?

	Have you had the opportunity to further develop your skills/education?	Have you had the opportunity to further develop your skills/education?
	Have you experienced any disadvantages of being a member?	Do you have an impression of any disadvantages being a member could have?
	Do you notice an effect of several of your colleagues being organised? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you think would be the effect if more of your colleagues organised? ○ How much do you think it means for the individuals' wages and working conditions? 	Do you notice an effect of several of your colleagues being organised? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What do you think would be the effect if more of your colleagues organised? ○ How much do you think it means for the individuals' wages and working conditions?
	What are your thoughts on being a union representative?	What are your thoughts on being a union representative?
Other	Are you planning on continuing your work in Norway? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Would you have chosen differently if you were planning on staying longer/shorter? 	Are you planning on continuing your work in Norway? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Would you have chosen differently if you were planning on staying longer/shorter?

Part 3: Closing questions

- Are you under the impression that the trade union movement is important/unimportant for the Norwegian society?
- Why do you think the union density is lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?
- Do you think this tendency affects the situations of immigrants in the Norwegian working life?
 - If yes, in what ways?
- Do you think this tendency affects Norwegian workers in general?
 - If yes, in what ways?
- Do you think this tendency affects other circumstances of the Norwegian society?
 - If yes, in what ways?

Do you have any thoughts on the topic that I have not asked you about?

2: Interview Guide 2, Employers

Part 1: Opening questions

- How old are you?
- What education do you have?
- What is your occupation?

Part 2: Organising

Topic	Question
Experiences	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is your experience/background with the trade union movement? 2. Are you a member of an employer organisation? 3. What is your understanding of being organised? 4. What do you consider as the largest advantages/disadvantages of being organised?
Organising	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Approximately how many workers are at your workplace? 6. Is your workplace characterised by a high or a low union density? 7. Is there a club/a union representative at the workplace? 8. How do you experience the general attitude towards being organised at your workplace? 9. Do you experience large variations in the workers' relations to being organised? 10. Do you experience a difference in these relations between immigrant workers and non-immigrant workers? 11. Are you under the impression that most of the workers have a good understanding of what being organised means? 12. What attitudes does the employer-side have to the workers organising?
At the workplace	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. Does many of the workers have part-time positions? 14. Are many of the workers only staying in Norway for a short period of time?
Industry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Why do you think the industry in question has a generally low union density? 16. Do you think this tendency has any effect on the working conditions in the sector as a whole?

Del 3: Closing questions

17. How important/unimportant do you consider the trade union movement to be for the workers and for society?
18. What do you think are the causes of the union density being lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?

19. How do you think this tendency affects the workers?
20. Do you think the tendency has any specific effects on immigrant workers?
21. How do you think this tendency affects the Norwegian society?

Do you have any thoughts on the topic that I have not asked you about?

3: Interview guide 3, Union Representatives

Part 1: Opening questions

- How old are you?
- What education do you have?
- What is your occupation?
- How long have you been a union representative?

Part 2: Organising

Topic	Questions
Experiences	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is your experience/background with the trade union movement? 2. Why did you choose to become a union representative? 3. What is your understanding of being organised? 4. What do you consider as the largest advantages/disadvantages of being organised?
Recruitment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Is your workplace characterised by a high or a low union density? 6. How do you experience the general attitude towards being organised at your workplace? 7. How do you experience the recruitment process at the workplace? 8. What arguments do you use while you are recruiting? 9. What arguments usually work the best? 10. Do you notice any differences between recruiting immigrants and non-immigrants? If yes; what differences? 11. Do you notice any differences in the attitudes towards organising between immigrants and non-immigrants? If yes; what differences?
Conditions at the workplace	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 12. What attitudes does the employer side have to the workers being organised? 13. Are you under the impression that your colleagues are well informed on what being organised involves? 14. Do you experience generally large differences in your colleagues' attitudes towards being organised? 15. Do you experience that your colleagues think they receive the help and opportunities they need at the workplace?
The industry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Approximately how many workers are there at your workplace? 17. Why do you think the industry in question is characterised by a generally low union density? 18. What do you consider as the most important reasons to organise in your industry? 19. Does many of the workers have part-time positions?

	20. Are many of the workers only staying in Norway for a short period of time?
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Del 3: Closing questions

21. How important/unimportant do you consider the trade union movement to be for the workers and for society?
22. What do you think are the causes of the union density being lower among immigrants than among the rest of the Norwegian workforce?
23. How do you think this tendency affects the workers?
24. Do you think the tendency has any specific effects on immigrant workers?
25. How do you think this tendency affects the Norwegian society?

Do you have any thoughts on the topic that I have not asked you about?

4: Evaluation from the Norwegian Centre for Research Data

Vurdering

Skriv ut

Referansenummer

209649

Prosjekttittel

Masterprosjekt: arbeidsimmigrasjon og den skandinaviske fagbevegelsen

Behandlingsansvarlig institusjon

Norges teknisk-naturvitenskapelige universitet / Fakultet for samfunns- og utdanningsvitenskap (SU) / Institutt for sosialt arbeid

Prosjektansvarlig (vitenskapelig ansatt/veileder eller stipendiat)

Marianne Garvik

Type prosjekt

Studentprosjekt, masterstudium

Kontaktinformasjon, student

Johanne Huseby

Prosjektperiode

15.10.2021 - 30.06.2022

Vurdering (1)

13.10.2021 - Vurdert

Det er vår vurdering at behandlingen vil være i samsvar med personvernlovgivningen, så fremt den gjennomføres i tråd med det som er dokumentert i meldeskjemaet den 13.10.2021 med vedlegg, samt i meldingsdialogen mellom innmelder og NSD. Behandlingen kan starte.

TYPE OPPLYSNINGER OG VARIGHET

Prosjektet vil behandle alminnelige personopplysninger og særlige kategorier av personopplysninger om fagforeningsmedlemskap frem til 30.06.2022.

LOVLIG GRUNNLAG

Prosjektet vil innhente samtykke fra de registrerte til behandlingen av personopplysninger. Vår vurdering er at prosjektet legger opp til et samtykke i samsvar med kravene i art. 4 nr. 11 og 7, ved at det er en frivillig, spesifikk, informert og utvetydig bekreftelse, som kan dokumenteres, og som den registrerte kan trekke tilbake.

For alminnelige personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 6 nr. 1 a.

For særlige kategorier av personopplysninger vil lovlig grunnlag for behandlingen være den registrertes uttrykkelige samtykke, jf. personvernforordningen art. 9 nr. 2 bokstav a, jf. personopplysningsloven § 10, jf. § 9 (2).

PERSONVERNPRINSIPPER

NSD vurderer at den planlagte behandlingen av personopplysninger vil følge prinsippene i personvernforordningen:

- om lovlighet, rettferdighet og åpenhet (art. 5.1 a), ved at de registrerte får tilfredsstillende informasjon om og samtykker til behandlingen
- formålsbegrensning (art. 5.1 b), ved at personopplysninger samles inn for spesifikke, uttrykkelig angitte og berettigede formål, og ikke viderebehandles til nye uforenlige formål
- dataminimering (art. 5.1 c), ved at det kun behandles opplysninger som er adekvate, relevante og nødvendige for formålet med prosjektet
- lagringsbegrensning (art. 5.1 e), ved at personopplysningene ikke lagres lengre enn nødvendig for å oppfylle formålet.

DE REGISTRERTES RETTIGHETER

NSD vurderer at informasjonen om behandlingen som de registrerte vil motta oppfyller lovens krav til form og innhold, jf. art. 12.1 og art. 13.

Så lenge de registrerte kan identifiseres i datamaterialet vil de ha følgende rettigheter: innsyn (art. 15), retting (art. 16), sletting (art. 17), begrensning (art. 18) og dataportabilitet (art. 20).

Vi minner om at hvis en registrert tar kontakt om sine rettigheter, har behandlingsansvarlig institusjon plikt til å svare innen en måned.

FØLG DIN INSTITUSJONS RETNINGSLINJER

NSD legger til grunn at behandlingen oppfyller kravene i personvernforordningen om riktighet (art. 5.1 d), integritet og konfidensialitet (art. 5.1. f) og sikkerhet (art. 32).

For å forsikre dere om at kravene oppfylles, må prosjektansvarlig følge interne retningslinjer/rådføre dere med behandlingsansvarlig institusjon.

MELD VESENTLIGE ENDRINGER

Dersom det skjer vesentlige endringer i behandlingen av personopplysninger, kan det være nødvendig å melde dette til NSD ved å oppdatere meldeskjemaet. Før du melder inn en endring, oppfordrer vi deg til å lese om hvilken type endringer det er nødvendig å melde: <https://www.nsd.no/personverntjenester/fylle-ut-meldeskjema-for-personopplysninger/melde-enderinger-i-meldeskjema>

Du må vente på svar fra NSD før endringen gjennomføres.

OPPFØLGING AV PROSJEKTET NSD vil følge opp ved planlagt avslutning for å avklare om behandlingen av personopplysningene er avsluttet. Kontaktperson hos NSD: Tore Andre Kjetland Fjeldsbø

Lykke til med prosjektet!

