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THE POLES IN NORWAY – WE WANTED WORKERS BUT PEOPLE ARRIVED

1. Historical Context and the Policy

Till the 1970, Norway was rather a country of emigration (primarily to the US), however, in the mid-1950, due to the economic boom experienced after WW2, Norway opened up for labour migration and decided on a free movement of labour and a common labour market within the Nordic states. The majority of migrants originated from Northern European countries and the US. In the mid-1970's, some low-skilled labourers came from Pakistan and Turkey in order to work in the industry and service sector. Similarly to other European countries, in 1975 Norway applied a more restrictive policy towards immigrants. Restrictions aimed at stopping migrants from developing countries. They did not refer to the recruitment of specialist with specific skills and expertise in the petroleum sector. They were also not aimed at asylum seekers and family reunion. Similarly to the rest of Europe these restrictions did not rather affect the number of new arrivals but resulted in a change of their status to mostly family reunions. During the 80's and the 90's political refugees from diverse parts of the world arrived to Norway. In 1990 a quota programme for seasonal workers in agricultural sector was introduced. Seasonal workers originated from Eastern Europe, primarily Poland. Expanding free movement of workforce and a common employment market to the EEA did not have much effect on the migration patterns to Norway till 2004. In 2004 Norway decided to enforce 'transitional measures' for labour migrants

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originating from the new EU member states. EU-8 citizens got access to the labour market on the basis of an offer of a full-time position for one year. Wage and working conditions were required to be similar to ones provided for a Norwegian worker. The transition period was continued to May 2009. Measures implemented in this period aimed at limiting social dumping, but they applied only to individual labour migrants working in Norwegian based companies or to workers hired out from a subcontracting company based in Norway. The law did not refer to 'service providers'. Therefore employees working for subcontracting companies, temporary work agencies based in Poland, and workers who worked as independent contractors, as service providers, were not covered by collective agreement on wages, which are generally applicable in Norway. Companies using the services of subcontractors could pay their workers less and even could not honour the regulations of the health, safety and working environment act (Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2010).

The most recent Immigration Act of 15 May 2008 (with some insignificant changes introduced later), together with the corresponding Immigration Regulation entered into force on 1 January 2010. The Act regulates the entry of foreigners into Norway and their right to residence and work. It refers to four main categories of immigrants from third countries:

- labour migrants, i.e. persons who have received a concrete job offer;
- persons with close family ties to somebody residing in Norway;
- students, trainees, au pairs and participants in exchange programmes;
- refugees and persons who qualify for residence permit on humanitarian grounds (Thorud et al. 2013).

2. The context of the Polish post-EU-accession immigration to Norway: labour and family

The Norwegian transitional restrictions[1] on labour migration from EU's new member states that were in operation between 2004 and 2009 provide us with a unique source of data. Although the transitional restrictions were revoked on May 1 2009, the registry scheme was in operation until September 30

[1] The restrictions required that workers from accession countries had to apply for residency permit in order to work in Norway, and demanded that they had to show work contracts stating full time work and Norwegian wage level. They also restricted migrants' access to unemployment benefits during their first year of residence. Unlike transitional restrictions in most other European countries, there were no quotas or labour market demands testing.

the same year. From 2004 until the registry scheme was changed, a total of 141 926 CEE citizens – of which 91 325 from Poland – were granted residency permits in Norway. Another 13 270 Polish citizens – almost exclusively women and children – were granted residency based on family reunion with someone working in Norway between 2004 and 2009 (Norwegian Directorate of Imigration). Family migrants are not included in the following analysis, but table 2 provides information on the share of workers within each industry who are registered as reference persons for family migrants.

Table 1

New residency permits granted to Polish citizens each year, percentage of each cohort who held valid permits by the end of each subsequent year, and number of people from each cohort who held valid permits by September 30 2009. *N* = 91 325

Year of first permit	New permits	% who still had a valid permit at the end of each year (in %)					Valid permits by 30.09.2009	
		2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	%	*N*
2004	7 544	74	59	53	47	40	37	2 766
2005	10 141		78	60	53	44	41	4 116
2006	20 190			82	58	48	44	8 889
2007	25 689				79	49	41	10 634
2008	22 268					69	37	8 148
2009	5 493						85	4 655
Total	**91 325**						**43**	**39 208**

Source: Friberg's calculations based on the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's database over Polish citizens granted residency permits in Norway between 2004 and 2009.

Before we start to describe more in-depth the presence of Polish immigrants in Norway, it is worth to recall at least two definitions that the Norwegians refer to, both in terms of statistics and more general in terms of studies on migration. The first definition is related with the term *immigrants*. Immigrants are persons born abroad with two foreign-born parents. The second term used in Norway is *Norwegian-born persons with immigrant parents*. They are persons born in Norway with two immigrant parents (Statistics Norway).

Table 2

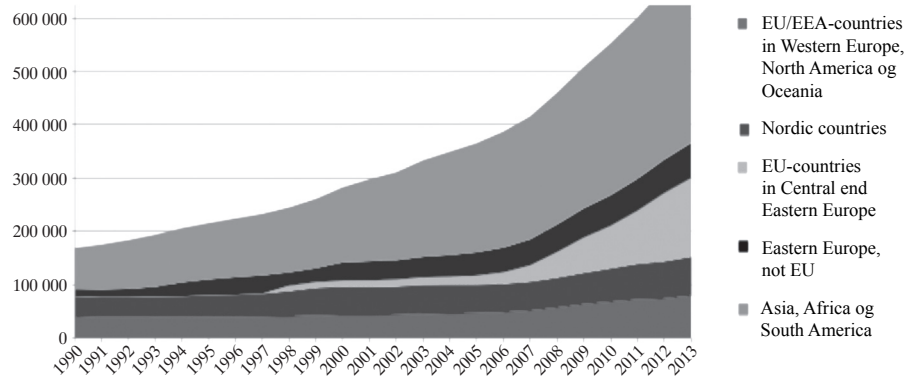
Total share and gender ratio by sector of employment for all Polish migrants 2004–2009 (*N* = 81 853). Currently (30.09.2009) valid permits by sector of employment (*N* = 36 130). Stayer ratio and family reunion for the 2005 cohort by sector of employment (*N* = 8 507).

Sector of Employment	All migrants 2004–2009 (*N*=81853)	Gender ratio M/F (*N*=81853)	Current valid (*N*=36130)	2005 cohort Stayer ratio (*N*=8507)	2005 cohort Fam reunion (*N*=8507)
Construction and related work	27	91/9	32	62	17
Agriculture, fishing and fish farming	24	64/36	8	14	3
Temp agency work and related services	22	95/5	27	64	14
Industrial manufacturing, mining and petro.	14	92/8	19	60	15
Retail trade, hotels and restaurants	10	73/27	11	44	14
Other services (IT, health care, education etc.)	3	66/34	3	38	11
Total	**100**	**83/17**	**100**	**42**	**11**

Source: Friberg's calculations based on the Norwegian Directorate of Immigration's database over Polish citizens granted residency permits in Norway between 2004 and 2009.

Figure 1

Immigrants and Norwegian-born with two immigrant parents. Country background, 1990–2013



Source: Thorud et al. 2013: 36.

Immigrants and Norwegian-born persons with immigrant parents represent all together more than 13 per cent of the resident population of Norway (2013). Since the late 1960s, with the exception of 1989, Norway has had net immigration (Thorud et al. 2012: 5, 9). What can be said about the recent composition of resident immigrants is that the largest country of their origin is Poland with 82 601 persons. The next country is Sweden (37 467 persons), however the Swedish do not even reach a half of the Polish number (stock at the 1 January 2013, Statistics Norway). (Friberg 2013: 11).

Table 3

Immigrants and Norwegian-born persons with immigrant parents: the ten largest groups as of 1 January 2013

Country	Number	Increase from 2012 to 2013	Percentage of all immigrants and Norwegian-born persons with immigrant parents
Poland	82 601	10 498	11,6
Sweden	37 467	889	5,3
Pakistan	33 634	897	4,7
Somalia	33 117	3 722	4,7
Lithuania	30 540	6 599	4,3
Iraq	29 614	679	4,2
Germany	26 398	715	3,7
Vietnam	21 351	480	3,0
Denmark	20 304	481	2,9
Iran	18 861	948	2,6

Source: Statistics Norway.

The Polish people constitute the largest group of immigrants in many municipalities (211 out of 429), and in 16 out of 19 counties (Statistics Norway Reports. 2013/37).

How has it come that from a few thousand Polish political refugees in the 80's and seasonal workers arriving to Norway in the 90's on the basis of bilateral agreements on temporary work in agriculture, the stock of Polish immigrants has increased so dramatically?

Table 4

Polish immigrants and Norwegian-born to Polish parents. Selected municipalities, 1 January 2012

Municipality	Number of Poles	Position among immigrants in municipality
Oslo	12 180	4
Bergen	4 281	1
Stavanger	2 588	1
Bærum	2 876	1
Trondheim	1 536	1
Drammen	1 388	2
Kristiansand	845	2
Fredrikstad	1 066	2
Asker	1 465	1

Source: Statistics Norway.

Table 5

Polish immigrants and Norwegian-born to Polish parents, by sex, 2003–2013

1 January, Year	Males	Females
2003	2 643	4 660
2004	2 718	4 872
2005	3 711	5 222
2006	5 995	5 869
2007	11 442	7 392
2008	21 583	10 486
2009	29 971	14 511
2010	33 949	18 176
2011	38 792	21 818
2012	46 790	25 313
2013	53 778	28 823

Source: Statistics Norway.

There is no need, for the purpose of this paper, to concentrate on factors pushing Poles out of Poland. Therefore we will concentrate on factors attracting Polish immigrants from the Norwegian side. The most visible incentive is

the average gross hourly wage, which is several times higher than the Polish one. Although wages and working conditions offered to migrants are below those of native residents, still the conditions stay attractive in terms of absolute earnings, especially when money are sent back to families remaining in Poland. Furthermore, unemployment level even during the financial crises faced by Europe, in Norway has sustained below 3 per cent. The final factor is related to social and structural changes observed within the Norwegian labour market. They increased the demand and reduced the supply for jobs that were expected to be redundant in the modern economy. These changes refer to five sectors that appeared to be the most important for Polish migrant workers, namely: construction, temporary staffing, domestic services, shipyards and agriculture. The jobs offered to Poles belong to the category of boring physical labour at low rates and under flexible conditions (Friberg 2013).

As former research has shown, Polish post-accession migration to Norway has been related to restructuring of labour intensive sectors such as constructions, and increasing informalisation and casualisation of labour relations (Sassen 2005) that have traditionally been strongly regulated in Norway. A strict separation between standard and atypical forms of employment is characteristic for Norwegian labour market. Polish workers find employment mainly in two niche sectors – constructing and cleaning (Friberg 2013).

Referring to the results of two surveys that were conducted among Polish migrants in Oslo in 2006 and 2010[2] (Friberg 2012b) it can be said that there are certain trends towards formalization of employment relations. Illegal employment (which was a case of jobs undertaken within services provided for private households) is becoming less significant.

However, these trends differ in their intensity with regards to the type of sectors. The biggest changes have occurred within cleaning sector and sectors outside the two Polish niches. Less significant changes have been observed in constructions. The same is true in case of mobility from atypical forms of employment to permanent legal jobs in Norwegian companies. In the year 2010 almost half of respondents engaged in jobs outside construction and cleaning sectors had permanent employment. In case of construction workers only 19 per cent and in case of domestic services 17 per cent. However, relative improvement was more significant among cleaning workers (see the table 6 below). The above mentioned differences among workers engaged in

[2] Two surveys conducted with the use of respondent-driven sampling (RDS). In each more than 500 migrants staying in Oslo were interviewed.

particular sectors are explained in terms of their language skills and working environment:

> '(…) contrary to the most cleaners and workers in other sectors, most Polish construction workers reported that they only worked alongside other Poles and that at work they spoke only Polish, a testament to work organizations in the construction industry strictly separated along lines of language and nationality' (Friberg 2012b: 320).

Table 6

Sectors and terms of employment in 2006 and 2010 compared. Per cent

	Construction work		**Cleaning**		**Other**	
Terms of employment	**2006 (*n*=289)**	**2010 (*n*=292)**	**2006 (*n*=108)**	**2010 (*n*=81)**	**2006 (*n*=57)**	**2010 (*n*=81)**
Permanent legal jobs in Norwegian companies	15	19	3	17	20	48
Temporary and atypical legal employment (posted subcontractors, agency work, etc.)	54	52	11	25	44	42
Illegal employment (have no written contract and do not pay tax)	32	28	86	58	37	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: Friberg 2012b.

The results of the surveys supported by the findings of qualitative study conducted among employers and migrant workers within the construction sector led Jon Horgen Friberg (2012b) to conclusion that Polish workers are perceived by employers as hard-working but unable to think independently. Since they are rarely able to carefully assess each applicant individually, temporary workers are largely selected on the basis of the Polish stereotype. On the other hand Polish migrants pointed their disappointment that they were not allowed to question their instructions or suggest alternative ways of doing specific jobs. In shorts, stereotype becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy – workers act in a way that meets employers' expectations. Due to it they are not regarded as candidates for permanent employment that requires decision-making and other tasks requiring experience and knowledge. But Poles are interested in such stable jobs.

In case of Polish migrants, employment in labour intensive sectors does not seem to be just a stepping-stone into the regular labour market (Friberg 2012b). Quite contrary, it seems more justified to state that Poles are impounded to temporary, atypical forms of employment, exposed for less favourable treatment (lower wages, harsh working conditions and exploitation) and for higher risk related to fluctuation in labour demand than the native residents of Norway. As Friberg pointed, nationwide survey conducted in 2009 among employers in labour intensive sectors (construction and industrial manufacturing) shown that lowering the number of workers hired through temporary staffing agencies and subcontractors was the most common solution to meet reduced labour demand, which was caused by economic crises of 2008–2009. Not surprisingly, Poles were affected more by the crises than natives. The registered unemployment rate for the whole population sustained below 3 per cent while among Polish workers was much higher (see the table below). Regarding the real unemployment among Poles it was even higher since many who had lost their jobs were employed in a shadow economy or had not earn enough to be eligible to receive unemployment benefits.

Table 7

Unemployment among Polish migrants in Norway, 2007–2012

	2007 K4		**2008 K4**		**2009 K4**		**2010 K4**		**2011 K4**		**2012 K4**	
	UP	%LF	UP	%LF	UP	%LF	UP	%LF	UP	%LF	UP	%LF
Both sexes	296	1.5	1224	4.2	3114	9.3	4031	10.2	3101	6.6	3344	6.2
Males	144	1	986	4.4	2582	10.5	3238	11.2	2155	6.2	2214	5.6
Females	152	3	238	3.3	532	5.8	793	7.2	964	7.3	1130	7.5

UP – Unemployed persons
%LF Registered unemployed in per cent of the Polish labour force (per cent)

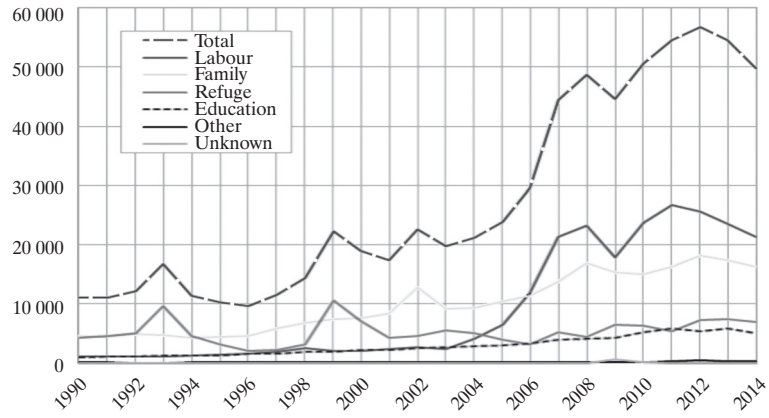
Source: Cited in O. Ryndyk (2013).

It is worth to point that together with the increase of unemployment rate among Poles, the once positive view of protecting the Polish workers rights evolved into a debate about which rights and benefits they were entitled to, whether they should stay in Norway or return to Poland. The Norwegian government even encouraged Poles to come back to their homeland with some financial compensation (Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2010).

Regardless of the crises in 2008 and 2009 Polish migrants did not massively return to Poland, which was not only a case of migration to Norway. What is more, although Poles are engaged in circular and transnational migration, surveys conducted in Oslo (Friberg 2012b) and data gathered by Statistics Norway (the latter will be presented in next paragraphs) indicate a trend towards more long-term settlement. In 2006 Polish migrants in Oslo were predominantly male, working temporarily commuting back and forth between Norway and Poland, where their remained their families. In 2010 the proportion of Polish women in Oslo reached 36 per cent (26 per cent in 2006) and approximately half of them claimed that they had arrived in order to join their spouses. Just to compare, almost all men pointed economic reasons of their arrival to Norway. It is also interesting that in 2010 most of the non-single respondents reported that their spouses lived with them in Norway (52 per cent, while in 2006 it was only 20 per cent).

Figure 2

Immigrations by reason for immigration, 1990–2014



Source: Statistics Norway.

In Norway there are four categories created on the basis of

> 'the type of first time permit granted to citizens of non-Nordic countries who are registered as immigrants in the Norwegian population register, and since 2010 the self-declared reason stated by non-Nordic citizens from EEA/EFTA who should register their presence the first time their stay in Norway for three months or more' (Thorud et al. 2012).

They are as follows:

1) family,
2) labour,

3) protection/humanitarian,
4) education/training/exchange (including au-pairs).

As one can see, till the year 2006 family migration was a predominant pattern in Norway. Although replaced by labour migration, it constitutes the second main reason of entry.

What is interesting from the point of this paper, is that the amount of Poles who are pointing family reasons for their first time stay in Norway is growing each year (with the exception of 2009), although economic reasons are still prevailing. In recent years, Polish nationals have overcome other nationals in category of family immigration (see table 8).

Table 8

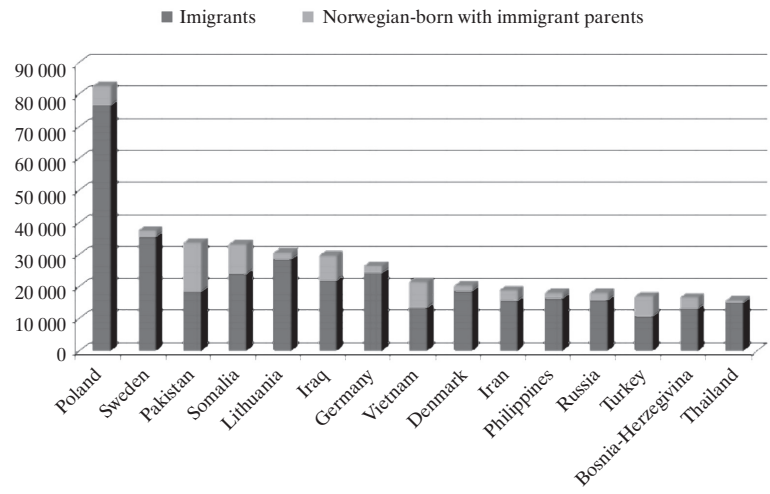
Family immigration – major countries. New permits and EEA-registrations, 2003–2012

Countries of origin	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Total of which	10 496	12 750	13 035	13 981	17 913	20 766	18 112	21 526	24 577	24 333
Poland	247	390	748	1 702	3 292	4 423	2 773	4 612	4 376	4 516
Lithuania	106	162	238	382	643	749	655	2 132	2 356	2 384
Thailand	780	1 099	1 014	943	1 073	1 214	1 248	989	1 176	1 227
Somalia	652	689	926	913	1 003	1 179	1 027	685	1 331	1 210
Philip-pines	396	437	433	412	618	580	703	766	975	1 007
Germany	401	563	558	768	1 456	1 630	835	1 140	1 166	913
Eritrea	26	42	34	49	78	142	237	430	896	728
India	132	162	176	246	496	478	431	361	533	641
Russia	797	742	653	595	658	607	620	506	610	627
USA	322	423	355	410	453	528	459	410	465	584
Pakistan	518	496	461	392	431	438	500	344	412	492
Afghani-stan	387	318	507	471	362	445	391	358	382	337
Iraq	940	909	933	626	436	654	762	554	554	271
Stateless	94	109	88	131	205	534	539	317	242	146

Source: Thorud et al. 2013: 16.

Figure 3

Major groups of immigrants and Norwegian-born with immigrant parents. 1.1.2013



Source: Thorud et al. 2013: 37.

It is also important to notice that according to statistics on Norwegian--born to immigrant parents, the main groups of children born in Norway with the two foreign parents foreign born parents had parents from Poland, Somalia, Iraq, Pakistan and Vietnam. These data indicate and confirm trend towards more long-term settlement visible already from statistics on labour migration strategy. Especially, when combined with data on duration of residence in Norway. At the beginning of the 2011 only 5 000 Polish citizens were residing in Norway for more than 5 and less than 9 years. The number of Polish citizens belonging to the same category one year later reached 10 300. Those residing in Norway less than 4 years reached 46 797 at the beginning of 2011 and 51 585 at the beginning of 2012 (Statistics Norway). Furthermore, proportion of females among Polish migrants in Norway (as shown in the table 5) is getting higher each year.

3. Integration of Polish migrants

Polish immigrants are not included in immigration policies since their movement and access to Norwegian labour market is regulated by EU/EEA supranational principles. Thus, the existence of Polish migrants in Norway is regulated by labour laws. They are not included in any integration pro-

grammes, such as language learning programmes, which are offered to non--Europeans. Their adaptation and migration decisions are therefore related heavily to their position at the labour market – their access to jobs and financial security. Since a demand for flexible workers in labour demanding sectors, such as construction, industrial manufacturing and cleaning is quite permanent, migrants were offered new temporary assignments. Some of them prolonged their stays in Norway since they still could not reach their target earnings. Simultaneously, due to the growing informal network more jobs are available to newly arriving Polish women.

Poles, as it was mentioned before, as EU citizens, are not included in any integration programmes within national policy, there are cases when municipal public agencies are seeking ways to integrate them. One of the examples is recalled by Marietta L. Baba and Carla Dahl-Jørgensen (2010) – the municipal government established Norwegian language courses to help unemployed Polish construction workers to learn Norwegian and to find new jobs locally outside the construction sector. For the authors it illustrates that local public agency has acknowledged the presence of 'permanent' Polish residents and has sought to integrate them although this practice contradicts national policy.

At this point it is also worth to recall findings from a research conducted in Rogaland (Ryndyk 2013). They contradict the widely spread assumption that the high cost of language training in Norway impedes Polish migrants from learning Norwegian language. An obstacle should be rather defined in terms of tough working conditions that leave no time for language learning. The above mentioned study, although not representative in terms of statistics or national scope, put some light on socio-economic integration of Polish migrant workers and the living conditions of Polish families, which are related to the work in 'Polish' niches. Since jobs available for majority of post-accession Polish migrants do not provide earnings and conditions comparable with those available for natives, an average Polish migrant worker cannot afford renting proper accommodation, many live in small flats located in basements or attics. Such conditions affect many aspects of private life among Polish migrant families. They may have implications for the school performance of the migrants' children. In short, current situation if prolonged can put into question values related to 'equality' that are said to be a pillar of the Norwegian society.

The issue is serious since the labour market seems

> 'to be unwilling to accept the Polish workers entry into the labour force other than as unskilled workers (…) Major actors in the labour market seem to share this attitude.

A study for example shows that the Norwegian Confederation of Employers (NHO) is positive to labour migration, but under the conditions that they return back to their home country once they are not needed' (Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2010).

The concern is also expressed by the Norwegian government. Namely, there is a growing concern about future dynamic of situation in which employers have access to a permanent flexible labour force consisting of workers, who accept short term employment conditions. Simultaneously, the costs of availability of such labour force, in times of declined demand, are to be met by the welfare state through the system of benefits (Friberg 2012b).

In Norway immigration became a public and a political issue around the mid-1970's. The Norwegians have primarily accepted immigrants from what is known as 'culturally similar and near' regions of the world. In the Norwegian mind people from the Nordic countries have not been even viewed as immigrants. This term was rather reserved for non-Europeans. Over the last decades the image of a homogeneous Norwegian society has changed. But the notion of equality, so important for the Norwegian society, in the Norwegian context mean 'sameness' based on feeling that people 'fit together', belong together and that they make themselves accessible to each other (Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2010).

After the year 2000 public debates on migration issues, although with some significant fluctuations, focused mainly on a category, which could be labelled 'Islam/Religion'. This category includes elements of culture and identity (Thorud et al. 2012).

Statistics Norway regularly conducts surveys on attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. The most recent one, conducted in July and August 2013, shows that 72 per cent of respondents agree strongly or on the whole that 'most immigrants make an important contribution to the Norwegian working life' (which is a decrease by 8 percentage points from 2012) while 14 per cent disagree. 66 per cent of respondents agree strongly or on the whole that 'labour immigration from non-Nordic countries makes a mainly positive contribution to the Norwegian economy' (which is 5 per cent reduction in comparison to the 2012). The share disagreeing is 16 per cent. Half of respondents still disagree with the assertion that 'most immigrants abuse the social welfare system', while a third believe this is true. There is still a larger share – 49 per cent – supporting statement that 'immigrants in Norway should endeavour to become as similar to Norwegians as possible', while 41 per cent disagree (Statistics Norway Reports 2013/64).

To sum up, it is worth to notice that the conclusions of Norwegian studies recalled by us point that former expectations related to free movement of

people within EEA can, at least, partially be questioned. More and more Poles decide on more permanent settlement instead of circulation between Norway and Poland. It is a challenge not only for them but for the Norwegian society and policy, in particular. Although the state, as one can see, has a limited power to control flows of people within EEA, it is exposed to the consequences of migrants' presence, especially, their maladaptation and growing inequalities in Norwegian society.

4. Integration of Polish children in Norway

One of the challenges that Norway has been facing since the EU enlargement in 2004 is the substantial influx of families from Poland. The number of Poles coming to Norway is growing and in 2013 25.2 per cent of Poles who came to Norway did it for family reasons. In addition to the large immigration from Poland, the birth surplus among those from Poland was also larger than for any other country. Between 2010 and 2013, the majority of births regarding immigrants were to parents from Poland (3 400), followed by parents from Somalia (2 750) and Iraq (2 100) (Østby 2015). The family reason for migration is growing since 2004 and is the second reason for entering Norway after labour (see figure 2 and table 8). As a result, more and more Polish children are growing up in Norway, which is a challenge both for them and their families as well as for the Norwegian public institutions. With the birth of children, settlement takes on a more permanent character. Family immigration includes persons who immigrate through family reunification and those who immigrate through family establishment.

The growing number of Polish children in Norway poses a real challenge for the Norwegian integration policy towards migrants' children. In terms of institutional setting, the main responsibility for integration of migrants is given to the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion which is also coordinating the integration policies for immigrants and their children. It also oversees the work of the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity (IMDi), which has a central role in coordinating efforts to ensure that people with an immigrant background obtain equitable public services. There are two main principles in Norway as far as integration of immigrants is concerned: participation in working life and good knowledge of Norwegian. Those are the keys to inclusion in Norwegian society (Thorud et al. 2013). Norway, where the share of women in the labour market has been one of the highest in the world, has developed a system whose objective is to ensure

and guarantee each child comparable opportunities for development. This system is based on universal access to kindergarten, school activities and other services for families who are unable to provide their child with appropriate needs of its development. Families of migrants, including Polish, are much less active in the labour market, especially when it comes to permanent employment. As a result, a significant proportion of Polish children remain in preschool in their homes and to a lesser extent, integrates with Norwegian peers. So the integration of Polish children is linked with the situation of its parents in the Norwegian labour market.

Norway is trying to address this problem. Recently, Statistics Norway and Fafo have conducted an evaluation of a policy initiative offering free attendance in publicly certified child care centres for four- and five-year-old children in a several city districts of Oslo. From August 2014, pilot projects targeting children in low-income families were carried out within the program in Bergen, Drammen and in one district in Oslo. The program entails that all children at a certain age in these city districts and areas receive 20 free hours per week in a kindergarten. The assumption is that by attending kindergarten children will achieve improved language and social skills in preparation for primary school. The primary aim of the policy has been to increase participation in formal child care. This has been attempted by offering formal child care by four hours a day free of change. The districts have worked to identify children who do not attend child care. It has been a goal to strengthen cooperation between the child care centres and the parents. Moreover, parents have been offered courses in parenting as well as Norwegian language courses. It was found that on average that the longer the child in the first grade in Oslo has attended child care before starting school, the greater the chance the child will score above a nationally defined threshold on assessment tests. Among children who have been in childcare for 4–6 years before starting school, less than 15 per cent score below the threshold in reading. Among children who have been in childcare for less than two years before starting school, almost 40 per cent score below the threshold. Furthermore, significant differences in the use of childcare could be observed. For example, children from immigrant families, and children of mothers with a weak attachment to the labour market attend childcare for almost a year less (3 years) than the average for all children (4 years). There is a near unanimous understanding among head teachers that poor Norwegian skills at school age results for children enrolling in formal child care at a too old of age. They suggested that free child care should be extended and also include 2 and 3 year-olds (Bråten et all. 2014).

When dealing with integration of Polish children in Norway, one has to concentrate on the education, as this is the crucial factor when it comes to integration of young Poles in Norway. In Norway all public primary/lower secondary education is free. Compulsory schooling in Norway is ten years and children start school at the age of six. The first ten years of the Norwegian school system is called *grunnskole*, which comprises primary and lower secondary education. All children staying in Norway for more than three months are entitled and obliged to attend school. If a child has not been in Norway for three months, but is likely to stay in the country for longer than this period, a child entitled to go to school.

As mentioned above, Polish immigrants are not included in immigration policies since their movement and access to Norwegian labour market is regulated by EU/EEA supranational principles, there are also no specific regulations on the national level regarding the integration of Polish children in Norway and the policy is decided on the municipal level. However, there are few set standards in schools and municipalities on how to meet Polish children. Apart from the regulations made for foreign children with predominantly a non-European background, and a refugee experience, schools and municipalities have to come up with their own answers to the challenges. When a Polish child enters the Norwegian school system it automatically enters the Norwegian class, with books in Norwegian. If a child is lucky enough, it will be supported by *morsmålærer* – a bilingual teacher who works with immigrant or refugee children. But whether such a teacher is available for Polish children depends on the commune who assigns funds for such teachers (Tomczyk Maryon 2015). The Polish embassy in Oslo points out several issues which should be addressed when dealing with Polish children in Norway. In the view of Polish diplomats there is a need of qualifications verification of the bilingual teachers in the communities as well as more bilingual teachers are needed (Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2013).

Another key aspect of the integration of Polish children in Norway seems to be related to the school-family cooperation. Because in Norway dialogue between parents and school is closer than in other countries, the issue of poor language skills comes to the fore. Usually, parents and teachers get together twice a year for a parent-teacher meeting. In addition, teacher/school invites each pupil's parents to an interview twice a year for a parent interview. During those interviews, teacher informs parents about their child's progress at school, and parents are asked about their view of child's development. School expects parents to attend these interviews and parents receive notice in advance. There is also a possibility to have an interpreter (New in Norway. Practical information from public offices. [online] 1). However, in addition to

language barriers, there are some cultural challenges as well, which may be less visible but very detrimental to effective integration.

The difference between the attitude of Norwegian and Polish parents towards school is a key issue. It has to be understood that there are cases of Polish migrants, who do not see the need and advantages of their involvement in the family-school cooperation, which is one of the most important tenets of the successful integration of migrant children in Norway. This attitude on the part of some of Polish migrants and the lack of knowledge of Norwegian language is what makes the integration of Polish children a difficult task.

One has to realise the consequences of non-integration of Polish children in Norwegian school system. Early childhood is the fundamental period for the development of language skills. Many children do not have Norwegian as their mother tongue, and learn Norwegian as a second language in kindergarten. According to the Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of Kindergartens[3], the kindergarten must support them in the use of their mother tongue, while working actively to promote their Norwegian language skills. There is an earmarked national budget allocation that the municipalities may use to enhance integration and language development for language minority children. However, often the situation of migrant children depends on the financial condition of particular municipalities (Thorud. et al. 2014). With regard to Council Directive 77/486/EEC from 25th of July 1977 on the education of the children of migrant workers, it should be stressed that in practice local administration in Norway does not realize in a satisfactory manner the provisions regarding teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children of the migrant workers but this is a subject for another article (Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2013).

After the 2013 elections the Conservatives and the Progress Party formed a coalition government with parliamentary support from the Liberal Party and the Christian Democrats. Immigration issues proved to be the most difficult during government negotiations, but the four parties finally agreed on a detailed policy. In the political platform for a government formed by the Conservative Party and the Progress Party in 2013 the government promised it will strengthen language training for all those with a minority background and will link free core-time care in kindergartens to requirements for participation in activities or Norwegian language classes. The Government will assess children's language skills and provide language training for children

[3] The Framework Plan for the Content and Tasks of Kindergartens is a regulation to the Kindergarten Act. Kindergarten Act – Act no. 64 of June 2005 relating to Kindergartens.

who need this before they start school. This service will also encompass children who do not attend kindergarten. The Government also promised it will use homework assistants and summer schools to reach out to children with special language challenges (Conservative Party and Progress Party 2013).

As far as integration of Polish children in Norway is concerned, it is hard not to mention an issue that is very much discussed in the Polish community in Norway. Due to differences between the Norwegian family model and a Polish one, Poles in Norway sometimes struggle with accepting the lenient, in their opinion, attitude towards children. This poses some challenges in their relationship with the Norwegian state. Upbringing kids with discipline, as it is viewed by Poles, is impossible and might put them on the clash course with the Norwegian Child Protection Services, better known as *Barnevernet*. Norwegian Child Protection Services are present in every municipality in Norway. According to law, *Barnevernet* may intervene every time it considers that a child has bad conditions at home. In some cases, when child's security and health is threatened, *Barnevernet* may resettle a child from its family. Norwegian law states that child welfare services can take action if they suspect that a child is suffering at home. In a few cases, for example if the child's health and welfare is endangered, child welfare services may move the child out of the home, usually to a foster care homes. If the parents do not agree to the child being taken from the home, they are entitled to legal aid. The case must then be settled by an independent body (the County Social Welfare Board). It seems that the issue of *Barnevernet* undermines trust of some of the Poles in Norway towards the Norwegian state which is affecting their cooperation with such institutions as kindergartens or schools (New in Norway. Practical information from public offices [Online] 2).

To sum up, even though statistics show that children of immigrant parents in Norway were more likely to do better than their parents, both in terms of work and schooling. There is a growing need of more active integration policy towards Polish children in Norway. (Berglund 2015). Some experts point that the introduction of Polish children to Norwegian school is often very quick and stressful for a child. Even though sometimes there is a bilingual teacher who works with immigrant child, the whole process demands a lot of effort, not only from child's side, but from its family as well. This is sometimes lacking. (Tomczyk Maryon, 2015). Without parents' progress in learning Norwegian language, it will be hard to change their attitude towards kindergartens and schools. Overall, the problem of integration of Polish children is a new challenge to Norwegian integration policy which will be growing in time. The main challenges are: the language barrier (affecting parents and children), different approaches and expectations between family and school, unstable situation of Polish migrants in the Norwe-

gian labour market and misconceptions regarding the state institutions (such as Barnevernet). With a perspective for more children from Polish families entering Norwegian schools in the near future, those challenges will only rise.

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The Poles in Norway – we wanted workers but people arrived

Summary

Former expectations related to free movement of people within the EEA can be, at least partially, in question. The article aims at highlighting basic trends in migration outflows of Poles to Norway, with special attention paid to the integration challenges, and in particular the integration of Polish children in Norway. Increasingly, more Poles decide on a more permanent settlement instead of shuttling between Norway and Poland. It is a challenge not only for them but also for the Norwegian society and policy in particular. The article is a result of the TRANSFAM project, funded by the Norway Grants, which is focused on studying transnational migrations and starting families by Poles in Norway. The project participants are the Jagiellonian University (leader) and its partners from the Polish-Norwegian consortium: the Centre for International Relations, Agder Research and Nova.

Polacy w Norwegii – potrzebowaliśmy pracowników, a przyjechali ludzie

Streszczenie

Początkowe oczekiwania związane ze swobodnym przepływem osób w obrębie Europejskiego Obszaru Gospodarczego mogą być, przynajmniej częściowo, postawione pod znakiem zapytania. Artykuł ten ma na celu

podkreślenie podstawowych tendencji dotyczących odpływów migracyjnych Polaków do Norwegii, ze zwróceniem szczególnej uwagi na temat wyzwań integracyjnych, a głównie integracji polskich dzieci w Norwegii. Coraz więcej Polaków decyduje się na bardziej trwałe osiedlenie się zamiast ruchów wahadłowych między Norwegią a Polską. Jest to wyzwanie nie tylko dla nich, ale i dla norweskiego społeczeństwa i polityki. Artykuł jest wynikiem projektu TRANSFAM, finansowanego przez Norweski Mechanizm Finansowy, który koncentruje się na badaniu migracji międzynarodowych oraz „tworzeniu rodzin" przez Polaków w Norwegii. Uczestnikami projektu są Uniwersytet Jagielloński (lider) i jego partnerzy z polsko-norweskiego konsorcjum: Centrum Stosunków Międzynarodowych, Agder Research oraz Nova.

Поляки в Норвегии – страна нуждается в рабочей силе, а прибывают люди

Резюме

Первоначальные ожидания, связанные со свободным передвижением лиц в пределах Европейского экономического пространства, могут быть, по крайней мере частично, оказаться под знаком вопроса. Цель данной статьи заключается в определении главных тенденций, касающихся миграционного оттока поляков в Норвегию; при этом особое внимание обращается на вопрос об интеграционных проблемах, в особенности интеграции польских детей в Норвегии. Всё большее количество поляков решается на более длительное пребывание вместо курсирования между Норвегией и Польшей. Представляет это проблему не только для них, но – в первую очередь – для норвежского общества и политики страны. Статья является следствием проекта TRANSFAM, финансируемого Норвежским Финансовым Механизмом, деятельность которого сконцентрирована на исследовании международных миграций, а также «создании семей» представителями Польши в Норвегии. Участниками проекта являются Ягеллонский университет (лидер) и его партнёры из польско-норвежского консорциума: Центр международных отношений, Agder Research и Nova.