



JAGIELLONIAN UNIVERSITY
IN KRAKÓW



RESEARCH REPORT

Doing family in a Transnational Context.
Demographic Choices, Welfare Adaptations,
School Integration and Every-day Life of Polish
Families Living in Polish-Norwegian
Transnationality

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Introduction

About the project

The *Doing Family in a Transnational Context. Demographic Choices, Welfare Adaptations, School Integration and Every-day Life of Polish Families Living in Polish-Norwegian Transnationality* (TRANSFAM) project is being conducted in 2013–2016 by the Institute of Sociology of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków in collaboration with Agder Research, Kristiansand, NOVA – Norwegian Social Research, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences, and the Centre for International Relations in Warsaw. The project is financed by Norwegian Funds, as part of the Polish-Norwegian Research Cooperation programme implemented by the National Centre for Research and Development, on the basis of contract no. Pol-Nor/197905/4/2013.

Project background and objectives

Among the reasons for the intensified mobility of Poles after the transformation period, and especially since 2004, are the open labour market, their desire to improve their living situation and changes in lifestyle. Migration has indirectly and directly influenced the formation of transnational families, the appearance of new family practices, maintenance of extra-border bonds, decisions to migrate, ways of integrating in the new place of residence and integrating with local community life. The appearance of the phenomenon of transnational families requires in-depth research employing a multidimensional and intersectional approach (taking into account e.g. social class, ethnicity, gender, family type, age).

Norway has become a major inflow country, attracting Polish men and women owing not only to the jobs it offers but also to the creation of conditions for a decent, safe and stable family life. This is also the reason why growing numbers of families are deciding to reunite and forge a new life in Norway. According to the latest data of Statistics Norway (2015), there are currently approx. 100,000 Poles living in the country.

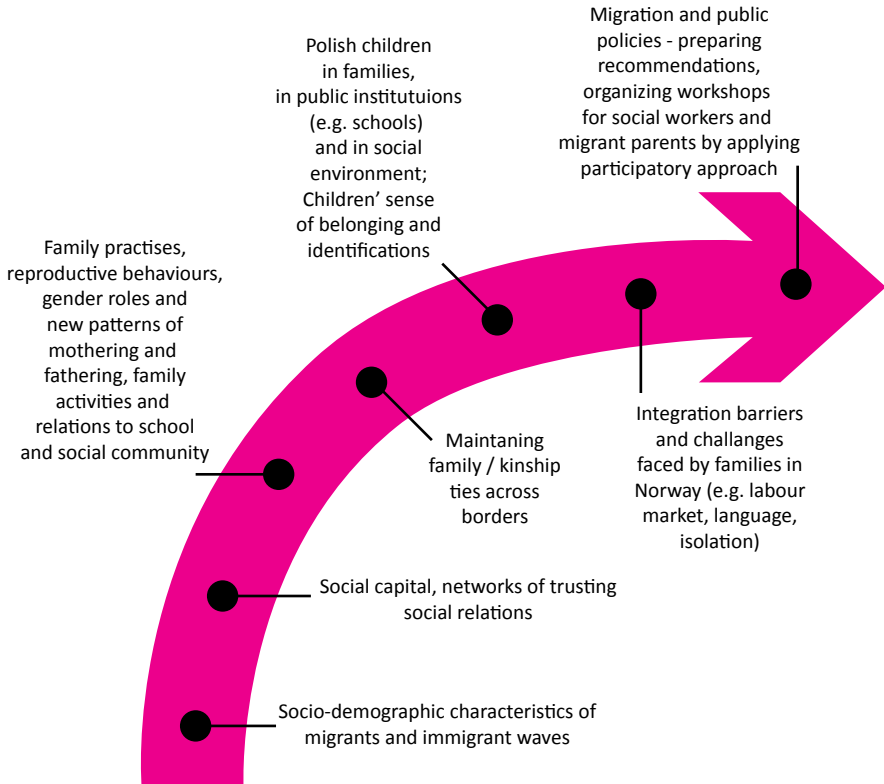
The main theoretical framework in the TRANSFAM project is a transnational paradigm that allows us to reveal in an exhaustive and broad manner the phenomenon of Polish transnational families in Norway. We studied these families by considering various connections between sending and receiving country, as well as concentrating on the practices of migrants, migrant families and their children as well as on the socio-cultural settings of the receiving society which are fundamental for integration processes. The preparations for the beginning of the project (the period after 2010) coincided with visible effects of the global financial

and economic crisis, among them being increased outflow from Poland. The crisis situation also reverberated in what had previously been the largest labour markets for Poles (United Kingdom, Ireland, Germany), and this also contributed to many people deciding to emigrate to prosperous Norway.

The aims of our project were the following:

- Outlining the demographic and sociological inflow from Poland to Norway, taking into account the transnational and integration strategies employed by migrants and their families in the labour market and the family.
- Examining the waves of inflow to Norway, referring to social migration capital, migration networks, Polish diaspora organisations, level of organisation and activism of Poles in Norway (e.g. local clubs, societies, support groups, religious communities etc.).
- Analysing the way transnational families function, practices of and changes in family roles (motherhood, fatherhood), reproduction behaviours and family objectives, work-life balance, links to Norwegian institutions (pre-school, school, labour market) and the wider social community; and further identifying the main strategies with the aim of maintaining transnational family ties and supranational relations.
- Providing information about children in migration families, taking into account their own experiences and feelings. We also sought to learn about their functioning and integration problems in educational institutions and their peer community, and then tested their identification and sense of national belonging as well as maintenance and practice of family bonds across borders.
- Analysing the problems with integration that affect migrants (both adults and children) after returning to Poland on the basis of workshops carried out with parents and social workers, and developing recommendations, in particular in reference to the local and educational challenges brought by migration and remigration.
- Developing a pilot intercultural education programme for Polish schools accepting children returning from living abroad.
- Using the research to form public policies in such fields as migration, family, integration, and equality; and disseminating the results among key audiences: both academic and institutional in the two countries. The research should be the basis for revision of policies and their implementation in both Poland and Norway.

Project Objectives



The main assumptions and methods:

We applied an integrated methodological approach, using different information types and sources, as well as multiple analytical and data collection tools. The premises necessary for shaping the specifics of our methodology are: (1) migration and social integration have to be regarded as embedded in and interrelated with biographical processes; (2) migration, migratory decisions or settlement choices, lives of migrants families and their social integration do not exist in isolation, so a systematic evaluation needs to consider the social and other mechanisms and structures that govern behaviour in these fields; (3) children are treated as being reflexive individuals and having agency - a child-centred approach. The study is guided by the overarching theme of an exploration of the processes of “doing families” in the context of migration and integration, within both a receiving society (Norway) and a country of origin (Poland). While a transnational context was chosen as the primary analytical framework, we broaden and supplement this theory with input from family studies and conceptualisations of social capital. For

these reasons, a plethora of research methods are used across the sub-sections of the project, making it a comprehensive mixed-methods study.

The integrated methodological approach:

- Numerous information types and sources, as well as multiple analytical and data collection tools
- A transnational context as a primary analytical framework, broadened and supplemented with input from family studies, sociology of childhood and conceptualisations of social capital
- A mixed-methods study: qualitative (biographic and semi-structured interviews and observation) and quantitative (survey on-line) research; Polish migrant parents as well as their children were invited to take part in the research (the research on children was a novelty of our project).

The TRANSFAM project therefore conducted a large amount of studies using various research methods, on both the Polish and the Norwegian sides:

1. Interviews with parents – 40 people.
2. Interviews with children from Polish-Polish and Polish-Norwegian marriages – 50 children. In addition, we conducted an incomplete sentences test with the children, as well as using a drawing method and child's bedroom observation.
3. Expert interviews (with teachers, social workers, priests, leaders of Polish diaspora organisations) – 20 people.
4. Interviews with representatives of Polish diaspora communities – 16 people
5. Internet survey – 648 people.

Project activities:

Several significant activities and events took place in the TRANSFAM project which not only help with disseminating knowledge about the migration of Poles to Norway, but also contribute to a change in public policies concerning the situation of migrants and their families – both in Norway and in Poland.

- **What kind of lives do Polish families who settle in Norway have?** – final conference organised by the Norwegian partner, Agder Research, on 20 April 2016 in Kristiansand and aimed at representatives of public institutions working with Polish migrants on a daily basis and the Polish community in Norway.
- **Troubling Times for Europe? Families, Migration and Politics** – international conference at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków on 3–4 June 2016, aimed at researchers dealing with issues of migration and practitioners

- representatives of NGOs working with migrant families and refugees.
- **Project seminars** - aiming to discuss the methodology of research and undertake critical reflection on the project activities:
 - In Warsaw (February 2014) a seminar organised by CIR commencing the project work
 - In Kraków (February 2015) a seminar organised by the Jagiellonian University, Institute of Sociology, discussing the results of the previous research
 - In Oslo (September 2015) a seminar organised by NOVA summarising the initial results of the internet survey
 - In Kristiansand (January 2015) a seminar organised by Agder Research discussing the publication plans and research results, as well as summarising the project's execution in terms of its content and finances.
- **Workshop for Polish parents in Norway** at the Polish Saturday School in Oslo, presenting the results of research concerning experiences of parents and children in Norwegian schools and Norwegian social welfare institutions, or, more broadly, in society. This meeting offered an opportunity to add further voices and the opinions of parents to the existing results.
- **Workshop for social workers** (May 2016), presenting the final conclusions of the research and jointly developing recommendations for public policies.
- **Pilot programme for Polish schools** (children of return migrants and immigrants).
- **Dissemination activities in media** - reaching a wider public in distribution of the results of research (articles e.g. in Newsweek [Polish and Norwegian editions], the websites MojaNorwegia, ScienceNordic, Nportal, Polish Connections), information about the project in the University of Warsaw Centre of Migration Research's Migration Bulletin; production of special issues of journals dedicated to the project results: *Central and Eastern European Migration Review* (2016), *Migration Studies - Polonia Review* (2015), (see also the Transfam Project Publications)

MAIN RESEARCH FINDINGS

Poles in Norway: socio-demographic characteristics and challenges of integration

Krystyna Iglicka, Katarzyna Gmaj, Antoni Wierzejski (Centre for International Relations)

Introduction

In this study we describe the migration strategies and main demographic characteristics of the Polish migrant population in Norway. We also analyse the integration challenges faced by (first-generation) migrants and their children, chiefly with the situation on the Norwegian labour market and cultural differences. The wave of immigration that has struck Norway since the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 is unprecedented in its history. In total, immigrants today comprise almost 13% of the Norwegian population of approx. 5 million, and 14% of these are Poles. Although in 2015 the number of Polish immigrants rose by 4,800 compared to 2014 – the smallest increase since 2005 – Poles continue to be the largest minority in Norway, ahead of Lithuanians, Swedes and Somalis (Statistics Norway). According to Norwegian sources, they number over 100,000 (95,700 Polish immigrants – data from March 2016 – as well as 10,000 people born in Norway to Polish parents – data from March 2016¹). Men are predominant in the demographic structure of Poles in Norway – in 2015 they comprised some 64% of all Polish migrants.

The Norwegian market and reasons for settling

A report by the Polish Central Statistical Office (GUS)² on the extent and directions of temporary emigration from Poland in 2004–2014 confirms an increased interest in Norway as an attractive destination of migration for Poles. The actual number of Poles in Norway might in fact be even 200,000. According to the study *Migracje zarobkowe Polaków* (“Economic migration among Poles”) conducted by Work Service, Norwegian is in third position among the countries most frequently chosen by Poles to work abroad.³ The GUS data does not yet record this possible

1 In terms of statistical data on immigrants in Norway, it is important to remember that at least two definitions of immigrants are used in Norway. The first considers immigrants to be people born abroad to two parents born abroad; the second used refers to people born in Norway to parents born outside of the country.

2 Główne kierunki emigracji i imigracji w latach 1966-2014 (migracje na pobyt stały): <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-ludnosc/glowne-kierunki-emigracji-i-imigracji-w-latach-1966-2014-migracje-na-pobyt-staly,4,1.html> (access: 6 April 2016).

3 Migracje zarobkowe Polaków, Work Service report: <http://www.workservice.pl/Centrum-prasowe/Informacje-prasowe/Ekspert-HR-komentuje/Az-1-2-mln-Polakow-zdecydowanych-na-emigracje-zarobkowa>

change in preference in terms of destination of emigration.⁴

What is it, then, that most attracts Poles to Norway? Both research and statistical data show that the main pull factor is work and decent earnings: the gross hourly rate in Norway is approximately six times that in Poland (Eurostat data from 2010: Poland – 4.0 euro, Norway – 25 euro). Although the pay and working conditions that immigrants can command are lower than those offered to Norwegians, Norway is an attractive receiving country for Poles, especially when the money is sent back to families who have stayed at home. The unemployment rate in Norway was lower than 3% even during the financial crisis in 2007-2009, and as a result the majority of Poles decided to wait till the situation improved instead of returning home. Also today, despite the worse conditions of the labour market owing to the slump in investments in the oil sector (the unemployment rate in Norway is 4.8% – data from January 2016⁵), Poles are not returning en masse, although as observed above, migration levels are at their lowest since 2005.

In Poles' migration behaviours, apart from temporary economic migration we can also observe an increasing trend towards migration of families (Iglicka, Gmaj, Wierzejski 2016). The model of male pioneer migration observed since 2004 has transformed and been complemented by migration because of/on the strength of joining family. Increasing numbers of Poles are deciding on permanent migration instead of circular migration – the number of Poles indicating joining families as the reason for migration has been growing steadily since 2006 (except for crisis-stricken 2009). This trend is also confirmed by data showing that in 2006-2014 the number of Poles joining families in Norway was over twice as high as that of Somalis, in second-place. Despite the increase in this reason for migration, however, economic reasons continue to be the most important (Iglicka, Gmaj, Wierzejski 2016, forthcoming, Statistics Norway 2015).

The research conducted within the TRANSFAM project demonstrates that one reason for Poles choosing Norway is that it offers the chance of a decent, stable life, with earnings commensurate to the costs of maintaining oneself and one's family (Gmaj, forthcoming).

In spite of the high costs of living in Norway, the living conditions of Polish immigrants are closely related to their situation on the country's labour market. Examining the situation of Polish workers on the Norwegian market reveals that a large number of jobs offered to them fall in the category of temporary work, and thus entail worse treatment (lower pay, hard working conditions, sometimes exploitation) (Iglicka, Gmaj 2014, Baba and Dahl-Jørgensen 2010).

4 Główne kierunki emigracji i imigracji w latach 1966-2014 (migracje na pobyt stały): <http://stat.gov.pl/obszary-tematyczne/ludnosc/migracje-ludnosc/glowne-kierunki-emigracji-i-imigracji-w-latach-1966-2014-migracje-na-pobyt-staly,4,1.html> (access: 6 April 2016).

5 <http://www.ssb.no/en/arbeid-og-lonn/statistikker/akumnd>

Polish workers in Norway continue to dominate specific sectors of the Norwegian economy, i.e. construction, industry, and domestic services.⁶ The Norwegian labour market's need for a straightforward and mainly male workforce also leads to disorder in the demographic structure of Poles in Norway. As mentioned, the inflow to Norway features a considerable preponderance of men (64%) over women (36%) (Iglicka, Gmaj, Wierzejski 2016, forthcoming), whereas the overall data on emigration from Poland shows only a slightly higher number of men than women having left Poland since EU accession (Danilewicz 2012). Furthermore, temporary employment through job agencies is relatively common (approx. 11% of Poles are employed on such contracts⁷), thus hampering formation and stabilisation of family life.

Given the fairly constant demand for workers who are flexible and cheaper than the local workforce in sectors of the labour market requiring hard physical work in modern economies like that of Norway, migrants can expect to receive further job opportunities after any temporary difficulties or shortage of work. This means that even those experiencing short-term unemployment are likely to wait for the next opportunities in Norway rather than returning to Poland. This trend is borne out by data (Iglicka, Gmaj, Wierzejski 2016, forthcoming).

The concentration of Poles in the sectors of the labour market identified above has an effect on the material situation of families and their integration. Poles usually work with other Poles, and do not have to speak Norwegian. A "vicious circle" mechanism results that makes integration difficult. In addition, tough working conditions, lack of time, and sometimes of money too, often prevent Poles from taking Norwegian language courses. Lack of knowledge of Norwegian seems to be the main reason for not participating in Norway's cultural life,⁸ thus potentially making integration for some (first-generation) Poles harder. It is important to note that, as EU citizens, Poles are not encompassed by any integration programmes in Norway.⁹ They are excluded from programmes such as Norwegian language courses, and their stay in Norway and access to the labour market are regulated by supranational EU/EEA rules.

Families and issues of children

Lack of permanent employment also has a further influence on the situation of Polish families. Apart from the parental support programme, which resembles the 500 Plus programme in Poland (in Norway parents receive almost 1000 crowns

6 <https://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/d44dcd91-ed03-4e64-a475-b56d8e5a46>:JCR

7 Own estimates based on data from Iglicka, Gmaj, Wierzejski, 2016, forthcoming

8 <http://www.msz.gov.pl/resource/0c005e6b-1a8e-4184-a454-deabde543fad>:JCR

9 Their children are, however – in a manner, through their schools.

per child from the state, and, as foreseen by the premises of 500 Plus, do so until the child turns 18), parents who do not send children (aged 1-2 years) to pre-school may receive a welfare benefit for them.¹⁰ This can result in some families choosing to keep their children at home instead of sending them to pre-school, where they would have contact with their Norwegian peers.¹¹ More importantly, though, parents at this stage of their child's development do not form relations with Norwegian public institutions that have contact with children. In this context, we should note that collaboration between the school and parents is closer in Norway than in other countries (Waerdahl 2016).

In writing about Polish children in Norway and the integration of Poles there, we cannot fail to mention the relations of Poles with the Norwegian Child Protection Office (Barnevernet). At present, the law from 1993 covers all children residing in Norway, regardless of their origin, citizenship or the status of their stay. Foreign families have the same rights and are subject to the same legal regulations in terms of care for children as Norwegian citizens. There is no doubt that the intermittent problems between the Polish minority and the Barnevernet sometimes result above all from the dynamic growth in the numbers of Poles in recent years and their at times differing approach to raising children, for example the acceptance of smacking as a childrearing method, and the fact that 35% of Poles consider raising children to be solely a family issue.¹² However, Norwegian law allows the Barnevernet to intervene whenever it considers that a child is experiencing violence or serious neglect at home. It appears that the question of the Barnevernet might undermine the trust of some Poles to the Norwegian state, which sometimes has an impact on cooperation with such institutions as pre-schools or schools. Fears over the Barnevernet are partly explained by data invoked by the Polish Ministry for Foreign Affairs: in 2014 there were 27 cases of Polish children being taken away from their families (compared with 25 cases in 2013 and 18 in 2012¹³). On the other hand, however, we should stress that Polish children do not experience frequent interventions from the Barnevernet in comparison to other immigrants, occupying 11th place among the 20 largest minority groups (Godzimirski, Stormowska, Dudzińska 2015). It would be useful to mount an information campaign aimed at Poles in Norway to better explain the Barnevernet's role and operations, as well as to increase dialogue between the two sides on cultural differences in the approach to the family and childrearing.

10 For more on the welfare benefit in Norway: <https://www.nav.no/en/Home/Relatert+informasjon/cash-for-care-benefits-for-the-parents-of-toddlers--805369180#chapter-1>

11 The author's (AW) own observation resulting from residing in Norway among Poles working there.

12 http://brpd.gov.pl/sites/default/files/bicie_dzieci_po_polsku.pdf

13 Data of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.msz.gov.pl/pl/aktualnosci/msz_w_mediach/msz_przelom_w_postepowaniach_ws_polskich_dzieci_w_norwegii_depesza_pap_z_10_wrzesnia_2015

Social Capital among Polish Migrants in Norway

Eugene Guribye, Agder Research

Background and purpose of study an Introduction

Social capital – networks of trusting social relationships – has become an increasingly popular concept in countries with growing immigrant populations (Coradini 2010, Leonard 2004, Portes et al. 1999, Putnam 2000). Many tend to perceive it as enabling people to cope without the involvement of the state. However, this may not always be the case (Fine 2001, Harris 2002, Ryan and Mulholland 2014).

The focus of Work Package 3, *Social Capital among Polish Migrants in Norway*, in the TRANSFAM project is on how, and to what extent, social capital may benefit Polish families in the process of settling and becoming integrated in Norway. How do Polish migrants in Norway organise themselves in order to help their compatriots in Norway? What roles do Polish voluntary associations and religious communities play in Polish migrant social networks? And what roles do social networks play in relation to the integration and inclusion of Polish migrants in Norwegian society? In order to shed some light on these questions, we drew on a combination of qualitative interviews, document analysis and ethnographic fieldwork methods. The informants were recruited from two broad categories of Polish migrants in Kristiansand and Arendal, the two largest towns in Southern Norway. They therefore included:

- 1) Migrants who arrived during the 1980s
- 2) Migrants arriving since 2004

In addition, we interviewed a few Norwegian resource persons who have played a central role within Polish social networks. In total, the study draws on data from 16 interviews, all conducted in 2014. We also compiled an overview of Polish voluntary associations in Norway, and analysed Polish-Norwegian websites, blogs and Facebook pages.

Differences between Polish immigrant waves

The first major wave of Polish migrants in Norway occurred during the 1980s, when political repression and martial law led thousands of Polish political refugees to leave Poland. The next major wave of migrants arrived after 2004, when citizens enjoyed full freedom of movement within most of the EU, which they had joined that year. Today, Polish migrants constitute the largest group of immigrants in Norway, numbering around 100,000 people.

The data material suggests that there are major differences between the two

major waves of Polish migrants in Norway and the nature of their social networks. Migrants who arrived during the 1980s typically speak Norwegian fluently and have an extensive network including both Norwegians and Poles. Creating networks with Norwegian resource persons enabled them to build bridges into the Norwegian community and receive help in relation to the Norwegian welfare system, accommodation and work. Poles and Norwegians were mutually engaged in the political situation in Poland and the Solidarity movement, and collaborated to create Polish-Norwegian organisations across the country. Furthermore, the Norwegian government actively supported the Solidarity movement and Polish refugees in Norway.

In contrast, many second-wave Polish migrants seem to have little sense of belonging in Norway, although they have settled down there with their families. Many emphasise Polish social networks, read Polish news and watch Polish TV channels, while keeping an apartment in Poland and visiting family there regularly. High work intensity may also contribute to inhibiting network building and maintenance. Language barriers, however, constitute the most central barrier towards the establishment of bridging social capital.

Lack of integration strategy for labour migrants

One of the challenges is that there is a lack of a public integration strategy related to labour migrants. This makes Norwegian language courses expensive and rather inaccessible. Many informants also report a sense of discrimination from Norwegians. For instance, in 2014, a Norwegian TV series portrayed a Polish migrant in an unflattering way to which many Poles reacted negatively. Hence, both Norwegian migration policies and general perceptions of Polish migrants in the Norwegian community play an important part in relation to barriers toward the establishment of social capital.

Polish migrants who increasingly decide to settle with their families in Norway are dependent upon social capital as a resource in the settling phase. They need help with rules and regulations, work permits, accommodation and related practical issues. The first wave of Polish migrants in the country were typically more highly educated than the second wave, or their work-related travels around Europe before martial law in the early 1980s had provided them with language skills that made networking and access to bridging social capital more feasible. In contrast, second-wave migrants typically speak little or no Norwegian or English and face considerable language barriers. While they rely on help from other Polish migrants, lack of bridging social capital, class tensions, an emphasis on maintaining a “Polish” life, as well as high workloads, seem to make the settlement process more difficult than desirable.

We have suggested that, as a minimum measure, Norwegian authorities need to reassess their lack of integration policies related to labour migrants, and in particular emphasise more available language courses that could enable more Polish migrants to become socially integrated in their local communities. More extensive collaboration with Polish voluntary organisations and the Catholic Church could also be potential venues for strengthening the link between the authorities and the largest migrant group in the country.

Polish families living in the Polish-Norwegian transnationality in the light of the TRANSFAM web-survey findings

Lihong Huang (NOVA HiOA), Ewa Krzaklewska, Paula Pustułka (Jagiellonian University)

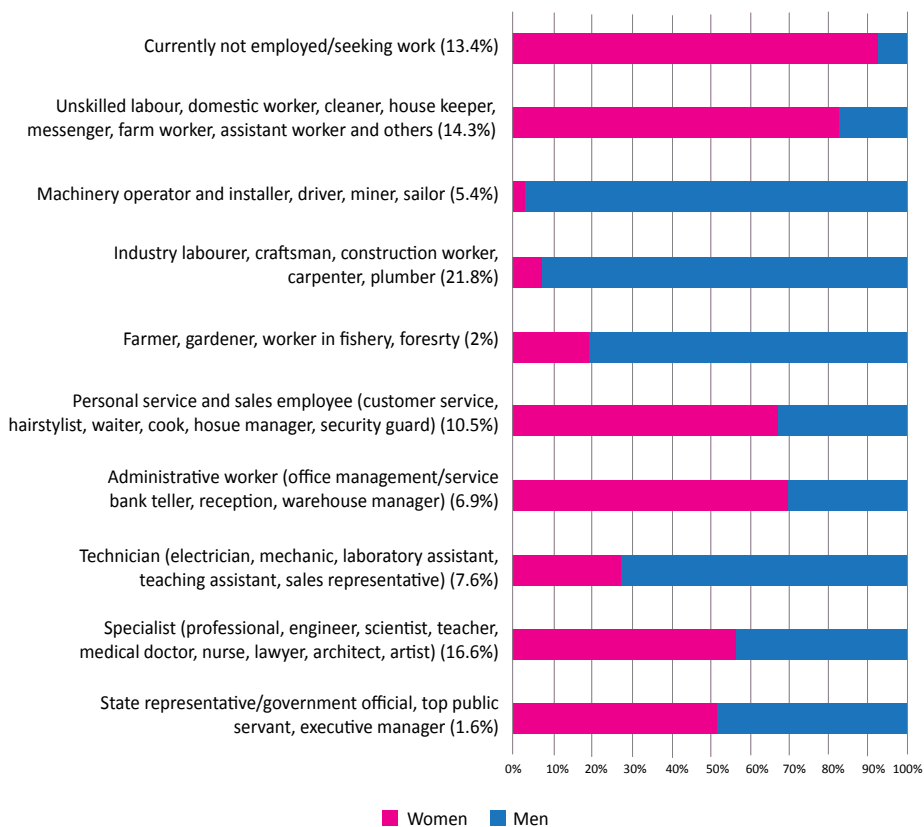
Introduction

Within the framework of Work Package 4, *Parenthood in a migrant life course perspective*, with the aim of contributing empirical evidence to a better understanding of how migrant Polish couples plan and experience their family lives in Polish-Norwegian transnationality, the TRANSFAM web survey (May-June 2015) received 648 responses. The questions in the survey include information of the respondent's personal background and that of her/his partner (age, gender, education, occupation, employment, year of migration to Norway and place of residence), children and family practices, social life and settlement choices. Comprehensive documentation for the web survey (Huang et al. 2015) can be found on the TRANSFAM project website: <http://www.transfam.socjologia.uj.edu.pl/>.

Characteristics of the sample

The data for complete responses (n=648) includes 196 (30.2%) couples without children, 437 (67.4%) couples with children, and 15 (2.3%) single parents. Among the survey respondents, 387 (59.7%) were women and 261 (40.3%) were men. The average age of respondents was 36.5 years (Standard Deviation = 8.4 years), which points to an interesting life-phase as far as career trajectories, future plans, reproduction, investments and obligations back home are concerned. In addition, 165 (25.5%) were aged 18-30 at the time of the survey. In most couples partaking in the survey, both partners were living in Norway (76% of all couples; 481 cases). With regard to family structures of the couples with children (437), 58% of the families had one child at the time of the survey, 35% had two children and only 7% families had three or more children. Over half of the children in those families (63%) were born in Poland, 36% in Norway and 1% in other countries. Respondents were highly educated in comparison with the population living in Poland, as 47% of them had university degrees and 39% were educated to secondary-school level. This corresponds to the more broadly known trend in Polish post-accession migrations, according to which many young graduates seek opportunities abroad. Most of the respondents were active in the labour market, with only 13% of men and women in the families currently not employed or seeking work. There is a clear gendered division of career path among these families, with many of the man working in heavy industry and the construction sector (40.75%) while women either worked in unskilled jobs (22.6%) or were unemployed (25%) at the time of the TRANSFAM web survey.

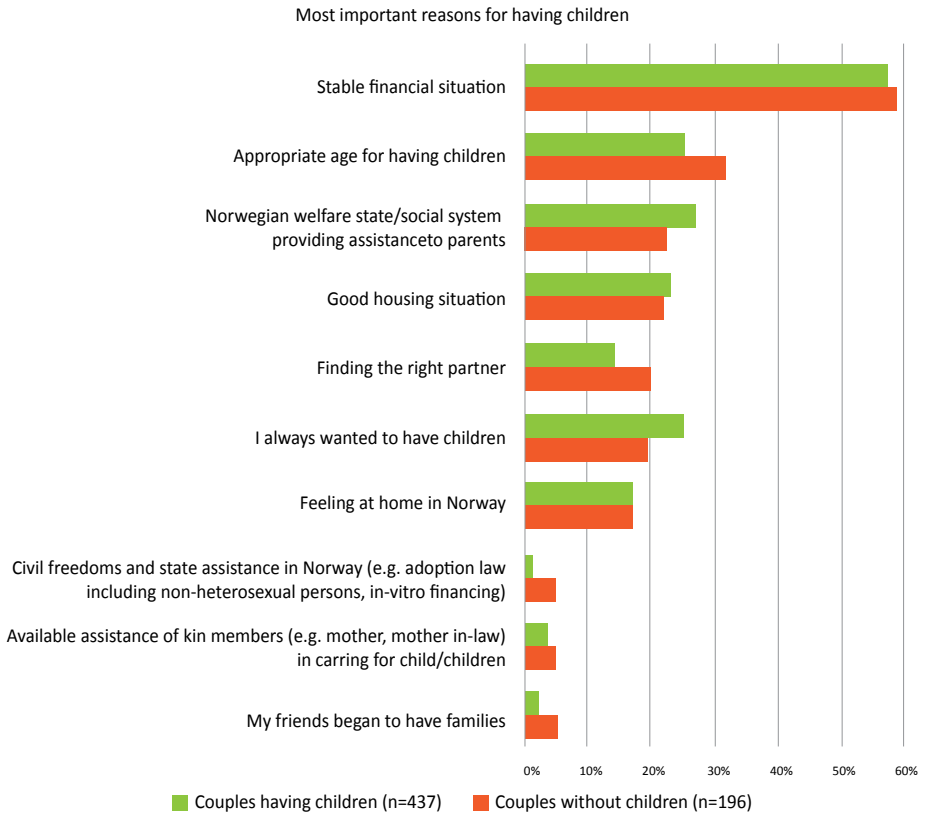
Occupation status of men and women in the families (n=633 couples only)



The majority of the families answering the survey – some 572 respondents (94%) – arrived in Norway during the period that followed Polish accession to the European Union in May 2004. The respondents’ average length of stay in Norway was 6.1 years (SD= 4.4), which again reiterates the relatively young age and recent migration. Among the heterosexual couples (97.2% of the sample), it was most often the case (72% of the families) that the man had been the first member of a family to migrate, with women joining their partners later. Overall, both members of a couple generally reside in Norway together (76% of all couples).

Reproductive behaviours

Zooming in on reproduction and fertility contexts, the formalisation of a family union seems to be a dominant pattern, as 76.1% of the respondents in couples were married and as many as 10.6% live in a formalised partnership (samboerskap). Our sample of families was dominated by homogenous intra-ethnic Polish-Polish



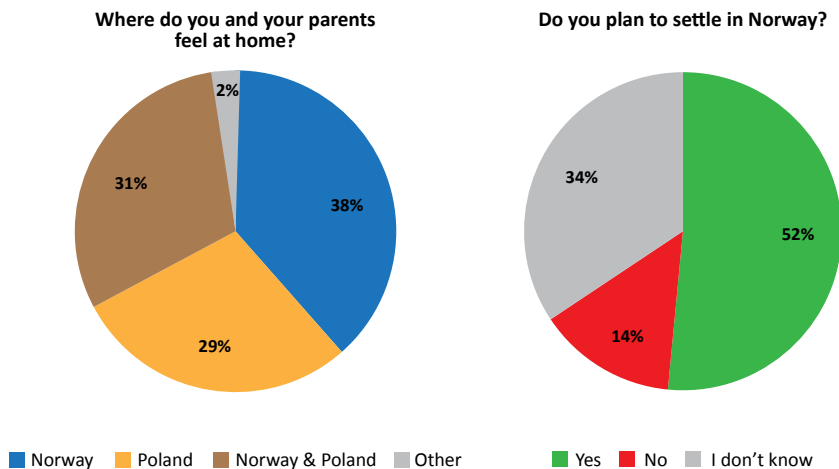
couples (589 respondents, 91%). The respondents were parents to 676 children, and most of the children were still at the very young age of under 5 years old (median 2). What is important in the migration context is that among all children, 428 (63%) were born in Poland, 241 (36%) were born in Norway and seven (1%) were born in other countries. A more general finding is that Poles in Norway seem to have a high desire to have children – they surpass the overall indicators known for Norwegians and demonstrate remaining on the desired procreation plans known from their country of origin. Overall, the survey data generally points to the fact that migration did not alter respondents’ procreation plans – 67% did not see a relationship between mobility and reproductive patterns (and 12.5% answered this question as not applicable). However, a quite large fraction of 18% saw a positive correlation between migrating to Norway and a desire to have more children.

While it could have been true that some of the couples considered their fertility careers to be concluded prior to mobility, migration and life abroad could have

revised their plans. As the below figure shows, the three most important reasons for having children were: first, stable financial situation (including good housing situation), second, appropriate age for having children, and third, the Norwegian welfare state providing assistance to new parents.

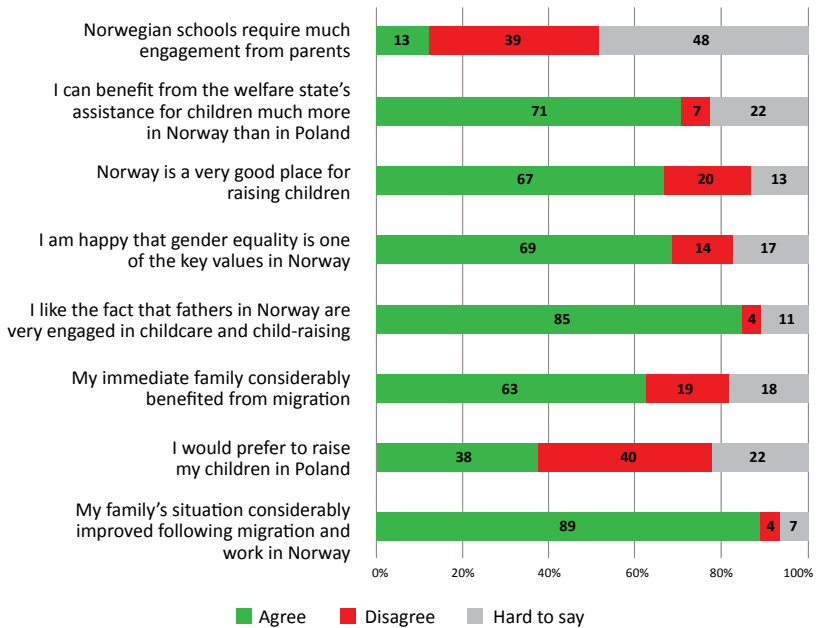
Settlement choices

Despite a relatively short stay in the destination country, the respondents have already begun to treat Norway as their home. More than a third expressed a view that their home is in Norway, and a further third pointed to both Norway and Poland as places considered home. Only a third indicated that they feel at home in Poland. In fact, about half of the respondents plan to settle in Norway (52%). Only 14% expressed certainty about their migration to Norway being only temporary and had no plans to settle.



In the web survey, the majority of respondents evaluated migration positively (89.1%) by agreeing with the statement that their family situation had improved considerably following migration and work in Norway. More than half (62.6%) agreed that their immediate family had benefited considerably from their migration. However, many respondents were in agreement with statements of what they liked about Norway being a good place for raising children (67%), with gender equality as key values of the society (68.7%) including family life and child raising (84.8%).

Evaluation of family migration to Norway



However, the responses are split with regard to preferences for raising children in Poland – almost 38% would rather bring their children up in their country of origin, yet 40% would not. The remaining 22% are undecided, and together the findings perhaps demonstrate the tensions that the migrant parents experience in hopes of balancing Polish and Norwegian influences, as well as social and cultural differences in the realms of values, traditions, norms and behaviours.

The main findings are:

The majority (94%) of the 633 couples responding to the TRANSFAM web survey (N=633) arrived in Norway after 2004, and in most cases (72%) the man was the first member of a family to migrate and women joined their partners later. In most Polish couples, both individuals were active on the Norwegian labour market, but with gendered career paths, as the largest group of men (41%) worked in industry and construction sectors while the largest group of women either worked in unskilled jobs (22.6%) or were unemployed (25%). Polish families in Norway appear to have a high desire to have children, with the three most important reasons being stable financial situation, appropriate age for having children, and the Norwegian welfare state providing assistance to new parents. Although a third of the families still only feel at home in Poland, half of the families have already planned to settle in Norway.

Polish families in Norway - relations, values and negotiations in the transnational space

Magdalena Ślusarczyk, Paula Pustułka (Jagiellonian University)

Introduction

The main objective of the TRANSFAM project, providing knowledge on the situation of Polish migrant families in Norway, could not have been achieved without fieldwork focused on the crucial area of family relations. This was the subject of Work Package 2, titled *Migrant families in Norway / structure of power relations and negotiating values and norms in transnational families*. The empirical material was gathered using the method of biographical and semi-structured interviews, offering valuable data on the experiences of partnership and parenthood in the receiving country, as well as the relationships and bonds between family members in the transnational space.

Research objectives of Work Package 2:

1) We conducted an evaluation of the strategies and determinants of integration (or the lack thereof) with the receiving society, in the specific context of migration of entire families. The respondents were therefore asked about their sense of belonging and the migration networks in which they functioned. A catalogue of observable activities in terms of social participation of migrants was also produced – including membership in Polish diaspora organisations and local clubs – as well as analysis of the level of social trust.

2) We identified of so-called “doing family” (Morgan 1996, 2011), i.e. processes of negotiating the significance of “being a family” practices in everyday life and decision making. In this area, we examined the organisation of family life, typical daily routines and the mutual obligations of family members. We asked about ways of spending free time and about family ceremonies and rituals (e.g. special occasions and celebrations, holy communion etc.). In a broader perspective, we looked at how elements of Polishness merged with practices picked up in Norway, especially specifying which values, traditions, elements of culture and linguistic competences are valued and passed on to children born and/or growing up abroad.

3) We investigated the influence the context of migration has on the quality and nature of family bonds. The respondents were asked about changes in marital relations, with a particular focus on whether the contact with the egalitarian receiving society of Norway has contributed changes in power relations, negotiating and transforming social gender roles, career paths of women and men and division of domestic and care roles in marital dyads. We took a similar

approach to analysing parent-child relations, this time with the aim of discerning and noting modifications to practices of mothering and fathering in the context of migration.

4) We examined which actions, if any, Poles are taking to maintain links with their home country. We paid attention to the network of transnational connections, strategies of care towards family – especially ageing parents – who have stayed at home, as well as difficulties concerning bidirectional transfer of social, economic and educational capital. The research also gave an insight into the dynamic of changes in identity belonging among Poles raising children in Norway.

Implementation of research, methods used and makeup of respondents:

The field research¹⁴ was based on an interpretive sociology approach, as well as an extensive tradition of qualitative field research in migration studies.

The empirical material encompassed 30 interviews with 40 respondents, as mothers and fathers as well as couples were invited to participate in the research. The methodology was constructed in accordance with the guidelines of Wengraf (2001), who recommends a pragmatic selection of a particular type of the interviewing technique, taking into consideration the subject of the research as well as the character of the population being studied. It was therefore assumed that, although the subjects of family and migration experiences would not be especially difficult for respondents, post-emigration life with children is very challenging and fast-paced, and leaves Poles with little free time. These factors dictated the practical choice of research techniques and the construction of the interview guide, which combines elements of a biographical interview with an in-depth semi-structured interview. Similar reasoning lay behind the decisions about the participant recruitment (non-randomized, deliberate convenience sample), employing the principle of maximised differentiation of respondents and a multiple entry points snowball sample.

Recruitment of respondents took place using a differentiated approach with both traditional methods (through Polish diaspora institutions, in particular the Polish schools) and innovative means such as online channels to invite families to tell their stories. The geographical key was also important, as we concentrated on migrants living in Oslo and nearby locations no more than two hours' travel from the capital.

¹⁴ The research in Work Package 2 was carried out in February and March 2014 by Dr Paula Pustulka, Inga Hajdarowicz and Anna Bednarczyk.

All interviews but one took place in respondents' homes, allowing the researchers to first-hand observe the living conditions and everyday routines of family practices. The interview began from use of an auxiliary visual technique in which the respondents were asked to mark the events considered important on a timeline of their lives. This led into a longer biographical narrative on the experiences of mobility and starting a family of procreation. When the subjects completed their narratives, we proceeded to asking about issues specified in the thematic sections of the questionnaire, which comprised the following blocks:

- a) Migration (e.g. previous experience of mobility, pattern of family migration, feelings associated with living abroad, reasons for choosing Norway as a destination country, preparations for leaving)

- b) Everyday life and family (e.g. description of a typical day/weekend/family holiday and changes in this respect after migration, ways of celebrating holidays, habits, indicators of socio-economic status, language of family life, properties owned)

- c) Couple relations (e.g. history of relationship with current partner, marital status, differences of practices in mixed relationships, gender division of responsibilities, especially care-related, power)

- d) Parenthood (e.g. reaction to news of pregnancy, influence of migration on having children, childrearing, differences in being a mother/father, raising daughters/sons, and parenthood in Poland/Norway, help from and for family)

- e) Other family relations (e.g. family remaining in Poland, their reactions to emigration, mutual support, visits to Poland)

- f) Institutions (e.g. experiences with education system, engagement in school life, diaspora organisations, religious life, contacts with Norwegian bureaucracy and health service)

- g) Work (e.g. profession, education, career path, nature of work, opinions on Norwegian vs Polish labour market).

After collection of the above information, at the end of the meeting the respondents were also asked to complete a printed social network graph, on which they indicated their degree of relations and contacts with "significant others".

The interviews were processed on the basis of analytical grids and open coding, which allowed us to form a categorisation schema in a thematic analysis – initially in individual interviews (cases) and then comparatively for the whole empirical material.

The respondents, 33 women and 7 men, were aged 29 to 54 (mean 37.5) and had been living outside of Poland for between 6 months and 20 years (mean 8.5 years). They were living in Norway with children of various ages: from 5 months to adult (23 years). The group differed in terms of place of origin (the respondents came from all regions of Poland, both large cities and rural areas), education and professional status. Notably, the last two characteristics confirmed the trend of migrants having higher education in comparison to the general population of Poland. At the same time, their professional status in Norway was generally lower, and some of them had objectively experienced deskilling.

Research results

Presented below are the most important results of the research conducted among Polish families. A more extensive discussion of the results can be found in various publications (see project bibliography).

1. *Integration with Norwegian society*

Analysing the question of integration of migrants, we can discern a multidimensionality of experiences of Poles in Norway, and the dimensions of integration of migrants are closely related to their individual choices regarding social participation, the mesostructures determining the available infrastructure of organisations and associations, as well as the macrolevel of the policies of the inflow country. In their statements, above all the respondents report successes of integration in their operation on the labour market, although they also point to their linguistic competences and social networks.

The research examined migrants' career paths, which showed that the majority of respondents quickly found work and were positive in their assessment of the Norwegian labour market. But what could be seen were certain differences in terms of gender (women were more vulnerable to being outside the labour market on a long-term basis), as well as considerable experience of deskilling. However, the migrants often perceived their objectively inferior professional position as acceptable, owing to the fact that employment in Norway is characterised by predictability, stabilisation and a wide range of welfare state protections (Ślusarczyk, Pustułka 2016b, forthcoming). The earnings commanded by Poles in Norway permit them to live, as they put it, "normally", meaning at a level

satisfying the needs of the family, and even making savings, without any particular sacrifices. It is worth noting that the structure and legal regulations that govern the Norwegian labour market promote a work-life balance, the result of which is improvement in family relations, which had often been tense before the decision to migrate. In Norway, the experiences left behind in Poland of a lack of economic stability and subsequent worsening relations are changed into new models of spending free time, with more “quality time” devoted to the family.

“Michał comes home from work at half past three and later we plan the day for spending time together...” /Magda and Michał/

Migrant parents perceive their relations in Norway from the perspective of the adaptation of their children, who attend nurseries, pre-schools and schools in the host country. A large number of parents had received support from the school or pre-school. The majority of respondents give a positive evaluation of working with the teachers, and believe that their children are doing well in Norwegian school, with some mentioning their spectacular successes. For the parents, the young generation’s integration seems to be proceeding smoothly, even if there are difficulties initially with socio-cultural adaptation, including language acquisition. In summary, on the one hand children’s identity choices, preferences of place to live and sense of belonging (see also Pustułka, Ślusarczyk, Strzemecka 2015) have a strong effect on their parents’ migratory decisions. Rather than following the model of chaotic or unplanned departures and returns, parents are reconciled to the fact that for the sake of their children (and then grandchildren) they will stay in Norway for good, even if they do not see this as being the best decision for themselves. On the other hand, outside of work and school, adult Poles only participate in Norwegian social life to a limited extent.

Very few of the respondents were involved in local community activity, and membership in local clubs or Polish diaspora organisations was only recorded to a marginal degree. This conclusion from the research is a concern, as the Norwegian model of life based on volunteering, local neighbourhood cooperation and social trust remains unknown to Polish migrants (see Guribye, Pustułka, Ślusarczyk 2016). We can identify several possible reasons for this. The first is the relatively short time the respondents had spent in Norway and their strong concentration on basic needs – acquiring a stable job and organising family life. A further reason is to an extent the fact that they maintain social distance, perceiving Norwegians as unwilling to form new relations, and at the same time not making any attempts to form close contacts, which is also partly explained by a lack of fluency in the local language. In principle, however, the respondents stressed that they felt accepted by Norwegian society, although the situation of parents of school-aged children

places them in a different situation, as one of the principles of Norwegian school is working closely on the school-home axis, with parents even giving extra-curricular lessons. After a time, having found this education system hard to accept early on, the respondents adapted to it, and noted that it gave them opportunities for integrating with the local community (see also Ślusarczyk, Pustułka, 2016a).

Two factors which apparently have a positive correlation with relatively strong links and integration are length of stay abroad and binational relationships. Although integration proceeds differently, and not at the same speed in various families, having children growing up in Norway acts as a strong motivation to Polish migrant parents to integrate with a view to plans for long-term migration.

2. Migrants' everyday lives and changes in family practices

The everyday lives of migrants were the main area of our research. Starting from the question of the values that migrants would like to pass on to their children, we can observe that, while the respondents are slowly entering Norwegian society, soon after arrival in the country they reflect upon how to combine their Polish roots with everyday Norwegian realities. Polish parents in Norway above all stress the importance of universal values such as good, truth and honesty, and would like their children to follow these in their adult lives; some of them also consider it important to pass on their faith (see also Pustułka, Ślusarczyk 2016a, forthcoming).

Changes in power relations in couples, negotiations of gender contracts and work-home balance were positioned differently. The last of these is possible thanks not only to better earnings, but especially to the labour law, which is more favourable to workers. The structural changes, increased equality of parental roles and partnership-based division of domestic duties are a result of the social policy of the welfare state, and migrants' new social situation translates directly to practices of family life as well as individual opportunities and choices (Pustułka, Ślusarczyk, 2016b, forthcoming). Poles are also relatively quick to adopt the characteristically Scandinavian, active style of spending free time doing sport and spending time in the fresh air with children, regardless of the weather. The migrants often spoke of a new, more relaxed and healthy lifestyle or investments in free time spent together with the whole family, as well as active sportiness and personal development. It was clearly perceived that the process of settling or "social anchoring" in Norway changes the significance of the home, reconfiguring the practices of domestic rituals, celebrating religious and family events and marking holidays ("our way", "like the Norwegians"). The belief in having a home and being "at home" in Norway was formed by investments (e.g. purchase of property), social relations (e.g. forming local friendships), and in routine and apparently banal culinary practices in migrants' homes, in which we observed a cross-section of dishes served, from

Polish and Norwegian cuisine to inspirations from around the world (Ślusarczyk, Pustułka 2016c, forthcoming).

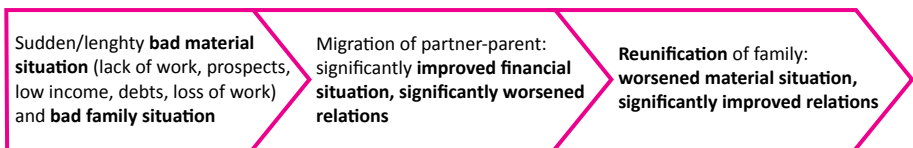
The changes in everyday life also feature wider transformations in models of migrant families and reproductive practices. After migration, procreation plans that would have been hard to pursue in Poland turn out to be possible, with social, economic and professional stabilisation leading many families to decide to have a larger number of children (Pustułka, Krzaklewska, Huang, 2016).

3. Family bonds in the migration context

The opening of EU and EEA borders and labour markets seems to have had the effect of making migration no longer seem the momentous and irrevocably life-changing event that it once was. This confirms the idea of the strong influence of the so-called migration culture (White 2011), which means that young Poles are “socialised into migration” (Botterill 2011: 51). At the same time, migration evidently becomes a family project which does not necessarily mean a worse quality of bonds. Perhaps Polish familialism and care for family as a key value again comes into play, because although it would seem that economic problems ought to make migrants careful when relocating, many families take a binding decision even in the planning phase for parents to emigrate together with children, often all at once. One of our most important conclusions, therefore, is that factors related to survival of the family and maintaining (or regaining or creating) high-quality bonds and close family relations are much more important for migrants than economic issues such as earnings or accumulation of capital:

“It wasn’t a question of me going away to earn – before looking for work we’d decided that if I went, we’d all go.” /Beata and Przemek/

It seems that there is a trend whereby families no longer follow the model of long-term travels back and forth, or circular and pendular migration. Among our respondents, family reunification took place quickly, frequently according to the below outline of a family trajectory with a brief separation phases:



The reunification of the family thus takes place even at the cost of a renewed (temporary) worsening of the economic aspect:

“We don’t have much, but we don’t need much, there’s nothing fancy here, as you can see, but we have each other, we have the children, and we get by.” /Beata and Przemek/

As we indicated in the previous section on practices, family bonds too are beginning to occupy a more central place in respondents’ narratives. Although the respondents’ first impulse in the interviews was to deny that their marital relations or relationship with their children had changed much, after a moment of reflection they acknowledged a significant improvement in the quality of relations. They stated that they had noticed changes in their parenting practices, including a positive change to fathers’ involvement in raising their children (Pustułka, Struzik Ślusarczyk 2015). Based on the collected narratives, we distinguished a continuum of fatherhood practices that reflect wider transformations in masculinity, from fathers characterised by resistance to engaged fatherhood to those who fully adopted the Norwegian model, taking paternity leave and building strong bonds with their offspring. We also noted that the family today is understood in much broader, dynamic terms, and so-called “significant others” comprise not just family members but also friends of various nationalities, and even pets (see Struzik, Pustułka 2016, forthcoming).

To summarise the responses to the questions in the above areas, we can state that to a greater or lesser extent migration leads to changes in family and parenting practices, as well as demanding renegotiation of values and norms.

4. Transnational practices of Polish families in Norway

Concentrating on constitutive family practices in making decisions to migrate, and perceiving these practices as constructed dynamically by the members of families equipped with agency (cf. Morgan 2011, Finch 2007), our research confirms the conclusions of researchers on transnational families. Emigration does not erase previous family practices and commitments, and it might even especially highlight the feeling of unity and “familyhood” (cf. Bryceson, Vuorela 2002). In our research, we came across vast and diverse reserves of transnational practices, including:

- Maintaining family connections through technological development via electronic communications devices or taking advantage of cheap transport to and from Poland.
- Making use of Polish services, planning trips to Poland taking into account medical examinations, dental check-ups, or shopping.
- Transnational care and support both from family remaining in Poland (“flying grandmas”) and of parents and grandparents left behind. These practices

often expanded to further family members and embraced help, seeking work, home renovations and temporary stays in Norway.

- Participation in church services in Polish, Polish religious instruction, and sending children to Polish school to increase their language competences and allow them to retain strong links with the country.
- Holidays and other stays in Poland planned to satisfy intergenerational commitments, sustain Polish identity and transmit it to children, or implement certain values in keeping with Polish customs (e.g. children taking their First Communion in Poland).

The transnationality of Polish migrant families is strongly gendered, as it is mostly women who ensure that links are maintained with the homeland. We categorised women's intergenerational and transnational experiences in an article on the ambivalence of returns (Pustułka, Ślusarczyk 2016a, forthcoming). We also showed that family practices during female migrants' visits to Poland are divided into compensatory and cultivating, and, to a lesser extent, activities focused on their own visiting needs. Women satisfy a moral, cultural and emotional obligation to provide care to parents, in-laws or other members of family structures who have remained in Poland, compensating for their everyday absence. Similarly, it is mostly mothers who are responsible for socialisation of children, attempting to provide the young generation raised in Norway with cultural contact through cultivation of Polishness. We might call their strategies in this area educational transnationalism, meaning diversification of the practices and strategies that provide children with bi- or multilingualism, and at least knowledge, if not roots in Polish culture. Mothers also invest in the potential possibility of moving from one education system to another (e.g. considering their children embarking on higher education in Poland), as well as making use of Polish supplementary education (e.g. Polish Saturday schools, Polish-language religious instruction).

The respondents also make use of the benefits of accessibility and lack of costs of new communication technologies, which Vertovec called "social glue". Although most emphasised that a direct meeting with family and friends during a visit to Poland was irreplaceable, they saw technologies allowing frequent – often daily or hours-long – contacts with loved ones in Poland or other countries as an extra option for key transnational family practices (see also Pustułka 2015).

Conclusion

In summary of Work Package 2 of the TRANSFAM project, our analysis of the migrant family goes beyond a narrow examination of the material conditions of emigration, the level of earnings, labour market and monetary transfers,

concentrating instead on the social remittances (Levitt 1998) and affective dimension (Pratt 2012, Parreñas 2001). The data gathered in the research provided valuable information on types of families, strategies of building family life in the transnational space, respondents' migration trajectories, negotiation of norms and values, migrants' intergenerational commitments and ways of satisfying them, as well as transnational practices encompassing both migrants themselves and further family members in Norway and Poland. We were able to perceive transformations in definition of gender roles in families in the context of the Norwegian society, as well as various aspects of power in migrant families. The respondents' narratives tackled difficult themes, albeit crucial ones for social policies, of identity and sense of belonging, along with emotions connected to the needs and difficulties encountered during the long process of settling and putting down roots in Norwegian society. We took a comprehensive approach to research not just on the trajectories of migrants on the labour market, but also respondents' children's opportunities in a multigenerational perspective, and family's lifecourse. Worth noting is the fact that, in the Polish context, migration of families and the experience of Polish families living abroad has only recently begun to grow in popularity as a separate subject of study (e.g. White 2011, Ryan, Sales 2013).

Children's experience of growing up transnationally

Krystyna Slany, Stella Strzemecka (Jagiellonian University)

Introduction

Norway is a country characterised by dynamic and fundamental social changes. A society which just a few decades ago was comparatively homogeneous is becoming heterogeneous and multicultural. In Work Package 5, entitled *Children's experience of growing up transnationally*, we attempted to explore the way the children of Polish migrants grow up in this changing society, i.e. from the perspective of the youngest actors of the migration process. The methods used to collect the empirical material were semi-structured interviews, drawings, an incomplete sentences test and observation accompanying interviews, and provided original data encompassing the complex experiences of children in the Polish-Norwegian transnational space. The material we gathered made it possible to examine and give examples of the experiences of children in the areas of family and peer and school life.

Research aims

The main objective of Work Package 5 was to investigate the course of the process by which the children of Polish migrants in Norway adapt to peer groups, school life, free-time activities and life in the wider community. Further aims were:

- To show children's experience of growing up in a transnational space from a wide perspective and from their own point of view (child-centred approach)
- To present migration and its influence on the family, family practices, maintaining transnational bonds and formation of the sense of belonging
- To examine the opportunities, barriers and challenges for integration in educational institutions and the peer community from children's perspective
- To hold workshops for migrant families
- To develop recommendations regarding the educational and integrational problems of the children of Polish migrants in Norway.

Methodology, fieldwork and characteristics of respondents

The methodological framework of the research on children was based on a leading approach in contemporary sociology of childhood – the child-centred approach. The children were thus treated as active subjects, partners and experts regarding their own lives, and their experiences were placed at the centre of the research process (e.g. Corsaro 2011; Hyvönena et al. 2014).

The research with children took place from January to May 2014 in Oslo and border

counties (up to 200 km away).¹

The fieldwork commenced with ethnographic observation of the Polish community and expert interviews. In total, we conducted 20 semi-structured interviews with Polish and Norwegian experts (mostly with teachers, academics, diaspora leaders, social workers and clergymen). The sample was targeted, using a so-called snowball approach to reach the respondents. Among the topics we asked the experts about during the interviews were the situation of the children of Polish migrants in the family and in the institutions which they represented.

After an initial overview of the research terrain came the main research, i.e. that with children. For this we recruited parents with children. During the recruitment we benefited from the support of the experts whom we had interviewed, migrant acquaintances and Polish diaspora institutions. The empirical material encompassed 50 interviews with 53 children (25 girls, 28 boys), as children were invited to participate in the research both individually and with their siblings. The research participants were children aged 6-13 living permanently in Norway, born mostly in Poland (32 respondents), in Norway (20 respondents) and in the United Kingdom (1 respondent) to nationally homogeneous (Polish-Polish) and mixed couples. At the time of the research, the children were attending Norwegian primary school and were able to speak Polish to (at least) a communicative level. The children varied in terms of family type (nuclear family, including cohabitation, non-heteronormative family, single-parent family and reconstructed family), parents' origin (mostly Poland and Norway), parents' education (vocational, technical, secondary, higher) and parents' professional status (manual and white-collar workers; for more see Slany, Strzemecka 2015a). All interviews took place in the children's flats/houses (mostly in their rooms). The researchers were therefore able to observe the everyday practices in the private space.

After obtaining written consent of a parent and a verbal consent of a child who was to participate in the study, the interview began by using a drawing technique, in which the children were asked to draw their family, and then their school. The drawings were treated as an encouragement for further discussion with the children. If the child did not feel like drawing, he/she usually suggested other activities to the researcher (e.g. looking at a family photo album, playing a game or looking at souvenirs). During these activities we asked about issues specified in the research manual, which included such areas as:

- Identity and sense of belonging: strategies of constructing and negotiating

¹ Conducted by Stella Strzemecka, MA with the support of Anna Bednarczyk, Inga Hajdarowicz and Dr Justyna Bell (over the course of two weeks).

identity and the child's attachment to various people, places and things in specific contexts (family, school, peer groups) and future plans.

- Family and free time: relations with parents, siblings and relatives in Poland, Norway and other countries, types and frequency of transnational contacts, perception of gender roles, parents' situation on the labour market, interests and models for spending free time, holidays, winter breaks and summer vacation.
- School and learning as well as peers and friends: relations with parents, assessment of support received from school, extracurricular classes, linguistic competences and preferences, peer-group relations, networks of friends, ways and degrees of integration, attitudes towards diversity.

The methods were used as flexibly as possible and adjusted to the child's preferences, competences and feelings (Wilkinson 2000).

At the end of the meeting, older children (aged 9-13) were also asked to fill an incomplete sentences test. The task involved completing sentences prepared previously with the answers that first came to mind. The test was composed of 11 sentences (e.g. My friends are..., My school is..., My family is..., My home is..., When I grow up I would like to live in...). The child had three language versions of the test to choose from (Polish, Norwegian, English).

During the five-month fieldwork, we were able to accumulate extensive empirical material from the meetings with the children. In total we collected 50 interviews, 60 drawings and 24 incomplete sentences tests.

Research results

Below we present the main conclusions from the research with the group of children born in Poland.





1. National identifications and sense of belonging after the children's migration

The migration event – the result of parents' economic migrations – and the everyday life of the family in the Polish-Norwegian transnational space give rise to complex dilemmas in the child associated with national identification and the sense of belonging. Based on Antonina Kłoskowska's (1996) concept of national identification and cultural valence,² we identified four types of national identification:

² National identification concerns the declared designation of the individual in national and ethnic categories, encompassing subjective and objective factors. Cultural valence, meanwhile, refers to assimilation of culture and regarding it as one's own (see Kłoskowska 1996).

- a) Polish-Norwegian bivalence
- b) Ambivalence
- c) Polish univalence
- d) Norwegian univalence.

Table 1. National identity types present among children of Polish migrants born in Poland, currently living in Norway, based on the children's declaration

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
Univalence – Poland	Univalence – Norway	Bivalence – Poland and Norway	Ambivalence
 Poland	 Norway	 Poland Norway	 Poland Norway
<p>Inherent and integral national identification with Poland</p> <p>Special attachment to Polish culture e.g. use of Polish language, maintenance of family ties, return to Poland, do not follow some specific Nordic norms (e.g. “candy day”).</p>	<p>Inherent and integral national identification with Norway</p> <p>Selecting Norway as one’s place of settlement/ centre of life, using Norwegian language in the everyday life, at home and in school, produce an original version of specific Nordic norms (e.g. “candy day”) or adapt the norms unchanged.</p>	<p>Double national identification</p> <p>Preference for both what is Polish and what is Norwegian. Confident use of both languages, create an original version of specific Nordic norms (e.g. “candy day”).</p>	<p>Ambivalent national identification</p> <p>Uncertainty of one parent’s living situation causes fears, depression, poor results at school, insufficient knowledge of Norwegian, no sentiment for one’s space/place of life, do not adopt specific Nordic norms (e.g. “candy day”) or create their original versions.</p>

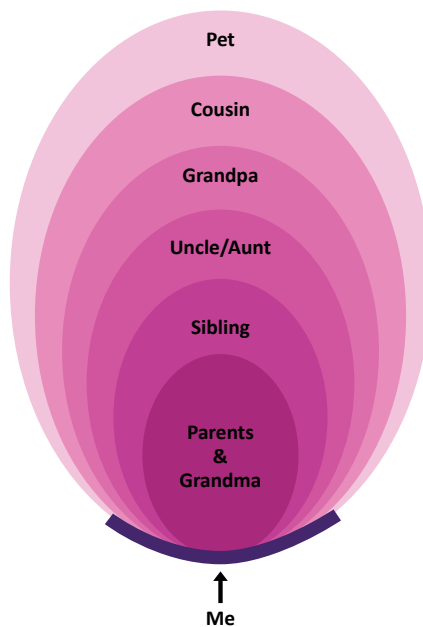
Source: Based on A. Kłoskowska (1996).

The dominant type of identification manifested by children – Polish-Norwegian bivalence – should be perceived as a positive factor that can make it easier to construct bridging social capital (Putnam 2000) between the sending and receiving society. The second type of identification, meanwhile – ambivalence – should be regarded as a challenge of integration. Children manifesting uncertainty towards identification experience a loss of the place they have earned in their country of origin, and are also not fully adjusted to the Norwegian demands of functioning in the peer community and school (Strzemecka 2015; Slany, Strzemecka 2016a). Irrespective of the type of identification manifested, it is important to note that the identifications of children observed in the research is processual and negotiable. They will therefore change as their time spent in Norway continues and the longer they practise life in the Polish-Norwegian transnational space (see Slany, Strzemecka 2016a).

2. Transnational intergenerational arc

The research showed that children initiate, mobilise and maintain family bonds in the Polish-Norwegian social space (Slany, Strzemecka 2015b). The children's practices aiming at strengthening family bonds include regular visits of family members (e.g. during holidays), sending text messages, communicating via Skype and making surprises (e.g. unannounced visits for grandmother's birthday). The research revealed that the transnational family is a peculiar sociometric structure in which children's affective choices most frequently fall on their mother, father and grandmother, as well, interestingly, as pets, regarded as family members

Figure 1. The most important people in children's lives according to their own perception.



Migration is a phenomenon that emphasises the important and unique (from the child's point of view) grandmother-grandchild relationship. Based on the research, we can form a hypothesis on the importance of the so-called transnational intergenerational arc, saying that in the context of international mobility children form strong ties with their (great-)grandparents. Children are bonded particularly strongly to their (great-)grandmothers - in some cases even more so than with parents. A grandmother is not just only the person who sends parcels to Norway, but above all she plays the role of friend (the grandmother and grandchild go to the cinema together, on holiday, or watch game shows, while commenting on

them over the telephone). Moreover, she gives invaluable emotional support – especially in the more difficult moments in school life.

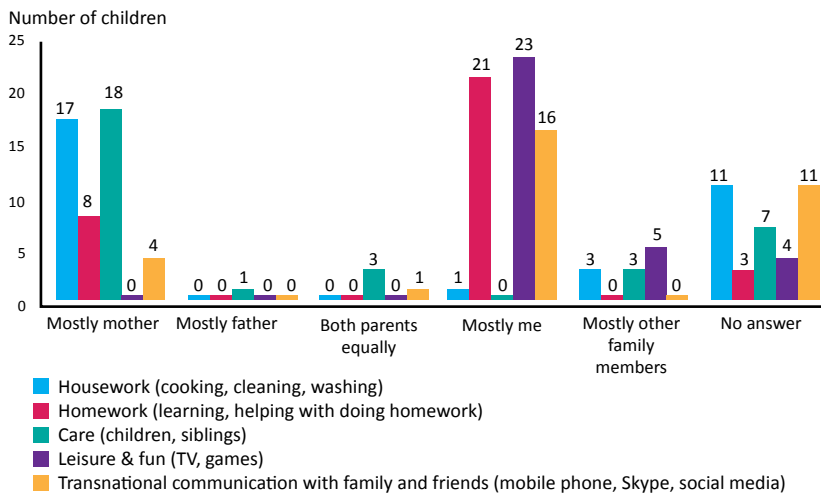
“[...] I speak to grandma over the phone every Saturday. [...] I also write text messages, mhm, for instance when I feel sad or angry. But I always phone on Saturdays, always. And every Saturday when I call grandma our favourite TV show “Bet a million” [Polish TV competition aired on public TV] is on. So we always watch it together, only we talk about it over the phone. And sometimes when I have to fall asleep and can’t, then I pretend that grandma is next to me. Yes, always when I go to Poland I sleep with grandma. B. [girl’s younger brother] likes to sleep with mum and dad on my bed in Poland, an orange one [...] I sleep with grandma and a cousin, but a grandfather snores and has a very strange bed.” /Aneta, aged 9/

The transnational intergenerational arc is thus a kind of relational space that permits family bonds to be maintained and strengthened, and consequently leads to an increase in migratory social capital.

3. Family practices and gender roles from the children’s perspective

Analysing the question of family practices and gender roles, the children’s statements reveal that that perceive the division of roles and responsibilities in their family in what we might call a traditional way (Slany, Strzemecka 2015). In the children’s perception, there is a clear division between productive work, appertaining to fathers, and reproductive work, which is the domain of mothers.

Graph 1. Household responsibilities in the eyes of a child



In families at the “getting started” stage it is difficult to realise egalitarian models of family life. Parents mostly practise a so-called “mixed model”, in which the woman, alongside her professional work, is responsible for most domestic chores.

This leads to the interpretation that migrant mothers sustain and practise the cultural model of the “Mother Pole”. Their children perceive them as carers and managers of the home, although in fact most of them go to work to increase the family income.

“I guess mum simply likes to spend time with us... just hang out, yyy, spend time...yyy, and take care of us...care for us. [It is] Mum [’s task]. She is to know what we are doing and where. She frequently calls and asks where we are and what we are up to, [for example] when we are at the playground.”
/Wojciech, aged 12/

As for the father, children perceive his main role mostly from the perspective of the family’s material prosperity, indicating that the father is the family’s main breadwinner.

“Mum is [responsible] for doing sports, dad is for working [...] And dad works with this because he wants to do right by the family [...] Dad’s work [is establishing] rules, at Statoil, there. It is not really very interesting, but dad works with that so that [there is] money for the family.” */Marta, aged 9/*

In the children’s eyes, the mother’s professional work is less valued than that of the father, as a result not just of the lower earnings but also of the children’s expectations with regard to the mother’s duty at home and in the family. Children also pointed to their fathers’ frequent physical absence at home and lesser engagement in care for the children. Many fathers are unable to participate in everyday care practices, even if they would like to, as they often work late hours not just in the week, but also at weekends (e.g. doing renovations or building work). None of the children spoke overtly of any conflicts between their parents owing to division of roles and responsibilities in the family.

4. Children’s experience of school and peer community

Norwegian school is a new educational and pedagogical order for the children. They find entry to the Norwegian school and peer community to be an intense experience, in particular those children who attended school in Poland (Strzemecka 2015). This conclusion confirms the specific problems of the “1.5” generation, i.e. migrants born in their parents’ country of origin and raised at least partly in the

receiving country). They state that different rules and standards apply in Norway than in Poland (e.g. different premises of the education system, friendships “with everybody”, greater openness and equality, and going outside regardless of the weather). The children stressed that the need to have “the strength” to enter the new school and peer community. They therefore need support both at home (from family members) and at school (from teachers and peers). The research demonstrated that a child’s general sense of satisfaction with school life was affected to a substantial extent by the family situation – e.g. the family’s economic situation, the child’s and parents’ competences in Norwegian, and relations between home and school (Strzemecka 2015). Children often also pointed to the important role of the teacher, who could influence better functioning in school. They appreciated the practical and psychological support teacher offered, especially in the initial post-migration phase.

“[...] when I was six, we came here. And, and I didn’t know Norwegian at all, and the day after we came, I already had to go to school. (...) but I had this teacher who was Polish too. She taught me. [...] she’s very nice. [...] she helps me to understand. [...] She goes to another room, and explains it to us. And then an assistant looks after the other children in the classroom.” /Aneta, aged 9/

As for contacts with peers, the research showed that the children feel lonely and rejected, especially at the start of their stay in Norway. With time, though, influenced by their acquired competences in Norwegian, the group dynamic and openness of their peers (Gordon et al. 2000), the child’s network of contacts begins to grow thicker and more diverse (including in terms of the ethnicity, sex and age of peers).

“[...] from the first year I went to school [in Norway] I didn’t have many friends. Then in the second year... [...] I knew [Norwegian], but you could still just about hear I wasn’t from Norway. Then in the second year you could hear I was from Norway, that everything right... Actually I still didn’t have friends and I argued a lot. I mean they argued with me, teased me, that was the case till maybe the fifth year. In fact those were quite difficult times for me, because they almost rejected me from their circle, I was alone. Now I’m more with friends, we’re more together.” /Wojciech, aged 12/

Conclusion

For children, international migration is a turning point in their lives. The world known and close to them becomes distant, replaced by a world that is to a certain extent incomprehensible, which the children gradually internalise. Growing up

for the children of Polish migrants involves a set of experiences linked to such experiences as reconstructing identity, maintaining transnational family bonds within the transnational intergenerational arc, redefining family and gender roles and integration into the school and peer community. The possible consequences caused by the migration event, which requires the children to get to know a new country in order to function effectively in a complex order of social relationships, are diverse. This is not as a target state, but rather as a dynamic process encompassing the sequence of events that the child's joining a new society entails (Grzymała-Kazłowska 2008; Biernath 2008). Our research showed that children bear high costs as a result of integration in the initial phase of their stay in Norway. However, as reflexive and critical subjects, children take the trouble to enter Norwegian society. They seek to actively reconstruct and find a place for themselves, despite the temporary sense of their own distinctiveness. Assimilation of the language of the accepting country – in as short a time as possible – is the key to participation in the peer community and school life. The research revealed that children generally manifest attitudes of openness combined with curiosity regarding what might prove valuable for them in the culture of the new country. Based on the conclusions from Work Package 5 presented in this Report and other publications (e.g. Slany, Strzemecka 2015; Pustułka, Ślusarczyk, Strzemecka 2015; Strzemecka 2015; Slany, Strzemecka 2016a, b, c), we can state that the voices of migrant children not only bring a cognitively and empirically original input to our knowledge on migration among children, but also develop an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of migration of families.

Integration and reintegration of Polish children in school

Randi Wærdahl (Agder Research)

Introduction

Poland's 2004 accession to the European Union and the European free movement of labour introduced the Polish family as a new group of migrants to Norway. Although many thousands of new Polish migrants initially register as temporary workers, their temporality can soon become long-term, once they decide to settle down with a family in Norway. Poles are in general "wanted immigrants", as well-functioning labour force. However, we do not have sufficient knowledge about what Polish migrant families need with regard to their transition to Norwegian society and effective integration into the country's institutions.

In TRANSFAM Work Package 7, *Integration and re-integration of Polish children in school*, we focused primarily on the integration of Polish children in Norwegian schools, bearing in mind the issue of possible reintegration of Polish children in Polish schools should their parents decide to return to Poland.

Initially we intended to interview teachers, parents and children in this study, but due to failure to obtain permission from parents to interview the children in school, the findings in the study are based on interviews with teachers, teachers' helpers in schools with Polish children in the South of Norway, Polish parents in the same region and from the Oslo region, a couple of classroom observations as well as some roundtable discussions with social workers and researchers of social work, social welfare and social policy. In addition to this, we conducted a limited number of interviews with parents that have returned to Poland with their children.

Where are the Polish children in Norway?

The first finding can be classified as a discovery. In interviews and conversations with teachers and social workers, it became obvious that it was hard to pinpoint what the special characteristics of the Polish school children were, and what the special challenges were, if at all, tied to their school life. No agreement was articulated on what the challenges were, and some were even a bit annoyed that the researchers were creating a "problem", where there seemed to be none. From one of the classroom observations we also noted that the observer had some difficulties identifying who the Polish children in the classroom were. Combined with this, we also initially experienced some difficulty identifying Polish children in Norwegian statistics, as here too they seem to blend in either with the general crowd, or by being classified in groups with other immigrants or children with a second language. This finding led us to investigate *the invisibility of the Polish child in the Norwegian classroom* further.

In international research, invisibility has been studied both in terms of power, where making groups invisible is a means of suppressing their needs and voices, and in terms of integration, where invisibility is seen as a two-sided issue. On the one hand, blending in is good and makes integration unproblematic, while on the other hand, it can hide other issues that may be crucial for the hidden groups' well-being. So first we proceeded to ask if we could identify what made the Polish child invisible in the classroom. We further needed to ask ourselves if we, by raising the question of inclusion of Polish children in Norwegian schools, had indeed created a problem, rather than offering advice to relive challenges in the classroom?

Individual competitiveness, egalitarianism and levelling out of differences

When people meet and interact for their mutual benefit, there is an inherent propensity to look for similarities. What makes us the same? On what basis can we collaborate? When the setting is a Norwegian school, the inclination to look for similarities and to level out differences is even stronger than in Norwegian society in general. In Norway, childhood seems to be the epicentre of egalitarianism, expressed and actively pursued through different cultural practices. Introducing Polish children to Norwegian school accentuates the similarities between the children and their backgrounds. From the way they look to the familiarity of a European cultural background, Polish children are expected to make a smooth, unproblematic transition to Norwegian schools as soon as the language issues are resolved.

However, once we start to analyse the interviews of teachers and parents in more detail, there appear to be differences in the interpretations and understanding of school as an institution, in the expectations of the education system and of how children should behave or dress, or what they should do to succeed as a student, a friend, and a good son or daughter. Most of these expectations are not explicit, so there is plenty of room for failure in the game of fitting in, being acknowledged and succeeding.

Unspoken values and conceptualisations can create opposing practices in the effort to provide the best school and learning conditions for the child. Our analysis shows that one overarching cultural value applied to the inclusion of Polish children in Norwegian schools is embedded in the characteristics of the two educational systems. The dichotomy that stands out is competition versus egalitarianism (see Muchacka 2015). From this overarching dichotomy, many other dichotomies follow. Within competitive individualism and a hierarchical thought style, a child is recognised by his/her place and ability to abide by the rules of this place. Being "the good and obedient child" is a good thing. In an egalitarian thought

style, your status is not defined by your place in the structure, or by who you are (characterised by age, gender and so on) but by what you do. The “competent child” will be praised for being self-reliant and responsible. This is the child of the “negotiating family” – a model that has been identified as the most common one for Norwegian families.

A “European” background can easily provide a cover of sameness, which makes it harder to acknowledge differences. Europeans are supposed to share some set of common values, reference the same cultural and political history (however diverse), and in general be similar in the way we evaluate right and wrong. Of course, this is far from the truth when we look closely at it. It is still something people with an egalitarian orientation like to think is true. That kind of egalitarian inclusiveness entails feeling uncomfortable talking about “cultural differences”, because there is always a normative judgment of “good” or “bad” lurking behind such talk. This fear of not being accepting and tolerant leads to strategies that “contain diversity” rather than celebrating the multicultural.

Fundamental differences between the two school systems

By comparing the mission statements of the Norwegian and Polish educational systems, we find that there are some fundamental differences to how the systems understand the learning process as well as how knowledge is defined. While the Norwegian educational platform talks extensively about the learning processes and how learning should promote independent, creative thinking as well as problem-solving skills, the Polish system promotes learning processes and levels of knowledge that are age-appropriate, and can be tested and measured. The competitive construction of the schooling system goes hand in hand with a large curriculum and lecture-based didactic methods. Although testing has become increasingly important in Norwegian schools over the last decades, there is still a system of evaluation, and no grading until the 6th year, where some grades are introduced. From the 8th year, full grading in all subjects is introduced.

These fundamental differences are felt strongly by Polish parents when they are first introduced to the Norwegian school system through their children. They feel that the system is hard to understand at first. Some start searching for schools that put more emphasis on achievement, or they compensate what they perceive as lack of knowledge with extra home schooling. After some time, it seems that parents learn to appreciate the participatory teaching methods, for example that children learn to speak and use English rather than theoretical use of grammar. But the lack of grades and competition, or possibility to find out what level of knowledge development their child is at, seems to be difficult for a long time.

Another fundamental difference between the systems is what is expected from home-school collaboration. In the Polish school, the role of the parent is seen as rather passive, or limited to taking part in the nurturing of the child or the physical conditions of the school, while parental influence on school working plans or content is not so common. Polish parents tend to find the Norwegian approach, with parent-teacher conferences for each individual child, interesting and useful. The Norwegian school presumes parental engagement as a precondition of integration, so the Polish parents may not fully live up to these expectations before they have taken on the role of a collaborating teacher-learner with the school.

We ought to underline that our data stems from adults, teachers and parents. The observations we have of children in the classrooms, and as seen in the interviews with children from WP5, young children do not struggle with the same issues. Older children with previous experience with school in Poland struggle more.

The question of return

In contrast to many other migrant families in Norway, returning is always an option for Polish families. Our analysis of the returning families is not yet fully developed, but given the fundamental differences that we have mentioned here, reintegrating to a Polish school cannot be a very easy task for a child. If a certain level of encyclopaedic knowledge is expected, a child will have a lot of catching up to do. There has also been mention of Polish schools being critical of children's behaviour when returning from Scandinavia, but these findings are very preliminary. As for the children that are in Norway, we believe that keeping this possibility open may be an obstacle for successful integration, as there will be less investment in the present.

Are we constructing a problem? - Summary

Norwegian schools and Polish parents, although they are working towards the same goal – the effective inclusion of Polish children in Norwegian schools – miscommunicate their expectations of each other due to employing different values to guide their actions. In as much as the immigrant status of the child becomes invisible because a value of “not wanting to accentuate difference” is at play, we risk making the inclusion process more difficult for the child. We also risk creating situations where the child is not recognised for their progress and development in significant social arenas such as family and school. Thus, we need to address the challenges presented by the invisibility of immigrant status.

Norwegian culture, pedagogical ideas and ideas of childhood are the majority rule in these children's lives. These values are also well anchored in the school as an educational system, as well as in everyday life. Thus, Polish children live

their everyday lives with an asymmetric value system: Norwegian interpretations and self-evident truths are the norm; Polish interpretations are the exceptions. Sometimes we call it differences in culture, while at other times we blame the language. It is difficult to distinguish between value and culture, since culture, values and structure reinforce each other. The real expectations of the immigrant child and the immigrant parent are taken for granted and thus not communicated. Polish parents, on the other hand, should be encouraged to turn their values into good action strategies in this new social context in order to ease their children's transition to a new school system.

Are we creating a problem by pointing out the differences? We believe that we are doing the children a disservice by not pointing out these perceived differences of values, ideologies and pedagogy to the schools, teachers and parents. We interpret what we commonly call cultural differences as individual problems, just as easily as we ascribe individual problems to language challenges or cultural differences. We need to identify the individual needs and qualifications of the Polish child in Norwegian schools, as well as recognising the full set of cultural values that make up the structure of expectations towards their being. This starts with recognising the differences and contradictions that are there and acknowledging the Polish child as an immigrant child.

Settlement strategies of Poles in Norway - selected research results

Katarzyna Gmaj (Centre for International Relations)

Introduction

Among the objectives of Work Package 6, *Settlement Choices in Norway*, was to analyse the settlement patterns of Polish migrants and their families in Norway. Given that the main emphasis was placed on the choice of Norway as a place of settlement, the analysis intentionally took into account pull factors that led Poles to settle there, ignoring push factors causing them to leave Poland (these terms are borrowed from the classical theoretical approach of Lee 1966). We made use of official statistics, the results of previous research and those of qualitative and quantitative research conducted within the TRANSFAM project¹.

Table 1. Polish immigrants and people born in Norway whose parents come from Poland living in various counties, 2015

County	Number of Poles
Østfold	6 062
Akershus	14 179
Oslo	15 862
Hedmark	1 952
Oppland	2 298
Buskerud	7 351
Vestfold	4 296
Telemark	2 056
Aust-Agder	2 034
Vest-Adger	2 364
Rogaland	12 559
Hordaland	10 938
Sogn og Fjordane	2 138
Møre og Romsdal	5 606
Sør-Trøndelag	4 135
Nord-Trøndelag	1 372
Nordland	2 009
Troms Romsa	1 455
Finnmark Finnmarku	758
Total	99 424

1 Work Package 2, *Migrant families in Norway/structure of power relations and negotiating values and norms in transnational families* (leader: Magdalena Ślusarczyk), collected 30 biographical interviews, 10 of which were made available for Work Package 6, *Settlement Choices in Norway* (leader: Katarzyna Gmaj), (including four with both spouses). These took place in winter and spring 2014 in Oslo and places no further than 2 and a half hours' drive from there. Furthermore, for the analysis in Work Package 6 we used eight structured interviews with 10 immigrants from Poland living in towns and villages in the Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder counties. The interviews took place in summer 2014 as part of Work Package 3, *Social capital among Polish immigrant families in Norway* (leader: Eugene Guribye). The internet survey, completed in May and June 2015 by 648 people, was part of Work Package 4, *Parenthood in a Migrant Life Course Perspective* (leader: Lihong Huang).

We cannot fail to notice that Poles are the largest immigrant group in Norway, as well as in individual towns. Moreover, although over half live in four counties (Oslo, Akershus, Rogeland, Hordaland), the remainder are scattered around the whole country, and one can find Poles even in small settlements.

Table 2. Number of Polish immigrants and people born in Norway with parents from Poland in selected cities, 2015 (Source: Statistics Norway (2015))

City	Number of Poles	Position in terms of number of immigrants in the city
Oslo	15 862	2
Bergen	6 232	1
Bærum	3 744	1
Stavanger	3 263	1
Sandes	2710	1
Trondheim	2 199	1
Drammen	1 926	2
Asker	1 811	1
Sarpsborg	1 316	1
Fredrikstad	1 298	2
Haugesund	1 246	1
Kristiansand	1 156	1
Ålesund	998	1

Making decisions on settlement

The question of plans concerning permanent settlement in Norway was tackled in the internet survey conducted as part of the TRANSFAM project. The breakdown of responses is as follows: half the respondents plan to live permanently in Norway, 15% do not have such plans, and 35% are yet to decide. There proved to be no relation between respondents' gender and their plans. Interestingly, the respondents' level of education and whether they have children or not had no effect on the breakdown of results. A very weak relationship was observed between settlement plans and respondents' age and the year of their arrival in Norway; we can therefore conclude that these factors also did not influence the breakdown of responses.

The concept of the migrant network applies to Poles in Norway and their decision to migrate. Analysts of migration point to the development of migration flows and the growing number of potential migrants. The networks formed by migrants offer support in finding employment and accommodation, as well as lessening economic and psychological costs and the risk associated with international mobility (Faist 2000; Portes et al. 1999; Vertovec and Cohen 1999). In the 1980s Norway gave asylum to several thousand political refugees from Poland, and in the 1990s, on the basis of an agreement between the countries, it accepted seasonal agricultural

workers. Previous research from 2006 in Oslo (mostly among construction workers and the domestic services sector) revealed that networks played an important role in the case of migrants from the West Pomerania and Pomerania voivodeships, whereas most important for the Lesser Poland and Silesia voivodeships were employment agencies (Napierała, Trevena 2010). Research conducted in 2010, meanwhile, showed that 83% of respondents knew somebody living in Oslo or nearby before arriving in the city themselves. Since this percentage had increased compared to 2006, researchers concluded that we are observing an increasing influence of migration networks (Friberg et al. 2012: 158).

The significance of location-specific capital (DaVanzo 1981; Haug 2006) was also confirmed by research conducted within the TRANSFAM project. The qualitative research demonstrated that the Polish immigrants who participated in it either had known somebody who worked in Norway (officially or unofficially) before arriving there, or had themselves helped other Poles coming to work in Norway. They helped to find work for friends and relatives who had experienced economic problems in Poland. Economic migrants gradually brought over their relatives – spouses and children but also siblings, cousins, uncles etc. Some had started families in Norway. Poles bought property in Norway, and sent their children to Norwegian pre-schools and schools (Gmaj, forthcoming).

The qualitative research carried out in our project allows us to describe the trajectories that led immigrants to the stage where they see the future of their families as lying in Norway. Typical settlement migration (so-called planned migration of the whole family with the objective of changing the place where they live) appears to be rather an exceptional situation. Unplanned and gradual settlement of an entire family is a more typical model. This can be described as follows: one of the spouses (usually the man) has the opportunity of starting work in Norway. This is supposed to be a temporary solution. However, separation proves to be too painful an experience, and as a result with time the other family members join, also “for a while”. Despite initially not planning to settle, they extend their stay, and help other Poles to migrate. Time passes, and children are born or reach an age whereby they are sent to Norwegian pre-schools and schools. So people who could at first be described as circular or short-term migrants “put down roots” in Norway. Similarly, families that initially went away for a certain time to take advantage of employment opportunities for one of the spouses have contracts extended or find new work, and ultimately settle in Norway. Migrants who came to Norway without any family commitments also often at some point start a family there, and thus build a future in the country. It is worth noting that the results of our project are in accordance with the conclusions from previous

research, and specifically the observation that it makes more sense to analyse the migration processes and adaptation of Polish migrants in Norway in the context of the various stages of the migration process than in that of various categories of migrants (Friberg 2012). Migrants shape their strategies depending on ongoing circumstances, and their initial plans undergo change. People circulating between Poland and Norway at a certain point often extend their stay in Norway and bring family members over.

Why do Poles stay in Norway?

What keeps Poles in Norway? The answer is simple: the predictability that gives a family a sense of security. The results of the research carried out in the TRANSFAM project, both qualitative and quantitative, indicate the crucial role of the economic factor. Norway can offer Polish families a sense of security, since wages for work suffice for the costs of living. The results of the qualitative research allow us to state that it is easier to achieve a balance between family and work life in Norway; this is also a factor encouraging people to stay. A further argument for remaining in Norway cited by respondents is that children will have greater opportunities there than in Poland. Here we observe a similarity between Polish immigrants in Norway and in the United Kingdom, where Polish parents name similar motives (Galasińska, Kozłowska 2009).

Let us note that a considerable majority of participants (85%) in the TRANSFAM internet survey described the situation of their family resulting from immigration as at least good. Almost 15% found it difficult to make an assessment, and less than 1% evaluated it as bad or very bad. In the context of settlement plans, we ought to mention that approx. 70% of respondents gave better working conditions (higher pay, predictability of work) as a reason for staying in Norway, and around half cited the lack of prospects in Poland.

We were interested in the question of which country the Polish immigrants treated as home. The answers of the respondents to the internet survey broke down as follows: Norway 8%; Poland 27%; Poland and Norway 33%; other place 2%. Analysing the qualitative material, we see how engagement in day-to-day activity leads some of the respondents to gradually begin to treat Norway as their home. Others, despite several years spent in Norway, still treat Poland as home, and feel “guests” in Norway. Especially notable is the third category of connection, which we could call a dual orientation characteristic of transnational migrants (Vertovec 2008). This refers to a situation when immigrants adapt and feel a strong connection with the immigration country, while at the same time maintaining strong emotional and material links with their country of origin.

Conclusion

The results of our research at least partly undermine the previous expectations concerning the temporary nature of migration from Poland to Norway. Analysis of the material collected in the project points to a similarity with the patterns observed after 2004 in the United Kingdom and Ireland (Iglicka 2010; White 2011; Romejko 2015). The evidence suggests that we are witnessing processes of settlement of Poles in Norway who, notwithstanding their initial plans, now see their future in Norway, rather than Poland. The development of migration networks and the increase in the number of children born in Norway or brought over there by their parents leads to Poles' temporary migration assuming the form of permanent stay. The model of temporary migration mostly of men dominant since 2004 is gradually being complemented by long-term family migration. Here too we can observe an analogy with the situation of some Polish migrants in the United Kingdom, specifically with the phenomenon of the emigrating pioneer – generally the husband or father – who arrives first, becomes settled, and then brings his wife and children over (White 2009).

Summary - final conclusions

Since 2004, Norway has become a new direction of migration of Poles. Numerous sociological studies give us much insight into such inflow countries as the United Kingdom, Germany, and even Iceland, yet we still know relatively little about Norway. Polish men and women are currently the largest group of migrants in Norway – it is estimated that at least 100,000 Poles have emigrated there, largely economic migrants.

We can observe a characteristic trend of Poles settling in Norway. They put down roots, bring their families over and remain for good. The dominant model is one of rapid family reunification. Alongside family and economic reasons, self-fulfilment and professional development are also cited as factors.

The results of the online survey show that of the 648 participants over 67% are parents, and almost 75% are married. Approx. 88% have been living in Norway for over one year, and some 75% for more than three years. The number of children born to Polish families in Norway is growing; in 2013, for example, the figure was almost 6,000. In addition, as many as 44% of respondents want to have children in Norway, and some 35% of children of those surveyed already attend Norwegian school. Poles name the following reasons that make it worth staying in Norway: better working conditions, higher earnings and stability of employment (favourable and permanent contracts). Over half of respondents also pointed to such factors as a lack of prospects in Poland and higher standard of living in Norway.

The policy of the receiving state aims to reduce social inequalities, making it easier to achieve a higher living standard. This has a positive effect on the assessment of the decision to leave Poland.

Despite the work they do often being beneath the competences acquired in Poland, migrants tend to praise Norwegian working conditions. They also stress that they do not spend the whole day working, but rather have time for family life, generally experiencing no need for a second job.

Our research pointed to the gender aspects of experiences of migration. Women were more likely than men to declare problems with finding work. They also more frequently experienced depreciation of professional qualifications, e.g. those who had completed at least secondary education working as cleaners. Some fathers, meanwhile, stated that coming to Norway had allowed them to discern the values resulting from engaged fatherhood.

Good integration depends on knowledge of Norwegian, which our research showed still not to be at a sufficient level. All the families studied had experienced an improvement in their economic situation, in spite of the frequently reported deskilling.

The research shows that children have certain difficulties with adjusting to the Norwegian education system – this situation particularly applies to children born in Poland who migrated to Norway at school age (knowledge of language, experience of school without competition, different behaviour models).

Polish families sustain strong relations with their country of origin and practise cross-border connections by visiting relatives (41% spent their last holidays in Poland), their children spending school breaks with their grandparents, frequent telephone conversations, sending money to Poland and arranging forms of care for family (in both Poland and Norway), as well as by finding work for friends and relatives. Grandparents (especially grandmothers) often visit their grandchildren living in Norway, carrying out emotional and care work. Family practices point to a slow but visible democratisation for the family and popularisation of equality practices. We can also refer to visible burdening of women with domestic and care work, despite the professional work that they also carry out. Among the transnational practices in Polish migrant families that we might underline is intergenerational solidarity, manifested in care practices as well as a strong belief in the need to pass on traditions, culture, values and language to children born abroad.

The results of the research show that despite the separation brought about by migration, the responsibility for ensuring care for older family members, in particular parents, lies with women. The respondents demonstrated a strong sense of obligation to providing care for their parents. Migration does not weaken the feeling of commitment to care for family.

Within the TRANSFAM research, children were viewed as possessing agency, as reflexive subjects in the transnational family.

Migrant children initiate, mobilise and maintain bonds in the Polish-Norwegian social space. The research revealed the significance of the “transnational intergenerational arc”, which shows that in the transnational space strong bonds with grandparents are formed. These intergenerational bonds constantly teach both children and their grandparents the connections between the private and the public in the social transnational space. Children are important “kin keepers”, acting as a glue between family members. Although they live far away, they remain close, stay in touch, visit each other (holidays, school breaks), and support each other emotionally and materially. Acquisition of the language of the receiving country is the key to achieving success in school and to maintaining good peer relations. The majority of children manifest dual national identification, i.e. with Poland and Norway. Children from mixed marriages are more likely to manifest their “Norwegianness”.

Migration of Poles to Norway on the current scale is a new phenomenon, and experts are divided in their opinions on Poles' engagement in the life of the local communities. On the one hand, some migrants are involved in the activities of diaspora organisations developed after 1980 (so-called old emigrants). On the other hand, new emigrants are gradually entering the social life in Norway through such means as the school system, adopting models of active spending of free time (e.g. daily sport, a strong emphasis on children's physical activity – adjusting to the Norwegian norm that states that “there is no bad weather, only bad clothes”). Some experts were critical of the religiosity of Poles in Norway, pointing to their weak religious engagement. The research made it clear that social participation depends on knowledge of the language, success on the labour market and the demands of institutions of the Norwegian state. Political engagement and inclusion in diaspora life are hampered by the migrants' spatial dispersion, as they live in various regions of Norway. However, larger settlements such as Oslo, Stavanger and Bergen are slowly becoming important points on the map of the activity of Polish organisations.

Poles do not maintain intensive contacts with the Norwegian community, instead tending to limit their circles of close friends to their own ethnic group. According to the research subjects, although generally Norwegian society is friendly, they find it hard to form close relationships and friendships, citing a certain “threshold” of openness.

The socialisation of children progresses on two paths. First, it shows their parents' efforts geared towards renegotiating family values and practices and integration with the receiving society; secondly, we can characterise the parents' strategies as educational transnationalism (e.g. through bilingualism and children's visits to Poland).

In general, the respondents are positive in their evaluation of Norwegian school and their children's progress there. They emphasise the engagement of teachers and translators where there is a need to solve specific problems. Some are ambivalent regarding the demands of Norwegian school in terms of integration, teaching methods without competition, parents engagement in schools and promoting egalitarianism.

Our research highlighted certain differences in:

- The role of the state in the integration process and the importance of the state in creating a suitable labour market for migrants, visible in the recruitment process as well as the allocation of workers to specific sectors of the market.
- The education system – for example, whereas in the United Kingdom a key role in integration of children in school is played by searching for what different cultures have in common, Norwegian school places a greater emphasis on

adjusting to the standards of the Norwegian education policy.

- Access to benefits and social security.
- Quality of life in the country of migration.
- The role of the state in dealing with pathologies and dysfunctions in family life.

Recommendations

- The intensification of migration between Poland and Norway requires broad, open, partnership-based cooperation between the states at a cultural, economic, social and political level. Particular attention should be paid to:
 - Combating stereotypes and discrimination
 - Providing information about Polish and Norwegian norms and values, models of family life, and state influence on the private sphere
 - Protecting employee rights and promoting fair-play employment
 - Discussing issues of citizenship and the rights to which citizens are entitled
 - Ensuring a friendly atmosphere to facilitate cooperation at various levels between important players in the sending and receiving countries (including collaboration between Polish and Norwegian social welfare institutions and the judiciary)
 - Supporting scientific/academic collaboration
 - Highlighting the importance of bilateral exchange of human and economic capital
 - Promoting a new diaspora policy – strengthening of existing migrant institutions and support for new ones, both promoting culture and civic activity and social, hobby or expert clubs (social capital), as well as expansion of the work of previously diaspora organisations into pan-ethnic activities
 - Paying attention to social remittances which, almost analogously to the money that migrants send back home, enrich the social life and culture, and may also contribute to positive changes in quality of life, work-life balance and gender equality.
- The TRANSFAM research demonstrates the need to expand policies and activities to reinforce the process of integration of Polish families in Norway, as temporary migration changes into long-term and settlement migration.
- In the formation of integration policies it is important to consider the significance of Polish migrants' social background, as migrants exhibit extremely strong connections to their country of origin.
- Acquisition of the language of the receiving country is the key to participation

and exerting an influence in private and public life. It enables migrants to commune with people and develops a sense of belonging to the new society. We therefore recommend providing greater opportunities for migrants to learn Norwegian (especially for women who are not economically active).

- Transnational educational activities aiming to involve and help parents and children abroad, i.e.:
 - At state level: development of intercultural education programmes that are easy to implement, along with procedures of international exchanges with young Poles abroad, including with Polish supplementary schools and educational institutions in Poland.
 - At local level: funding for civil society institutions and educational institutions to help with temporary reintegration of migrant children through summer schools, holiday language courses, camps for the children of Polish parents with their peers in Poland.
 - Long-term and systematic support for Polish (e.g. Saturday) schools in receiving countries, with particular emphasis on continuation of work on textbooks for migrant children encompassing the entire school career, raising the quality and recognisability of Polish internet-based schools (e.g. the premises of the Centre for the Development of Polish Education Abroad's (ORPEG) Open School project or the Foundation for Polish Diaspora Education's Libratus), especially in countries like Norway, where Polish migrants are dispersed geographically.
- Continuation and development of support for return migrants.
 - Implementation of previous recommendations – e.g. the expert report of the Committee for Migration Studies of the Polish Academy of Sciences The Social Impact of the Post-accession Migration of the Polish Population (Slany, Solga 2014) – on creating opportunities for success for migrants on the labour market, improving their access to housing, and shaping pro-family policies with a real influence on prospects of executing procreation plans.
 - Preparation and provision of a programme for returning parents in training (e.g. programme differences, preparing for return) going beyond the existing materials on reintegration to the labour market.
- At local level, monitoring and – in key areas – expanding the support provided for elderly people whose children have emigrated; conducting research to predict the needs of infrastructure for seniors remaining in the country only just beginning to enter the period of reduced independence.
- Conducting comparative, international, multigenerational and multilocal (sending and receiving country) migration research combining quantitative and qualitative approaches.

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TRANSFAM Project Publications

Book

Slany, K., Pustulka, P., Guribye E., Ślusarczyk, M. (2016, forthcoming), *Transnational Polish Families in Norway: Social Capital, Integration, Institutions and Care*, Warsaw: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers.

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Work Package 2: Transnational Polish Families in Norway The Entanglements between Migration Trajectory and Labor, Magdalena Ślusarczyk, Paula Pustulka, Jagiellonian University

Work Package 3: Social Capital among Polish Immigrant Families in Norway , Eugene Guribye, Ingunn Kvamme, Agder Research Barbara Zyzak, Damian Zyzak, Agder Research

Work Package 4: TRANSFAM Web-survey on Polish families living in Polish-Norwegian transnationality. Documentation of design, variables and measures, Lihong Huang , Monika Kochowicz, NOVA-Norwegian Social Research, Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences and, Paula Pustulka, Ewa Kraklewska, Jagiellonian Univeristy

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Work Package 6: Settlement Choices in Norway Work Package, Katarzyna Gmaj, Centre for International Relations Centre for International Relations

Work Package 7: Integration and Re-integration of Polish Children in School, Inclusion of Polish children in Norwegian schools, Randi Wærdahl, and team: Kathrine Bakke, Barbara Zyzak, Damian Zyzak, Ingunn Kvamme, Margunn Bjørnholt, Kari Stafansen

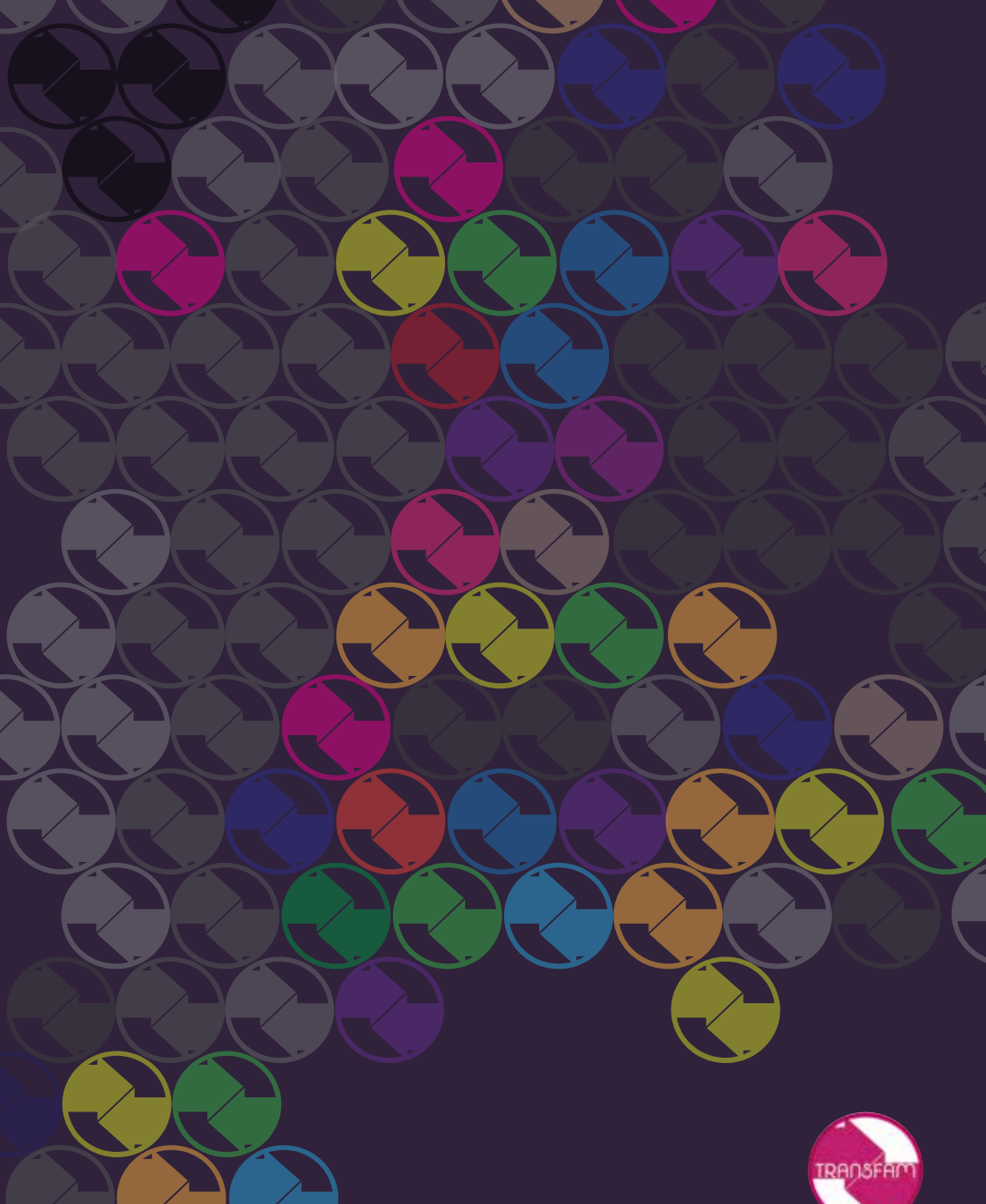
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