



The integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour
market in Norway and the United Kingdom.

Martine Støylen

VID Specialized University

Stavanger

Master's Thesis

Master in Global Studies

Word Count: 26,541

9th of May 2019

Opphavsrettigheter

Forfatteren har opphavsrettighetene til rapporten.
Nedlasting for privat bruk er tillatt.

Abstract

The overall aim of this research project was to examine the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in Norway and the UK. A specific focus was given to the strategies that Polish migrant workers adopt in order to integrate into the labour market, and the barriers that they encounter in doing so. This study employed a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews conducted within the framework of a research project called 'Doing Family across Borders' (FAMAC). The findings assembled from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic analysis, which performed as a framework for the presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings, together with theories of social mobility and transnationalism. Various strategies and barriers for integration were discovered within four categories: migration networks, language, education and work experience, and perspectives on migration. Some of the main strategies adopted by participants to integrate into the labour market were: migrating to a country with an already established social network; investing in a language course and learning the language; learning the language in order to qualify for more, and better work; improve their skills and qualifications; and acquiring a citizenship. Further, some of the main barriers encountered by participants when integrating into the labour market were: reliance on social networks; linguistically segregated workplaces and the use of dialects; education not recognised; overqualification; and experiences of discrimination. This study concluded that there were no significantly found differences between the strategies adopted, and barriers encountered, by participants in Norway and in the UK when integrating into the labour market.

Acknowledgements

I cannot believe that I am finally writing the acknowledgements to my Master Thesis! It has been a crazy couple of months. I have had both productive days, and days where motivation was nowhere to be found. Working on the Master's Thesis has been both a time consuming and challenging process, which at the same time has been interesting and provided me with a lot of valuable knowledge and experiences.

First of all, I want to thank my two supervisors, Signe Aarvik and Gunhild Odden for all the guidance and support throughout the last couple of months. Thank you for all the helpful and constructive feedback, and for bringing ideas to my mind that I would never have thought of without your help. Thank you to the FAMAC project for allowing me to use their data for the purpose of this research project.

Thanks to my family for giving me time and space to write my thesis. To my parents, for always asking me if I am done writing my thesis, I can now finally say: Yes. Yes I am! Finally, thank you to my soon-to-be husband, Endre, for all the love and support for the past two years while living in two separate countries. You have encouraged me, been my number one cheerleader and been patient with me when I needed it the most.

Table of Contents

List of figures	7
1 Introduction	8
1.1 Background and research problem	8
1.1.1 Research question	10
1.2 Definition of key concepts	10
1.2.1 Migration	10
1.2.2 Labour migration	11
1.2.3 Integration	12
1.3 Polish migration to Norway	14
1.4 Polish migration to the United Kingdom	15
1.5 Language courses	15
1.5.1 Language training courses in Norway	16
1.5.2 Language training courses in the UK	17
1.6 Structure of the thesis	17
2 Literature review	19
2.1 Migration networks	19
2.2 Language	21
2.3 Education and work experience	24
2.4 Perspectives on migration	26
2.4.1 Citizenship	27
2.4.2 Discrimination	28
3 Theoretical framework	32
3.1 Social mobility	32
3.2 Transnationalism	34
3.3 Matrix of Attachment	35

4 Methodological approach	38
4.1 Qualitative research	38
4.2 Interviews	39
4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews	40
4.2.2 The Interview process	41
4.2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of someone else conducting the interviews	42
4.3 Informants	44
4.3.1 Informants in Norway	44
4.3.2 Informants in the UK	44
4.4 Management of results	45
4.4.1 Thematic analysis	45
4.4.2 Presentation of data	46
4.5 Ethics	47
4.5.1 Ethical approval	47
4.5.2 Informed consent	48
4.5.3 Confidentiality	49
4.5.4 Consequences	50
5 Findings and discussion	51
5.1 Migration networks	51
5.1.1 Social networks influencing migration	51
5.1.2 Lack of a social network	55
5.2 Language learning	58
5.2.1 Investing in a language course	58
5.2.2 Learning the language in order to qualify for work	61
5.2.3 Linguistically segregated workplaces	63
5.2.4 Dialects	64
5.3 Education and work experience	65

5.3.1 Raising ones qualifications	65
5.3.2 Work their way up	67
5.3.3 Overqualified	69
5.4 Perspectives on migration	70
5.4.1 Citizenship	70
5.4.2 Attachment to the country of origin and to the country of residence	72
5.4.3 Discrimination	74
6 Conclusion	78
6.1 Implications for further research	81
Reference list	82
Appendix	90

List of figures

Figure 1. The Matrix of Attachment

Figure 2. The indicators of integration and transnationalism

1 Introduction

1.1 Background and research problem

The labour market is an important arena for inclusion and integration. For an individual, having access to the labour market contributes to independence and self-realization, and additionally to the development of networks. It gives increased belonging to society, prevents poverty and equalizes social differences (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018). According to Kunnskapsdepartementet, immigrants are found to have a different distribution in working life compared to the rest of the population. Immigrants are overrepresented in low-wage occupations and within certain industries, and are additionally underrepresented in other industries. Immigrants further represent an increasing proportion of the population in both Norway and the UK, and it is therefore both valuable and important to determine how immigrants enter the labour market, and additionally how they utilize their knowledge, skills and qualifications (Villund, 2008).

An important factor to the long term social effects of labour migration is whether migrant workers choose to stay temporarily or whether they plan to settle down permanently, perhaps with their families. It is important for migrant workers who want to stay in Norway and in the UK to have a high participation rate in the labour market over the course of their lives, and participate in society on an equal level to the rest of the population (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008). Research demonstrate that immigrants' risk of unemployment and lack of integration in the labour market is understood as a results of the lack of language skills, networks, country-specific education, and limited knowledge of the labour market (Brekke, 2008; Rogstad & Orupabo, 2007). The immigrants' own engagement in society and in the labour market, and the use of the various opportunities that exist is therefore essential for successful integration. Poor integration into society and the labour market can lead to exclusion from the labour market in the long run (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008).

There is a considerable amount of research conducted on Polish migrant workers in both Norway and in the UK (Friberg, 2011; Friberg & Eldring, 2011; Friberg & Golden, 2014; IMDi, 2008a; Sumption, 2009; Trevena, 2013). Previous research conducted on the integration of migrant workers in Norway and in the UK does however usually focus their attention on integration into society in general, and not into the labour market specifically. Some studies have explored the importance of language courses and language learning (Båtevik, Grimsrud, & Netteland, 2014; IMDi, 2011; Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen, 2012; Mallows, 2014; Spencer, Ruhs, Anderson & Rogaly, 2007), while others have looked at discrimination as a barrier to integration (Hamre, 2017; IMDi, 2008b; Midtbøen & Rogstad, 2012; Rogstad, 2006). What characterises the literature on immigration and integration is nevertheless that it is generally concerned with the process of migration. What actually happens to the communities that migrants come to, and additionally the migrants themselves, is according to Båtevik et al., (2014) not adequately studied. Moreover, there is a lack of studies conducted on the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in both countries, as most of previous studies were found to focus on integration into society in general. There was also no previous comparative study found on the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in Norway and the UK.

Integration of Polish migrant workers is a broad topic, and it was therefore important to narrow down the focus of this research project. My contribution to the research on the integration of Polish migrant workers is therefore first and foremost a comparative study, in which the strategies and barriers adopted and encountered by Polish migrant workers into the labour market in both Norway and in the UK will be explored. While previous research on Polish migrant workers in Norway and the UK mainly focused their attention on general thought and facts about integration and the migration process, my research project will focus on the experiences and thoughts of the Polish migrant workers themselves. This will provide a deeper insight into the adopted strategies, and encountered barriers, as perceived by the Polish migrant workers in the two countries. The focus of this thesis is therefore on the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in Norway and in the UK.

1.1.1 Research question

This thesis will look at how Polish migrant workers are integrated into the labour market in Norway and the UK, allowing for a comparison between the two countries. The focus will be on what strategies Polish migrant workers adopt, and additionally what barriers they encounter when integrating into the labour market. The research question for this thesis is therefore:

What strategies are used by Polish migrant workers in Norway and the UK to integrate into the labour market, and what barriers do they experience?

In order to answer the research question, a specific focus will be given to the strategies adopted, and barriers encountered by participants within four specific categories. These categories are: migration networks, learning the language, education and work experience, and perspectives on migration.

1.2 Definition of key concepts

1.2.1 Migration

Migration refer to a person, or a group of persons, that move either across an international border, or within a State (International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2011). IOM (2011) define migration as a “population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification” (p. 62-63). Odden (2018a) distinguishes between two categories of migration: temporary and permanent migration. Temporary migration refer to those who migrate to a country and stay there for a limited period of time, such as migrant workers who work in a country for one year, and then return to their country of origin. Permanent migration on the other hand, refer to migrants who settle down in a country and remain there permanently (Odden, 2018a). Odden does also mention that it is important to recognise that what was originally meant as temporary migration could result in permanent migration, and vice versa.

Further, Koser (2007) presents a distinction between people who migrate for political reasons and people who migrate for economic reasons. Those who migrate for political reasons are usually compelled to leave their country due to political oppression or war, such as for example refugees. Those who migrate for economic reasons on the other hand, are generally migrant workers who move in search for better job opportunities and better working conditions. Koser also proposes a third reason for migration: people who migrate due to social reasons. Those who migrate due to social reasons are usually women and children who are leaving their country of origin to reunite with their husband or father who have found work abroad. Moreover, many migrants move to countries where their friends or family have settled, and these migration networks have shown to promote migration in various ways. Migration networks provide information and knowledge, and makes it possible to finance trips to potential migrants by lending them money. Migration networks have also proven to be important in helping new migrants settle down by offering a place to stay when they first arrive, helping them find a job, and providing them with additional economic and social support (Koser, 2007).

1.2.2 Labour migration

Migration is not something new, and there could be several reasons for why people choose to migrate. For a lot of people, it is the hope of acquiring a new and enhanced future with a secure income, which in many cases can provide a better life for oneself and for ones family. These become migrant workers (Dahl, 2013). Migrant workers can be divided into three groups: workers with shorter contracts and family in their home country; workers who reside temporarily in a municipality with their family; and workers who have decided to stay and reside permanently with their family (Nødland, Vedøy & Gjestad, 2016). Labour migration is often followed by a phase of family reunification. Usually it is the father of the family who leaves first to get a job, and the rest of the family follows (Dahl, 2013).

Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet (2008) perceive labour migration to be beneficial both for individuals and for society. It gives individuals the opportunity to search and apply for work where they can best utilize their work abilities. At the same time, it also gives employers the opportunity to search for competent and trained workers across national borders. Through

the EEA-agreement, both Norway and the UK are considered part of a common European labour market, where one of the aims is to increase mobility in order to create more efficient labour markets (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008). Moreover, as a consequence of the EU enlargements in 2004, both Norway and the UK has experienced a rapid flow of migrant workers, with Poland as the country of origin dominating the arrivals. The freedom of movement brought on by the EU enlargements attracted many Polish people, especially the young ones, who were affected by high rates of unemployment, low wages and lack of opportunities in Poland (Rzepnikowska, 2019).

1.2.3 Integration

Integration is commonly perceived as a two-way process, whereby immigrants have to adapt to society, but at the same time, society has to facilitate for immigrants to acquire the qualities needed to participate in society on equal terms with the majority population (Dahl, 2013; IMDi, 2008b; NOU 2011:14). However, there are many ways to define and understand integration. Initially, the word 'integrate' means to 'incorporate' and 'coordinate' (IMDi, 2008b). According to NOU (2011:14, p. 11-12) the integration of immigrants deal specifically with: qualifications, education, employment, living conditions, social mobility, participation in society, belonging, respect for differences and loyalty to common values. It is the results, namely what is achieved along these dimension that determine how successful integration is (NOU 2011:14). Integration in this sense describe the degree of inclusion of ethnic minorities with immigrant origin. This means that immigrants are incorporated as equal members of society with access to sought after goods and services within various social institutions (Kjeldstadli, 2008). Dahl (2013) provides an example of integration in this sense. Dahl claims that integration occur when immigrants try to maintain their cultural background and language, while at the same time adapting and learning the host country's language and cultural codes. Such immigrants accept the rights and obligations that they have in the new country while continuing to identify with their original cultural and religious background.

On the other hand, Kjeldstadli (2008) argues that the aim of integration is not that everyone should have to participate equally, but rather that it is up to each individual to decide how much, and to what extent, he or she wants to participate in society. Kjeldstadli's perception of

integration allows for immigrants to preserve their own cultural identity, and individually choose how much they want to get involved in the new culture. In this way, immigrants are themselves responsible for choosing how much they want to include the new culture in their everyday life, in language, traditions and values. Kjeldstadli's understanding of integration allows for immigrants to exchange the cultural identity traits that they were born in for new cultural identity traits.

Moreover, IMDi (2008b) suggests that what is regarded as being successfully integrated in a society varies from person to person. There are many factors that influence the integration process, such as the characteristics of immigrants, education, residence and origin. According to IMDi, integration take place both in everyday life when interacting with the majority population, in the workplace and in other social areas. Similarly, Døving (2009), together with Eriksen (2001), specify that measuring the degree of integration is problematised by the fact that a person or a group can be integrated into one sphere of social life, however not successfully integrated into other spheres. As an example, a person can be successfully integrated into the labour market, but does not participate in the local community, or vice versa.

There are, as demonstrated, various ways to define and understand integration. Additionally, there are various ways to integrate into a society, both in terms of to what extent an individual or group is integrated, and in what areas of society they are integrated into. In this research project, integration is understood as a two-way process, whereby Polish migrant workers who migrate to Norway and the UK have to be willing to integrate, while at the same time society has to facilitate for this integration to take place.

1.3 Polish migration to Norway

In the 1990s, many countries, including Norway, established bilateral agreements for temporary seasonal work, especially in agriculture. Thousands of Polish workers came to Norway every summer to work in strawberry fields or perform other work for Norwegian farmers. Using the summer holiday to do seasonal work in the west was normal for both

highly qualified Poles, as well as for those who did not possess any qualifications. It was not uncommon to meet Polish doctors or lawyers in the strawberry fields in Norway during the 1990s. However, seasonal workers did not have the opportunity to settle down in Norway, since they were usually only given short work permits of up to three months per year. Most of the migration between Poland and Norway was therefore short term and circular during this period. On the other hand, seasonal work in Norway played an important role for later immigration, as thousands of Poles were able to establish networks, gain experiences and skills from Norway through such temporary stays (Friberg & Golden, 2014).

In May 2004, the European Union (EU) expanded, and Poland was one of eight countries that decided to join the EU, together with Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Slovakia and Slovenia (Friberg & Golden, 2014). With Poland's entry into the EU, the conditions for migration between Poland and Norway were radically changed. Through the EU membership, Polish citizens gained access to the open labour market throughout the EEA area, and within a short period of time Norway would prove to be one of the central recipient countries for immigrants in Europe (Friberg & Golden, 2014). The first migrant workers who came to Norway after 2004 were single men who lived in barracks or in temporary residences. Many of the new migrant workers came to perform temporary work, and was thereby able to send money to their families in Poland. With a salary level below one fifth of that in Norway, Polish workers became a source of cheap, flexible and competent labour, especially in the construction industries, as well as in various other types of service work. In the ten years after the EU enlargements in 2004, immigration from Poland had constituted the largest ever migration wave to Norway. While the first migrant workers were single men, it is now more common for whole families to come together and settle down permanently (Friberg & Golden, 2014). As of 1. January 2019, Poles were by far the largest group of immigrants in Norway, with 98 600 people (Statistics Norway (SSB), 2019).

1.4 Polish migration to the United Kingdom

In 2003, the British government decided to efficiently open up their labour market to migrants deriving from the new member states in Central and Eastern Europe, also referred to as A8 migrants (Drinkwater, Eade & Garapich, 2010). Additionally, nearly all EU member states

had agreed to open up their labour markets, however when approaching the date of the enlargement, more and more states chose to withdraw from the agreement. In May 2004, when the enlargement took place, only the British, Irish and Swedish governments had decided to fully open up their labour markets to the new member states, although with some limitations in regards to the access to public funds and some welfare supplies (Drinkwater et al., 2010). Immediately after the enlargement, the UK, together with Ireland and Sweden, granted free access to the labour market for A8 citizens. This was mainly due to severe labour market shortages, primarily in low-wage and low-skilled jobs within construction, hospitality, transport, and public services (Rzepnikowska, 2019; Spencer et al., 2007).

Drinkwater et al., (2010) describe the migratory activity between the new accession states and the UK following the enlargement as the largest migration wave to have taken place in the UK, and additionally one of the most rapid and intense migration flows in contemporary Europe (Trevena, 2009). In 2009, five years after the enlargement, the UK came to be the most important receiving country for Polish migrant workers, whereby they attracted more than half a million Polish people (Trevena, 2009). When Poland joined the EU in 2004, the number of Polish nationals living in the UK was estimated to be approximately 69,000 people. The number of Polish people entering the UK grew rapidly, and in 2014, ten years after the enlargement, the numbers had grown to 853,000 people, demonstrating more than a twelve fold increase in the Polish population in the UK (Hawking & Moses, 2016).

1.5 Language courses

For Polish migrant workers who migrate to Norway and the UK, learning the language can be understood as an important strategy for integration. Additionally, learning the language can be valuable in order for Polish migrant workers to gain access to the labour market and other social arenas in the country that they migrate to. The lack of language skills can therefore, for some, perform as a barrier to their participation in the labour market, and similarly hinder their integration in the labour market (NOU 2011:14). It is therefore valuable to look at the availability of language courses in Norway and the UK, and additionally look at what Polish migrant workers are entitled to in terms of language training.

1.5.1 Language training courses in Norway

In 2003, the Norwegian government introduced an act which put forward an introduction program and Norwegian language training for newly arrived immigrants in Norway. The act is called *The Introduction Act*, and was put in place from 1st September 2004 (Introduksjonsloven, 2003). The purpose of this act is to increase the likelihood of newly arrived immigrants to take part in both working and social life and to increase their economic and social independence. The municipalities in Norway are responsible for providing introduction programmes compatible for newly arrived immigrants who are living within the particular municipality, and the municipalities receive grants from the government to do so. The aim of the programme is to provide basic Norwegian language skills, provide a basic understanding of the social condition of Norway and prepare foreigners for participation in working life (Introduksjonsloven, 2003). The act specifies that newly arrived immigrants in Norway have a right and/or an obligation to attend the training. Having a right to participate means that you receive the training for free, as long as the training is completed within three years. Having an obligation to participate means that you need to complete the training in order to apply for a permanent residence permit or citizenship (IMDi, 2017).

When the Introduction Act was put in place in 2004, everyone were entitled to free language training. However, in 2005, the Norwegian government introduced individual rights to Norwegian language training, which resulted in many immigrant groups no longer being given the opportunity to receive language training for free. Norwegian language training has thus gone from being offered to everyone, but where no one had any formal rights, to becoming an arrangement where the right to free language training is associated with the basis of residence (IMDi, 2011). Migrants who come to Norway from the EU/EEA countries, such as Polish migrant workers, do not have the right to publicly funded Norwegian training. In regards to the right to publicly funded language training, there are no restrictions in the EEA regulations, however it is commonly assumed that those who have an income, such as migrant workers, are able to pay for the training themselves. Additionally, the obligation to participate would contradict to the free movement within the EEA. Municipalities in Norway are also not obliged to provide an educational program for migrants who do not have a right to participate. This means, that even though migrants workers are willing to pay for the courses themselves,

there is no guarantee that such an offer exist in the municipality that they live in (IMDi, 2011).

1.5.2 Language training courses in the UK

English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) is the term that is used in the UK to refer to English language provision for people who communicate in another language than English, who do not have English as their first language, and who want to learn English as a second language. ESOL is designed for people who are living and working in the UK, rather than those who are visiting the country for a short period of time (Stevenson, Kings & Sterland, 2017). In 2007, Spencer et al. found that the demand for English language classes had tripled since 2001. The increase in the need for language provision has led to government proposals to tighten the access to free ESOL classes, which requires more migrants to contribute to the cost. In theory, every migrant can attend English language classes provided by public agencies, however the classes are generally free of charge only for those who have been a resident in the UK for three years, with the exception of refugees (Spencer et al., 2007). This indicates that if migrant workers in the UK want to attend English language classes when first arriving in the UK, they have to pay for the classes themselves (Spencer et al., 2007).

1.6 Structure of the thesis

Following is the structure for the thesis. In the next chapter, previous research conducted on the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market in Norway and the UK will be presented, with a specific focus on the strategies and barriers to integration. The literature review will look at migration networks, acquiring language skills, education and work experience, and lastly perspectives on migration. Next, chapter three will draw attention to key theoretical perspectives relevant to the topic of integration and migration, namely social mobility, transnationalism and the Matrix of attachment. These theoretical perspectives will guide the discussion of the findings, together with previous research. Chapter four will present the methodological consideration for this research project. This includes research method, collection of data, methods for analysis, and ethical considerations. Chapter five provides the presentation, analysis and discussion of the data material that was gathered through the

interviews, focusing on the strategies and barriers to integration in the labour market as experienced by participants, in order to sufficiently answer the research question. Lastly, chapter six presents the summary and conclusion to the research project, as well as suggestions for further research.

2 Literature review

This chapter will present an overview of some of the research that has already been conducted on the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market in Norway and the UK, with a specific focus on the strategies and barriers to integration. These strategies and barriers can be understood and discovered by looking at four specific categories. First, migration networks can influence the migration process and be beneficial for migrant when arriving in a new country, however can also perform as a barrier to integration (NOU 2011:14; Sumption, 2009). Next, learning the language of the country that migrants move to can broaden their knowledge, skills and qualifications, however some also lack language skills which can contribute to exclusion and working in linguistically segregated workplaces (Friberg & Eldring, 2011; Friberg & Golden, 2014). Moreover, Polish migrant workers education and work experience can contribute to the fact that they often end up in low-skilled and low-paid professions, even though they possess high qualifications and skills. Migrants are also often found to be overqualified for the jobs that they have (NOU 2011:14; Trevena, 2013). Lastly, this chapter will look at perspectives on migration, whereby acquiring a citizenship is perceived as a strategy to integration, while discrimination is experienced as a barrier.

2.1 Migration networks

Leaving your job in Poland and traveling to Norway, the UK or other countries in search for work involves considerable uncertainty and risk if you have no contacts that can help you find work or a place to stay. Moving to a new country can also be stressful if you do not have a social network of friends, family or acquaintances who can offer support and advice, as well as someone to socialize with (Friberg & Eldring, 2011). In her study on how Polish migrant workers use social networks to find employment in the UK, Sumption (2009) found that social networks play an important role in migration because they influence the migrants' decision to migrate, where they migrate to and their opportunities and integration in the host country when arriving. Similarly, social networks play an important role in directing workers into jobs. Sumption argues that this has both advantages and disadvantages to it. It is beneficial because informal networks are frequently able to match workers and employers

more rapidly and accurately than formal recruitment methods. However, an extensive dependence on social networks in the labour market can contribute to social stratification by limiting individuals to the opportunities that the network can provide (Sumption, 2009).

Sumption (2009) further found in her research that being dependent on social networks can indicate poor integration among Polish migrant workers who encounter barriers to accessing formal recruitment methods, for instance because of language problems, or due to an inadequate understanding of the local labour market. In the short run, social networks are expected to assist migrants in finding work, however may hinder opportunities for full social and economic integration in the longer run (Sumption, 2009). Sumption claims that the more acquaintances an individual has, the better the possibility that one of them may provide information about a suitable job. However, it is important to remember that the value of a social network depends on who is in it. The social network of a person who is looking for work is much more beneficial if its members have information about high-quality jobs. If the social network can only provide information about low-skilled and low-paying jobs, together with the individual encountering barriers in taking part in formal recruitment methods, it is likely that the individual's achievement in the labour market will be held back (NOU 2011:14; Sumption 2009). Sumption argues that if the members of an individual's network are in low-skilled jobs, then migrants who are highly-qualified may not be able to find work that best apply to their skills. When migrants continue to rely on social networks in the labour market, the result may be that migrants become 'locked in' to low-productivity jobs, which is especially relevant in the case of Polish migrants, whereby a lot of them downgrade to low-skilled jobs when they arrive in the UK (Sumption, 2009).

On the other hand, when looking at the barriers to non-western minorities in the labour market in Norway, Rogstad (2006) found that the lack of social networks can also hinder the participation of immigrants in the labour market. The lack of social networks can contribute to immigrants not receiving important information and knowledge about their rights and responsibilities in the workplace (NOU 2011:14). One consequence of this may be that employers utilize this potential power that they have by offering immigrants, and perhaps especially immigrants with a short term perspective on their stay, both less pay and

inadequate working conditions than other employers (NOU 2011:14). Adequate working conditions can help migrant workers become integrated in the labour market (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008).

Moreover, in their study on migrant workers from Poland and the Baltic countries, IMDi (2008a) found that the majority of their informants did not actively search for information before migrating, because they did not regard gathering information as important. This was mainly due to the fact that the migrant workers already had work and accommodation provided for, as well as having established a network in Norway before migrating. However, because the majority of informants did not speak either Norwegian or English when first arriving, friends and family was for the majority of informants regarded as the most important source in gathering information about the labour market and various services in society. Moreover, Spencer et al. (2007) argue that it is important for migrants to have knowledge of employment rights, both for the experiences of individuals at work, as well as for the employment relationship. In their research, Spencer et al. found that less than half of their respondents, 47 percent, had received information regarding their rights and responsibilities at work. Similarly to research by IMDi (2008a), friends and family was also in the study provided by Spencer et al. found to be the main source for accessing important information regarding employment rights. This demonstrates the importance of social networks for accessing valuable information and knowledge about rights and responsibilities both in the labour market, and within the workplace.

2.2 Language

Acquiring language skills are regarded an essential part of the integration work in Norway (Båtevik et al., 2014; NOU 2011:14). However, the Introduction Act does not primarily target migrant workers (Introduksjonsloven, 2003). This is because it is assumed that a person who comes with a work permit in their hand, does not have same need for this kind of ‘starting help’, compared to what other immigrant groups such as refugees have when arriving in a new country (IMDi, 2018). Polish migrant workers does therefore not have the right nor the obligation to attend language courses in Norway free of charge (Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen,

2012). However, in their study, Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen found that the language courses often ended up catering mainly to migrant workers. Additionally, they found that the motivation to attend the courses were actually higher among the migrant workers than the refugees, who are compelled by the law to attend. Some municipalities in Norway does however offer migrant workers free Norwegian language training, or provide them with information about the language training offers that exist, to make sure that they are better integrated (IMDi, 2018).

Moreover, Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen (2012) found that many immigrants find the language courses attractive, despite the fact that some groups have to pay a considerable amount of money to attend. The explanation for this 'eagerness' to attend the courses, despite them being pricy, can be seen in regard to the individual immigrants' professional situation. Ludvigsen and Ludvigsen found that out of 106 respondents, more than half of them indicated that they attended language courses in order to improve their chances of getting a job. Learning Norwegian has therefore been important for many migrant, especially in gaining access to a wider segment of the labour market. Additionally, learning Norwegian makes it possible for migrants to gain access to professions and industries that better correspond to their educational and professional background (Friberg & Golden, 2014).

On the other hand, Friberg & Eldring (2011) found in their study on Polish migrant workers in Oslo that only a minority of them spoke or understood Norwegian. Their research also demonstrated that the majority of the representative sample had never attended a language course, and the majority of the workers did not have Norwegian as their primary language at work. Similar results was found in the UK by Spencer et al. (2007), whereby the majority of their respondents were working in jobs where there were few British people. The motivation to actually learn the language can in these situations be regarded as rather small (Nødland et al., 2016), and linguistically segregated work environments provide limited opportunities to actually learn Norwegian or English (Friberg, 2011). However, IMDi (2018) argue that eloquent language skills can, in the long run, be beneficial for the municipalities, because they will have a working immigrant population that is well-equipped to participate in the local community. Similarly, Friberg & Eldring (2011) claim that those who acquire adequate language skills experience greater opportunities within the labour market, as well as being

able to orientate themselves in public bureaucracy and acquire knowledge on their rights and opportunities both in society and in the labour market.

Moreover, Spencer et al. (2007) argue that it is important to know the English language when applying for employment in the UK. However, informants in Spencer et al.'s research found the English language courses rather difficult to access. Working shifts, the prices of the courses, and regularly traveling back to their country of origin were found to be reasons for why migrants found it difficult to access language courses in the UK. Similar results were found in a quantitative study on Polish migrant workers in Norway conducted by IMDi (2008a), whereby 42 percent of informants had never attended a Norwegian language course. Many informants pointed out that when they were motivated to actually attend a language course, they experienced barriers in accessing the courses. Moreover, in their surveys, Spencer et al. (2007) found that migrants who worked longer hours were less likely to access English language classes, and in the in-depth interviews some informants implied that long working hours was very much a factor in whether or not they were able to attend the language courses. On the other hand, some migrants were able to attend the courses for free, either because they were provided for, or paid for by their employer.

In her study on what works with integrating new migrants in the UK, Haque (2010) identified poor language skills as a major barrier to accessing the labour market, as well as for social and cultural integration. According to Haque (2010), knowing the language can in some cases determine a person's possibility for employment, similarly to how employment can increase a person's competence in a language. Even though knowing the language is not always a requirement in some workplaces, it is on the other hand important in the daily contact with other institutions and services (Haque, 2010; Trevena, 2013). Similarly, Mallovs (2014) found in his research that every migrant meet various social and economic challenges that are considerably easier to address if they are able to understand, both spoken and written, the language of the host country. Language and literacy skills are important, however other aspects also need to be considered. Equally as important are the social practices where these language and literacy skills will be needed. Newly arrived migrants need to find somewhere to live and additionally, a place to work in order to be able to earn money and provide for

themselves, and in some cases, their families. They usually have to navigate their way around the welfare system, in order to gain access to health care and other social services. Mallows (2014) argues that these are all practical needs, however successful integration would require migrants to connect with their host society on both an emotional and a functional level. Becoming part of the community of parents that they see on a daily basis, for example at school or in the workplace, can benefit many migrants. It is important to acknowledge that saying hello to your neighbour or engaging in small talk are equally as important in the migrants' learning process as the language classes that some are required to take as part of the immigration process (Mallows, 2014).

2.3 Education and work experience

It is thoroughly documented, over many years, that highly educated immigrants are experiencing problems integrating into the labour market, being able to use their education, competence and skills, and advancing in relevant jobs (Brekke, 2008; Rogstad & Orupabo, 2007). In her doctoral thesis, *'Like muligheter? Betydningen av etnisk bakgrunn for sysselsetting og inntekt'*, Brekke (2008) found that immigrants and their descendants do not have access to the same opportunities in the labour market as the majority population. When comparing the immigrant population with the majority population in Norway, Brekke found that it took longer for immigrants to gain their first full-time job, and additionally immigrants were paid less than the majority population holding the same, or similar, education.

Migrant workers are more often than not overqualified for the positions that they have (IMDi, 2008a; Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2018; NOU 2011:14). Being overqualified means that an employee possess a higher formal education and competence than what is required for the job that the person is doing. This means that the person is not able to use the qualifications and skills that he or she has. Immigrants with high competence are more likely to be employed in jobs that does not correspond to their education, compared to the majority, non-immigrant, population (NOU 2011:14). According to NOU (2011:14), migrants who come to Norway will generally bring with them education and professional experience from their country of origin. Some migrants come to Norway with education that entails formal competence which is not directly transferable to the Norwegian labour market. This means that immigrants with

a long and expensive education from their country of origin, may experience that they are not able to benefit from their education in the country that they move to, because the competence cannot be transferred (Villund, 2008). Education that is not transferable, together with insufficient quality of the education, can indeed reduce the opportunities for employment (NOU 2011:14).

However, in her study on Polish graduates working in London, Trevena (2013) found that pre-accession migrants, referring to those who arrived before the EU enlargement, regarded working significantly below their qualifications as an essential part of the migration experience. The pre-accession migrants argued that the post-accession migrants who want to 'have it all' when they first arrive in a country are generally frowned upon. The pre-accession migrants in Trevena's study argue that migrants who have recently arrived in a country, should start from the lower positions in order to learn something new, and if necessary, improve their cultural and social capital. By improving their skills and qualifications, learning the language, establish contacts and develop networks, migrants are able to obtain a better job or position in the future. Trevena therefore suggests that low-skilled jobs can be perceived as entrance jobs for Polish migrants, whereby in the long run, migrants are able to improve and promote their career, qualifications and skills in the labour market.

Moreover, overqualification can also be understood in regards to immigrants with education from abroad experiencing major challenges related to the approval process of their qualification (NOU 2011:14). From an individual's point of view, being able to obtain a job that is meaningful, as well as being able to use their qualifications in the labour market, is economically important. From a socio-economic point of view, it is valuable to utilize skilled labour as efficiently as possible (Villund, 2008). In many cases, it takes a long time to get education and qualifications assessed and approved (NOU 2011:14). In her study, Trevena (2013) found that Polish graduates entering the British labour market experienced problems getting their diplomas approved, and regularly experienced difficulties when trying to use their degrees from Poland. Two of her respondents, both holding a master's degree in psychology, found that the relevant professional body would not sufficiently identify their Polish qualifications, considering their master's degree as corresponding to a bachelor's

degree. This consequently hindered their professional career in the UK. NOU (2017:2) therefore argue that it can be beneficial for migrants to acquire an education in the country that they migrate to. Additionally, this can reduce the barriers that migrants experience when applying for work, and can increase the likelihood of migrants being employed within professions that correspond to their qualifications, competence and skills.

2.4 Perspectives on migration

When looking at the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market in Norway and the UK, it is important to consider if the individual migrant has a short term, or long term, perspective on their stay. This can be seen in relation to integration being understood as a two-way process, whereby migrant workers have to adapt to society, but at the same time society has to make room for diversity (Dahl, 2013). According to NOU (2011:14), it is valuable to facilitate for participation in different areas of society, however this requires that the immigrant population has to be willing to participate and realise the importance of participation. It is, however, also important to consider that there might be various barriers to participation, such as lack of knowledge of the opportunities that exist, finances, discrimination, norms and traditions, lack of confidence and belief in the system, as well as self-perception and self-confidence (NOU 2011:14). Yet, it is known from NOU (2011:14) that immigrants are better integrated and most of them manage better the longer they live in a country. This is reasonable, as it takes time to learn a language, complete an education, get a job, find a sufficient place to stay, and establish a good financial situation.

Trevena (2013) argues that migrants who have a short-term perspective on their stay in the UK do not integrate to the same extent as migrants with a long-term perspective on their stay. Migrant workers who are in a country for work, and work only, might not find it important or necessary to learn the language, establish social networks, or find a decent place to stay, because they intend to eventually return to their country of origin (Trevena, 2013). Moreover, in their focus group interviews, IMDi (2008a) found that migrants who indicated that they were likely to still live in Norway in five years, had to a greater extent acquired Norwegian language skills than those who were uncertain about their future in Norway. On the other hand, the Polish migrants in the IMDi focus group explained that the need to acquire

knowledge about Norway and learning the language increased when they decided to settle down and started to plan for a future in Norway. Only then were they willing to make the investment required to learn Norwegian through participating in a language course.

2.4.1 Citizenship

Acquiring a citizenship for migrant workers in Norway and the UK, can be perceived and understood as an incentive for integration, and additionally as a foundation for full participation in the Norwegian or British society (Brekke & Mohn, 2018; NOU 2011:14). In the UK, individuals are eligible to receive a permanent residence status if they themselves, or a family member, originate from the EU, EEA or Switzerland (Gov.uk, n.d.a). A permanent residence status will be given to individuals automatically after living in the UK for five years. If individuals have a permanent residence permit, they can apply for a British citizenship if they have lived in the UK for twelve months after receiving the permanent residence status (Gov.uk, n.d.a). In regards to acquiring a citizenship in Norway, foreigners who have legally been in Norway for seven years or more, and who fulfill the requirements for a permanent residence permit, can be granted a Norwegian citizenship (NOU 2017:2). In addition to years lived in Norway, individuals who apply for a Norwegian citizenship, and who are not covered by the obligation to participate in language training in accordance with the Introduction act, such as migrants workers, have to complete 300 hours of Norwegian language training. Alternatively, applicants have to document and demonstrate that their Norwegian language skills are adequate (NOU 2017:2).

Some countries allow for dual citizenships, and the UK is one of them. Having a dual citizenship means that Polish migrant workers who live and work in the UK are able to become a British citizen, while at the same time holding on to their Polish citizenship (Gov.uk, n.d.b). Acquiring a dual citizenship is however not allowed in Norway. Norway does not yet allow dual citizenship, and migrant workers who choose to apply for a Norwegian citizenship, have to give up on their Polish citizenship (Pettersen, 2017). NOU (2011:14) found that there has been an increase in countries around the world that allow for dual citizenships. They perceive this increase in regards to transnationalism, whereby many people

are living their lives in two places at once. Transnationalism will be further explained in the next chapter.

Having a British or Norwegian citizenship is beneficial for those who are living and working in the UK and in Norway, and grants them access to a number of benefits in the British and Norwegian society (NOU 2017:2). For an individual, acquiring a citizenship indicates partly a security of being able to stay in the country they reside in, and partly an opportunity to influence the society that one is a part of, for example by voting in elections (NOU 2011:14). When looking at the quality of life of immigrants in Norway, Pettersen (2017) found that only a minority of informants indicated that they did not want to apply for a Norwegian citizenship. However, participants from Poland were found to constitute for 58 percent of this minority, a total of 158 participants. Acquiring a citizenship for migrant workers, and in some cases having to give up on their Polish citizenship, can be interpreted as an expression of a strong experience of belonging to Norway or the UK (NOU 2017:2).

2.4.2 Discrimination

The integration of migrant workers in the labour market can also be seen in relation to every individuals' feeling of belonging to the country that they migrate to. Discrimination is an important factor to consider in this regard, because it is perceived as a barrier to the integration of immigrants and their descendants in both the labour market and in the wider society (OECD, 2013; Spencer et al., 2007). Discrimination is understood by OECD (2013) as "unequal or different treatment that disfavours an individual or a group and that is based on origin, ethnicity, race or nationality" (p. 193). Discrimination in the labour market can, according to Midtbøen & Rogstad (2012) take on a number of different forms, and occur in various situations, including the hiring process, in promotions, payment, assignment and terminations. Several studies indicate, both in Norway and the UK, that discrimination do in fact exist in the workplace, especially in the first and most critical phase of the hiring process (Birkelund, Lillehagen, Ekre & Ugreninov, 2014; Midtbøen & Rogstad, 2012; Rogstad 2006; Wood, Hales, Purdon, Sejersen & Hayllar, 2009). Moreover, a significant proportion of immigrants state that they experience discrimination in the labour market, and a significant

proportion of employers believe that discrimination is a major barrier to immigrants not being employed (NOU 2011:14).

Birkelund et al. (2014) studied the prevalence of discrimination in four Norwegian cities: Oslo, Stavanger, Bergen and Trondheim. They argue that it is difficult to measure discrimination, because there are usually various reasons for why an employer prefers one person over the other. On an individual level, it is normal to distinguish between two main explanations for why discrimination occurs: discrimination based on prejudice, and discrimination based on the lack of information. Discrimination based on prejudice can occur when an employer choose not to hire the most productive jobseeker because of their own or others', such as colleagues or customers, prejudices. An employer can hold prejudice against a particular group, for example Polish job seekers, or have prejudice against anyone who is not from the majority population, in other words all immigrants and their descendants. Discrimination due to lack of information is based on the fact that employers do not have any preferences for or against particular groups, however it is assumed that the information they have access to is inadequate, and they are therefore uncertain as to how productive the applicant will be if they get the job. An employer can for example assume that a job seeker with a foreign name lack the necessary language skills. It is however important to acknowledge that these perspectives can implement a self-fulfilling prophecy: if an employer does not hire a person because he or she has prejudice towards that person, the person applying for the job will not be able to show what he or she is capable of (Birkelund et al., 2014).

Additionally, within social research a distinction can also be made between other forms of discrimination, namely *direct* and *indirect* discrimination (NOU 2011:14). Direct discrimination refers to a person who is discriminated against on the basis of skin colour, language, nationality, ethnicity, religion and/or belief without it being justified (NOU 2011:14). Direct discrimination occur for example if an employer decides that he or she does not want to hire people with ethnic minority backgrounds, for instance if a woman who meets all the professional and social qualifications needed for the specific position is not hired (Dahl, 2013). Indirect discrimination, on the other hand occur in a situation where

requirements and rules appear to be seemingly neutral, but lead to discrimination in practice (NOU 2011:14). For example, if an employer make demands or conditions that apply to everyone, however in reality the requirement can only can be fulfilled by the minority, for instance by requiring employers to master the Norwegian language, even though language skills is not really necessary in order to perform the job (Dahl, 2013).

Moreover, OECD (2013) argue that discrimination in the labour market can have an effect on whether individuals and groups are able to access employment, and additionally whether they are able to advance both their career and their wages. In a study looking at the quality of life among immigrants in Norway (Hamre, 2017), participants were asked if they had experienced being treated differently in four specific situations: in the labour market, in an educational institution, when applying for work, and in contact with health services. Respondents who answered 'yes' to the question received a follow-up question on whether they felt like they were treated differently because of their immigrant background. The proportion of participants who had experienced discrimination was found to be highest within the labour market, when applying for work and in the workplace. A total of 28 percent of those who had applied for a job within the last year explained that they had experienced problems in the hiring process because of their immigrant background. Additionally, 16 percent of the employees had experiences of being treated differently in the workplace because of their immigrant background. In regards to participants with an immigrant background from Poland, 13-15 percent stated that they had experienced immigrant-related discrimination in the workplace (Hamre, 2017).

Moreover, Midtbøen & Rogstad (2012) examined if job seekers with foreign names were more prone to experience barriers in accessing the labour market, compared to applicants with Norwegian names, even when qualifications were identical between the applicants. Midtbøen & Rogstad constructed two pairs of applicants, and submitted 1800 fictitious applications to real advertised jobs. They used a female and a male couple. The two applicants were similar in all relevant variables such as language, education, and work experience, however differed from each other whereby one person was given a majority name, and one was given a Pakistani minority name. Overall, the results of the field work demonstrated that

discrimination do occur in the hiring process, and constitute a substantial barrier to accessing the labour market for people with ethnic minority backgrounds. The likelihood of being called in for a job interview is, on average, reduced by almost 25 percent if the applicant has a foreign sounding name, compared to identically qualified applicants with a majority background (Midtbøen & Rogstad, 2012). This is problematic both for those involved and for society as a whole, because being able to access work is important for the welfare of individuals, integration and self-esteem, and high labour market participation is socio-economically necessary in order to maintain a high level of welfare (Birkelund et al., 2014).

3 Theoretical framework

This chapter will draw attention to key theoretical perspectives relevant to the topic of integration and migration, namely social mobility, transnationalism and the Matrix of attachment. Theories of social mobility and transnationalism, together with the Matrix of Attachment, will together provide a framework for the later discussion of the findings, and shed light on the strategies and barriers to integration as experienced by Polish migrant workers. Lack of language skills, lack of a social network, and discrimination in the labour market are all factors that can contribute to migrant workers not accessing the same type of jobs that they had in Poland before migrating to Norway or the UK (Odden, 2018a). Social mobility is therefore both important and relevant to this research project, because it will be able to say something about the actual placement of Polish migrant workers on the social ladder, and whether they experience upward or downward social mobility when entering the labour market in Norway and the UK. Furthermore, transnationalism and the Matrix of Attachment is an important theoretical perspective because it reflects on the argument that integration and transnationalism neither interact in a predetermined way nor are they independent of each other (Odden, 2018a). Transnationalism and the Matrix of Attachment demonstrate that it is possible for Polish migrant workers to integrate in the country that they migrate to, while at the same time feeling a belonging to their country of origin.

3.1 Social mobility

Social mobility refers to the “movement of individuals and groups between socio-economic positions” (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 511), meaning a change in group affiliation (Odden, 2018a). It is common to distinguish between two ways of studying social mobility:

Intragenerational mobility and Intergenerational mobility. *Intragenerational mobility* is concerned with individual careers, and demonstrates how an individual changes his position up or down the social ladder throughout the course of his life (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). For example, if an individual enter working life as an unskilled manual worker, and after ten years is hired as an accountant, then he is socially mobile in accordance with intragenerational mobility (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013). *Intergenerational mobility* on the other hand, is concerned with mobility across generations, namely to what extent an individual enter the

same type of occupation as his/her parents or grandparents (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). For example, if a son or daughter of an unskilled manual workers becomes an accountant, then he/she is socially mobile in terms of intergenerational mobility (Haralambos & Holborn, 2013).

Moreover, a distinction can be made between vertical mobility, and lateral mobility (Giddens & Sutton, 2013). *Vertical mobility* is referred to as movement up or down the socio-economic ladder, whereby those who acquire wealth, income and/or status are upwardly mobile, and those who move in the other direction are downwardly mobile. *Lateral mobility* on the other hand, is concerned with the geographical movement between “neighbourhoods, towns or regions” (Giddens & Sutton, 2013, p. 511). Similarly to vertical mobility, lateral mobility also consist of a change in group affiliation, however without movement up or down the social ladder (Odden 2018a). According to Giddens & Sutton (2013), vertical and lateral mobility can sometimes be combined. This can be seen for example if someone is employed in a company in one city, and is upgraded to a higher position in the same, or another, department of the company situated in another city, or even in another country. Individuals are then able to move up the socio-economic ladder according to vertical mobility, and additionally move across geographical borders according to lateral mobility.

Papademetriou, Somerville & Sumption (2009) argue that social mobility is important for the integration of immigrants. They argue that immigrants in Europe usually experience downward mobility when they migrate, referring to the fact that migrant workers are overrepresented in low-skilled and low-paying jobs, even when they possess high levels of education. Papademetriou et al. consider the downward mobility of immigrants to be associated with four factors: “language barriers, differences in educational attainment, difficulties obtaining recognition for credentials and experience gained abroad, and problems accessing opportunities through social networks and other recruitment channels” (2009, p. 2). Upward mobility, on the other hand, enable immigrants to emerge from the positions that they might hold at the bottom of the labour market, which may contribute to substantial social and economic benefits for migrants, their families, and their communities (Papademetriou et al., 2009).

For the purpose of this research project, the focus will be on intragenerational mobility. This is because this research project focuses on the individual migrant worker and their ability to integrate into the labour market. The focus is therefore on how they are able to use their skills and resources, and not on what type of occupation they have, and whether or not their occupation correspond to the occupation of their parents or grandparents. Social mobility will be applied to this research project because it will provide an explanation as to the migrant workers actual position on the social ladder, for example whether they are experiencing upward, or downward, social mobility in the labour market.

3.2 Transnationalism

The focus on transnational migration has challenged the more classical approaches to immigration in general, and integration in particular (Odden, 2018a). Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton (1992, p. 1) define transnationalism as “the processes by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement”. Immigrants who construct such social fields are called ‘transmigrants’. According to Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton (1995), transmigrants are immigrants whose daily lives revolve around multiple and consistent interconnections across international borders, and whose identities are constructed in connection to more than one nation-state. Transmigrants draw upon and develop multiple identities grounded in both their country of origin, and the country they migrate to (Schiller et al., 1992). Transnationalism describes the development of social structures that go beyond national borders through migrants’ constant involvement in both the country of origin and country of residence, for example by regularly traveling between the two destinations (Schunck, 2011). As a result of transnationalism, networks are established across borders, which may in turn increase migration. Schunck supports this by stating that migrants are supposed to live dual lives, whereby they are living in two countries, speaking two language, and are subjects to the principles of two different cultural reference systems at once. Schiller et al. (1992) argue that some migrants might identify more with one society than the other, however the majority appear to uphold various identities that connects them to more than one nation.

Another important key term is ‘transnational practices’, which refers to the things that people do that link the country of origin and the country of residence (Carling, 2017). This includes mobility in both directions, exchange of information, political activism, and transferring money, also referred to as remittances. Remittances are important both for transnationalism and for the connection between migration and development (Carling, 2017), and is regarded by Odden (2018a) as one of the most common forms of transnational practices. One example of remittances can be the financial contribution sent to family or friends to ensure that they have access to food, health and education. Another example is money invested in for example land, housing, or economic activity, such as investing in an already established business or starting a new business (Odden, 2018a). For families that are divided by migration, remittances are an important expression of migrants continued belonging to the country of origin (Carling, 2017).

3.3 Matrix of Attachment

An important theoretical perspective to look at in regards to migration and integration of Polish migrant workers, is the *Matrix of Attachment* (Tilknytningmatrisen), developed by Carling & Pettersen (2015). The Matrix of Attachment consist of four different possible combinations of integration and transnationalism, and reflects on the argument that integration and transnationalism neither interact in a predetermined way nor are they independent of each other (Odden, 2018a). Every quadrant in the matrix, marked with letters from A to D, consist of weak or strong integration, and weak or strong transnationalism. In relation to Polish migrant workers, a person who finds himself in quadrant A, has a strong attachment to Norway or the UK, and a weak attachment to the country of origin. A person who finds himself in quadrant B, has a strong attachment to both Norway or the UK, and the country of origin. Contrary, a person in quadrant C has a weak attachment to both Norway or the UK, and the country of origin. Lastly, a person in quadrant D has a weak attachment to Norway or the UK, and a strong attachment to the country of origin (See figure 1).

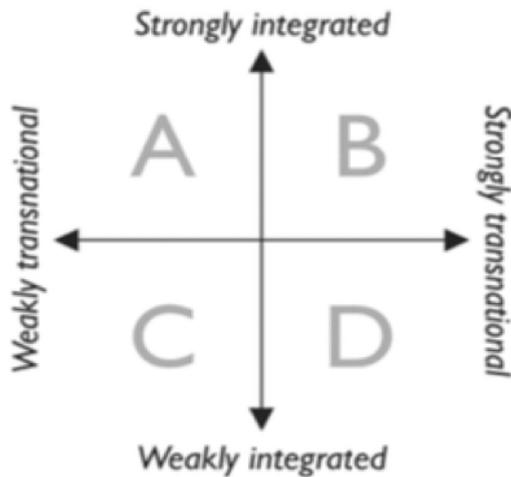


Figure 1. “The Matrix of Attachment”, 2015, by Carling & Pettersen.

(<https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=113&type=publicationfile>)

Each of the two dimensions of the matrix is composed by three indicators. The indicators of integration is to speak good Norwegian/English, to feel belonging to Norway/the UK, and to not have experienced discrimination due to being an immigrant in Norway/the UK. The indicators of transnationalism, on the other hand, is to have and/or own a property in one’s country of origin, having traveled to the country of origin over the past five years, and to send money to the country of origin (Odden, 2018a). Carling & Pettersen (2015) identified respondents in their study as being strongly integrated or strongly transnational if they scored positively on two out of three indicators (See figure 2).



Figure 2. “The indicators of integration and transnationalism”, 2015, by Carling & Pettersen.
<https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=113&type=publicationfile>

The Matrix of Attachment is important as a theoretical framework for this research project, because it makes it possible to reflect on the attachment that Polish migrant workers have to their country of origin, and their country of residence. A strong attachment to the country of origin does not necessarily mean a weak attachment to the country of residence. It is possible to live in a country and at the same time have one or more interpersonal relationships in other countries. Moreover, the Matrix of Attachment is important because it goes further than saying that one has to either integrate or assimilate when arriving in a new country, as the matrix demonstrate that it is possible to have an attachment to both the country of origin and the country of residence. It does not have to be attachment to one or the other (Carling & Pettersen, 2015).

4 Methodological approach

This chapter will present the methodological approach used for this research project. This includes research method, collection of data, methods for analysis, and ethical considerations. The data was gathered through qualitative semi-structured interviews in Norway and the UK. As the interviews were conducted within the framework of the FAMAC project, a section on the advantages and disadvantages of not having conducted the field work myself will be provided. Additionally, thematic analysis was applied as the analytical method for this project, and a brief explanation will be provided as to how thematic analysis was applied to the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. Lastly, ethical considerations will be explored, and an explanation will be given as to how these considerations were dealt with by both the researchers of the FAMAC project, and for this research project.

4.1 Qualitative research

Within social science research there are two key methodological approaches: quantitative and qualitative research methodology (Bryman, 2016). While they are both concerned with answering research questions, they use different tools in doing so (Bryman, 2012). Bryman (2012) explain the two methodological approaches as follows:

In quantitative research, the investigator is in the driving seat. The set of concerns that he or she brings to an investigation structures the investigation. In qualitative research, the perspective of those being studied - what they see as important and significant - provides the point of orientation. (p. 408)

While quantitative research methods refer to *how much of a kind*, qualitative research methods refers to *what kind* (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In other words, quantitative research methods are usually concerned with numbers, while qualitative research methods are concerned with words (Bryman, 2016).

Considering that the aim of this research project is to investigate the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in Norway and the UK, a qualitative research

methodology was a valuable approach to adopt in order to sufficiently answer the research question. This allowed for a more comprehensive and detailed account of the strategies that migrant workers use to integrate in the labour market, and additionally the barriers that they experience. According to Bryman (2016), a qualitative research methodology makes it possible to explore and understand the world through the eyes of the people who are being studied. This can be accomplished through various different data collection methods, including ethnography, participants observation, and in-depth or conversational interviews (Kuada, 2012). An important advantage of adopting a qualitative data collection method, is that it allows for interviewing or observing participants in their natural settings (Kuada, 2012), which according to Kuada indicates that participants are able to answer questions concerning their surroundings more accurately. In addition, a qualitative research method provides participants with the opportunity to articulate their feelings and opinions and offer their thoughts and perspectives in their own words (Kuada, 2012).

4.2 Interviews

Interviewing is a research method used to collect qualitative data (Kuada, 2012), and was the most suitable method to apply and use for this project. Using interviews as a research method is, according to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009), straightforward: an interview is a conversation that has both a structure and a purpose, which exceeds the “spontaneous exchange of views in everyday conversations” (p. 3), and becomes a cautious approach of questioning and listening. According to Kvale & Brinkmann (2009), the qualitative research interview investigates “qualitative knowledge as expressed in normal language; it does not aim at quantification” (p. 30). The aim of the qualitative research interview is to look at detailed accounts of various aspects of the interviewee’s life. The interviewer attempts to understand the world from the interviewee’s perspective through conversations of everyday life, to unravel the meaning of their actions and experiences (Kuada, 2012; Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The interview is, according to Kvale & Brinkmann, a place where thoughts, beliefs and experiences are exchanged between two, or more, persons. Knowledge is then constructed in the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. The qualitative interview can therefore be perceived as a flexible way of discovering certain matters (Robson & McCartan, 2016).

An important advantage of the qualitative research interview is that it produces rich and descriptive data (Robson & McCartan, 2016). The qualitative research interview invites participants to describe, as accurately as they can, what they experience and perceive, and additionally how they perform (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). The interviews used in this research project was conducted face-to-face. Face-to-face interviews are, in comparison to for example self-administered questionnaires, valuable because they offer the opportunity to alter the line of enquiry, and additionally makes it possible for the interviewer to pose follow-up questions to what the interviewee says (Robson & McCartan, 2016).

4.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

In qualitative interviews, a distinction is usually made between structured, semi-structured, and unstructured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009; Robson & McCartan, 2016). A fully structured interview usually has a set of fixed questions, for the most part presented in a pre-set order. Semi-structured interviews differ from fully structured interviews, whereby the interviewer has an interview guide which consist of various topics that are to be covered during the interview. However, the wording of the questions, the order in which they are asked, and the time and attention given to the different topics, is usually altered according to the flow of the interview. Lastly, in an unstructured interview, the interviewer has a general idea of questions and topics to be discovered, however lets the conversation evolve within the specific area of interest (Robson & McCartan, 2016).

The most suitable interview method for this research project was semi-structured interviews, as they are flexible and produce rich and detailed data (Bryman, 2016). Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) regard the semi-structured life world interview as an interview with the intention of gathering descriptive information on the lives of the interviewees, to understand the meaning of the specific research topic. Moreover, in a semi-structured interview, the interviewer is able to ask the interviewee other, unplanned, questions in order to follow up on what the interviewee says (Robson & McCartan, 2016), allowing the researcher to follow up on information implied by participants that is valuable in regards to answering the research question (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

An interview guide was created and was used as a guideline for the semi-structured interviews. The interview guide included socio-demographic questions, such as age, country of birth, current job situation, and educational background. Moreover, the interview guide provided some general themes that were to be covered, such as transnational practices, job situation, language, networks, discrimination, and questions regarding the migrant workers plans for the future. As the interviews were conducted within a life course perspective, the answers to most questions were thought to be covered simply by letting the informants tell their story. Researchers was therefore asked to follow up on generalised answers by asking informants for specific examples from their own experiences, in order to receive more detailed information about the lives of the informants. At the end of the interviews, participants were also allowed to elaborate on their thoughts and experiences if they wished to do so.

4.2.2 The Interview process

When deciding what I wanted to focus my Master Thesis on, the integration of migrant workers was the first initial topic that came to mind. I wanted to look at the importance of language courses for the integration of migrant workers in Norway. However, when planning my field work, I experienced difficulties in accessing the sample and gain participants. I was able to get in contact with a Norwegian language course in a municipality at the west coast of Norway, however they only had two migrant workers attending their courses. Additionally, they did not speak either Norwegian or English. This would have required the help of a translator, which was not possible due to limited time and resources. I therefore had to reconsider how I was going to access my sample. My supervisor was then able to get in contact with a colleague of hers at the Centre for Intercultural Communication (SIK) in Stavanger, in which they were conducting a research project on Polish migrants in Norway, Sweden and the UK.

As I was not able to access the sample and conduct the field work for the thesis myself, the interviews presented and analysed in this study were conducted within the framework of a research project called *'Doing Family across Borders: A Comparative Study of Work, Family and Welfare Strategies among Polish Migrants in Norway, Sweden, and the UK'*, also known

under its shorter name FAMAC. FAMAC focus their attention on how Polish families organise work and family life across borders in Norway, Sweden and the UK. FAMAC is a collaborative research project between the Centre for Intercultural Communication (SIK) in Stavanger, University of Stavanger, University of Malmö, and the University of Liverpool (FAMAC, n.d.). The FAMAC project is led by SIK in Stavanger, whereby the project leader is Gunhild Odden.

The interviews were conducted by the researchers involved in the FAMAC project in a time period between 2016-2018. The interviews were conducted in either Polish, English or Norwegian, depending on the language skills of the participants. Interviews that were conducted in Polish were later, when transcribed, translated into English. The translated interviews have all been reviewed by the researcher who conducted them, to ensure that the translation to a great extent, reflects on the original content of the interviews (Odden, 2018b). When I retrieved the interviews in December 2018, the interviews were already transcribed by the researchers of the project.

Within the FAMAC project, eighteen interviews were conducted in Liverpool, UK, and fourteen interviews were conducted in Stavanger, Norway. For the purpose of this research project, and in order to most sufficiently answer the research question, I decided to use twelve of the eighteen interviews conducted in the UK. Some of the interviews were conducted with experts in the field, and not with the migrant workers themselves, and was therefore not applicable for this project. Additionally, I decided to use ten out of the fourteen interviews conducted in Norway. Some of the interviews were not recorded, and only briefly transcribed by the researcher, and was therefore not included in this research project.

4.2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of someone else conducting the interviews

There are several advantages and disadvantages of not having conducted the interviews myself. First off, one of the advantages is the amount of time that was saved. Conducting the interviews is not usually time consuming (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015), however Bryman (2012) argues that what requires much more attention is the time consuming process of

transcribing the interviews. I did not have to spend time on either conducting the interviews or transcribing them, which meant that more time was spent on the actual reading and analysis of the interviews. Another advantage is that the interviews made it possible for me to broaden my research and focus on a larger scale. Originally, I was going to focus my thesis on the integration of Polish migrant workers in Norway, however after collaborating with the FAMAC project, I was able to focus on the integration of Polish migrant workers in the UK as well as Norway, allowing for a comparative perspective. This would not have been possible if I had done the research myself, due to the lack of resources.

Moreover, I was not involved in the field work myself, and therefore did not have the opportunity to get to know, or connect to, those who were being interviewed. Bryman (2012) believes that sometimes, the lack of a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee is preferable, because the objectivity of the researcher might be compromised if he or she becomes too attached to those who are being studied. I have never met the informants, I do not know what they look like. I only know of them what was written in the transcripts of the interviews. This means that I am able to stay objective in both the reading, analysis, presentation and discussion of the data.

However, there are also some disadvantages to not having conducted the interviews myself. Brinkmann & Kvale (2015) argue that the “live interview situation with the interviewees’ voice and facial and bodily expressions” (p. 55) together with what is said, presents a more valuable admission to the interviewees’ thoughts and understandings than what the transcribed text will do. As I did not conduct the interviews myself, I would not know if valuable information has been left out of the transcribed interviews. Moreover, I do not know how the interviewees reacted, physically and emotionally, to the interview process and the questions that were being asked. I was only able to receive the transcribed interviews, and not the audio recording of the interviews. This could be perceived as a disadvantage because the immediate reactions and responses to the questions asked by the interviewer, provides an important framework for the analysis of the transcripts (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2015).

Moreover, the data collected by the researchers was not collected with the ideas and thoughts that I originally had in mind for my thesis. The interviews provided me with a vast amount of information on various topics, however not focusing particularly on the topic that I wanted to study in order to answer my research question. Looking at it from another perspective, this could also be perceived as an advantage, because it means that I was able to change my research question and my ideas for the thesis in accordance with what information I was able to retrieve from the interviews.

4.3 Informants

4.3.1 Informants in Norway

Eleven of the participants included in this research project were Polish migrant workers living and working on the west-coast of Norway, namely in the Stavanger area. For the participants in Norway, five are male and five are female, and they all originate from Poland. In relation to the age of participants in Norway, there is a wide age gap, whereby the youngest participant was 27 years old, and the oldest participants was 54 years old at the time when the interviews were conducted. The majority of the participants in Norway were married, five out of ten, and additionally two were engaged. The last three participants were single. Moreover, 50 percent of participants, five out of ten, had no children, and additionally five participants had one, or more, children either in Poland or living together with them in Norway. In regards to length of stay in Norway, the participant who had stayed for the longest came to Norway in 2005/2006, while the participant with the shortest stay came in 2013. Participants were also asked if they had attended a language course in Norway, and everyone, besides two female participants, had attended a course either once, or a couple of times.

4.3.2 Informants in the UK

As for the participants living and working in Liverpool, UK, six are male and similarly six are female, all originating from Poland. The age gap between participants in the UK is rather similar to the age gap of the Norwegian participants, whereby the youngest participant was 28 years old at the time when the interviews were conducted, and the oldest participants was 59

years old. In regard to the civil status of participants in the UK, five out of twelve were married, three were separated and two divorced, while one participant was engaged and one single. The majority of the UK participants had children, eight out of twelve, while four participants had no children. The Polish migrant worker who had been in the UK for the longest, came when the EU enlargement took place in 2004, while those who had been in the UK for the shortest amount of time, came in 2016. In regards to attending a language course in the UK, participants were more mixed in their answers compared to those in Norway, whereby six participants had attended a language course, and five participants had not attended a language course. The last participant did not say if he had attended a language course in the UK.

4.4 Management of results

4.4.1 Thematic analysis

The data gathered from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic analysis. Bryman (2012) refers to thematic analysis as one of the most common approaches to qualitative data analysis. Thematic analysis was a suitable method to use because it constructs and explains the collected data in detail, and an extensive search through the data from the semi-structured interviews recognised recurring themes in the responses of participants (Robson & McCartan, 2016). An advantage of using thematic analysis is that it is a rather straightforward method to learn and use, and additionally a method that can be used by researcher with, as in my case, little or no previous experience with qualitative research (Robson & McCartan, 2016). In comparison, Robson & McCartan propose a disadvantage of using thematic analysis, saying that because the method is so flexible, the possible extent of things that can be said about the data can, in some cases, be extensive. This will inevitably perform as a barrier to researcher when deciding on what aspects of the data they want to focus their attention on.

Identifying themes involve, according to Robson & McCartan (2016), discovering topics that occur and reoccur in the research data. Robson & McCartan elaborate on the importance of

discovering themes, saying that the work that researchers do in developing and organising these themes is important in order to create an understanding of the data. When reading through the transcribed interviews, reoccurring themes and concepts were noted down as I saw them appear in the data. For example, when participants talked about their experiences with learning the language in Norway and the UK, I looked for experiences and thoughts that seemed to reoccur within the theme of 'language'. This included for instance 'learning the language in order to qualify for better jobs', 'investing in taking a language course', and 'Polish speaking workplaces'. This approach was applied throughout the reading of every interview, and a mind map was created for every theme. See Appendix B, page 92 for the mind maps. A couple of weeks after I had read the entire set of data, and after starting the writing of the Master Thesis, I decided to re-read the interviews, in order to see if the themes I had discovered adequately captured what was found in the data. This allowed for identifying new patterns or themes within the data than I had not previously recognised as important (Robson & McCartan, 2016).

An comprehensive overview of the thematic analysis can be found in Appendix C on page 94.

4.4.2 Presentation of data

The most common method of presenting findings from a qualitative interviews is through selected quotes (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Kvale & Brinkmann argue that quotes are valuable to use when presenting data because the quotes present the reader with an idea on the content of the interview, and additionally also the personal interaction of the conversation that took place during the interview. The findings gathered from the interviews will in the next chapter be presented in form of selected quotes, in order to explore and argue about the findings. The findings from the interviews will be presented and discussed in light of the research question. The findings will be presented in different categories. In each category, various excerpts have been collected from the text of the transcribed interviews, where participants have expressed their thoughts and experiences surrounding integration into the labour market. The chosen categories are: migration networks; language; education and work experience; and perspective on stay in Norway and the UK. Within each category, strategies

and experienced barriers to integration into the labour market will be discussed in light of previous research and theory.

4.5 Ethics

When carrying out real world research involving people, it is important to consider, and be critically aware of, the ethical issues that may arise (Guthrie, 2010). Robson & McCartan (2016) perceive ethics as a set of guidelines and principles, and ethics can guide researchers so that they can perform with integrity towards participants (Guthrie, 2010). According to Robson & McCartan, ethics is a “process and not an endpoint” (2016, p. 208), meaning that ethical issues should be considered and reflected upon throughout the entire course of the research, and should not be perceived as a one-time only inquiry.

Ethical issues usually emerge in interview research due to the uneven power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee, whereby the interviewer is generally located in a more powerful position than the interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Kvale & Brinkmann argue that the researcher define and control the interview situation, and it can therefore not be perceived as a conversation between equal partners.

4.5.1 Ethical approval

An important factor to consider before conducting a research project, is gaining ethical permission in order to conduct the research. According to Guthrie (2010), permission has to be obtained from two specific areas: from an ethics committee, and from the research participants. Gaining ethical permission from both areas is important in order to be able to carry out the research project (Guthrie, 2010). For this research project, it was required to submit a description of the research project to an ethical review board before the research could be undertaken. Having to submit the project to an ethical review board enables the researcher to critically consider the ethical dilemmas and issues that may emerge during the course of the research (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

The research project was submitted to, and ethically approved by the Norwegian Centre for Research Data (NSD) in Norway, which aim at assisting researchers in regards to data gathering and data analysis, as well as issues of methodology, privacy and research ethics (NSD, n.d.). Similarly, the research project was ethically approved by the ethics committee at the University of Liverpool. Since the research project was approved by NSD, it indicates that every aspect of the research project, such as confidentiality, the right of participants to withdraw from the research project, to protect participants from harm, and more, have already been approved. My responsibility is to analyse and present the data with all these aspects in mind, for example by ensuring that participants are kept anonymized.

4.5.2 Informed consent

One of the central ideas of most ethical guidelines is, according to Guthrie (2010) and Silverman (2015), informed consent. Silverman (2015) argues that the right to be informed involves that potential participants are presented with adequate and accessible information about the research project, composed in a way that they are able to understand. Informed consent involves informing the research participants about the overall purpose of the research project, including any risks and/or benefits that participants may encounter by taking part (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Being presented with adequate information about the research project makes it easier and more manageable for participants to decide if they wish to take part in the research or not (Guthrie, 2010).

Additionally, informed consent is also concerned with acquiring the voluntary participation of those taking part, meaning that the research participants are aware and informed about their right to withdraw from the project at any given time during the research process (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). There might be several reasons for why participants choose to withdraw from a research project, however Robson & McCartan (2016) argue that participation in a research project can, to some degree, turn out to be more stressful or overwhelming than participants might have anticipated when first agreeing to take part.

As for the participants for this research project, they were not provided with a written information sheet, however important information about the research project was provided

verbally to participants. An information sheet was however submitted to NSD when applying for ethical permission to conduct the research project. This information sheet provided information regarding the background and purposes of the FAMAC research project, as well as what it included to take part in the project. The information sheet also included a section on what would happen with the information gathered from the interviews, including who would have access to the data. This included the researchers from SIK, as well as the researchers from the collaborating universities.

Furthermore, the information sheet guaranteed that the information participants provided in the interviews would be kept anonymised, including participants names and other features that would make it possible to recognise them when publishing the findings from the project. When the FAMAC research project finishes in June 2019, all personal information about participants will be deleted from their databases. Similarly, data included in this research project will be deleted when finishing the Master's Thesis in May 2019. Moreover, the information sheet also offered information regarding the opportunity of participants to withdraw from the research project if they wished to do so. The participation of informants were voluntary, and participants were allowed to opt out of the project without providing a reason for doing so. If they were to opt out, all information on them would then be anonymised.

4.5.3 Confidentiality

Confidentiality in research entails that personal data that can make it easier to identify participants, such as participants name, will not be made public (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Confidentiality includes both the anonymity of participants, as well as protecting other personal details that might reveal the identities of participants (Robson & McCartan, 2016). Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) argue that if a study choose to publish information about participants that can be recognisable to others, then participants should be informed about it and agree to the information being published. Moreover, individuals who choose to participate in a research project should have the right to refuse to take part, and similarly refuse to answer questions (Guthrie, 2010).

In this research project, where qualitative research interviews are being analysed and discussed, it is important to respect the privacy of participants, and ensure their anonymity throughout the entire project (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). In order to protect both the identity and privacy of participants, their names have been changed into fictitious names.

Additionally, other information that can to some degree reveal the identities of participants, such as where they originate from in Poland, or what company they work for in Norway or in the UK, have been made fairly general. The workplaces of participants have instead been categories into industries, such as for example the construction or cleaning industry. This is done in order to protect the identities of participants, and to avoid participants being recognised.

4.5.4 Consequences

When looking at ethical issues that may arise when conducting a qualitative research study, Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) is concerned with the consequences, such as the possible harm to participants, but also the benefits that participants may expect from participating in the study. According to Kvale & Brinkmann, the benefits to participating and the importance of the information that is acquired should exceed the potential risk of harm to participants. Looking at the consequences of conducting qualitative research is important, because the research can sometimes be perceived as seductive. This might 'encourage' participants to reveal information that they later might regret having shared in the first place (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). It is therefore important that participants are, before conducting the interview, presented with information on their rights to refuse to participate, and additionally their right to withdraw from the project at any stage (Guthrie, 2010). This information was presented to informants before the interviews were conducted, as mentioned previously under 'informed consent'.

5 Findings and discussion

This chapter presents the presentation, analysis and discussion of the data material that was gathered from the semi-structured interviews with Polish migrant workers in Norway and the UK. The chapter will focus on the strategies that participants adopts in order to ingrate in the labour market, as well as the barriers that they encounter when doing so. This is examined by looking at four different categories: migration networks, language, education and work experience, and perspectives on stay. Within these categories, the strategies and barriers will be examined, in order to sufficiently answer the research question: *‘What strategies are used by Polish migrant workers in Norway and the UK to integrate into the labour market, and what barriers do they experience?’*.

5.1 Migration networks

5.1.1 Social networks influencing migration

In regards to the research question for this project, it is valuable to look at the importance of social networks for the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market, because it can be understood as a strategy, but additionally also as a barrier to integration. Social networks are important because they can contribute to the participation and integration of Polish migrant workers into the Norwegian and British labour market (Rogstad, 2006). Additionally, social networks are beneficial for migrant workers because they can provide important information and knowledge about rights and responsibilities both in society and in the labour market (NOU 2011:14). When Gerard migrated to the UK, he was mainly influenced by the fact that his sister had already been living in the UK for many years. In Gerard’s opinion, it is always easier, and less stressful, to migrate to a country when you know someone who has already settled down in the country, and additionally in the local community. He says that it is beneficial that someone has walked in his shoes before him, and that the ‘paths are already trodden’:

And my sister knew a bit more about life, how to deal with certain matters you do not waste so much time and nerves on acclimatisation, which was quite important, because in fact I was a bit afraid of this trip. (Gerard, UK)

Gerard felt much safer, and additionally more certain about migrating to the UK because he knew that he would not be on his own. Additionally, Gerard knew English before he came to the UK, however was surprised by the accent in Liverpool, and had to invest some time in order to adjust himself and understand what they were saying. Despite his language barriers, Gerard was, through his social network able to gather important information when first arriving in the UK. Some participants from Norway, on the other hand, said that they found “most of the information needed on the Internet” (Herbert, Norway). Other participants did also, as Gerard, receive “some information from friends” (Robert, Norway), or relatives who had moved to Norway before them. Even though Herbert was able to gather most of the information he needed through the Internet, he did have many friends that had moved to Norway before him, and who recommended Norway to him:

We [he and his wife] have many friends who has been living here [in Norway] for a long time ... many of our friends who moved there a long time ago, they made it ... and we met them many times and they say it is an excellent country. So we followed their advice. And we moved. (Herbert, Norway)

Social networks do play an important role in migration because they can influence the migrants’ decision to migrate, where they migrate to, and their opportunities for integration in the host country when arriving (Sumption, 2009). Herbert’s friends could be seen as influencing his migration in regards to where he was going. His friends had already migrated to Norway, and shared their positive experiences of the country with him. Similarly to Herbert, Justyn also came to Norway because he had friends who were already established in the Stavanger area. Justyn lost his job in Poland, and decided to move to Norway because he had a friend who was already living in Norway, and who was able to help him move. Justyn says:

He [friend] came to Norway two years before me. He helped me move, he helped me, and it is really difficult to move here if you do not know anyone. It is almost impossible, I think. And he helped me ... it is a difficult situation.

Justyn's friend came to Norway before him, and influenced his migration. IMDi (2008a) perceives migration from Poland to Norway to occur through what they refer to as 'chain migration'. So-called 'chain migration' occur when potential future migrant workers receive help and assistance to arrange practical matters related to work, housing, registration and similar by friends or relatives who have already migrated to the specific country. Both Herbert and Justyn decided to migrate to Norway because they already had friends living there who could assist them, and provide guidance and information. In such cases, the barriers to migration are reduced by diminishing practical barriers. The barriers to migration are also reduced by those who have previously migrated, whereby they are sharing their positive experiences of Norway (IMDi, 2008a).

Similarly to Herbert and Justyn, Jakub also had someone who influenced his decision to migrate. Jakub's parents and additionally his two sisters migrated to the UK a couple of years before him. When Jakub went through a bad divorce, he decided to move to the UK because there was nothing holding him back in Poland, and he knew that he had a place to stay at his parents house. At the time of the interview, he was still living with his parents, but planned to move out soon. When Jakub came to the UK, his brother-in-law arranged work for him:

So I had a guaranteed place. I only had to register at the agency, because they had a recruitment, but once I was registered - I went to work immediately. 3 weeks after I came here [to the UK] I was already working. (Jakub, UK).

Similarly to Jakub, Agata also had work arranged for her by someone that she knew, a friend of hers. Agata came to Norway because she was "fed up by work and the environment" in Poland. She called her friends and relatives in Norway, and asked them if they had a place for her to stay. Her first job in Norway was in the cleaning industry. Agata says: "It was somebody I knew who fixed me this job ... Because that it how it normally goes. It is the

easiest ... Actually most of the jobs I got like this". It is relatively common for migrant workers to be employed in the same company as their friends or relatives, especially when they, as Jakub and Agata, have a social network in the country that they migrate to (IMDi, 2008a). According to Sumption (2009), social networks play an important role in directing workers into jobs. This has both advantages and disadvantages to it. Social networks can be beneficial because they are frequently able to match workers and employers more rapidly than formal recruitment methods (Sumption, 2009), as seen in Jakub's case, whereby he already had a job arranged for him when he came to the UK. However, Sumption also argues that an extensive dependence on social networks in the labour market can contribute to social stratification, whereby individuals are limited to the opportunities that the network can provide. The first job that Jakub had in the UK, and additionally the job he had at the time of the interview, was provided for by his friends or relatives. This is what Jakub said about his first job, arranged for him by his brother-in-law:

The job was, as it was, just a job, but the money was always on time. For the initial survival, to get by, it was enough it was such hard physical labour the job was absorbing, it consumed quite a bit of time.

Jakub expressed in his interview that his first job in the UK was time consuming as he mainly worked night shifts. When explaining to the interviewer what his days normally looked like, Jakub says: "... night shifts, non-stop for two years. Work at night, and then I slept during the day. Sometimes I was so tired, that I simply slept for twelve hours and I wanted more [sleep]". In the short run, Jakub's social network are able to assist him in finding work in the UK, however his social networks might, in the long run, hinder his opportunities for full social and economic integration, both in society and in the labour market (Sumption, 2009).

Furthermore, when Helena started thinking about migrating to Norway a couple of years ago, her brother tried to persuade her to stay in Poland. He had his own company, and said to Helena that she did not have to leave Poland, and that he could help her find work. However, in her interview, Helena said that "... I have this principle that I do not want work through someone, someone close, like 'she works here because her brother works here'". Helena

wanted to find a job by herself, to achieve something by herself, and without anyone helping her. As mentioned by Sumption (2009), the value of a social networks depends on who is in it. Helena might be looking for work that better corresponds to her skills and qualifications, and her social network might only be able to provide low-skilled and low-paying jobs. Helena's social network could be much more beneficial for her if the members have information about high-quality jobs, or jobs that corresponded to her skills. If Helena's social network are only able to provide information about low-skilled and low-paying jobs, it is likely that her individual achievement in the labour market will be held back, and she might become locked in to low-skilled jobs, which can in the long run perform as a barrier for her integration in the labour market (Sumption 2009).

5.1.2 Lack of a social network

Many Polish migrant workers who migrate to Norway and the UK lack sufficient knowledge of the local labour market, or lack social networks that can provide access to employment which correspond to their skills and qualifications (Papademetriou et al., 2009). The lack of a social networks can, according to Rogstad (2006) hinder the participation and integration of migrant workers in the labour market. When Marek migrated from Poland to the UK a couple of years ago, he did not have a social networks of friends or relatives that encouraged him to migrate:

I had thought about going abroad earlier, but there was always something getting in my way furthermore, I had no one who could tell me, "hey listen Marek, come over, we have work for you" ... that would have been a completely different situation, but there was no such person, simply not. (Marek, UK)

Marek indicated that if he had had a social network of friends or relatives that wanted, and encouraged him to come to the UK, or possibly had a job offer available for him, then he would have left Poland earlier. He says that his main reason for moving to the UK was so that he could have financial freedom, which would allow for him to pay back his financial obligations in Poland. Marek says in his interview that he found most of the information that he needed through the internet, as he did not have a social network of friends or relatives in

the UK who could help him, and he therefore had to figure everything out himself. Marek also found his first job in the UK through the internet. Now, after living in the UK for a couple of years, Marek makes use of Facebook to ask people for help: “There people help each other, they inform each other, for example about the possibilities, about what you are entitled to, they share their cases and experiences. I make use of that” (Marek, UK).

Moreover, when Daniela came to Norway, she found herself in the same situation as Marek, in which she did not have a social networks of friends or relatives in Norway that could support her with information on society and the labour market, and additionally assist her in finding accommodation. Daniela found it difficult to arrive by herself in Norway: “The first two years here [in Norway] were hard ... It was difficult. I had never been abroad ... I could not orientate myself very well”. Now, after living in Norway for a couple of years, Daniela finds it much easier to live and work in Norway:

... For this moment I am fine, I realise that thanks to being here, I am able to fulfill many of my dreams, of which I could not have dreamt in my highest dreams about being in Poland have a couple of Norwegian friends ... also had some Norwegians that helped me. (Daniela, Norway)

Even though Marek and Daniela did not have the support of a social network when migrating to the UK and to Norway, they have been able to make use of the resources that were available to them, such as gathering information through the Internet or Facebook, and additionally make friends and establish a social network in the country that they migrated to. Making friends when migrating to Norway and the UK is important for migrant workers, especially if they arrive without the support of a social networks (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008). Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet argue that in regards to integration, and in order to increase the opportunities of migrant workers in society, it is both important and valuable to consider how one can facilitate for migrant workers to expand their networks. Through making friends, and establishing networks in the countries that they migrated to, Marek and Daniela may have further opportunities for integration in the British and Norwegian society and labour market in the future. Creating a social network can

also contribute to Marek and Daniela's feeling of belonging to the country that they migrated to (IMDi, 2008b).

Moreover, for many migrants, the lack of a network constitutes a barrier to participation in the labour market (NOU 2011:14), because networks are important in order for migrants to access the labour market (NOU 2017:2). In the interview with Teresa, she talked about why she and her husband decided to come to the UK. When Teresa's husband was offered a job in the UK by his friend's sister, he decided to quit his job in Poland, and move to the UK. However, Teresa's husband's reliance on a social network for accessing a job in the UK did not turn out the way they first anticipated:

My husband came here, he basically came here for a concrete job, but it turned out that this job did not exist. It was supposed to be through a friend, she was supposed to help him, she had supposedly fixed a job. But in the end, when he arrived it turned out that the situation was completely different. He had to search [for a job] from the very beginning ... he could not find anything concrete. (Teresa, UK)

As Teresa's husband had "risked it all" by moving to the UK for this specific job, he was not able to return to Poland, and he did not have a job to return to. As he had left for the UK together with his friend, the same friend whose sister had offered them the job, he was not all by himself in the UK. However, as Teresa further explains, the first months in the UK were not easy for her husband and his friend, as they did not have a social network of friends or relatives in the UK that they could rely on for accessing the labour market:

... For one and a half month they [husband and his friend] had a hard time, it was difficult for them, I mean, there was work, but it was with some exploiters and they did not want to do this kind of work. You know, the typical case, someone coming from abroad without any experience, with no idea how to look for something and what to look for and obviously there will be someone on the way who is willing to exploit this situation. (Teresa, UK)

In regards to Teresa's husband not having a social network of friends or relatives in the UK that was able to provide a job for him, he and his friend had to start looking for a job by themselves. As the social network that provided him a job in the first place did not meet the expectations that he had, Teresa's husband's opportunity for integration and participation in the labour market was held back (Rogstad, 2006). The lack of a social network can, as seen in Teresa's husband's case, contribute to employers utilizing the power that they have by offering him and his friend both less pay and inadequate working conditions than other employers (NOU 2011:14), and inadequate working conditions might have hindered Teresa's husband's integration in the labour market (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008).

5.2 Language learning

5.2.1 Investing in a language course

The Introduction Act put forward by the Norwegian government in 2003, does, as mentioned earlier, not primarily target migrant worker, because it is assumed that a person who comes with a work permit in their hand, does not have the need for this kind of 'starting help' when migrating to Norway (IMDi, 2018). Polish migrant workers who come to Norway, and who want to attend a language course, therefore have to pay for the courses themselves. From the interviews with Polish migrant workers in Norway, it was however found that the majority of them, eight out of ten participants, had attended a language course either once, or several times after arriving in Norway. Natan, a male participant who came to Norway just a couple of years after the EU-enlargement, decided to get the money together to pay for the Norwegian language course before coming to Norway. Natan says:

Then I paid for the course, because I knew that if I started working without knowing the language, then most likely I will never learn Norwegian. Right? Yes, I thought either now or never. Yes. And that was such a good strategy.

In Haque's (2010) study, she identified poor language skills as a major barrier to accessing the labour market, and additionally for social and cultural integration. Natan's strategy of

investing in taking a language course when first arriving in Norway can therefore be perceived as a strategy for integration both in society and in the labour market, and additionally for further employment possibilities in Norway in the future.

Out of twelve participants in the UK, only six participants indicated that they had attended a language course after arriving in the UK. When asked about why they had not attended a language course in the UK, a couple of participants mentioned that they knew English before migrating to the UK, usually because they learned English at school in Poland. However, when arriving in the UK, they were surprised as their English skills were not as eloquent as they originally thought they were:

But the language I knew more or less, I did not have to start from zero, that was not the case ... I can read, write and speak, there was no big issue with that. Of course, when I came here and heard how they speak here I was shocked ... I had to invest in myself. I invested in myself because you know, I am doing a language course, and it is not the first one. So, at the moment I am listening a lot to the people here, and I can understand them, maybe not always, if they speak quickly with each other I do not understand everything, but the difference between what I could understand one and a half years ago and now, it is a huge difference. (Albert, UK)

Similarly, Klara, a female migrant worker in the UK, expressed early on in the interview that her English skills were eloquent, and that she did not perceive the language to be a barrier to her. However, after arriving in the UK she realised that her English language skills were not as advanced as she originally considered them to be:

We [she and her husband] had thought we knew English ... However, it turned out that my language was not good enough and I was aware of it. At the beginning I simply did not understand what these people were saying to me. I did not understand anything at all of what they were saying to each other, and when they were talking to me, then maybe half of it. (Klara, UK)

Similar to participants from Norway, Albert and Klara also indicated that they chose to attend a language course because they saw it as an investment. It is reasonable to anticipate that migrant workers who decide to invest in their lives by attending a language course, want to integrate in the country that they migrate to. Learning the language can, as Dahl (2013) argues, be understood as a strategy for integration, whereby Polish migrant workers maintain their cultural background and language, while at the same time adapting and learning the language and cultural codes of the country they migrate to, i.e. Norway or the UK. Participants still hold on to their original cultural background, but initially accepts the rights and responsibilities that they have when migrating to Norway or the UK. Robert for example, thinks that it is important to learn Norwegian because “we are in Norway with Norwegian people”, and similarly Agata, who had not attended a language course, said that “... I do realise that living abroad means that you should be able to speak the language. I absolutely agree with that”.

Furthermore, some participants both from Norway and the UK, expressed their concerns regarding the language courses being both expensive and time consuming for migrant workers who are not entitled to free language training either in Norway or in the UK (Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen, 2012; Spencer et al., 2007). “I tried to find something, but it is not easy. Usually it is during the daytime, and this is not easy for me, because I am working” (Adam, Norway). Out of eleven participants in Norway, two female participants had not attended a language course. Emilia, who had been in Norway for ten years, said that she had not been able to attend any Norwegian language courses because she could not afford the prices of the courses. Some municipalities in Norway does however offer migrant workers free Norwegian language training, to make sure that they are better integrated (IMDi, 2018). However, Emilia said that she is not able to attend the free language courses that are occasionally offered in her area, because they usually run during her working hours.

According to NOU (2011:14), there is a need for migrant workers to acquire better language and literary skills, because inadequate language skills among migrant workers can be understood as a barrier to integration. This is because it inhibits their participation both in working life, and in social life. The prices of language courses, and additionally when and

where they are offered, can therefore be understood as a barrier for the integration of migrant workers. This can be seen in relation to both IMDi's (2008a) study in Norway, and Spencer et al. (2007) study in the UK, whereby they found that informants who were actually motivated to learn the language of the country that they migrated to, experienced barriers in accessing the courses. Migrant workers who worked longer hours were less likely to access the language courses, and long working hours was put forwards as the main barrier for why informants in both studies were not able to attend the language courses.

5.2.2 Learning the language in order to qualify for work

Inadequate language skills is found to be one of the most important barriers to the ability of migrant workers to fully benefit from the work that they undertake (IMDi, 2008a). A few participants, two women from Norway, and additionally one woman and one man from the UK, indicated that they wanted to learn the language in order to qualify for a broader segment of the labour market. This included being able to qualify for more and better jobs in the future, both in terms of salary and in terms of accessing work that best applied to their qualifications and skills: "I wanted to get acquainted with the language, to learn the basics ... how to speak, and to practice it later at work" (Jakub, UK). Anna, a female participant in Norway, attended a language course three days a week. When the interview with Anna was conducted, she had been unemployed for a year. She saw this as an opportunity to invest her time in learning Norwegian, in order to qualify for work where she would be able to use her Norwegian language skills: "... so now I have the time to improve this language, and look for work in Norwegian".

When Helena first came to Norway, she spent the majority of her time with people who spoke Norwegian. She said that due to this she learned a lot language wise within her first year in Norway. She now works in the service industry in Norway, but indicates that she wants to change her job: "At the moment I have to master the Norwegian language and start looking for something else. I think when I feel more certain about the language, I will look for something else" (Anna, Norway). Similarly to Anna, Helena also wanted to improve her Norwegian language skills in order to qualify for a broader segment of the labour market in the future. Not all participants however, wanted to learn the language in order to only qualify

for a broader segment of the labour market in the country that they migrated to. Klara for example, wanted to learn English in case she was going to move back to Poland in the future, in order to use her English skills to apply for a better job in Poland:

... If I would go back to Poland, I could apply for a better job, because my English, the English which I would need there, in Poland, is great I'm convinced that now that our [she and her husband's] English skills have become much better, there would be no problem in contact with foreigners, so I can apply for better jobs. (Klara, UK)

Similar results were found in Ludvigsen & Ludvigsen's (2012) study, in which they found that more than half of their respondents indicated that they attended a language course in order to improve their chances of getting a job. Additionally, Friberg & Eldring (2011) found in their study on Polish migrant workers in Oslo, that participants who had acquired some Norwegian language skills were more likely to be employed in permanent positions, and less likely to work illegally, to work without a job contract, and to receive a lower salary than what they were entitled to. Acquiring language skills in order to qualify for a broader segment of the labour market, can, as suggested by Friberg & Eldring (2011), be perceived as a strategy for integration in the labour market. Polish migrant workers who acquire adequate language skills experience greater opportunities within the labour market, and are additionally able to acquire knowledge on their rights and opportunities both in society, but also in the labour market (Friberg & Eldring, 2011).

Moreover, the opportunities of Polish migrant workers to learn Norwegian or British, will not only affect their opportunities for social mobility within the labour market, but also for their ability to manage in economic downturns, and avoid social exclusion and long-term welfare dependence (Friberg & Eldring, 2011). Those participants who invest in their lives by learning the language, can, according to Papademetriou et al. (2009) climb higher up the occupational ladder. Learning the language enables participants to emerge from the positions that they might have at the bottom of the labour market, and the upward mobility of participants might then to some degree contribute to considerable social and economic

benefits for migrant workers, their families and their communities (Papademetriou et al., 2009).

5.2.3 Linguistically segregated workplaces

Language barriers can make migrant workers dependent on working in groups with other Polish speakers (IMDi, 2008a). Polish migrant workers who do not know the language of the country they migrate to are found to be more likely to end up in low-paid and low-skilled work (Haque, 2010). They usually end up in what Haque refers to as typical ‘Polish jobs’, whereby the majority of the employees speak Polish, creating a linguistically segregated workplace. None of the participants in Norway indicated that they worked in linguistically segregated workplaces, and only a minority of participants in the UK said that they worked only with Polish people. Some of the informants in Norway did however indicate that their workplaces consisted of workers from various countries, and that some of them speak English, instead of Norwegian, at work:

And fortunately I work in [a] company which hired ... I think proportions are 50/50, but I have people from all over the world and the common language at my workplace is English, which is not very good for ... no language efficiency. (Herbert, Norway)

Similarly, some of the participants in the UK said that they work together with people from all kind of nationalities. For example, Teresa in the UK does not herself work together with people from other nationalities, but her husband does. She says that it is difficult, because when there is not a universal language spoken at work, many foreign workers do not understand the information that is given, and additionally are not able to communicate with their colleagues. “Usually the cheapest workforce comes to England completely without any knowledge of the language ... when they get a task, they say “yes, okay”, but still do not know what they are meant to be doing” (Teresa, UK).

“A lot of Poles work with other Poles and they do not learn the language”. (Klara, UK).

Linguistically segregated work environment can provide limited opportunities for migrant workers to actually learn the language of the country that they migrate to (Friberg, 2011), and

can therefore be seen in regards to downward (social) mobility. Papademetriou et al. (2009) consider the downward mobility of migrants to be associated with four factors, whereby language barriers is found to be one of the factors. Many migrant workers do not obtain adequate language skills in order to perform jobs corresponding to their last occupation in Poland. These immigrants must, according to Papademetriou et al. (2009), move down the social ladder to jobs that involve less communication. When different nationality groups work separately from each other, it becomes difficult for Polish migrant workers to demonstrate their skills to potential employers (Friberg & Eldring, 2011). Additionally, this might have an impact on how employers perceive Polish migrant workers. Employers might regard Polish migrant workers to only be suited to work within what Haque (2010) refers to as typical 'Polish jobs'. This can additionally hinder the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market, and perform as a barrier for accessing employment.

5.2.4 Dialects

One of the barriers to integration in the labour market, as perceived by a couple of male participants in Norway, occurred when they tried to use their language skills to communicate with their employers and colleagues at work. A couple of male participants in Norway started attending a language course because they wanted to learn the Norwegian language, and saw it as important when living and working in Norway. However, when utilising what they had learned at the language courses into practice at work, some participants experienced barriers in communication with their colleagues, because they spoke in a Norwegian dialect called 'jærsk':

But the problem was, my friends at work, my colleagues, they are speaking jærsk ... and they are not very friendly with language. I think they are very proud with Jæren ... so when I came back [from the language course] ... always after that they asked me: "What did you learn yesterday?" Oh my god. There was always a big argue between us, because they said: "No, you cannot say it like that, you must say it like this". So they mixed and I decided to give up. (Adam, Norway)

Similarly to Adam, another male participant in Norway, Herbert, experienced the same problem. Herbert tried to speak Norwegian with his colleagues at work, however as they spoke 'jærsk', Herbert found it difficult to understand what his colleagues were saying, and experienced difficulties in communicating with them. Both Adam and Herbert said that they decided to stop attending the language course after a while, arguing that it was difficult to combine what they had learned at the language course with how they were expected by colleagues to speak at work.

Adam and Herbert might find it difficult to become a part of the community at work because they are not able to understand what their colleagues are saying, and additionally are not able to communicate with them. Participants might encounter unexpected challenges that can be experienced as a barrier not only for their immediate learning and integration, but also for their long term ability and probability for developing eloquent language skills and being fully integrated into the labour market. Additionally, this barrier might negatively affect participants motivation for further advancing their Norwegian language skills, which has the potential of influencing a wider part of society whereby participants tell their negative experiences to friends, family and colleagues whom are, or whom are considering, taking part in this or a similar language training course. The conflicting thoughts and experiences that participant may have when making improvement and progress at the language training course, and then getting constant drawbacks when practicing the language in the labour market because of their accent and lack of "Jærsk-pronunciation", could also be considered a barrier for further language development.

5.3 Education and work experience

5.3.1 Raising ones qualifications

Being able to obtain a job that is meaningful, as well as being able to fully utilise ones qualifications in the labour market, it economically important for most migrants (Villund, 2008). NOU (2011:14) and Papademetriou et al. (2009) found that immigrants with high educational levels were more likely to be employed in jobs that did not correspond to their

education, compared to the majority, non-immigrant, population. One of the participants in the UK who did not work within her profession was Celina. Celina has a masters degree from Poland, but now works in a shop in the UK. She said that she found it challenging to not work within her profession: “It is difficult. But we do everything to work”. In order to improve her job situation in the UK, Celina takes additional courses in order to raise her qualifications:

... But we also know that improving our [she and her husband's] qualifications, which can take a year or two, will help us to get a better job. If you know you can change your life by going to school you will overcome this period. I know it is possible to get a better job but I have to adapt to the environment ... it is good to do courses here [in the UK], in my opinion. If you do their courses they look at you differently. They see that you are trying to get to their educational level. (Celina, UK)

Aleksander on the other hand, had not acquired an education either in Poland or in the UK, however in his interview he shared his experience of what he perceived other Polish migrants to be doing: “I have the impression that rather for better paying jobs, that they acquire some skills and qualifications and search for better income” (Aleksander, UK). Trevena (2013) argues that when migrant workers improve their skills and qualifications, they are able to obtain a better job or position in the labour market in the future. Similarly, it can be valuable for migrant workers to obtain an education in either Norway or the UK because this can, according to NOU (2017:2) reduce the barriers that Polish migrant workers encounter when applying for work. Additionally, it can increase the possibility of migrant workers being employed within professions that actually does correspond to their qualifications, competence and skills (NOU 2017:2).

Moreover, a migrants educational choice can be taken long before any migration occur, however migration and education are two phenomenons that are connected in many ways, and which can be seen in relation to each other (Odden, 2018a). When Natan came to Norway, he applied to the *Norwegian Agency for Quality Assurance in Education* (NOKUT), in order to hopefully get his bachelor's degree from Poland approved, which he did. Natan has since acquired further qualifications by studying at a University in Norway, and said in his

interview that “it is a good opportunity to study in Norway because it is free of cost”. Ramona and Klara on the other hand, both living and working in the UK, experienced that their education was not equivalent to the education in the country they migrated to: “I was told that because I had my education in Poland it is not equivalent to the English education” (Ramona, UK). Klara has a master’s degree from Poland, and said that she had been to several job interviews whereby the interviewer did not recognise her education: “... it turns out that my education is not proof enough for them, that I can do what I can do”. Ramona and Klara arrive in the UK with education and experience that is not applicable to the UK’s labour market, and might therefore experience downward mobility. This can also be seen in regards to Ramona and Klara finding it difficult to acquire recognition for their educational background and experiences, because employers do not know how to make sense of their qualifications. Ramona and Klara therefore have to move down the social ladder to jobs that does not correspond to their educational background (Papademetriou et al., 2009).

5.3.2 Work their way up

In Trevena’s (2013) study on Polish graduates entering the labour market in the UK, she found that migrant regarded working significantly below their qualifications as an essential part of the migration experience. Similar results were obtained from some of the interviews from this research project, whereby a couple of female migrant workers in both Norway and the UK were found to work below their qualifications. Participants who were found to work below their qualifications, perceived this as only temporary, referring to it as a ‘transition phase’: “I have worked here in Norway as a cleaner. I am not ashamed. I am not ashamed, because I know it is like a transition phase, an adapter” (Daniela, Norway). Daniela has a bachelor’s degree from Poland. Similarly, Teresa has a master’s degree from Poland. When she came to the UK only a couple of years ago, she purposely started to look for work that did not correspond to her qualifications, competence and skills. Teresa says:

... I wanted to start from what everyone is doing here, to go somewhere more ... you know, some work in some warehouse, in order to be among people, and get used to the language, in order to be able to look for something better afterwards Because later,

if I wanted to stay here [in the UK], I would not want to end up with a career in a warehouse, since I completed studies and worked in my profession.

Another female participant from the UK, Marianna, works within the cleaning industry, whereby she has established her own business. When Marianna came to the UK a couple of years ago, she brought her education from Poland with her. She does however not specify if the education she has acquired is on a bachelor's or master's degree level. Marianna has experienced working below her qualifications, and says that "I am now searching for something else, something normal. I want to go to work normally. I want to be professionally active, not a cleaner, because it makes no sense".

Low-skilled jobs can be perceived as entrance jobs for Polish migrant workers, whereby in the long run, they are able to improve and promote their career, qualifications and skills in the labour market (Trevena, 2013). Daniela, Teresa and Marianna have all experienced working below their qualifications when migrating to Norway or the UK. According to Odden (2018a), this can be seen in regards to social mobility. Some migrant workers, such as Daniela, Teresa and Marianna, might experience downward social mobility when first arriving in a new country. As Daniela and Marianna's first meeting with the labour market in Norway and the UK was through informal cleaning jobs, they might be able to gradually climb higher up the social ladder, and acquire jobs in other areas than the cleaning industry (Odden, 2018a), perhaps also in areas of the labour market that better correspond to their qualifications and skills. Being able to climb higher up the social ladder was something that for instance Teresa aimed for: "Because later, if I wanted to stay here [in the UK], I would not want to end up with a career in a warehouse, since I completed studies and working in my profession". Some participants did however indicate that it was not difficult to get a job either in Norway or in the UK: "But I think that if you want to find a job, you'll find a job" (Marianna, UK), however it would "... not necessarily be the job that we would like to have, but there is always a job" (Klara, UK).

5.3.3 Overqualified

Another barrier experienced by Polish migrant workers, is that of being overqualified for the work that they do, and the positions that they have. Only a minority of participants indicated that they were overqualified for the jobs that they had in Norway and in the UK. As mentioned previously, Celina does not work within her profession, and has acquired a master's degree from Poland. When looking for work in the UK, she noticed that she was recognised as being overqualified for a some of the jobs that she applied to:

I noticed that they [the employers] do not like it if people write in their CV's that ... When I wrote that I have such a high education they asked me during my interview: "Shouldn't you be at the University? You are overqualified". I have too high competence. And I realised that I had to lie in my CV. I had to remove that information. (Celina, UK)

On the contrary to Celina, Adam feels like the work he performs in Norway corresponds to his actual skills. However, he is, similarly to Celina, overqualified for the work that he is doing. Adam says:

My education is even too high for this, but I want to do it. My boss has that problem. Because when I send my CV and he saw it in our network, he sent me an email and asked me if ... it looks like you are overqualified for us.

According to NOU (2011:14) being overqualified means that Polish migrant workers are not able to use the qualifications and skills that they have. NOU (2011:14) does however indicate that the problem is not necessarily to get a job, as demonstrated by some participants in the previous section, but rather acquiring the 'right job'. To some, being overqualified might induce a feeling of being treated differently to the majority, non-immigrant, population, and additionally might impact their income and working conditions. NOU (2011:14) further argues that it is not sufficient or beneficial that immigrants who migrate to a country, and who bring with them education and work experience, either has to start over and complete the

education once again in Norway or the UK, or have to accept jobs that they are overqualified for. NOU (2011:14) therefore argues, together with Papademetriou et al. (2009) that migrant workers who are not able to use their competence, and have to perform work that they are overqualified for, might find that they have to climb down the social ladder in accordance with intragenerational mobility.

5.4 Perspectives on migration

5.4.1 Citizenship

Participants in both countries were rather varied in their opinion regarding getting a citizenship in the country that they migrated to. Some participants were not yet eligible to apply for a citizenship, however a couple of participants in both countries said that they had thought about applying for a citizenship, and that they probably would apply for one in the future when they were able to meet the requirements. Other participants indicated that they had a strong connection to Poland, and not necessarily to Norway or the UK, and anticipated that they would return to Poland in the future. Because of this, they did not want to apply for a Norwegian or British citizenship. Only one participant, Albert in Norway, had already applied for a citizenship, whereby he had to ‘give up’ his Polish one, as dual citizenships are not yet allowed in Norway (Pettersen, 2017). According to Trevena (2013), migrants who have a short term perspective on their stay in the UK do not integrate to the same extent as migrants with a long term perspective on their stay. Albert for example, a male participant living and working in the UK, is uncertain about where he wants to settle down when he retires in a couple of years. However, he is convinced that he wants to apply for a British citizenship:

... Some people, you know, who do not know if they really want to be here [in the UK] or not ... but I aim towards being here, towards getting a citizenship ... It would also count as getting to know the culture, the history, and the things Britons have and use I have two priorities: pension and citizenship. And I am working towards that, I am consciously working towards that. (Albert, UK)

Albert has a long term perspective on his stay in the UK, and wants to broaden his knowledge about the country and its history, which could indicate that he also wants to integrate. Albert has gathered together all the information that he needs in order to determine if he is eligible to apply for a British citizenship. He says, for example, that he has to pass an English test on a certain level to be able to apply, and he is therefore practicing for the test at the time of the interview. Gerard, on the other hand, has a short term perspective on his stay in the UK.

Gerard says:

I do not place my hope in a future in England. I came here for a specific purpose, to be here for a while, earn money and go back to Poland. It is a place of earning money for me, I do not attach myself to this place too much.

Gerard migrated to the UK mainly for the purpose of getting a job and earning some money. Gerard might therefore, contrary to Albert, not find it important or necessary to integrate in society and in the labour market, or for example learn the language or establish social networks, because he eventually intends to return to Poland (Trevena, 2013). It is however possible that the prospect of migrant workers might change, as was discovered in the interview with Bernard for example. Bernard came to the UK for the same reason as Gerard, to earn some money and return to Poland. However, Bernard does not have sufficient English language skills, and recognize this as a barrier:

... My English is zero. That is the main problem. If I had known from the beginning that I would be working so many years here [in the UK], and that the situation would be as it is, I would be happy if I knew English ... only this makes me weaker. Nothing else. I blame myself that I could not put my mind to learning English. I neglected it.
(Bernard, UK)

When Bernard arrived in the UK, he did not have a long term perspective on his stay. He wanted to earn some money and return to his family in Poland. At the time of the interview, Bernard had been in the UK since the EU enlargement took place in 2004. It is therefore reasonable to anticipate that Bernard's aspect of a future in the UK has changed, and that his

short term perspective on his migration has turned into a long term perspective. As seen in IMDi's (2008a) study, Polish migrant workers might only understand the need to acquire knowledge about the host country, and additionally learn the language, only after they have decided to settle down and start planning for a future in the country they migrate to. Only then, as demonstrated by Bernard, might Polish migrant workers be willing to make the investment required to for example learn the language by participating in a language course, in order to integrate in society and in the labour market.

5.4.2 Attachment to the country of origin and to the country of residence

In the interviews, participants were asked questions regarding their connection to friends and relatives in Poland, and if they anticipated to stay permanently in Norway or the UK, or if they anticipated to return to Poland in the future. Aleksander for example, came to the UK shortly after the EU enlargement, and said this in his interview:

The first six years I actually thought about Poland every day, about all kind of things there. Now, I noticed that I am somehow not so close anymore I have the impression that I simply got used to things here, to everything ... it is simply that I know life better here than in Poland.

Looking at this in regards to the Matrix of Attachment, constructed by Carling & Pettersen (2015), Aleksander is considered to have a strong attachment to the UK, and a weak attachment to his country of origin; Poland. Aleksander therefore finds himself in quadrant A (see p. 36), in which he is understood as being strongly integrated in the UK, but have a weak transnational tie to Poland. Similarly, Agata said that her life is in Norway, and that she does not anticipate on returning to Poland in the future, because she does not identify herself with Poland anymore. Agata does not send money to any friends or relatives in Poland, she also does not own a property in Poland, and additionally does not visit Poland often, and when she does it is only for a couple of days at a time. According to the Matrix of Attachment, Agata meets all the indicators of weak transnationalism, and can therefore be understood as being strongly integrated in Norway, and have a weak transnational tie to Poland. Adam, on the

other hand, migrated to Norway ten years ago. He says that he did not move from Poland, he just works abroad. When asked if he could elaborate on this, Adam said:

Because I actually never moved out from Poland. I still feel that I am living there ... and I talk to my children ... because we really like to talk about that ... I feel like I am not living my own life here. I came here to some empty place ... and when I am here, I am living someone [else's] life, not my life.

In accordance with this, Adam can be understood as having a strong attachment to his country of origin, Poland, and a weak attachment to Norway. This attachment is further strengthened because Adam is transferring money to his wife and daughters in Poland, whereby he is for example paying for one of his daughters studies. For families that are divided by migration, such as Adam and his family, transferring money can be perceived as an important expression of a migrants' continued belonging to the country of origin (Carling, 2017). Additionally, Adam owns a house in Poland, and travels frequently to Poland, every other month when possible. Transferring money, owning a property and frequently traveling to Poland are all indicators of transnationalism, according to the Matrix of Attachment. Carling & Pettersen (2015) identified respondents in their study as being strongly transnational if they scored positively on two out of three indicators. It is therefore reasonable to understand Adam as having a strong transnational attachment to Poland, and a weak attachment to Norway.

Klara on the other hand, said in her interview that she and her family had not established any 'English roots' yet, whereby she is referring to acquiring a citizenship. Klara and her family had not been in the UK for many years, and were therefore not yet able to meet the requirements needed in order to apply for citizenship. At the time of the interview, Klara and her family were not certain about their future, if they were going to stay in the UK long term, or if they were to return to Poland in the future. She further express that "our home is where we are, where we feel good", however indicates that she has established a life for her and her family in the UK, and that she "does not necessarily want to go back to Poland".

According to the Matrix of Attachment, and the indicators of integration and transnationalism, Klara score positive on three out of three indicators of integration, whereby she has not personally experienced discrimination in the UK, she speak good English, and feels a belonging to the UK. On the other hand, she also scores positive on two out of three indicators for transnationalism; she owns a property in Poland, and have travelled to Poland over the past five years. Klara can therefore be understood as being strongly integrated, but also strongly transnational, whereby she has both a strong attachment to her country of origin, Poland, and her country of residence, the UK. For Klara it can be the fact that she is integrated in the UK and has a stable income that makes her able to afford to maintain transnational ties (Carling & Pettersen, 2015). Even though Klara has an attachment to Poland, she might still be able to integrate in the UK, because as proposed by Carling & Pettersen (2015), it does not have to be an attachment to either the country of origin or the country of residence: it is possible for migrants to feel ‘at home’ in the UK and at the same time also feel ‘at home’ in Poland.

5.4.3 Discrimination

When looking at the integration of Polish migrant workers in the labour market, it is valuable to discover if they have experienced discrimination in the labour market, and additionally within the workplace. This is because discrimination is perceived as a barrier to the integration of migrant workers (OECD, 2013; Spencer et al., 2007). When asked about their experiences of discrimination in the labour market, only a minority of participants in Norway said that they had personally experienced discrimination in the labour market. Natan for example, experienced that some of his customers at his job in Norway did not want his help because of his foreign nationality: “But I sometimes experienced: ‘thank you for the information, but I want a Norwegian person to explain this to me’” (Natan, Norway). One could say that Natan experienced direct discrimination, whereby he was discriminated against because of his nationality (NOU 2011:14). Klara had also experienced direct discrimination in the labour market in the UK. Klara says:

I was on such a interview, first there was a test and then an interview. It seems to me that the interview went well, that I had the best education for this job ... but they hired a Brit, even though he had much lower qualifications.

Several studies indicate, both in Norway and the UK, that discrimination do in fact exist in the workplace, and especially in the first and most critical phase of the hiring process (For example Birkelund et al., 2009; Wood et al., 2009). Klara experienced direct discrimination when applying for a job. Even though Klara met the qualifications needed for the job that she applied for, she was, in her opinion, not chosen due to her being Polish. Klara's experience of direct discrimination can be seen in relation to Midtbøen & Rogstad's (2012) study, which found that some immigrant groups were less likely to be employed than someone from the majority non-immigrant population, even though they hold the exact same qualifications. This is a problem, because it makes it difficult for migrant workers to participate on an equal level to the rest of the population, and can additionally perform as a barrier for their integration and participation in the labour market (NOU, 2017:2), and the possibilities for accessing employment and further advancing one's career (OECD, 2013).

Moreover, in terms of experiences of discrimination in the labour market in the UK, the majority of respondents in the UK indicated that they did not have any personal experiences with discrimination in the labour market. Two female participants, however, indicated that experiences of discrimination encountered in society, had an affect on how they chose to 'hide' their Polish identities. Two female participants in the UK, Natalia and Teresa said that because they were Polish, they felt like they were treated differently, and indicated that they were rather 'scared' to unfold their Polish identity in the UK. Natalia for example, experienced that someone managed to break into her apartment a couple of months after she arrived in the UK, and she believes that the break in was based on racism, "because we are Poles" (Natalia, UK). A couple of months after the break in, Natalia was afraid of speaking at work: "For quite a while people there [at work] thought that I did not speak English at all, because I never said something". Natalia is afraid of meeting those who broke into her apartment, and her strategy was to not speak in order to not reveal her Polish identity:

That was such a fear I had. And when I was walking on the street with my son I was saying to him, he was still very young, and spoke little Polish ... but I said to him ‘son, when we are walking on the street you do not say anything in Polish to mom, we do not speak Polish at all’. So, every time when someone was passing by we did not say a word, that was for sure. (Natalia, UK)

Contrary to Natalia, Teresa lives in a “rather quiet neighbourhood. Luckily, so far nothing terrible has been happening here” (Teresa, UK). However, Teresa uses the same strategy as Natalia in order to conceal her Polish identity, in which she tries to avoid speaking in Polish when she is among people:

There are youngsters here, that sometimes grumble something when they hear that I am talking to my child in a foreign language. Although, I am trying not to walk around talking loudly in Polish when I am outside, simply not to attract attention, because, you know, one person may pass by and does not care very much but to the next one it might not appeal, and why should I want to get in trouble? ... I do not want to impose myself here too much ... As I said, I do not know whom I will run into, I do not know who is walking on the other side of the street, maybe someone will not like it, that I am talking in Polish, maybe someone has prejudices against Poles. I do not want to any trouble. (Teresa, UK)

Teresa and Natalia’s strategy of not wanting to reveal or publicise their Polish identity in the UK, can be seen in regards to integration. According to NOU (2017:2), discrimination do in fact exist and occur in society, and such findings can perform as a reminder of integration being a two-way process. Integration requires a lot from Teresa and Natalia, and additionally other Polish migrant workers, but integration also presumes that migrant workers are not met by prejudices from society. Natalia’s experience with someone breaking in to her apartment can be perceived as society not facilitating for Natalia’s integration, in which she is recognised as ‘different’ than the majority population, due to her Polish identity. Ramona, also living in the UK, strengthens this statement, whereby she says that “there have been

verbal attacks on Poles quite frequently, for the reason that they speak Polish on the street ... or that you speak Polish at work, that is not accepted”.

6 Conclusion

The overall aim of this research project was to look at the integration of Polish migrant workers into the labour market in Norway and the UK. A specific focus was given to the strategies that Polish migrant workers adopt in order to integrate into the labour market, and the barriers that they encounter in doing so. This study employed a qualitative research approach using semi-structured interviews conducted within the framework of a research project called FAMAC, in order to answer the research question: *'What strategies are used by Polish migrant workers in Norway and the UK to integrate into the labour market, and what barriers do they experience?'*. The findings assembled from the semi-structured interviews were analysed using thematic analysis, which performed as a framework for the presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings.

In conclusion, a summary on the main qualitative findings will be provided and discussed in a comparative perspective. Various strategies and barriers for integration were discovered within the four categories: migration networks, learning the language, education and work experience, and finally perspectives on migration. Some of the main strategies adopted by participants to integrate in the labour market were: migrating to a country with an already established social network; investing in a language course and learning the language; learning the language in order to qualify for more, and better work; improve their skills and qualifications; and acquiring a citizenship. Further, some of the main barriers encountered by participants when integrating into the labour market were: reliance on social networks; linguistically segregated workplaces and the use of dialects; education not recognised; overqualification; and experiences of discrimination.

In terms of migration networks, only a minority of participants in both countries indicated that the reason for their migration was due to a job offered to them by someone in their social network. In terms of accessing information, the majority of participants in both Norway and the UK indicated that they were able to acquire most of the information that they needed through the use of Internet and Facebook groups, indicating that they were not reliant on social networks for accessing information. Further, it was found that participants who came to Norway were mostly influenced by their friends and/or relatives to migrate to Norway, while

those who came to the UK were mainly migrating due to better job opportunities or reuniting with their families.

Moreover, participants in both Norway and the UK had to pay for attending the language courses themselves. Attending a language course and learning the language was perceived as a strategy for integration by more participants in Norway than in the UK, in which 80 percent of participants in Norway had attended language course, contrary to only 50 percent of participants in the UK. This can be seen in regards to English being a global language that is taught and spoken all around the world, and some participants in the UK did indicate that they learned English at school in Poland. Norwegian on the other hand, is usually only taught and spoken in Norway, and would explain why more participants attended a language course in Norway than in the UK. Participants in the UK also said that they knew some English before migrating to the UK, and some only attended the language course in order to improve their English skills. Participants who came to Norway on the other hand, had to start from scratch, as they did not have any knowledge of the Norwegian language before coming to Norway.

In terms of barriers to integration in relation to language, two participants in Norway indicated that their colleagues speaking dialects performed as a barrier because they were not able to understand and communicate with them, which additionally influenced their decision to stop attending the language course. In terms of dialects in the UK, some participants did say that the accent of people in Liverpool was difficult to understand when first arriving in the UK, however the accent did not have an impact on their choice to attend a language course, neither on their abilities to communicate and understand what was said in their workplace.

Next, in terms of education and work experience, overqualification and lack of recognition of education that migrants brought with them from Poland, was mainly perceived as a barrier to integration by participants in the UK. This means that some participants in the UK had to move down the social ladder to jobs that did not correspond to their skills and qualifications, which did not enable participants to utilise their skills and competence in the labour market. However, a few participants in both Norway and the UK wanted to improve their job situation by improving their skills and qualifications, which would enable them to obtain a better job, or position within the labour market in the future. A connection was on the other hand not

found between those who aimed to improve their qualifications and their perspective on stay in Norway or the UK.

Moreover, for the last category, perspectives on migration, and in regards to acquiring a citizenship as a strategy for integration, only one participant from Norway had applied for a citizenship. Participants in Norway were rather mixed in their opinions regarding staying temporary or permanently in Norway, and most participants in Norway did not indicate that they had thought of, or intended to apply for a Norwegian citizenship in the future. Moreover, none of participants in the UK had applied for a British citizenship. However, contrary to participants from Norway, the majority of participants in the UK had considered applying for citizenship, or wanted to apply for one when they were able to meet the requirements. This could be seen in relation to two factors. First of all, more participants in the UK may consider applying for a citizenship due to the fact that dual citizenships are allowed in the UK, and not in Norway. Secondly, the future of participants who want to stay permanently in the UK is unsure due to Brexit, and many participants might therefore acquire a citizenship in order to have the right to remain in the UK when Brexit takes place. Finally, in regards to discrimination performing as a barrier to integration, only a minority of participants in Norway and the UK said that they had personally experienced discrimination in the labour market.

The results from this research project demonstrates that no significant differences were found between the strategies and barriers adopted and encountered by Polish migrant workers in Norway and in the UK. The same strategies and barriers to integration into the labour market were adopted and encountered by participants in both countries. However, there are a few notable differences between the two countries. For example, more participants in Norway perceived attending a language course as a strategy for integration than participants in the UK. Additionally, more participants in the UK than in Norway implied that they intended to apply for a British citizenship in the future, which could be perceived as a strategy for their integration in both society and the labour market. In terms of barriers to integration as experienced by participants, dialects were perceived as a barrier by more participants in Norway than in the UK. Additionally, overqualification and lack of recognition for education acquired by migrants in Poland, was recognised as a barrier to integration mainly by

participants in the UK. This research project therefore concludes that Polish migrant workers who migrate to Norway and the UK, adopt more or less the same strategies in order to integrate into the labour market, and encounter similar barriers to integration.

6.1 Implications for further research

In terms of recommendations for further research, it would be interesting to look at how dialects can perform as a barrier to accessing and attending language courses for migrants in Norway, and additionally as a barrier for developing language skills. It would be interesting to discover if what is taught at language courses actually correspond to how migrant are 'expected' to use the language in everyday life, and especially in encounters with services and institutions in society, such as in schools, at work, or in health care services. Furthermore, it would also be interesting and beneficial to look at the strategies adopted by Polish migrant workers to integrate in the UK before and after Brexit, especially in terms of acquiring a British citizenship.

Reference list

Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet. (2008). *Arbeidsinnvandring*. (Meld. St. 18. 2007-2008). Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/c9929b2c805741a6b8bfbf6aa2769219/no/pdfs/stm200720080018000dddpdfs.pdf>

Birkelund, G. E., Lillehagen, M., Ekre, V. P. & Ugreninov, E. (2014). Fra utdanning til sysselsetting. En forløpsanalyse av indiske og pakistanske etterkommere i Norge. *Tidsskrift for samfunnsforskning*, 55 (4), 386-414.

Brekke, I. (2008). *Like muligheter? betydningen av etnisk bakgrunn for sysselsetting og inntekt*. Doktoravhandling, Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi. Oslo: Universitetet i Oslo.

Brekke, J. P. & Mohn, F. A. (2018). *Holdninger til innvandring og integrering i Norge: Integreringsbarometeret 2018* (Rapport 8/2018). Retrieved from https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/2502178/Integreringsbarometeret_web.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. (2015). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (3rd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (5th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Båtevik, F. O., Grimsrud, G. M. & Netteland, G. (2014). *Nye innbyggjarar, nye utfordringar? Vestlandskommunane i møte med arbeidsinnvandrarane* (Rapport 59/2014). Retrieved from https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/281416/Rapport_nr_59_MF_Nye%20innbyggjarar.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Carling, J. (2017). Migrasjon. In D. Jordhus-Lier & K. Stokke (Eds), *Samfunnsgeografi: En innføring* (p. 261-274). Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk.

Carling, J. & Pettersen, S. V. (2015). *The Matrix of Attachment: Immigrant Integration and Transnationalism*. PRIO Policy Brief 8. Retrieved from

<https://www.prio.org/utility/DownloadFile.ashx?id=112&type=publicationfile>

Dahl, Ø. (2013). *Møter mellom mennesker: Innføring i interkulturell kommunikasjon* (2nd ed.). Oslo: Gyldendal Akademisk.

Drinkwater, S., Eade, J. & Garapich, M. (2010). What's behind the figures? An investigation into recent Polish migration to the UK. In Black, R., Engbersen, G., Okólski, M. & Panfîru, C. (Eds.), *A Continent Moving West?: EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe* (p. 73-88). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Døving, C. A. (2009) *Integrering. Teori og Empiri*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Eriksen, T. H. (2001). *Flerkulturell forståelse* (2nd ed). Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

FAMAC. (n.d.). *About the project*. Retrieved from <http://famac-project.com/about.html>

Friberg, J. H. (2011). Culture at work: Polish migrants in the ethnic division of labour on Norwegian construction sites. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35 (11), 1914-1933.

Friberg, J. H. & Eldring, L. (2011). *Polonia i Oslo 2010: Mobilitet, arbeid og levekår blant polakker i hovedstaden* (Fafo-rapport 27/2011). Retrieved from

https://www.fafo.no/media/com_netsukii/20218.pdf

Friberg, J. H. & Golden, A. (2014). Norges største innvandrerguppe: Historien om migrasjon fra Polen til Norge og om andrespråkskorpuset ASK. *NOA norsk som andrespråk*, 30 (2), 11-23.

Giddens, A. & Sutton, P. W. (2013). *Sociology* (7th ed.). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gov.uk. (n.d.a). *Check if you can become a British citizen*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/british-citizenship>

Gov.uk. (n.d.b). *Dual citizenship*. Retrieved from <https://www.gov.uk/dual-citizenship>

Guthrie, G. (2010). *Basic Research Methods: An Entry to Social Science Research*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Hamre, K. (2017). Diskriminering. In Vrålstad, S. & Wiggen, K. S. (eds), *Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2016* (p. 160-171). Retrieved from <http://kriminalitetsforebygging.no/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/309211.pdf>

Haque, Z. (2010). *What works with integrating new migrants? Lessons from international best practice*. Runnymede Perspectives. Retrieved from <https://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/WhatWorksWithIntegratingNewMigrants-2010.pdf>

Haralambos M. & Holborn, M. (2013). *Sociology: Themes and Perspectives* (8th ed.). Hammersmith: Collins.

Hawkins, O. & Moses, A. (2016). *Polish population of the United Kingdom*. Retrieved from <https://researchbriefings.parliament.uk/ResearchBriefing/Summary/CBP-7660#fullreport>

IMDi. (2018). *Arbeidsinnvandring*. Retrieved from <https://www.imdi.no/sysselsetting-og-arbeidsliv/arbeidsinnvandring/>

IMDi. (2017). *Hvem deltar i opplæring i norsk og samfunnskunnskap?* Retrieved from <https://www.imdi.no/norskopplaring/rett-og-plikt-til-opplaring-i-norsk-og-samfunnskunnskap/>

IMDi (2011). *Godt no(rs)k? Om språk og integrering*. Retrieved from <https://www.imdi.no/contentassets/595804b05ee84e1da7dab7a27ad44ffc/rapport-2011-godt-norsk--om-sprak-og-integrering>

IMDi (2008a). *Vi blir... Om arbeidsinnvandring fra Polen og Baltikum* (IMDi-Rapport 1/2008). Retrieved from <https://www.imdi.no/globalassets/blokker/fra-statistikklosningen/om-arbeidsinnvandring-fra-polen-og-baltikum>

IMDi (2008b). *Integrert, men diskriminert - en undersøkelse blant innvandrere fra Afrika, Asia, Øst-Europa og Sør- og Mellom-Amerika* (IMDi-Rapport 9/2008). Retrieved from http://www.nsd.uib.no/data/individ/publikasjoner/IMDiRapport_9.pdf

International Organization for Migration (IOM). (2011). *Glossary on Migration* (2nd ed.). Retrieved from https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/iml25_1.pdf

Introduksjonsloven. (2003). Lov om introduksjonsordning for nyankomne innvandrere (LOV-2003-07-04-80). Retrieved from <https://lovdata.no/dokument/LTI/lov/2003-07-04-80>

Kjeldstadli, K. (2008). *Sammensatte samfunn: innvandring og inkludering*. Oslo: PAX Forlag.

Koser, K. (2007). *International Migration: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuada, J. E. (2012). *Research Methodology: A Project Guide for University Students*. Frederiksberg: Samfundslitteratur Press.

Kunnskapsdepartementet. (2018). *Integrering gjennom kunnskap*. Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/710bc325b9fb4b85b29d0c01b6b6d8f1/regjeringens-integreringsstrategi-20192022.pdf>

Kvale, S. & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *InterViews: Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE Publications.

Ludvigsen, A. & Ludvigsen, D. S. (2012). State Organized Language Learning for Immigrants in Norway: a Case Study of a Selection of Local Courses. *Studies about Languages*, 21, 130-140.

Mallows, D. (2014). *Language issues in migration and integration: perspectives from teachers and learners*. British council. Retrieved from https://esol.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/Language_issues_migration_integration_perspectives_teachers_learners.pdf

Midtbøen, A. H. & Rogstad, J. (2012). Diskrimineringens omfang og årsaker: Etniske minoriteters tilgang til norsk arbeidsliv (Rapport 1/2012). Retrieved from https://brage.bibsys.no/xmlui/bitstream/handle/11250/177445/R_2012_1_web.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y

Norwegian Centre for Research Data. (n.d.). *NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data*. Retrieved from <https://nsd.no/nsd/english/>

NOU 2017:2 (2017). *Integrasjon og tillit - Langsiktige konsekvenser av høy innvandring*. Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/c072f7f37da747539d2a0b0fef22957f/no/pdfs/nou201720170002000dddpdfs.pdf>

NOU 2011:14 (2011). *Bedre integrering - Mål, strategier, tiltak*. Retrieved from <https://www.regjeringen.no/contentassets/f5f792d1e2d54081b181655f3ca2ee79/no/pdfs/nou201120110014000dddpdfs.pdf>

Nødland, S. V., Vedøy, G., & Gjerstad, B. (2016). Arbeidsinnvandrerfamiliers møte med kommunale tjenester. *Norsk statsvitenskapelige tidsskrift*, 2(32), 142-164.

Odden, G. (2018a). *Internasjonal migrasjon: En samfunnsvitenskapelig innføring*. Bergen: Fagbokforlaget.

Odden, G. (2018b). *Polske migranternes plassering og posisjonering på arbeidsmarkedet i Norge, Sverige og Storbritannia*. Not yet published.

OECD (2013). *International Migration Outlook 2013*. OECD Publishing. Retrieved from https://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/social-issues-migration-health/international-migration-outlook-2013_migr_outlook-2013-en

Papademetriou, D. G., Somerville, W. & Sumption, M. (2009). *The Social Mobility of Immigrants and Their Children*. Retrieved from <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/social-mobility-immigrants-and-their-children>

Pettersen, S. V. (2017). Statsborgerskap. In Vrålstad, S. & Wiggen, K. S. (eds), *Levekår blant innvandrere i Norge 2016* (p. 152-159). Retrieved from <http://kriminalitetsforebygging.no/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/309211.pdf>

Robson, C. & McCartan, K. (2016). *Real World Research* (4th ed.). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Rogstad, J. (2006). *Usaklige hindringer for ikke-vestlige minoriteter på arbeidsmarkedet* (Rapport 10/2006). Retrieved from http://www.temaasyl.se/Documents/Offentliga%20dokument%20övriga%20EU/R_2006_10.pdf

Rogstad, J. & Orupabo, J. (2007). 'Vennligst vent, du rykker stadig fram til start'. *Søkelys på arbeidslivet*, 24, 33-42.

Rzepnikowska, A. (2019). Racism and xenophobia experiences by Polish migrants in the UK before and after Brexit vote. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45 (1), 61-77.

Schiller, G. N., Basch, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1995). From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68 (1), 48-63.

Schiller, G. N., Basch, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Transnationalism: A New Analytic Framework for Understanding Migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 645 (1), 1-24.

Schunck, R. (2011). Immigrant Integration, Transnational Activities and the Life Course. In Wingens, M., Windzio, M., de Walk, H. & Aybek, C. (Eds.). *A Life-Course Perspective on Migration and Integration* (p. 259-282). New York: Springer.

Silverman, D. (2015). *Interpreting qualitative data* (5th ed.). SAGE Publications.

Spencer, S., Ruhs, M., Anderson, B. & Rogaly, B. (2007). *Migrants' lives beyond the workplace: The Experiences of Central and Eastern Europeans in the UK*. Retrieved from https://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/PR-2007-Changing_Status_Eastern_Europeans.pdf

Statistics Norway (SSB). (2019). *Innvandrere og norskfødte med innvandrerforeldre*. Retrieved from <https://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef>

Stevenson, A., Kings, P. & Sterland, L. (2017). *Mapping ESOL Provision in Greater London*. National Learning and Work Institute. Retrieved from https://www.london.gov.uk/sites/default/files/gla_esol_mapping.pdf

Sumption, M. (2009). *Social Networks and Polish Immigration to the UK*. The Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr). Retrieved from

https://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2011/05/social_networks_polish_immigration_1690.pdf

Trevena, P. (2013). Why do highly educated migrants go for low-skilled jobs? A case study of Polish graduates working in London. In Glorious, B., Grabowska-Lusinska, I. & Kyvik, A. (Eds.), *Mobility in Transition: Migration Patterns after EU Enlargement* (p. 169-190). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Trevena, P. (2009). *'New' Polish migration to the UK: A synthesis of existing evidence.*

Retrieved from

http://www.cpc.ac.uk/docs/2009_WP3_New_Polish_Migration_to_the_UK_Trevena.pdf

Villund, O. (2008). *Riktig yrke etter utdanning? En registerbasert undersøkelse om kompetanse og arbeidsoppgaver hos ansatte med innvandrerbakgrunn* (Rapport 37/2008).

Retrieved from https://www.ssb.no/a/publikasjoner/pdf/rapp_200837/rapp_200837.pdf

Wood, M., Hales, J., Purdon, S., Sejersen, T. & Hayllar, O. (2009) *A test for racial discrimination in recruitment practice in British cities* (Report 607/2009). Retrieved from

<http://www.natcen.ac.uk/media/20541/test-for-racial-discrimination.pdf>

Appendix A:

Table 1: Overview of informants in Norway

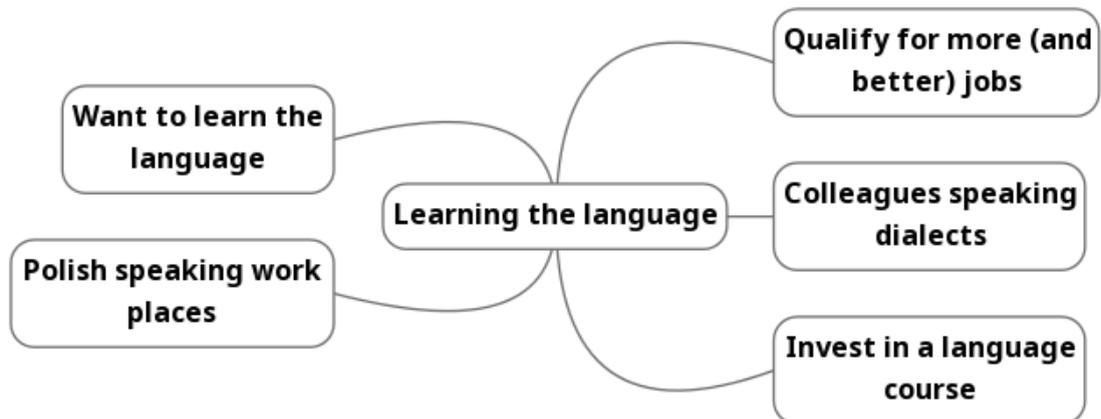
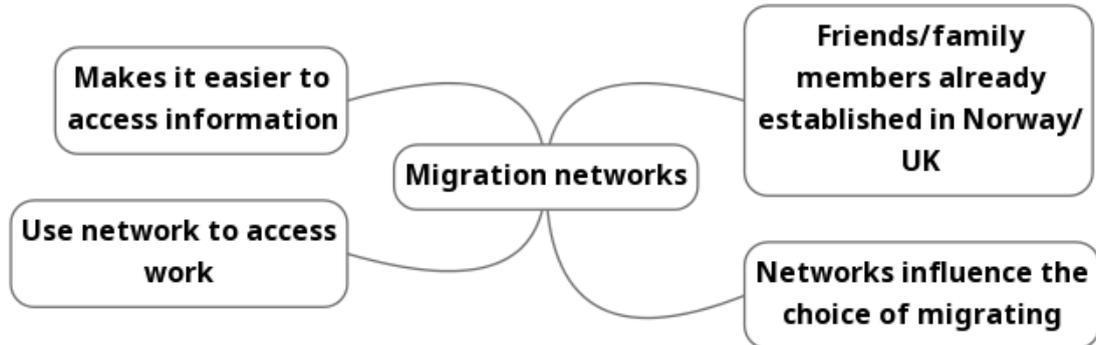
Gender	Name	Age group	Civil status + children	Attended language course	Year of residence
Male	Adam	45-54	Married, four children	Yes	5+ years
Male	Herbert	35-44	Married, one child	Yes	3+ years
Male	Justyn	35-44	Married, one child	Yes	3+ years
Male	Natan	35-44	Single, no children	Yes	10+ years
Male	Robert	35-44	Engaged, no children	Yes	5+ years
Female	Agata	25-34	Engaged, no children	No	5+ years
Female	Daniela	25-34	Single, no children	Yes	3+ year
Female	Emilia	25-34	Married, two children	No	10+ years
Female	Anna	35-44	Married, four children	Yes	5+ years
Female	Helena	25-34	Single, no children	Yes	5+ years

Table 2: Overview of informants in the UK

Gender	Name	Age group	Civil status + children	Attended language course	Years of residence
Female	Natalia	35-44	Separated, one child	No	10+ years
Male	Marek	45-54	Separated, one child	No	1+ years
Female	Teresa	25-34	Married, one child	Yes	3+ years
Male	Albert	55+	Divorced, three children	Yes	3+ years
Female	Ramona	45-54	Single, no children	No	5+ years
Male	Aleksander	45-54	Separated, no children	No	10+ years
Female	Marianna	35-44	Married, two children	Yes	10+ years
Female	Klara	25-34	Married, one child	Yes	3+ years
Male	Bernard	45-54	Married, one child	Yes	10+ years
Female	Celina	25-34	Married, no children	No	1+ years
Male	Gerard	25-34	Engaged, no children	Does not say	5+ years
Male	Jakub	25-34	Divorced, one child	Yes	5+ years

Appendix B:

Mind maps





Appendix C:

Thematic analysis of data

Migration networks:

Norway:

- **Justyn:** Lost his job in Poland, and closed down his store, so he was unemployed. Decided to move to Norway because he had a friend who lived in Stavanger and helped him move to Norway: *“He came to Norway two years before me. He helped me move, he helped me, and it is really difficult to move here if you do not know anyone. It is almost impossible, I think. And he helped me ... it is a difficult situation”*
- **Natan:** It was a coincidence that he moved to Norway. He met some people from Norway on holiday and decided to try to move to Norway because they told him good things about the country
- **Agata:** She didn't like her job in Poland, so she quit. So she called her friends, because she has family and friends from Poland living in Stavanger, and asked them if they had a place for her to stay. *“It was somebody I knew who fixed me this job ... Because that is how it normally goes. It is the easiest ... Actually most of the jobs I got like this”*
- **Helena:** Her brother had worked for a couple of years, he had quite a good company, and he said to her that he could help her find work: *“But I have this principle that I don't want work through someone, someone close, like ‘She works here because her brother works here’.* She wanted to find something by herself, to achieve something herself, without anyone helping her.
- **Herbert:** *“We have many friends who has been living here for a long time ... many of our friends who moved there a long time ago, they made it ... and we met them many times and they say it is an excellent country. So we followed their advice. And we moved”*
- **Daniela:** Found it difficult to arrive by herself in Norway: *“The first two years here were hard ... It was difficult. I had never been abroad ... I could not orientate myself very well”.*

The United Kingdom:

- **Natalia:** *“Yes, it is you know, everything is, it’s like a net, everything is connected, it’s a great thing about Poles, that they manage to organize themselves very well abroad”*
- **Marek:** *“(…) I had thought about going abroad earlier, but there was always something getting in my way.”*
 - *“Furthermore I had no one who could tell me, hey, listen Duda, come over, we have work for you ... that would have been completely a different situation, but there was no such person, simply not”*
 - *“There people help each other, they inform each other, for example about the possibilities, about what you are entitled to, they share their cases and experiences. I make use of that”*
- **Teresa:** *Her husband arrived to the UK 2 months before her. “My husband came here, he basically came here for a concrete job, but it turned out that this job did not exist. It was supposed to be through a friend, she was supposed to help him, she had supposedly fixed a job, but in the end, when he arrived here it turned out that the situation was completely different”*
- **Klara:** *Her sister bought a house in England, and her father came to help renovate the house. Then her husband went along to help renovate the house. Her brother-in-law then told her that he had a part-time job for her, and she went along and said yes - lived with her sister, which meant no extra costs for them if they wanted to return to Poland.*
- **Gerard:** *His sister had already been in England for 10+ years - so he decided that it was worth a try, to come and see how it was: “For me it was the fact that my sister was already here, yes. It is always easier, when there is somebody who is settled in a certain environment, so you don’t have to search, the paths are already trodden, and my sister knew a bit more about life, how to deal with certain matters”*
- **Jakub:** *His parents came to England before him. He is living together with his parents and his sister. Brother-in-law arranged work for him: “So I had a guaranteed place. I only had to register at the agency, because they had a recruitment, but once I was registered - I went to work immediately. 3 weeks after I came here I was already working”*

Language

Norway:

- **Adam:** Attended a Norwegian language course in Stavanger. That was the first and second level at once. At the school, the teacher was Polish and spoke Polish to them. He didn't like that - would have preferred for it to have been a Norwegian person.
 - *"But the problem was, my friends at work, my colleagues, they are speaking jærsk, so ... and they are not very friendly with language. I think they are very proud with Jæren and ... (haha) so when I came back, I had this Norwegian course twice a week, on Tuesday and Thursday and always after that they asked me: What did you learn yesterday? Oh my god. Was always big argue between us, because: No, you cannot say like this, you must say like this. So they mixed and I decided to give up"*
 - *"I tried to find something, but it is not easy. Usually it is in daytime, and this is not easy for me, because I am working. Maybe.. I had the plan that if I will not find a new job in this year, maybe I will go to get some norskkurs, or something, but I am still working"*
- **Herbert:** Went to a *Voksenopplæring Skole* and finished level A1 - paid for it himself. He tries to speak Norwegian to his friends at work, but they speak jærsk and he finds it difficult to talk to them. However the common language at his work place is English, which is not very good for language efficiency in his perspective.
 - *"I was determined and I said to myself: I need to find a job. So I used all my skills and basically I was ... the problem was that I didn't speak Norwegian"* and: *"...the money are good and prospects of living in Norway are also very good ones. So I would say, I wish I could do more demanding job which has something more ... more intellectual challenges. But I need to be more ... how to say ... first of course language ... and then I can start to look for something else"*
 - He is motivated to learn the language. *"We are watching with my daughter NRK barnas super TV and i need to translate to her. So ... that's the reason"*
 - **In regards to paying for language course:** *"Not all the participants had to pay. So it' not ... how to say ... in Norway one must to take ... come to terms"*

with that, that there are equal people and some are more equal. The more equal are those so-called “weaker” for coming as immigrants from ... flyktninger ... refugees. They don't have to pay”

- *“I would like to change job. I would like to work ... in Norwegian environment and be ... feel like i communicate with people. I can talk about daily problems and about the issues. Yes! I would like to part of this society”*
- **Justyn:** *Wanted to learn Norwegian when he came to Norway. Know a lot now, but wants to learn more. “Yes, and I started this Norwegian language course ... but I have barriers ... Cannot speak a lot. I am done with Norwegian course, but have problems with hearing, you know. It is so difficult. Now, after three years, almost three and a half years, when I work, I have contact with Norwegians everyday, and I talk a lot. Because now, I am happy ... I want to speak better”*
- **Natan:** *Got the money together to pay for the language course: “Then I paid for the course, because I knew that if I started working without knowing the language, then most likely I will never learn Norwegian. Right? Yes, I thought either now or never. Yes. And that was such as good strategy.”*
 - *“I know that there are many Polish people that wants to move back to Poland. And therefore they do not speak Norwegian. They don't want to speak Norwegian”*
- **Robert:** *His father told him when he was little that it was very important to learn languages, because you will need it in the future: “Probably he thought that it is easier for those who know languages. You have ... work or you can choose more, or travel somewhere and communicate with people”.*
 - **Thinks that it is important to learn Norwegian:** *“We are in Norway with Norwegian people”*
- **Agata:** *Her mother used to live in Norway, and taught her English because she realized how important it was: “My mother was always trying to look ahead. So that was why she was pressuring me to learn English. That's why I don't speak Norwegian. I do understand a lot.”*
 - **Wants to learn Norwegian:** *“But I have to. I have to learn it. I spend a lot of time with Norwegians and I listen a lot. So I do understand”*

- *“And I do realize that living abroad you should speak the language. I absolutely agree with that”*
- **Daniela:** *She thought herself that “you cannot run away from languages all your life, there will be a time where I have to learn more than just for the test”*
- **Emilia:** *“But you know what, what annoys me here about this Norway. It annoys me that here there is injustice. Actually, I tell you, it’s like that, we as Poles for example, I feel, we are supposed to only pledge, work, but we are not supposed to get anything/we don’t deserve anything. It hurts for me that for example, I wanted to go to school, I wanted to go for a course, no, because they won’t pay for me! Because I work and I can pay for it myself”*
- **Anna:** *“I go to school at the moment, on Tuesdays and Wednesdays and Thursdays I go to school . I knew a bit before, but now, since I lost work one year ago, so now I have time to improve this language, and look for work in Norwegian”*
 - **Pay for the course herself:** *“And I have the impression that there, it will be easier to get rid of me for Norway one day, to give me no work, then them (other immigrants), they will be prioritized to get work and not me. Because Norway is sponsoring them their course in order that they get work here, I have to fight for it myself, to learn this language to the extent I want to learn it”*
- **Helena:** *“Language wise the first year was very good, I have the impression that I learned a lot because they, among each other they were speaking a lot Norwegian. I learned a lot”*
 - **She would like to change her job, but:** *“At the moment I have to improve/master the Norwegian language and start looking for something else. I think when I will feel more certain about the language, I will look for something else”*

The United Kingdom:

- **Natalia:** *“Generally it was like that, those who spoke English very well were for example group leaders, team leaders, maybe even a manager, if he had worked there for a long time”*

- *“So, people could actually be here in England for several years and still they couldn’t speak English at all, because even at work they didn’t have to speak English, because, you know, among each other in Polish”*
- **Marek:** *“You know, I learned English at the army, twenty something years ago. I studied English then. But it was just basic English and I never really used it, because I never needed it. So when I came here to England, I was very shocked, because in the beginning I didn’t understand anything”*
 - **Did you go to any language course?** *“No, I just took a book, watched movies in English all the time, and you know, listening, a bit of Google translate ... Simply, you know, you remember things when you need them”*
- **Teresa:** *Learned English at school, but not on a high level. “So, when we came here I was completely green, you know, not that I ... because I knew English, but when people started talking to me in the local dialect, I couldn’t understand anything at all. Only now I am starting to understand something”*
- **Albert:** *“But the language I knew more or less, I didn’t have to start at zero, that was no the case”*
 - *“I had to invest in myself. I invested in myself because you know, I am doing a language course (...)”*
- **Aleksander:** *Didn’t know English when he came to the UK. “(...) when I came here I spoke almost no English at all. So, in general was happy about any kind of work”*
 - *“I did not study English. There, in the other town I learned almost nothing at all because I was mostly around Poles and I lived with with Poles. I noticed that throughout my 3 years here in Liverpool I learned a bit, because here somehow there are only few Poles. Here I have to speak more often in English”*
 - *“(...) In general, life was pleasant here. In general, I felt comfortable. Maybe only the language, it was a bit unpleasant, if you do not understand, it feels a bit uncomfortable. If English was my native tongue, if I could express myself more deeply, I would be very happy/content in England. Because I like to talk and if I cannot express myself in depth, it’s simply an uncomfortable feeling for me”*

- **Marianna:** *“I don’t like the fact that, when it comes to me, I have a weak knowledge of the English language, and for the moment, due to the fact that my daughter was sick, I couldn’t get any job”*
- **Klara:** Said in the beginning of the interview that her English was good, and that language was not perceived as a barrier to her. **But:** *“So when we came and it turned out that the clash with reality was horrible due to the language, we had thought we knew English”*
 - Was on maternity leave when she came to the UK, so in the beginning she was only searching for work for 1-2 days per week, *“(…) only to have contact with the language”*
 - *“However it turned out that my language wasn’t good enough and I was aware of it. At the beginning I simply didn’t understand what these people were saying to me. I didn’t understand anything at all what they were saying to each other, and when they were talking to me, then maybe half of it”*
 - *“Certainly, I got better with the language and now, if I would go back to Poland, I could apply for a better job, because my English, the English which I would need there, in Poland, is great”*
 - *“I’m convinced that now that our English skills have become much better, there would be no problem in contact with foreigners, so I can even apply for better jobs”*
- **Bernard:** Says that he doesn’t speak English: *“I came here to earn some money. I didn’t come to sit, because if I were to sit, I’d take my bag and go home. In my situation there is no such thing, that I have to be here, because with my experience, and with my skills, I can find myself a job in any place where I want to. My barrier is only the language. Nothing more”*
 - *“(…) My English is zero. That’s the main problem. If I had known from the beginning that i’d’ be working so many years here, and that the situation would be as it is, I would be happy if I knew English (….) Only this makes me weaker. Nothing else. I blame myself that I couldn’t put my mind to learning English. I neglected it.”*

- *“When I worked at that other company, at the beginning, I signed up for school, I went to school ... but we worked night shifts. We came back from work and went to sleep (...) and when the employer heard that we were going somewhere, or that we were supposed to go, he got afraid we’d run away and he sorted out a translator, who came every now and then (...)”*
- **Gerard:** *“I wanted to test my English by the way, which, what turned out later, had nothing in common with how people in Liverpool (...) speak. So, I was a bit surprised, and I had to invest some time in order to adjust myself, get familiar with the language and speak the way they speak here, slightly different”*
- **Jakub:** *“I thought, I know English (...) but it turned out, that in no way, and not enough (...)”*
 - *“I wanted to get acquainted with the language, to learn the basics in college etc., how to speak, and to practice it later at work. I wanted to get used to it at the same time, besides, at this work everyone had a different accent, it was madness”*

Education and work experience:

Norway:

- **Adam:** Feels like his work in Norway is 100% corresponding to his actual skills. *“My education is even too high for this, but I want to do it. My boss has that problem. Because when I send my CV and he saw it in our network, he send me email and ask me if...it looks like you are overqualified for us”*
- **Herbert:** *“...actually, I have never had any contact with my discipline. So I am trained, I’ve read lots of books. I have a master degree and I never practiced it”*
- **Natan:** Did get his education approved by NOKUT. Says that it is a good opportunity to study in Norway because it is free of cost.
- **Daniela:** Has a bachelor's degree from Poland. *“I have worked here in Norway as a cleaner, I am not ashamed. I am not ashamed, because I know it is like a transition phase/temporary/, an adapter”*

The United Kingdom:

- **Natalia:** She didn't want to apply for low skilled, low paid work, she was not interested in earning for minimum wage. She studied at University, but didn't complete her studies. *"I know English, I will manage somehow. I did not study to work in a hotel, changing sheets etc. So I was looking for something better"*.
 - *"I was think about somehow raising my qualifications etc."*
 - *"And also, if there are courses, then it within hours where I have to work, during the week for example ... it's difficult, its difficult to raise your qualifications when you work full time and in three different shifts"*
- **Marek:** He was searching for other work all the time in the beginning. *"I also spent some money on a course as truck driver"* His work agency had told him that if he had this course he would get a better job with a better pay, and that he would be a driver there. But in the end, they didn't offer him that. *"(...) I spend almost 200 GBP on that course ... and then I get nothing for it"*
- **Teresa:** Talking about her husband when he came to the UK: *"You know, the typical case, someone coming from abroad without any experience with no idea how to look for something and what to look for and obviously there will be someone on the way who is willing to exploit this situation"*.
 - **When she was planning to look for work:** *"(...) I wanted to start from what everyone is doing here, to go somewhere more ... you know, some work in some warehouse, in order to be among people, get used to the language, in order to be able to look for something better afterwards, right?"*
 - *"Because later, if i wanted to stay here, I wouldn't want to end up with a career in a warehouse, since i completed studies and worked in my profession"*.
- **Albert:** *"(...) but I want to find something that better corresponds to my skills"*
- **Ramona:** *"And thanks to my education and my professional experience I have a lot of opportunities."*
 - *"I was told that because I had my education in Poland it is not worth the same as/equivalent to the English education"*

- **Aleksander:** Doesn't have any qualifications. But says that: *"I have the impression that rather for better paying jobs, that they acquire some skills and qualifications and searched for better income."*
- **Marianna:** *"But I think that if you want to find a job, you'll find a job"*
 - *"I am now searching for work, even though I have my own company and I clean. But i'm searching for something else, something normal. I want to go to work normally. I want to be professionally active, not a cleaner, because it makes no sense"*
- **Klara:** *"(...) it turns out that my education isn't enough proof for them, that I can do what I can do".* She has a masters degree from Poland, and says that during several job interview they didn't believe that. *"(...) it's like going back to student times when I worked in Poland. (...) I have an education ... it's like moving back in time (...)"*
 - *"(...) but it seems to me that no, for a willing person - who wants to work - there is always work. Not necessarily the job as we would like to have, but there's always a job"*
- **Celina:** In regards to what she thinks about the fact that she doesn't work in her profession: *"It is difficult. But we do everything to work. You know what I mean. (...) But we also know that improving our qualifications, which can take a year or two, will help us to get a better job. If you know you can change your life by going to school you will overcome this period. I know it is possible to get a better job but I have to adapt to the environment."*
 - *"I noticed that they don't like it if people write in their CV's that ... When I wrote that I have such a high education they asked me during my interview: "Shouldn't you be at the university? You are overqualified". I have too high competence. And I realized that I had to lie in my CV. I had to remove that information. And this is why it is good to do courses here, in my opinion. If you do their courses they look at it differently. They see that you are trying to get to their educational level"*
- **Gerard:** Does not work within his profession. *"On the one hand, I'm happy, because I've learned something new, and it is not such a standard job. (...) So, I'm happy. (...)"*

On the other hand, I know it would be tough for me now to go back to the previous career path”

- **Jakub:** *“If there was nothing I want to do, I would do anything, you know. You need to earn money and that’s it”*

Perspectives on migration:

Norway:

- **Natan:** *Has applied for Norwegian citizenship - says that it was hard to “give up” the Polish one: “... in Poland you are allowed to keep two. In Norway you can’t ... yet. So in Poland they don’t want people to give up their citizenship. Of course, there is no country that want to lose their citizens”*
 - *Have experienced some discrimination at work: “But I sometimes experienced: ‘thank you for the information, but I want a Norwegian person to explain this to me’”*
- **Anna:** *“(...) I am for example closely connected to this place and with my neighbourhood and with the school, I teach, since I am not working I decided I will be parent contact, I will help with organizing this and that, will help here, go there ... Norwegians like that, if you participate and engage, now I can do it, because I don’t work”*
 - **Are you considering returning to Poland?** *“No, don’t think about it, the kids feel good here, we have a credit for our apartment, my husband has work”*
- **Adam:** *“Because I actually never moved out from Poland. I still feel that I am living there ... and I talk to my children ... because we really like to talk about that ... I feel like I am not living my own life here. I came here to some empty place ... and when I am here, I am living someone life, not my life”*
 - **Have you ever felt discriminated in Norway?** *“The first time was one of my colleagues at work. He was quite special man. And I think he was old fashioned, but he didn’t like that here is a lot of Polish people. He always ... every occasion he was very rough with me.*

The United Kingdom:

- **Natalia:** But returning back to Poland was not an option for you? *“No, it wasn’t an option. Why would I? In order to return to my mom? My mom wasn’t working. There wasn’t much work there either. You have to start over from the very beginning. Here, my son was going to school. My son was speaking English that already a different issue”*
 - **In regards to discrimination:** *“I was working at the ... store at the time. And in the end, once it was so serious, there were maybe seven boys, I was alone at home, and they tried to get into the apartment”* When asked why she think they did that, she says: *“Because we are Poles”*
 - *“And when I was walking on the street with my son I was saying to him, he was still very young, and spoke little Polish, he started speaking very late and he was just starting to speak English, but I said to him “son, when we are walking on the street you don’t say anything in Polish to mom, we don’t speak Polish at all””*
 - *“What I observed was that the people who didn’t speak English at all, they were doing the worst jobs. So there was this jobs “low skilled, no English, low pay”*
- **Teresa:** Says that she lives in a rather quiet neighbourhood. But: *“Although, I am trying not to walk around talking loudly in Polish when I am outside, simply not to attract attention, because, you know, one person may pass by and doesn’t care very much but to the next one might not appeal, and why should I want to get in trouble?”*
 - *“As I said, I don’t know whom I will run into, I don’t know who is walking on the other side of the street, maybe someone will not like it, that I am talking in Polish, maybe someone has prejudices against Poles. I don’t want any trouble”*
- **Albert:** *“(…) if I aim/strive towards being here, towards getting a citizenship ... It would also count as getting to know the culture, the history, and the things Britons have and use.”*
- **Ramona:** She does say that she likes her job in the UK, and wants to work there for a couple of years, but she doesn’t know if she will stay in the UK, she could also see herself going back to Poland. But: *“Yes. I will apply for citizenship (...) I will apply for*

permanent residency now and afterwards for citizenship. This is because of the complications related to Brexit”

- *“For now I am very happy with my current work. Finally, I have got something on a level that is interesting for me and on a level where I can apply my skills. So, I plan to work at least a couple of years there”*
- *“If I am planning to stay for good in England? I don’t know. I have always the possibility to return to Poland. I can see myself there as well”*
- **Discrimination:** *“I am just always called immigrant, no matter how many years I have lived in the country”*
- *“But in these six years there have been many attacks on Poles, where Poles were attacked and beaten up only because they were Poles. There have been verbal attacks on Poles quite frequently, for the reason that they speak Polish on the street (...) or that you speak Polish at work, that’s not accepted”*
- **Could feel the distinction between western and eastern Europe.** *“I could notice that firstly when it comes to opportunities for promotion. They were smaller, more limited for people from eastern Europe.”*
- **Marianna:** *“(...) we tie our future with this place. You know, you look at it taking children into consideration. How will their future look like? It seems to me education is better here”*
 - **In regards to getting a citizenship in the UK:** *“No, I think I am Polish and I don’t want to, don’t want to. I’m telling you, I am a nationalist. I don’t want to”*
- **Klara:** *“If you go to another country, you have to adjust a bit, accept the culture where you are. You can’t impose your own culture, you can share it, talk about it. But you are here, so you live according to the rules, it was your choice to come here. No one forced you to be here, they didn’t take you away by force”*
 - **Discrimination:** *“In my opinion Liverpool is a racist city, they prefer/prioritize their own people. Yes, it is understandable that they always hire a Brit first, despite for example less experience. I was on such an interview, first there was a test and then an interview. It seems to me that the interview went well, that I had the best education for this job, it was a position*

as accountant. But they hired a Brit, even though he had much lower qualifications”

- **Celina:** *“(…) I started to make friends, so my perception has changed. Before it was just the two of us and now I don’t have to always go out with my husband. I have friends, I can go out with them. It is super. Everything is changing. You assimilate when you go to work or when you are among people (…) I assimilate with the society. I know what they eat, drink”*
 - *“And now I am in this culture, watching TV, I know what they talk about and I laugh at it as well. This is nice because I see that I start to fit in”*
- **Gerard:** *“(…) but I don’t place my hope in a future in England. I came here for a specific purpose, to be here for a while, earn money and go back to Poland. It is a place of earning for me, I don’t attach myself to this place too much”*
 - *“Because if you feel good everywhere, then it will be good for you everywhere, yes. I, on the other hand, have such an approach that my roots are in Poland, it is the place where I’d always like to go back”*
 - *“I don’t intend to live in a country, where, even though I’m doing a good job and live according to certain principles of social life, people will be pointing fingers at you, because you come from another/different place than the United Kingdom”*
 - **Discrimination:** *“If there was discrimination, it was never direct, nobody said it right into my face”*
- **Jakub:** *Have you thought about going back to Poland?: “No, not yet. So far I don’t know. I have some possibilities here, some paths of development. I have arranged plans here, for now it doesn’t make sense for me to go back. (…) I know English better now, I have a better experience in my profession”*
 - *“Besides, I got used to English standards. It would be hard to switch to Polish standards. It is easier to live here, you can live normally, calmly, while having any job. In Poland, it didn’t matter what you did - how much you worked, there was always not enough money”*
 - **In regard to applying for citizenship:** *“I think I’m going to apply”*

- **Aleksander:** *“The first six years I actually thought about Poland every day, about all kind of things there. Now, I noticed that I am somehow not so close anymore I have the impression that I simply got used to things here, to everything ... it is simply that I know life better here than in Poland.”*