



**Integration of Polish workers in Norway –the Role of
Labour Unions.**

(29775 words)

Przemysław Łukasz Cieleń

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and
Education at University of Tromsø, Norway

Master's degree thesis in
Peace and Conflict Transformation

spring 2011

Acknowledgments

First and foremost I would like to thank my respondents – this thesis would not exist without them. Secondly, I send my special thanks to Olso Bygningsarbeider Forening – Oslo Construction Workers Union in general and to Julia Maliszewska in particular for their support and time devoted to my project. Thirdly, I would like to thank my supervisor that tried to put some barriers to my constantly floating attention. Fourthly, I would like to express my gratitude to Tomasz Tychanski with whom relentless talks, during breaks at work, influenced my view on several aspects of the field.

Table of contents

Glossary:.....	5
1. Introduction.....	6
1.1. Norway and the EU-enlargement.....	7
1.2. Trade Unions and Labour Migration: Differences between Norway and Poland.....	8
1.3. Polish migrants in Norway.....	11
1.4. Research Problem	13
1.5. Research Questions.....	13
1.6. The Significance of the Research Method.....	14
1.7. Limitation of Research.....	14
1.8. Researcher's Motivation.....	15
1.9. Thesis Structure.....	15
2. Methodology and Data Sources – Struggling against the Odds.....	17
2.1. Choice of Method and its Advantages.....	18
2.2. Research tools and problems met by the researcher.....	21
2.3. Placement of Researcher's Background and Experience in Research.....	23
2.4. Ethical proceedings.....	24
2.5. The Access to the Respondents and the Choice of the LU	25
2.6. Problems Met in the Field	26
2.7. Theoretical Sampling	27
2.8. Status of Theory in the Study.....	28
3. Theory	30
3.1. Category of Segmentation.....	30
3.2. Interpretations of Labour Organizations.....	32

3.3. Integration/Structural Assimilation with the Labour Market.....	35
3.3.1. Structural Integration.....	36
3.3.2. Barriers for Integration – Structural and Individual.....	37
3.3.3. Stages of Migration and Strategies of Adaptation.....	38
4.Data Presentation and Analysis.....	40
4.1. Introduction to the Description of Categories.....	40
4.1.1. Labour Market in the Construction Industry.....	41
4.1.2. Strike and its Effects.....	41
4.1.3. RESPONDENTS/WORKERS.....	42
4.1.4. LABOUR UNION.....	43
4.1.5. EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES.....	44
4.1.6. Changes in the Scope of Research and Structure of Chapter.....	45
4.2. Special Needs – Where is the Union?.....	46
4.2.1. The Language Barrier.....	47
4.2.2. Presence or Activity?.....	50
4.2.3. Fixing Contracts.....	51
4.2.4. Recognition of Professional Qualifications.....	55
4.2.5. Informality of Positions	59
4.3. Strategies of Coping with Problems and Expectations towards a LU.....	60
4.3.1. The Fellow Pole.....	61
4.3.2. Tactical Importunity.....	63
4.4. Situation after the Strike and Types of Contracts.....	65
4.5. Respondents’ Perception of the LU. LU Characteristics and Activity: the Past and the Present..	68
4.6. Formality Hypothesis.....	70
5. Conclusions.....	74
6. Appendix – Situational Map.	77
7. References.	82

Glossary:

Agency = temporary work agency = manpower supply company

Bemmanningsbransjen 2010 prinsipavtale - Preliminary Agreement for job center sector of 2010

Club = basic level of LUs organization of shop stewards employed at the same company

EEA – European Economic Area

EFTA – European Free Trade Area

Fagbrev – craft certificate

Fellesforbundet - The Norwegian United Federation of Trade Unions

FZZ - Trade Unions Forum

GT = Grounded Theory

INVIA - National information center about authorization and recognition system

LUM = Labour Union Member

LU = Labour Unions = Trade Unions

NAV - The Norwegian Labour and Welfare Administration - Arbeids- og velferdsetaten

OBF – Oslo Bygningsarbeider Forening – Oslo Construction workers Union

OPZZ - All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions

PLUM = Polish Labour Union Member.

Solidarność – 'Solidarity' the labour union

TU = Trade Unions = Labour Unions

TVA – Tertiary Vocational Education Act

WEA - The Working Environmental Act – Arbeidsmiljøloven

1. Introduction

This research tries to answer how LUs could contribute to the integration of Poles into the Norwegian labour market. First and foremost, I will try to show what has been done by TUs to integrate minority workers, exemplified by Poles, to the Norwegian market. I will try to specify the special needs of those workers and ways in which LUs tried to meet them. Another aspect that this research wants to explore is the question of impact of the actions undertaken by LU. As a part of this question I will investigate how the fact that many Polish migrants are employed in agencies affect the relationship between them and the unions.

In order to provide sufficient background to the subject, in this chapter I will present larger context of immigration that will subsequently be narrowed down to the study of Polish LU members in Norway. This will be provided in following steps: 1)EU enlargement and its significance for Norway 2) role of LUs and differences between Norwegian and Polish labour organizations; 3) description of Polish immigration to Norway and its peculiarity. Those steps will provide insight into 4) research problem and 5)research questions. The last three parts of this chapter will assess 6) the significance of research method; 7) the limitation of research; and 8) my motivation to conduct such research. All of those steps should lead the reader from general to narrower, more specific context and they should give clear insight into aims of this research. They are followed by 9) thesis structure that presents contents of other chapters .

1.1. Norway and the EU-enlargement

Over the last 40 years Norway has become a country of immigration. Since the 1970s Norwegian economy has been providing substantial income due to the exploration of oil and, what goes with it, the standard of living has largely improved. Waves of immigrants found a new place for themselves, some as asylum seekers and some as work immigrants. Nowadays there are around 460,000 first generation immigrants with additional number of 93,000 people that were born in Norway from immigrant parents¹. Their spectrum covers almost the whole globe. Nevertheless, in the recent years most of them came from Eastern Europe. One reason for this is the last two EU enlargements and its implications for Norway as a EEA member.

EU enlargement (First Eastern Enlargement) brought into its borders 10 new member states: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Malta and Cyprus. In 2007 Rumania and Bulgaria followed suit. The Eastern Enlargement of 2004 contributed to the growth of the 'old' EU countries and mostly of the EEA member countries, as far as inflow of labour force could affect their economies². This extension of borders provided new waves of labour force for industries in the whole EEA. EU enlargement lifted a lot of legal restrictions that were imposed on Central and Eastern European Countries before accession, especially those with respect to EU and EEA labour market access³. Still, immigrant workers need help⁴, especially at the beginning of their

¹ Henriksen, K., Østby, L., Ellingsen, D., (red.) Innvandring og innvandrere 2010, Statistical Analysis, Statistikk Sentrabyrå, Oslo, p.10.

²As it is seen by European Commission, new countries have provided labour force in those sectors that suffered from its shortages; and by extension of export to the new EU countries. http://ec.europa.eu/enlargement/5years/facts_and_figures/economy_growth_and_jobs_it.htm

³Restrictions can be divided in: 1) *Pre-membership restrictions* which are understood here as all legal demands put on immigrants from non-EU countries, that are different from those that apply to workers from EU/EEA. Here we can list some of those: restrictions in access to labour market for workers (difficulties in getting work permissions) or for companies from outside of the EU/EEA. 2) After enlargement *transitional restrictions* were introduced to new member states. Some restrictions were kept for an agreed period and meant different rules for migrants from 'old' and new EU members. For example, some of the documents required to get residence permission were lifted. On the other hand some, like the number of permissions granted, were limited for agreed time. Today all countries of EU/EEA (including Norway) have removed their restrictions when it comes to the countries that joined in 2004.

⁴In respect to access to relevant information about working conditions, average salary, duties and rights during work, time off, rights to medical services, etc. This list is just an enumeration of factors that are easy to imagine at the preliminary stage of research.

residence in a foreign country. As this research will focus on Polish workers in Norway, it is necessary to describe those organizations and their attitude towards migrants.

1.2. Trade Unions and Labour Migration: Differences between Norway and Poland

In general, trade unions have an interest in limiting the number of labour migrants because the increased opportunity for employers to recruit foreign labour will obviously weaken the bargaining power of the unions. On the other hand, once labour migrants enter the labour market, trade unions have an interest in making sure that they are integrated into the regulated labour market and to protect their working conditions in order to avoid social dumping. The role of labor unions lies in finding a balance between those two directions. This rises a few controversies: a) how labour organizations should react to the increasing number of immigrants?; b) to what extent should labor organizations be concerned about special needs of immigrants?; c) what effort should labour organizations put into including migrant workers? The first problem can be described as follows – should a labour union do anything at all to help residing immigrants? Second - how much effort should it put to find out what immigrants want it to do for them? Third – how much it should do to integrate them?

Trade unions are obviously not only motivated by self interest. As a political movement prompted by international solidarity, they have a moral and political obligation in promoting and protecting the rights of migrant workers, informed by moral and political principles. Nevertheless one can imagine that labour unions are not driven solely by those rules but also by economic calculation. In such a situation Norwegian labor unions would have to include immigrants into their structures, firstly because of their own inability to satisfy industrial demands and secondly because the inflow of a large numbers of immigrants could eventually reduce the bargaining power of the unions. The above, is not trying to say that Norwegian TU's were reluctant to accept immigrants in Norwegian labour market. What it says is that even if they wanted to resist the inflow of a foreign workforce, they simply could not do it. This shows us possible approaches to migrants in Norway. Again, it is important to understand that it is not solely international solidarity that fuels LUs efforts to integrate foreigners but also pure calculation. On the other hand, it is necessary to notice that Norwegian LUs took a number of recruiting actions aiming to organize Poles working in construction sector.

In order to incorporate immigrant workers into Norwegian labor market, a series of steps has to

be taken, for example: to provide information about rights and duties of a worker in Norway to a large spectrum of immigrants; in order to gain members, labour unions have to emphasize the protection that they would gain; and what is most important – LUs have to effectively resolve their problems (among others – by providing contact person that speaks their language).

Immigrants often do not have the necessary language skills to communicate their needs. Moreover, they do not have sufficient knowledge about organizations that could help them in solving their problems. This can be caused even by organizational differences between Polish and Norwegian labor unions. Organization of a society in general varies in different countries. This can cause problems for immigrants that might need such knowledge (about organizations that could help them when necessary). Differences can be shown on an example of labour organizations structure in Poland and Norway.

There are 3 major national TU centers in Poland - Solidarity, OPZZ and FZZ⁵. The first is the biggest and most famous. It has evolved from the social movement of the 1980s. The second is a center of branch unions that had its origins in 1982 (as a response of the communistic government to Solidarity), while the third was formed in 2002 and initially organized employees in the public services.

Polish organizations are mostly concentrated in big companies. In the Polish LU model the important role is played by companies with more than 150 employees – which is the threshold for one, paid by the employer, union post⁶. This is caused by law regulations that entitle Polish LUs to their rights only on the factory/company basis – even higher structures have to maintain in their name word - 'interfactory' (międzyzakładowy) to keep their rights⁷. Divisions between Solidarity and OPZZ, based on ideological and material grounds, have been the reason for what Gardawski calls *conflict pluralism* – situation where lack of mutual trust between and within LU centers supported by legislation (with low threshold for establishing new unions – 10 persons) that multiplied the number of 'independent' LUs caused inability of cooperation⁸. The other effect of *conflict pluralism* is generalization of clashes within LUs to common opinion shared by employers⁹ that unions are destructive for effectiveness.

Above all 'the climate' for the LUs in Poland has been unfavorable since 1989 -

⁵ NSZZ Solidarność; OPZZ - All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions; FZZ - Trade Unions Forum(All mentioned organizations have more then 300000 members which is a threshold for participation in Trilateral Economic Commission).

⁶ See. Gardawski, J. (eds) (2009). *Polacy pracujący a kryzys fordyzmu*, ('Working Poles and crisis of Fordism'), Scholar, p.498.

⁷ Ibid. p.500.

⁸ Gardawski gives an exhaustive description of this process. See. Ibid. pp.487-494.

⁹ Ibid. p.518.

The responsibility for the future of the country undertaken by Lech Wałęsa and his cooperative union leaders [sic! -PC] resulted in the restriction of development of Solidarity. It was thought that mass labour unions, representing interests of former branch groups, might halt the modernization of [national – PC] economy¹⁰

The construction industry in Poland is one of the least unionized because of the centralization of unions in big companies mentioned above and the crumbling of this sector of Polish industry into small private undertakings.

Norwegian organizations also have confederate structure. They are divided into branches and a particular union is divided not only according to the industry but it also has only regional dimension. The majority of unions is associated in one major organization (union center) – Landsorganisasjonen (Country Organization, LO)¹¹. Nevertheless, the regional division of LUs results in a local focus of interests. What is most interesting, Norwegian law (unlike Polish) does not recognize minimum wage. Instead, this issue is regulated by collective agreements (while in Poland collective agreements are rare and restricted to LUs participation in negotiations). Those agreements are binding for their signatories but also, in some sectors, generally binding for the branch. However, it is interesting that in contrast to other Scandinavian countries where most of the labour market is covered by bilateral agreements, large parts of the Norwegian labour market remain unregulated by such agreements. The difference between Norway and Poland lies not only in the range of collective agreements but also in the attitude towards LUs. As it was shown above Polish LUs are seen as troublemakers (in the sense that all LUs activities aim to maximize workers wages and benefits) while in Norway the common opinion says that LUs are conducive to efficiency of production¹².

The differences of labour organization structures have one more dimension - labour union density. Norway has an enormous rate of 'unionization' compared to Poland– 6% in Poland in 2006¹³ to 52% in 2004 in Norway¹⁴. This shows the difference in the bargaining power between Polish and

¹⁰ Ibid. p.481.

¹¹ There are 21 unions affiliated to the LO. It has 87100 (number for 2010) members (See. SSBhttp://statbank.ssb.no/statistikkbanken/Default_FR.aspPXSid=0&nvl=true&PLanguage=0&tilside=selectvarval/define.asp&Tabellid=03546 . As LO is an umbrella organization – which means that individual person can't be a member of LO. Instead of this it can become member of one of the unions associated in LO.

¹² See. Ibid. pp.449-450.

¹³ See. Tab. 14.1 Ibid. s.439.

¹⁴ See. Løken, E., Stokke, T. A. Labour relations in Norway, Fafo 2009; <http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/2469736/PDFS/NOU201020100001000DDDPDFS.pdf> p.37; also See. Table 3.1 p.13 [in] Negaard, K. Fagorganisering i Norden. Status og utviklingstrekk, November 2010;

Norwegian LUs. The difference in density has direct influence on the possibility to exert their will upon employers. For example, LO can negotiate a raise in wages for some period (usually 2-3 years) with the major employers union (NHO) and strikes are the result of a lack of agreement, while in Poland negotiations are often the result of strikes (because of the unwillingness of the employers) .

Since EU enlargement in 2004 the number of Poles in Norway is growing rapidly. This situation induced LUs to take closer look to this minority, especially their needs and the possible gains of labour unions which could be achieved by incorporating Poles; therefore it is reasonable to adjust means to the scale of phenomenon. Below I will present some facts that were gathered about Poles.

1.3.Polish migrants in Norway

Poles are the biggest minority from Eastern Europe in Norway. However, Norway was not the primary destination for Poles¹⁵. Nevertheless, it became one of most profitable.

The history of Polish workers relations with Norway started in 1980s during strikes. Polish workers repressed by their own government found Norwegian labor unions helpful – with financial support on the one hand and with granting asylum for repressed labour activists on the other. The first social networks, on a small scale, were established at that time. Since then up to the 1st May 2004 the population of Poles in Norway grew very slowly. On 1 January 2004 the total number of Poles registered in Norway was estimated at 8,000 people¹⁶. Since then the number of Poles in Norway has been growing rapidly. After four years the Polish population exceeded 32,000¹⁷ and became the biggest minority. In 2010 the number of Polish immigrants was 52,125 people.¹⁸

The two major causes of emigration from Poland were the EU enlargement mentioned above and a high rate of unemployment. Of course these are not exhaustive but seemed to have played a

<http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/10121/10121.pdf>

¹⁵ For example UK and Ireland were primary destinations as they have not set any legal restrictions towards Poles. From 2003 to 2010 Polish minority grew up from 75,000 up to 515,000 (See. Polish people in UK, Office for National Statistics <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/CCI/nugget.asp?ID=2369&Pos=1&ColRank=2&Rank=176>).

¹⁶ See. Figur 2.1.2. Statistiske analyser (SA 66), Innvandring og innvandrere 2004, Part 2, p.19, http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/sa_innvand/arkiv/sa66/kap2.pdf

¹⁷ See. Figur 2.1.2 .Statistiske analyser (SA 103), innvandring og innvandrere 2008, Part 2, p. 15. http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/sa_innvand/sa103/kap2.pdf

¹⁸ See. Statistik Årbok 2010, p.92 <http://www.ssb.no/aarbok/tab/tab-092.html>

significant role in this process. I have already presented some consequences of the EU enlargement, therefore I will now focus on the second aspect. The unemployment rate at that time appears to give an insight into the scale of migration. In 2004 the total unemployment rate in Poland was estimated at 19.1%¹⁹. This means that almost 3 million people were without work. One consequence of this situation was the biggest wave of migration in Polish history ever. That was mostly work migration.

The growth of work immigration was challenged by financial crisis of 2008. Due to the problems in Irish and British economies generated by the crisis, many lost their jobs on the British Isles. Therefore Norway started to be more and more attractive destination for Poles.

A large number of Poles starts their 'adventure' in Norway from the Oslo area, as this is the most populated region in Norway. In 2006 Oslo was the place of living for every fourth Pole in Norway²⁰. According to *Polonia i Oslo 2010* the occupations mostly undertaken by Poles are strongly gender-divided. Services – mostly cleaning are typical occupations undertaken by woman while men are hired on a large scale on construction sites. Research has found that in 2006 74% of the Poles in the Oslo area were men and 26% women; in 2010 this trend changed to 64% men and 36% women²¹. In the initial phase as well as now, most of the Polish men in Oslo were employed in the construction industry. According to Eldring and Friberg in 2006 - 64%; and in 2010 - 58% Polish men were employed in this sector²². The reason for this was that most of the immigrants were young men²³. The construction industry is therefore important for Polish, and probably not only Polish, immigrants.

The Polish minority has been a subject to a number of analysis²⁴ that were examining the existing trends in new wave of immigration. None of them however tried to investigate the perceptions of Poles of the activities undertaken by various organizations that were intended to integrate them into the Norwegian labour market. LUs are among the first organizations that immigrants meet during their residence in Norway - and the first ones whose exclusive purpose is the protection of workers rights.

¹⁹ See. Tabl. 11 (91) Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 2005 (Concise statistical yearbook of Poland, 2005) p.150. http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xbcr/gus/PUBL_oz_maly_rocznik_statystyczny_2009.pdf

²⁰ Henriksen, K., Fakta om 18 innvandrere grupper i Norge, Statistisk sentralbyrå, august 2007, ISBN 978-82-537-7222-6, p.143.

²¹ See. Eldring, L., Friberg, J. H. (2006) *Polonia i Oslo 2006*, FAFO. <http://www.faf.no/pub/rapp/20027/20027.pdf>; and Eldring, L., Friberg, J. H. (2010), *Polonia i Oslo 2010*. FAFO. http://www.faf.no/Oestforum/101026/line_eldring_og_jon_horgen_friberg.pdf

²² See. Ibid.

²³ According to Økonomiske analyser 75% of all Poles that came to Norway (Økonomiske analyser 1/2007, p.124);

²⁴ See. Dølvik, J. E., Eldring L.: Mobility of labour from new EU states to the Nordic Region – Development trends and consequences, TemaNord 2008, Copenhagen; Eldring, L. Friberg, J. H.: *Polonia i Oslo 2006*, Fafo; Eldring, L. Friberg, J. H.: *Polonia i Oslo 2010*, Fafo; Henriksen, K., Fakta om 18 innvandrere grupper i Norge, Statistisk sentralbyrå, august 2007, ISBN 978-82-537-7222-6.

They form also 'the space' for immigrants seeking help in case of various problems at work. Membership in LU can be an evident sign of two, not necessary simultaneous, processes: *reflexive relation*²⁵ to one's situation and possibilities; and, perhaps, good will, both of which result here with respect to the law in general (for example – taxation but also working conditions and salary standards).

All the trends mentioned above will form the research area that now can be described as follows.

1.4. Research Problem

The study will try to uncover some of the attitudes demonstrated towards Norwegian trade unions (TUs) by Polish workers. This will answer the question how Poles perceive actions undertaken by LUs to integrate them into the Norwegian labour market. Finally, I will try to indicate areas that are emphasized by Poles in respect of their expectations. These areas can show divergences in the points of view of LUs and workers. They will also explain factors that are influencing choices, or possibilities of choices, that Poles, employed in temporary work agencies, have to deal with.

1.5. Research Questions

1. How do Polish workers perceive actions taken by unions to integrate them and how do they respond to these actions?

2. What do Polish workers expect from labor unions and what kind of support would they wish to receive?

²⁵ 'Reflexive relation' is understood here as a basic reasoning of each person in order to prevent consequences of own knowledge deficiency that could hindered execution of his/her rights both in present or in the future. This results with consent to fulfill the duties (taxation, registration etc.) and in expectations of help when necessary. This can be seen as a basic reason for minority workers to join LU.

1.6. The Significance of the Research Method

In order to determine important categories in this underdeveloped research field I had to apply a qualitative research methodology - in common opinion the most suitable for such research. The grounded theory (GT) fits particularly to subjects where the number of findings is unknown and to research that tries to explore unknown aspects of the field. This method is also designed to describe processes. The 'dynamic' description of phenomena can be a valuable gain because it shows interdependence of categories - this feature is unavailable in the quantitative methodology.

The GT methodology 'demands' from a researcher that theoretical preparations should be limited to the necessary minimum. The reason for this is to maintain openness to the field work material. Therefore theoretical chapter will be limited to the description of fundamental categories that have formed the framework of this study.

1.7. Limitation of Research

The study investigates attitudes toward LUs presented by members and non-members from Poland who have been in Norway longer than 2 years. This aspect should eliminate opinions formed without basic knowledge about the subject. The research took the form of 13 semi-structured interviews that allowed respondents to describe their situation by their own categories (in their own words). This aspect of the method provides a subjective point of view on the experiences that Poles gained in cooperation with LUs. At the same time GT exceeds subjective perspective towards larger – middle range perspective. Nevertheless, the GT findings are not objective in general sense. They are taking form of a hypothesis as a final result of research, instead of conclusions.

1.8. Researcher's Motivation

This research also aims to point out a direction that can be taken in the future in the field of peace studies. That is to define labour organizations role in peace building. It is possible that, where they exist, labour organizations can organize workers around interests other than dichotomies created by the recent conflict. Instead of divisions across, for example ethnicity LUs can create ties between workers and re-establish more peaceful means of struggle for economic welfare. A second interesting direction that exceeds the limits of this research would be to examine local organizations and their capacity to contribute into peace building process. However those two directions are only suggested areas for future studies.

1.9. Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 gives an overview to the subject and scope of the research. It also describes key facts about the scale and significance of migration from 'new EU countries' to Norway. It also gives an insight to researcher's motivation for exploring this field.

Chapter 2 describes methodology used in the study and problems met during fieldwork. It also introduces some drawbacks of the method.

Chapter 3 describes basic categories used in the research. It explains what is understood by the category of a 'construction worker' and interrelated with it complexity of division between native and immigrant workers. This chapter also gives basic definition of integration with labour market necessary to narrow down the scope of research. It also divides LUs, on the basis of the activities taken towards immigrants, to 4 types of organizations.

Chapter 4 presents findings and analysis of the study in form of 6 sections. It presents changes in the scope of research influenced by the gathered fieldwork material. It introduces sides that play important role in the process of integration of respondents and background situation of research. The analysis presents voiced needs and strategies of coping with problems. It also classifies OBF according

to the classification of LUs developed in previous chapter. Finally, it gives overview to the outcome of strike that in large scale formed attitudes of respondents to LU and describes core category.

Chapter V presents summary and conclusions of the study that gives general oversight on the findings in the synthetic form.

2. Methodology and Data Sources – Struggling against the Odds

Research was conducted in the Oslo area within members of Oslo Byggningsarbeider Forening – Oslo Construction Workers Union. This labour union achieved impressive successes in gaining foreign members, in particular Poles. Field material was gathered in the mid-September 2010 and in the mid-January 2011. The material has been arranged in the form of 13 semi-structured interviews and one group interview. Qualitative research seemed to be best fitting to achieve the aim which is a profound analysis of perception of labour unions by the Polish construction workers and their integration into Norwegian labour market. All the interviews were conducted in Polish and they took place in the place of residence of respondents which was the Oslo county²⁶. All the respondents have been in Norway for more than 24 months, most of them had mixed experience in different companies – 3 or 4 different jobs in various parts of country.

The main objectives of this chapter are to introduce and explain a number of things: 1 – the choice of method and its advantages; 2 – support tools creation and problems that researcher met while working with grounded theory; 3 – placement of researchers background and experience in research; 4 – ethical proceedings that had to be applied in order to protect respondents and explanation why some

²⁶ That was one the 'neighborhoods' of adjusted containers for minority workers.

of the field material was abandoned for the same reasons; 5 – in this section I will show the way that had to be taken to get in contact with respondents and reasons for conducting research among OBF members; 6 – this part will present problems that appeared during gathering of the fieldwork material and the likely causes of these difficulties (those that were not inherent to the method); 7 – sampling, which will give insight into the process of gathering respondents; 8- the status of theoretical concepts – which will describe the status of theoretical concepts in GT research.

2.1. Choice of Method and its Advantages

As it was mentioned above this research aims to profoundly analyze the field that is fairly unknown in order to determine the variables that play important roles in this field. Qualitative research specifically fits this aim. Qualitative methods are flexible – in the process of progressive focusing researcher adjust data collection if he is convinced that additional concepts have to be investigated²⁷. Qualitative methods always balance between literal, reflexive (based on researcher interpretations and focus) and interpretative (resulting from the tension between literal and reflexive) reading of data²⁸.

GT fits particularly well to the social phenomena that are new, unexplored or dynamic. Our subject is not completely a new one but there were few comparative studies made to this day; a noticeable one was conducted by Dølvik and Eldrignig²⁹. What is more this research is focused primarily on the role of the labour union in the integration of immigrant workers. As it appears this topic was not problematized sufficiently in respect to the Poles in Norway.

GT allows the researcher to pay more attention to the emerging categories, instead of working with pre-organized concepts. It allows to explore these categories or concepts that have emerged in the process of collecting and analyzing data (during and after fieldwork).

The collection of data in GT should be preceded by theoretical sampling. The last concept

²⁷ See. Parlett, M. & Hamilton, D. (1976). *Evaluation as Illumination: A New Approach to the Study of Innovative Programmes*. In Glass, D. (eds.) *Evaluation Studies Review Annual*. Vol 1. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. pp.140-157.

²⁸ See. Miller, W. L. & Crabtree, B. F. (1999). *The dance of interpretation*. In Crabtree, B. F. & Miller, W. L. *Doing Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. pp.127-143.

²⁹ See. Dølvik J. E. & Eldrignig L. (2008). *Mobility of labour from new EU States to the Nordic Region – Development trends and consequences*. TemaNord 2008.

describes the process of gathering respondents on the basis of their 'attractiveness' for research³⁰. This aims to grasp possible opinions and attitudes towards the investigated field. Many other methods are focused on inductive or deductive way of gathering data and analysis. GT allows to analyze data with the use of both approaches. This facilitates not only testing the integrity of the developed categories and confronting them with the data but also, as it was mentioned above, influences the process of data collection. The newly 'included' phenomena can extend the initial focus of research and direct attention of the researcher to new concepts:

.... Grounded Theory is a way of thinking about the data – process of conceptualization – of theorizing from data, so that the end result is theory that scientist produces from data collected by interviewing and observing everyday life³¹

Adjective 'grounding' points to the place of departure – from bottom to top, that is from basic categories (*in vivo categories*) to abstract ones; with constant process of 'returning' from abstract categories to the data.

Nevertheless, grounded theory is still a method that can vary from one depiction to another. In order to avoid misunderstandings it will be presented, in short, what type of 'grounding' applies in this research.

Grounding generally means to base on information that comes directly from the field or to explain answers given by the respondents with deductively developed categories. Formulation of each category should have solid bases.

The process of grounding will be presented below. Firstly, I will shortly present other key features of GT.

One of such is *triangulation* that is 'the possibility of using different research methods to investigate the same idea or concept from different viewpoints³². This means that mixing of an interview with, for example – an observation does not cause a methodological problem but is an additional source of information. *Triangulation* enriches research by showing different sides of the phenomenon; which is impossible in case of other methods.

Coding is a procedure that allows to reformulate emerging thread into more generalized

³⁰ See. Gibson W. J. & Brown A. (2009), *Working with Qualitative Data*. SAGE. p.56.

³¹ Morse, J.M. *et al.* (2009). *Developing Grounded Theory. The Second Generation*, LEFT COAST PRESS INC, p.18

³² See. Gibson W. J. & Brown A. (2009), *op.cit.* p. 28.

category. It is divided into 3 levels: 1) open coding; 2) axial coding; 3) selective coding³³.

Open coding is the initial step; it will usually describe the meaning of a sentence. In this process, the fieldwork material will be translated into initial categories or 'labeled'³⁴. Here, the method obliges us to name a category that will point directly to the subject, topic or state that it describes; or to create category *in vivo*, that is to use a phrase or a metaphor that is present as a meaningful in the interview³⁵.

Axial Coding is the process of linking categories that have emerged in open coding. Linking of different codes is essential in discovering interrelations between them. In this process data is transformed into a model³⁶. Here also lies the strength of the method; by describing interrelations between the codes we can discover dynamics of the field.

Selective coding is a process where a researcher defines *core category*. This category is essential for the research problem and focuses on most of the interrelations developed in the previous process. In other words, this stage tries to combine demands of research with the findings by 'filtering' developed categories in respect of the research subject. However, it is necessary to notice that all the categories are created by specific context of topic. Some of them are more relevant for the study than others. Therefore GT will always be dependent on researcher's experience and background:

...categories and categorization depend on our conceptual understanding of the world, rather than on similarity between characteristics³⁷.

As such, GT shares some of the limitations of qualitative methods – it presents one picture of the social reality in interdependence with researcher's understanding of it. Nevertheless, it exceeds one, particular phenomenon and allows to form falsifiable hypothesis about larger scale social reality.

Although GT is the main method in this research, it seemed unavoidable to support this method with elements of case studies research. During the analysis there were missing links between respondents answers and legal regulations. Therefore it was necessarily, in a few cases, to detach from

³³This approach differs from original concept of constant comparison described by Glaser and Strauss (See. Glaser and Strauss, (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Hawthorne, NY.

³⁴ See., Robson, C. (2002), *Real World Research* [2nd ed.], Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd. 493

³⁵ See. Hennink, M., Hutter, I. & Bailey, A. (2011). *Qualitative Research Methods*, Sage, p. 223.

³⁶ See. Robson, (2002) *op. cit.* p.494-495.

³⁷ Dey, I. (2007), *Grounding Categories*; [in] [ed.] Bryant, A & Charmaz, K (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*; Sage. p.170.

the data analysis to legal documents regulating vocational education and professional skills recognition³⁸. This allowed to shed light on important information placed in the background of interviews.

2.2. Research tools and problems met by the researcher

With all the advantages of grounded theory, it obviously creates a lot of problems with transferring it into practice. In this section I will present problems inherent to the method that appeared in this research.

It is hard for a person that does not have much experience in fieldwork to start investigations with barely described field of research. The method demands from the researcher to stay alert and avoid unnecessary preparations. So what question should be asked? As Strauss and Corbin wrote:

Every type of inquire rests on the asking of effective questions...³⁹

In order to limit unnecessary preparations - two primary support tools were created. The first is semi-structured interview, the other - focus groups. Two tools inherent to the method were used after the conduction of interviews – memo writing and situational maps drawing.

In the beginning an introductory interview with an expert was conducted. This was aimed at developing necessary information about relevant aspects of the investigated field. After fieldwork, a second interview was undertaken with the same expert. This was aimed at putting more light on LU's point of view on sensitive matters that were found in analysis.

On this basis semi-structured interviews were created. The questions referred not only to areas defined in the first interview but also to the history of respondents, their knowledge about Norway, conflict cases and their resolutions (breach of labour law, general problems at work), time off activities, plans for the future, known languages and their families. Here are a few examples of questions related to the defined areas: 1) Have you ever needed help of Labour Unions and, if yes, in what kind of situation was it?; What kind of qualifications do you posses? Are they recognized in Norway?; What do

³⁸ Which is available in case studies methodology. (See. Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods*, Continuum, p.3.

³⁹ Strauss, A. L. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basis of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. London Sage. p.73.

you expect from Labour Unions?; Do you know what kind of rights you attain after some period of time?; etc.

The aim of those questions that are not directly focused on the relations between Labour Unions and workers is to achieve a larger picture of the situation in terms of workers' social situation, personal history and social activity. All of these factors could influence the way of describing the relation with an organization.

The other support tool - focus groups, was aimed to compare answers that were initially formed in the interviews. This tool aims to confront different opinions about unions and experiences with unions and should clarify what is the core feature. It should also reveal reasons behind decisions about membership and reasons why non-members decided not to join unions. Focus group methodology also allows to analyze a discussion in different ways. However, for the purpose of this research pressure will be put on pragmatic content analysis - that is what was said and why⁴⁰.

In order to represent possible aspects of this study, respondents were divided into two groups: members (two participants) and non-members (two participants). The participants were asked to join in a group conversation after the initial interviews. The group interview took place at the bench in the immediate surroundings of participants' place of living. The people selected for this particular group were objects of a previous investigation in interviews and were chosen to present a possible spectrum of answers given during interviews. For this reason, extending the number of participants seemed unnecessary. Focus group, planned for January 2011, was not conducted because of participants' refusal due to employer actions⁴¹.

Secondary support tools were applied to this research after the first interviews – during analysis. The first tool - *memo writing* is a well established element of GT and it aims to help the researcher to describe findings and elements that s/he should pay more attention to. The other tool used in the analysis were *situational maps*. This tool aims to support axial coding by visualization of interrelations between different elements of data.

Although research was aimed to describe relations between Polish construction workers and Labour Unions, by some this could be viewed as between members and LU, some interviews were conducted with non-members. Those were aimed to disclose attitudes of those workers that decided not

⁴⁰ Except pragmatic content analysis it also allows to focus on semantic aspects of a discussion (designation analysis – frequency of objects occurring; attribution analysis – frequency of characterization of objects; assertion analysis – frequency of certain characterization occurring) as well as sign-vehicle analysis – classifies content in accordance with the psychophysical properties of signs (See. Stewart & Shamdasami (1990), *Focus Groups. Theory and Practice*, Sage. p.107)

⁴¹ See. Chapter 4 section 4 - situation after the strike.

to join this organization and their reasons for this. Such a comparative outlook on both groups of Polish construction workers minority can give us a wider view on the efficiency of steps taken by Labour Unions in gathering minority members.

As this research touches sensitive subjects (social equality) it might be necessary to fill up possible gaps in the interviews by referring to documents and regulations. Although it might be unavoidable I will refrain from deeper analysis of such secondary data sources.

2.3. Placement of Researcher's Background and Experience in Research.

Placement of researcher's own experience in grounded theory is a matter of argument. The author of this research followed similar path of integration and had contacts with various organizations as respondents. There is obviously a will to transfer some of those experiences into research, especially when something was not said *explicite* by the respondents for example due to lack of necessary knowledge to name it but the discussion was circling around it. Holiday says that it may add sensitivity to such research and that it also adds 'political dimension' to it⁴².

On the other hand Gibson, after Mathison, proves that experience is a rather poor foundation for an epistemology. This is because:

There is a tendency to generalize from 'natural kind' experience to properties of a group's experiences as a whole when it's well known that experience between groups can often vary dramatically⁴³.

Therefore, he says that in the field of critical grounded theory promotion of subject's perspective changes the nature of questions from epistemological to emancipatory perspective – how we can differ from things that enslave us. Such a ground, although important and interesting, plays however lesser role in this research. Consequently, I will refrain from this kind of proceedings.

If researcher's own experience should at all be taken into account, he can be seen as a spokesman of the silent. Workers can be seen as silent when confronted with organizations even in their

⁴² See. Holiday A. (2007). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*, (2nd eds.) SAGE. p. 116.

⁴³ Gibson B, (2007), *Accommodating Critical Theory*; [in] [ed.] Bryant, A & Charmaz, K (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*; Sage. p.448.

homeland - due to the lack of necessary experience or competences. Therefore it is my will to properly address their needs and opinions.

2.4. Ethical proceedings

In order to protect respondents a number of measures was taken. Interviews were video recorded. This tool increased distrust towards me and my aims. To overcome this problem all the respondents were ensured that their recordings would be used only for purpose of research and the access to them would be strictly limited. What is more, the camera was placed in such a way as not to include respondents' faces. The idea of using a video camera was chosen for, at least, two reasons: 1) to memorize the interviews and their circumstances better – this could facilitate catching nuances in responses; 2) to assess on a basic level the coherence of respondent's opinion and his body language⁴⁴

Another protection measure was informing the respondents that they would be given common Polish name that was not their own. This measure was taken on an explicit request of one of the respondents. This was then extended to all respondents.

For purely ethical reasons the focus group was not taken under investigation - members of this group were under influence of alcohol. Their state did not raise doubts of them being capable of participating in an interview. Nevertheless taking this group into consideration could cause doubts about reliability of their answers – they could have been dictated by some personal issues towards Labour Union office workers. As such, in order to protect their interests on the one hand and not to jeopardize scientific clearness of research on the other, they were not included into further analysis.

⁴⁴Certainly to assess such states properly the researcher has to have necessary skills. I have some psychological background that in my opinion is sufficient. During my studies I had a number of courses that I think allow me to assess such basic coherence correctly – 1) Transactional Analysis; 2) Negotiations; 3) Post graduate studies in psychology in management. The first course was introducing conflict situations between people and their resolutions– a lot of attention was paid to behavior also in physical aspect. The second course described the social aspects of negotiations and various strategies based on Cognitive Sciences. Last program took one year and was dedicated to methods used in assessment of a candidate for a particular job. Despite this, the use of this method will be limited to basic situations, for example when respondent instead of giving verbal answer gives it by shaking his head, or his posture clearly shows some state (for. Example hands put on back of head, posture open and smiling – a sign of satisfaction).

2.5. The Access to the Respondents and the Choice of the LU

Access to the respondents was facilitated by the contact with the LU. The first step was to choose relevant organization. After getting information on active Labour Unions in FAFO – Norwegian research foundation specializing in migration, integration, labour and social welfare among others – a decision was made to conduct research among members of Oslo Bygningsarbeiderforening (OBF – Oslo Construction Workers Union). This union has a noticeable number of immigrant members.

After this I contacted a person responsible for contacts with Polish labour union members (PLUMs) and Poles in general. This person was granted the status of an expert in this study. This union official has 4 years experience of contacts with Polish workers.

Through this source I got in touch with the regional contact person that directly contacted me with a Polish shop steward – the only respondent that allowed me to publish his personal data.

Snowball sampling was applied to gain respondents. As it was mentioned earlier, the interviews were conducted in workers' place of residence – the labour barrack in _____ area. One more person contacted me with a group of over 50 Polish workers form the Oslo County. He also informed the workers about my arrival two weeks before scheduled fieldwork.

Some explanations for taking research in this organization have to be given. The main reason for choosing that organization was its good results in gaining minority members and especially Polish workers. The second reason was my will to get in contact with an organization that stays active in this field. Another reason for taking this LU under analysis is that it could be expected that the level of cooperation will be greater than elsewhere. Federalization of Norwegian Labour Unions allows great diversity between particular organizations. This research partly aims to examine how good relations and perceptions of activities taken by Labour Union can be. On the other hand it would be impossible to examine such relations if an organization that did nothing or just a little towards integration of labour migrants.

2.6. Problems Met in the Field

This section will present a number of problems that were met during research and their possible causes. Those problems occurred unexpectedly and might have influenced the results of this research. For this reason I decided to present them in the methodological part.

The first problem that occurred was the reluctance of the respondents. Information about my arrival was given to the Polish workers 2 weeks before the date of fieldwork. Enthusiasm of the workers was not expected, but very often I had problems exchanging few introductory words with some of the inhabitants. As it turned out during interviews the cause for this was an ongoing conflict between two fractions of Poles. The conflict arose precisely around the attitude towards LU caused by participation in a strike and a lack of positive results of this involvement on the one hand: and punishments that meet some of the workers on the other.

This initially hampered my contact with one of the group. Overcoming this problem was combined with the role of a stranger in the community described below.

The second problem was related to my recording tool – a video camera. As it appears it increased reluctance towards participation in the interviews. From the very beginning, I expected that recording could cause some frictions, nonetheless I predicted that during the initial phase of talks this would be overcome in most of the cases, especially after explaining the purposes of this research to the respondents.

To cope with these problems in every case, after introducing myself and describing the purposes of research, I always asked workers for their permission to record. I ensured respondents that recordings would be available only for me. After the third interview I also ensured all the respondents that the recordings would not include their faces, unless they wanted it. This step brought positive results and easier access to respondents.

The third odd that I had to overcome was distrust towards my intentions and my 'real' purposes. That can be summarized as the role of a stranger. Some of the potential respondents seemed to treat me as a possible spy of LUs, an employer or a member of some other group. To deal with this attitude I decided to present myself and my research in 3 aspects: 1) I'm a Polish student from Tromsø – this

could generate disinterest among possible respondents because they could think of research as purely academic, but on the other hand it lowered initial distrust and reminded the respondents about similar cultural background (being a Pole); 2) This research will be available to FAFO - Norwegian Research Foundation⁴⁵ – this stage was initialized when the respondents gave some premises that they did not take research seriously. Although I tried to avoid this stage and finally, after rejecting the second focus group, it was used only two times; 3) I'm a worker/baker – as a self-financing student I have to work physically – this was aimed to create affiliations as me being one of them (a worker). The last aspect was the most effective one and it helped me to overcome workers' reluctance in those cases where I could introduce it.

2.7. Theoretical Sampling

One of the most important procedures during fieldwork is to gather material in such a manner so as to present the most contrastive opinions on the investigated subject. The reason behind this is to avoid one-sided opinions that would not be representative for a larger group. Here, I have to notice that GT will not produce objective data because it is unavailable to this method. Nevertheless, its object is to produce 'rich data' that could give the researcher a detailed insight into the spectrum of the investigated phenomenon that emerged during fieldwork⁴⁶.

At the beginning, an interview with the expert was conducted in order to establish important facts and problems that Poles voiced to the LU official. On the basis of the first interview analysis a few important issues were established: wage level, perception of LU activity by the workers, communication channels with Poles.

Further analysis of a few more interviews narrowed down the scope of research; as it turned out, both PLUMs and non-members were employed in the temporary work agencies. To deepen the first findings I investigated opinions of those respondents who had short and long period of residence exceeding 18 months, which was set as a timeframe necessary to get basic knowledge about Norwegian labour market.

After next three interviews and their analysis, an effort was taken to gather opinions of Poles

⁴⁵ This has to be explained, This form of introduction was available because of the supervision over this thesis by Jon Horgen Friberg – researcher at FAFO – Norwegian Research Foundation.

⁴⁶ See. Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*, Sage. pp.18-19.

that had period as LUMs and non-members. Those opinions could indicate reasons for resignation and problems related to it. A few new fields appeared - work qualifications and lack of their recognition in Norway, knowledge about labour market and sources of information about it.

In order to explore the possible differences between 'more' and 'less' integrated workers I started to look for the respondents with families in Norway. Those who had families were expected to have longer time of residence and better recognition of the labour market.

To deepen the findings a group interview was conducted with four respondents who gave the most varying responses.

I was unable to gather focus group in January because of actions taken by the employer⁴⁷.

2.8. Status of Theory in the Study

The next chapter introduces to the reader theoretical concepts that appeared during analysis. They have not been pre-constructed but evolved during analysis. They have *sensitizing* character, that is:

...A sensitizing concept lacks such specification of attributes or bench marks and consequently it does not enable the user to move directly to the instance and its relevant content. Instead, it gives the user a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances⁴⁸.

In other words, all theoretical concepts presented in the following chapter appeared in data collected. Their role is not to describe data but to guide through it, that is to show common threads that data could lead to; however:

It is important to bear in mind that whereas sensitizing concepts might alert researchers to some important aspects of research situations, they also might direct attention away from other important aspects (...) In any case, the ultimate survival of a sensitizing concept 'depends on where data takes us; emerging concepts may be supplement or displace them altogether'⁴⁹.

⁴⁷ See. Chapter 4 section 4 - Situation after the Strike.

⁴⁸ Blumer, H. (1954). *What is wrong with social theory?* American Sociological Review, 18, p.7; after Bowen G.L. (2006). *Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts*, International Journal of Qualitative Methods 5 (3) September. p.2.

⁴⁹ Bowen G.L. (2006). *Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts*, International Journal of Qualitative Methods 5 (3) September. p.3.

As such, data is the ultimate source of development for this research. The following chapter will describe a few sensitizing concepts that appeared (during) and guided this research. All of them have their background in the collected material.

3. Theory

In this part I will focus on categories that, as it appears at the moment, will have impact on this research. As it was previously stated, the methodology of grounded theory demands from the researcher openness to emerging categories of the field. This results in an impossibility to fully conceptualize the theoretical background before research. According to bottom-up methods the key elements should be organized or raised from data material and not from prior conceptualization. Therefore all the definitions set forth in this chapter have only sensitizing character⁵⁰. Their purpose is to frame the research field, clarify meanings of the notions used in the conceptualization process and guide research through possible frames and paths. However, all the concepts described in this research were confronted with the data.

3.1. Category of Segmentation

The first sensitizing concept that will be presented is the category of *segmentation*. On the national level segmentation describes stratification of the workers into two groups - skilled and

⁵⁰ See. Charmaz, K. (2006), *op. cit.* pp.17-18.

unskilled – and marks out borders of access to wealth and new technologies⁵¹. This concept also has second, international dimension. In Michael J. Priors depiction it takes the shape of a *dual labor-market hypothesis*⁵². It divides the economy of a recipient country into two parts (segments or sectors) – the primary one, largely reserved for the native workers and the secondary one were migrants are to be found. Jobs of both sectors are divided by fundamental dichotomy: secondary sector is typically labour intensive, with standardized, repetitive tasks; while primary sector is typically capital intensive. It demands higher skills due to constant changes in the process of production and usage of technologies. The first sector is characterized by low impact of economic declines due to the mentioned skills but also due to organized pressures that limit the possibilities to layoff workers. The secondary sector constitutes 'means of evasion'. Here restrictions, in respect to dismiss or layoff, are not so strict and protection tools are often unavailable for labour unions. It also is a part of the labour market which is exposed to declines. Fluctuations in this sector are seasonal to some extent. Dual labor-market hypothesis also explains why it is in primary sector workers' interest to fight for a minimum wage and institutional restrictions on migration. Those are simply protection tools against the expansion of the secondary sector to jobs that used to belong to the primary segment⁵³.

It is necessary to underline that segmentation is closely interrelated to migration, as:

...employers want friendly workers over surly ones, deferential over rebellious, cooperative over combative— sifting and straining to select the former and screen out the latter. In short, employers discriminate in favor of those workers seen as most likely to get the job done on the employers terms'. Put somewhat differently, high among employers' preferences— and hence, among their criteria for selection— rank workers who are accepting of their station, and are least likely to challenge the employers' definition of the situation⁵⁴.

Migrants, with low social capital, are dependent on their employer in a far greater way than native workers. As such, they are favored in those types of jobs that have menial character. Such

⁵¹ Both of these terms are combined with development of new working class after II World War. Access to wealth has its roots in British definition of *Affluent Worker* developed by Goldthrope; and new technologies are rooted in French definition of new working class employed in most modern branches of the industry. Both categories are two ways of explaining differentiation inside working class. See. Grdawski, J. (1996). *Przyzwolenie ograniczone. Robotnicy wobec rynku I demokracji*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, pp.20-23.

⁵² Prior, M. J., (1979), *Birds of Passage. Migrant labor and industrial societies*, Cambridge University Press, pp.35-43

⁵³ Ibid. p.42.

⁵⁴ Waldinger, R. D., Lichter, M. I. (2003). *How the Other Half Works : Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*. Ewing, NJ, USA, University of California Press, p. 145. <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/tromsoub/Doc?id=10051161&ppg=160>

obsequiousness is especially important for temporary work agencies which are more susceptible to recessions.

On the other hand, segmentation has its cause in the reluctance of native workers to perform low-paid, menial work⁵⁵. This situation creates workplaces for immigrants that are willing to take those jobs. Such state of affairs is beneficial to the immigrants that migrate temporarily in order to earn money for the realization of their plans. For those immigrants that are willing to settle, it forms a *glass ceiling* for promotions or work alternatives at all.

Segmentation describes a set of phenomena voiced by the respondents – lack of stable work, low wages, manufacturing/physical positions at work, lack of accreditation of their professional skills etc. Segmentation also put some light to the description of employment in temporary work agencies (second sector); and guided this study to questions about legal status of migrant professional skills raised by the respondents.

Having described the notion of segmentation I will now focus on LUs attitudes towards migration. This will give some insight into possible positions which can be taken by labour organizations.

3.2. Interpretations of Labour Organizations

Respondents complained on the lack of the LU activities. On the other hand, OBF seemed to do a lot to provide services in the scope of its activities. This discrepancy formed a foundation for the second theoretical concept used in this research – typology of LU approaches towards immigrants.

As it was said in the Introduction, new waves of Polish migration have started flowing in since 2004. On this basis I assumed that the huge scale of inequalities in treatment would be noticed by now by the media or by the researchers. Therefore the starting point in the analysis of LUs attitudes towards migrants will be the description of 'minimum position' in equal treatment of immigrants and ethnic minorities. I will adopt Martens definition of 'minimum position' in equal treatment, described as:

guaranteeing access, advancement, training, pay, and the like for all jobs in all sectors without restrictions or limitations for all immigrants or foreigners who already reside, for specific period of

⁵⁵ See. Prior, M. J., (1979), *Birds of Passage op. cit.* p.3.

time, in the host country (...) It must be said, however, that trade unions seem to have difficulty in coming to grips with equal treatment⁵⁶

This is the basis for interpretation of Wrench's typology of LUs approaches towards migrants⁵⁷. This classification defines four different approaches that are build one on another from the basic position described above.

The first stage – *the equal treatment approach* – gives migrants and native workers the same rights. Fairness is 'achieved' because everyone is treated in the same way – it is classic 'color-blind' approach. This attitude does not recognize any additional tools to protect migrants. *Implicite* it is believed that immigrants have the same knowledge and abilities to assert their rights as native workers. Wrench says such a case about 'assumed formal equal treatment' and that '...initially, even measures against discrimination were seen to be unacceptable⁵⁸'. The reason behind this was a belief that such a right could be regarded as a privilege and that this could cause opposite result than planned.

The second approach – *the 'level playing field'* – differs from the previous one in the recognition of basic differences between the situations of native and migrant workers. According to Wrench, LUs over the 1980s and 1990s, came to conclusion that the former policy retained huge groups of immigrants in inferior sections of employment market. Thus, there is a need to introduce minimal rights that would remove unfair barriers⁵⁹.

The third approach – *the equal opportunities* - recognizes that there is a fundamental difference between situation of native and immigrant workers and that passive policy is not sufficient. Pro-active policy includes, for example affirmative actions that are to counteract structural discrimination. This approach urges to make extra effort towards the inclusion of immigrants or minorities that are under-represented to 'join the union or stand for union posts⁶⁰'. Controversies around this approach have been raised partly because of types of actions that could be undertaken by unions, for example 'helping migrants compete for work on a more equal footing with others in the labour market'⁶¹. It also demands from LUs to identify members by their ethnic background.

⁵⁶ Martens, A. (1995). *Migratory movements, the position, the outlook: charting theory and practice for trade unions*, [in] J. Wrench, A. Rea & N.Ouali (eds.). *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and Labour Market: Integration and Exclusion in Europe*, Macmillan, London, 1999, p.224.

⁵⁷ Wrench, J. (2004). *Breakthroughs and blind spots. Trade union responses to immigrants and ethnic minorities in Denmark and UK*, FAFO. pp.31-34.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p.32.

⁵⁹ See. Ibid.

⁶⁰ See. Ibid. pp.32-33.

⁶¹ Ibid.

The fourth approach – *the equal outcome* – is a radical approach that aims to achieve short-term results in proportional representation of migrants in the labour organizations. In this kind of policy LU can favour minority or migrant workers or reserve places in decision making bodies even with a breach of democratic procedures in order to achieve democratic representation of the under-represented minorities in the union. That is also feature that distinguishes this approach from the former one. This approach is purely theoretical and it has never been applied in practice. Some elements of it were introduced in the USA (numerical goals and targets) but as a complete policy it exists only in theory. The obvious reason for this is the mentioned breach of democratic procedures such as elections. This kind of policy could, and probably would, be seen by native workers as unfair and therefore it would reduce the popularity of a union (at least in terms of a number of native members). It could also result in strengthening antagonism between both groups⁶².

These four approaches towards migrants and minorities can be now employed to define four types of organizations on the basis of migrant reception of contacts with the LUs. Our starting point will be *the ordinary organization*. This type of organization gives the same rights to minorities or migrants and to the native workers but it does nothing to investigate if minorities or migrants meet different obstacles in their work-life. From migrant's point of view such a LU is indistinguishable from other organizations in respect to the contacts with it.

The second type of organization – *the friendly organization* – recognizes some problems in the integration of migrants and introduces some counteractions to avoid unfair barriers. A change from previous policy to this one results with better reception of the organization from migrant's point of view.

The third type – *the pro-activating organization* – recognizes fundamental differences between native and migrant workers. Such a LU introduces policies that aim to activate and include migrants into the labour market and into LU's organizational structure.

The fourth type – *the 'positively discriminative' organization* – such an organization would favour migrants or minorities in the labour market and union posts up to the time when under-representation would not be an issue anymore. Such an organization could be rejected by both groups. Native workers would reject membership because of the breach of democratic order, while migrants could be reluctant to take posts that would demand higher qualifications (for example in respect to language skills). As in *the equal outcome* the aim of such an organization would be to achieve equal

⁶² See. Ibid. pp.33-34.

representation as soon as possible.

This typology gives possibility to ascribe certain type of attitudes of immigrants to one of types of LU. According to it, it is expected that migrants would have: generally bad opinion about *ordinary* organization as they would not be able to get into contact with such an organization; rather bad opinions about *friendly* organization as the level of help received could be unsatisfying; rather positive or neutral attitude towards *pro-activating* LUs because of the influence obtained by the immigrant members; positive or very positive opinions about '*positively discriminative*' organization due to involved resources and its focus on immigrants, but rather negative or neutral attitudes towards taking posts that demand higher social skills which, at the beginning, immigrants do not have. The gathered material revealed however one assumption of this typology – that is at communication channels are efficient.

3.3. Integration/Structural Assimilation with the Labour Market

Integration is a complex theme that has been discussed largely in humanities. In this study I will restrict this vast field to aspects that are important for the labour market. What does it mean then 'to be integrated with a labour market'? To answer this question I had to find an answer to another one – what is the aim of integration with a labour market?

Respondents described their integration in negative terms, by defining barriers – as lack of language skills, limited leisure activities - restricted to the nationality-based group, lack of knowledge about institutions and basic rights (social benefits, health care, taxation or types of contracts) etc. As it could be expected, those of respondents that resided in Norway longer had different strategies of coping with these problems than those with shorter residence. Therefore this part will describe integration in 3 steps: firstly, I will describe one type of the classic definition of assimilation, in particular I will focus on structural assimilation described by Milton M. Gordon⁶³. This definition will provide background for the further description of integration with the labour market. Secondly, I will focus on barriers that immigrants encounter in the labour market described by Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich and Zelzer-Zubida⁶⁴. The analysed types of obstacles will sensitize this study to two significant areas

⁶³ Gordon, M. (1964). *Assimilation of American Life. The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, Oxford University Press, New York.

⁶⁴ Heilbrunn, S., Kushnirovich, N., Zeltzer-Zubida, A. (2010). *Barriers to immigrants' integration into the labor market: modes and coping*, International Journal of Intercultural Relations 32 (2010). pp.244-252.

that could have influence on the perception of LU's activities. Thirdly, I will refer to Friberg's stages/strategies of migration among Polish workers in Norway that will shed more light to explanation of sometimes even contradictory strategies undertaken by migrants⁶⁵.

3.3.1. Structural Integration

In his studies on assimilation Gordon defines 7 different types of assimilation⁶⁶ out of which the second – structural assimilation - has direct significance for the integration with a labour market.

Structural assimilation:

...refers to the entrance of the immigrants and their descendants into the social cliques, organizations, institutional activities, and general civic life of the receiving society (...)on the one hand, those activities of general civic life which involve earning a living, carrying out political responsibilities, and engaging in the instrumental affairs of the larger community, and, on the other hand, activities which create personal friendship patterns, frequent home intervisiting, communal worship and communal recreation. The first type usually develops so-called 'secondary relationships', which tend to be relatively impersonal and segmental; the latter type leads to 'primary relationships', which are warm, intimate, and personal.⁶⁷

This quote, as we can see, touches two different aspects: the immigrants' ability to establish personal ties with native people; and their knowledge about/participation in the social system of the recipient country (in particular - institutions). Both aspects provide some hints to the question how to investigate the existing socioeconomic system on the one hand; and what are the social contacts of migrants on the other. The first question refers directly to the migrants' competences of coping with problems connected to the rights and duties that they acquire during their residence and work; while the other is an indicator of social competences (for example poor language skills that could create barrier for establishing new friendships with natives).

⁶⁵ Friberg, J. H., (2012, forthcoming). *Migration, settlement and return among Polish workers in Norway*, forthcoming in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.

⁶⁶ 1)acculturation, 2)structural assimilation, 3)amalgamation, 4)identificational assimilation, 5)attitude receptional, 6)behavior receptional assimilation, 7)civic assimilation. See. Table1. *The Assimilation Variables* p.169. [in] Gordon. M (1978). *Human nature, Class and Ethnicity*. New York, Oxford University Press.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p.203.

Therefore the aim of the integration of migrant workers with the labour market is to overcome all obstacles that make their situation different from the one of native workers in respect to occupational life. Structural integration for an immigrant worker means attaining similar level of knowledge about institutions (or sources of information about them) and similar rights that characterize native workers.

There is however one important distinction between individual and structural barriers that has to be noticed here. It will be presented in the section below.

3.3.2. Barriers for Integration – Structural and Individual

This section will present two types of barriers that immigrants meet in the process of integration with a labour market. Research conducted by Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida is particularly interesting because it analyses differences in obstacles met by visible and look-a-like migrants in Israel – Ethiopians and migrants from Former Soviet Union⁶⁸. The analysed study defines two types of obstacles that are met by the immigrants – 'resource disadvantages'(objective) and 'labour market disadvantages' (subjective). Both categories have their sources in Light's and Rosenstein's book⁶⁹; the first group of obstacles is connected to 'resource disadvantage' and it includes: competition, problems deriving from macro-economic environment, lack of social networks, lack of experience in the host country, differences in mentality, lack of adequate work because of the host country's labour market structure and language problems⁷⁰. The second group of difficulties is connected to 'labour market disadvantages' such as – prejudice, expenditures involved in searching for work (here for example - information search, assistance in writing applications, adequate clothing), availability of information sources and unfamiliarity with corporate country, lack of education or professional skills, initial settlement resources and distance to the requested workplace⁷¹. The first type of obstacles is connected with personal shortages or inadequacies; while the other can be called 'environment characteristic' and it goes beyond the influence of an individual. Of course there can be reasonable doubts about Poles as a 'visible minority'. However, I will argue that the conceptualization undertaken by Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida did not consider differences of both 'groups' well

⁶⁸ See. Heilbrunn, S., Kushnirovich, N., Zeltzer-Zubida, A. (2010). *Barriers to immigrants'* op. cit.

⁶⁹ See. Light, I., Rosenstein, C. (1995). *Race, ethnicity, and enterprenership in urban America*, Aldine de Gruyter.

⁷⁰ Heilbrunn, S., Kushnirovich, N., Zeltzer-Zubida, A. (2010). *Barriers to immigrants'* op. cit. p.246.

⁷¹ Ibid.

enough and is insufficient⁷².

It is particularly interesting that 'subjective disadvantages' have appeared in Norwegian environment in respect to Polish construction workers. Two types of market disadvantages will provide theoretical framework for ascribing obstacles either to the side of personal deficiencies or to the side of 'environment characteristics'.

There are significant differences between migrants with short and those with long period of residence. To explain those differences I will refer to the stages of migration and strategies connected with them.

3.3.3. Stages of Migration and Strategies of Adaptation

This section will present stages of migration described by J. H. Friberg and the strategies connected with them⁷³. The classical depiction of migration describes the process of arrival of immigrants and their way towards complete assimilation with the host society⁷⁴. On the other hand, there has been unfounded conviction about temporal dimension of the new European migrations⁷⁵. Friberg describes three stages of migration, their aims and migrant strategies that are used on each of stage. These stages can be used for explaining different and perhaps contradictory activities of migrants' integration process.

The first, *the initial stage*, is characterized by lack of control over one's own situation⁷⁶.

⁷² Authors of *Barriers to immigrants...* conclude that '*different groups of immigrants came up against different barriers in the labor market. Objective barriers were more important for FSU immigrants and subjective ones – for Ethiopians immigrants. Although all immigrants were disadvantaged in the labor market, the mode of how immigrants dealt with the barriers derived not only from the novice status of immigrants but also depended upon particular characteristic of the immigrant ethnic group, which is especially important when relating to visible minorities*'. (Ibid. p.251). It is possible that migrants from Former Soviet Union (FSU), being atomized, acted on the basis of individual abilities/inabilities therefore it was more important for them to overcome personal deficiencies (level of immigrants with high education can be a good indicator for this interpretation). Ethiopians, who migrated to the industrialized country, could have had bigger problems with finding their place in the new environment. Therefore they could blame environmental factors for their low status (again, level of education gives some hints for this interpretation). Finally the reader is unable to tell on what basis FSU and Ethiopian migrants were given a status of one group. It appears that they form two separate categories. As I tried to prove it is not so obvious that lack of migrant 'visibility' will reduce obstacles that one has to overcome only to the 'resource disadvantages' type.

⁷³ Firberg, J. H., (2012, forthcoming). *Migration, settlement...*, op.cit.

⁷⁴ See. Gordon. M (1978). *Human nature, Class and Ethnicity*. op.cit. pp. 166-167.

⁷⁵ Here we can mention Favell's 'regional free movers not immigrants' or 'Okólski's 'incomplete migration'; See. Favell. A. (2008), *The New Face of East-West Migration in Europe*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migrant studies*, 34, 701-716. cited in Firberg, J. H., (2012, forthcoming). *Migration, settlement...*, op.cit.; See. Okólski, M., (1999). *Poland's migration: growing diversity of flows and people*, Prace Migracyjne, 29.

⁷⁶ See. Firberg, J. H., (2012, forthcoming). *Migration, settlement...*, op.cit. p.11.

Migration can be treated instrumentally as a way of solving temporal problems (for example - financial or with acquiring of work) or as a way of realization of desires (building a house, buying a nice car, starting business etc.). What is important here is that migration is very rarely planned to be permanent. Therefore immigrants can be reluctant to integrate at all. This stage is distinguished by strong dependence on the employer (for example in respect to accommodation).

The second stage, *the transnational commuter*, is characterized by '*permanent temporariness*'. Immigrants are in-between. This describes situation of commuters between their social networks in Poland and Norway. This stage is a state of being stuck in disparate socioeconomic contexts. Plans that were the original cause of migration disappeared or their realization extended in time. In the meantime, the situation of being in-between gradually leads to frustration. Integration with the labour market is rather weak. However, immigrants tend to take legal and registered jobs but are marginalized on the labour market⁷⁷. Nevertheless, frustration is not necessarily bad – it can result in further integration with the labour market but it can also be a reason for going back home.

The third stage, *settling down*, is a stage where decision to bind one's future with Norway rather than with Poland has been made. Usually in this stage immigrants achieved certain financial stability that allows them to make plans for the future. Integration, not only with the labour market but also in general, starts to be a priority. With decision about settlement a change in the structure of expenses occurs in 'terms of economic and social expenses'⁷⁸. I assume that in this stage immigrants can be willing to invest in Norwegian credentials even if they had similar ones but Polish before. Yet financial stability and full-time job is not sufficient to consider migrants' integration to be completed.

What does it mean then to be integrated with a labour market? From the perspective of a minority, it means entering into social cliques, instrumental affairs and carrying out political responsibilities etc. All of these means that the representatives of a minority in a large number managed to overcome obstacles connected with the 'labor market disadvantages' as well as 'resource disadvantages' and in social categories they tend to associate their future with the host country. In case of an individual integration with the labour market means that s/he managed to overcome his/her 'resource disadvantages'. The person has now sufficient knowledge about social institutions of the host country that allows him/her to interact with natives (in respect to social competences) on equal footing.

⁷⁷ See. Ibid. p.12.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

4.Data Presentation and Analysis

4.1. Introduction to the Description of Categories

This research was conducted in the 3rd quarter of 2010. Two additional interviews were made in late January 2011. All the interviews were transcribed into 85 pages of printout. All the interviews were conducted in the Oslo area among Poles employed by employment agencies. The way of getting in touch with the respondents was strongly influenced by Oslo Bygningsarbeiderforening – Oslo Construction Workers Union structure. This option gave me an insight into the activities of the union which is known to be successful in attracting immigrant members. It also raised question about representativeness of this group⁷⁹.

Research will describe relations between three major actors that appeared during the interviews: the LU, the respondents and the labour market. However, before they will be presented it is necessary to describe the context of this research: firstly, labour market in the construction sector; and secondly, the strike and its effects.

⁷⁹ Union could choose such workers that are known to it as ones whose problems had successful ending. However during the interviews all such concerns proved to be unfounded.

4.1.1. Labour Market in the Construction Industry

This study was conducted in the second part of 2010 and at beginning of 2011, that is three years after the beginning of the 'financial crisis'. This meant difficult times for the construction sector as number of contracts received by the companies decreased significantly. Construction workers employed in the temporary work agencies were among the first 'victims' of the crisis. The construction companies in order to protect their employees limited or resigned from hiring workers from the agencies.

The crisis has intensified trends to decrease the number of permanent workers and replace them with more flexible forms of employment. These trends certainly existed in this sector even earlier. Still, most of the Norwegians is employed on permanent contracts while most of the immigrants have more flexible contracts (as replacement, assignment or self-employed). Currently this situation changes as dismissed Norwegian workers are forced to work for the employment agencies.

As we can see in the section describing employment agencies, the number of employed by the temporary work agencies increased in second year of the crisis (2008). Although the table describes employed *in toto*, without division on sectors, it shows a stable growth of employment and, what goes with it, increased density of supply of workforce with decrease of demand for it⁸⁰. All of the above suggests that it might be a way of introducing social dumping to the economy.

4.1.2. Strike and its Effects

Situation that influenced attitudes of Polish workers towards LUs was the outbreak of a strike in April 2010. OBF as a part of Fellesforbundet participated in negotiations with NHO concerning regulation of job centers sector. However, some misunderstandings occurred between OBF and PLUMs that thought at there were two aims of negotiations and the strike: 1) introduction of 'fixed contracts' that would entitle them to receive 'vento' – payment for awaiting periods; and 2) raises in salaries.

⁸⁰ As crisis has affected all branches of industry.

Bemanningsbransjen 2010 prinsipavtale (Preliminary Agreement for job centers sector of 2010)⁸¹ regulated among others rules of wage negotiations, layoffs, time off work and contracts; as I shall demonstrate in section 5 – Situation after Strike, not definitively.

Lack of employers' agreement to increase wages was the direct cause of the strike. Around 30,000 construction workers took part in it; Poles participated in it together with the native workers. For Poles the most important postulate was to force the agencies to change the type of contracts given to them – from what respondents called replacement ('*vikariat*') to ordinary full time contracts ('*fixed contracts*'). This was crucial to them as they struggled without commissions for a long time while their employers were hiring new people. Interviewed workers pointed to this directly.

The strike exerted such pressure on the NHO that it agreed to Fellesforbundet (within it OBF) demands. Since 17th April 2010 the minimum wage should increase to 139 NOK/h for unqualified workers and 144.50 for unqualified workers with at least one year experience.

Until mid-September, when fieldwork started, respondents could not point one case of granting a permanent contract known to them. In January the situation deteriorated. The interviewed shop steward for Polish workers reported changes. According to his information, one of the agencies started signing '*fixed contracts*' with Poles but after a short time the agency ceased doing this and few weeks later this company begun to exert pressure on workers with permanent contracts to change them again to former ones ('*vikariat*').

4.1.3. RESPONDENTS/WORKERS

Interviews were conducted during an ongoing conflict inside the Polish community. The conflict had its origins in the outcome of last years' strikes. According to the respondents, the strike had two purposes – 1) raising wages; and 2) introducing permanent contracts into temporal work agencies. The second goal was particularly important to the workers as it would entitle them to receive salaries during periods of stoppage. This study was conducted in two parts - half year (first fieldwork) and 10 months (second fieldwork) after strikes. During first fieldwork, when most of the material was collected, salaries of some of the Polish workers decreased after the strike by few crowns (NOK) per hour, while their Norwegian colleagues employed in construction companies received an increase in

⁸¹ Full text is available(Norwegian only) at <http://213.203.33.181/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Overenskomster/Prinsippavtale-for-bemanningsbransjen/?attachment=true> ; summary available in Polish at <http://213.203.33.181/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Overenskomster/Prinsippavtale-for-bemanningsbransjen-polsk/?attachment=true>).

salaries.

In this research I interviewed 13 Polish workers from the Oslo area. I had to resign from the analysis of two interviews because of sensitive ethical issues. Respondents' age spread between 29 and 56. All of them were more than two years in Norway. A respondent with the shortest time of residence was in Norway for 2.5 years, the one with the longest - 7 years. Their 'way' to Norway varied: one came here as an illegal worker and after half a year started to work legally. The majority of respondents came to Norway with the help of friends. Some of them were recruited by temporary work agencies in Poland and after a period of training found employment in agencies in Norway. At the beginning two of them were employed by Polish companies which operated in Norway. One has found job on the internet. Out of all respondents six were LU members, five were unorganized and one has period as a member and non-member. Most of them had experience in two or three different companies operating in Southern Norway. Five of them were employed only by the agencies. All but two had families in Poland (One had a wife living in Oslo; the other was divorced, but his ex-wife lived in Norway).

4.1.4. LABOUR UNION

The main fields of LU activities, according to the interviewed official, are those that aim to regulate the rules of employment in temporary work agencies. One of their main achievements was signing of Preliminary Agreement for Job Centers Sector (Prinsippavtale)⁸². However, the general trend, from LU's viewpoint, is forcing workers to get temporary contracts (replacement/vikariat or assignments) instead of permanent ones. The former type of contract is more flexible, which means that it is easier to fire an employee and to transfer workers' costs of living to the state. LU has been forcing employment agencies to regulate the status of their employees who worked in construction sector.

Research was conducted among members of the Oslo Bygningsarbeiderforening (OBF) that is associated in a larger LU – Fellesforbundet (that is a member of LO). OBF is a small union. The organization currently has 2,100 active members out of which around 500 are Poles⁸³. OBF is known as a LU that achieved a large success in recruiting Polish workers. In order to define actions undertaken towards integration of Polish workers into OBF structures I have twice interviewed OBF's ombudsman

⁸² Preliminary Agreement for Job Centers Sector/bemanningsbransjen 2010 Prinsippavtale (Overnskomst no.511); http://www.elogit.no/asset/10096/1/10096_1.pdf

⁸³Data from 2010 – 486 with small increase at the beginning of 2011. Data collected in interview with OBF representative.

for Polish workers. Interviews were aimed to: establish what sort of actions had been taken to recruit Poles; define typical problems that Polish members tried to solve with the use of LU's structure; define channels of communication and sort of information sources available in Polish; determine trends and new phenomena that Union sees and tries to deal with in respect to the situation of Polish workers.

4.1.5. EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

Since the year 2000 employment agencies (bemanningsselskaper, vikarbyråer) have started noting a huge increase in their incomes and leased workforce in Norway. The reason for this was the deregulation of Norwegian law that before 1st July 2000 had prohibited the leasing of people (with the exception of clerks). Since then this sector has noted significant growth in the number of companies that offered this type of services (with the exception of decrease in 2008 due to the financial crisis)⁸⁴. This growth was particularly rapid after 2004, that is after the first Eastern EU enlargement. This trend is visible on the example of the public sector presented in the following table⁸⁵:

Table 1. Development in leased workforce in the period 2005-2008 – number of employed				
	2005	2006	2007	2008
Leased workforce	24619	32310	37448	44736

Temporary work agencies, as every private company, aim to increase their profits and decrease costs. Therefore they are interested in the most flexible regulations that would provide them with possibilities to respond to market fluctuations.

The rise in this sector was possible due to the extension of the type of services provided. On their beginning employment agencies provided highly qualified experts worldwide. That was also recognized in Norwegian regulations preceding the change form 1st July 2000. Agencies in Norway followed general European trend in leasing cheap labour force in various sectors of industry. As a member of NHO, temporary work agencies signed Preliminary Agreement for Job Centers Sector

⁸⁴See. Negaard, K.; Tall og fakta om bemanningsbransjen I Norge, Fafo Østforum, publishing date 16.03.2010, pp.5-6; http://www.faf.no/Oestforum/100316/kristine_negaard.pdf

⁸⁵See. Table 3.7 p.28 [in] Munkeby, I. et all: Medvirkning og medbestemmelse I arbeidslivet, Norges offentlige utredninger.

(Prinsippavtale)⁸⁶. This act is the first that set basic obligations on the agencies that previously had not been bound by anything similar. Nevertheless Prinsippavtalen did not set any restrictions that would limit the number of leased workers.

Construction workers constituted the highest number of persons hired by the employment agencies in Norway in 2008. In 2009 they were second⁸⁷. As mentioned in the Introduction, in 2006 - 64% and in 2010 - 58% of Polish workers were employed in this sector⁸⁸. At the moment 22% of Poles in the building market is directly employed by the agencies⁸⁹. One important feature here is the fact that the work is performed not for a direct employer but for another company. The result is almost full flexibility in employment. This situation happens because the majority of employees have temporary contracts (assignments contracts). Another important feature of the growing importance of employment agencies is '...rapidly increasing number of Norwegian temporary work agencies, many of which have specialized in Polish workers after 2004'⁹⁰.

This research was conducted among Polish workers employed in two biggest agencies in Norway. According to the respondents, these agencies are not interested in the introduction of permanent contracts unless they are forced to do so by unions or contractors⁹¹.

4.1.6. Changes in the Scope of Research and Structure of Chapter

The main scope of LUs' activities was changed to conform to the perspective of *Presence of the LU* in the lives of PLUMs. This shifts perspective of the first research question from simple description of activities and their perceptions to deepen consideration of existence of the LU in their life - that is how the LU is 'experienced' at the workplace and, as it appeared during the analysis, is interrelated to communication channels efficiency.

⁸⁶ See. Preliminary Agreement for Job Centers Sector, *op. cit.*

⁸⁷ See. Munkeby, I. et al: Medvirkning og medbestemmelse I arbeidslivet, *op. cit.* p.7.

⁸⁸ See. Eldring, L., Friberg, J. H., *Polonia I Oslo 2010* *op. cit.* p.11.

⁸⁹ See. *Ibid.* p.12.

⁹⁰ Friberg, J.H. (2010). *Flexible firms, niche markets and cultural capital: Polish migrants in the ethnic division of labour in the Norwegian construction industry*, Forthcoming in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.

⁹¹ Respondents recalled an example of NCC that forced one of the agencies to issue permanent contracts for those of workers that were hired by them. The reason for this was that *they didn't wanted other people* [for example -working on assignments – PC] *because permanent contract is a proof of credibility of a worker, that he's representing his company...* (Tomek).

The second research question was influenced by a change of perspective in question 1. This change has its reflection in the structure of this chapter – expectations of Polish workers are analyzed in section 2 – special needs. Section 3 describes PLUMs response to the problems that emerged in section 2 – strategies of coping in unknown environment and attempts to change the character of formal proceedings. Section 4 is trying to answer the question about OBF’s involvement in PLUMS problems and characterizes OBF according to the developed types of organization. Section 5 reveals possible repressions that PLUMs were subjected to after their participation in the strike and shows unsuccessful policy of the LU towards immigrant workers. In section 6 the core category is described with its interconnections with the rest of the developed categories. It was necessary to complete findings of section 2 (in respect of *fixing the contracts*, and professional skills) with legal basis that sheds more light on the findings and outcomes of the strike.

4.2. Special Needs – Where is the Union?

In this section I will introduce three types of the voiced needs and problems connected with them that emerged from fieldwork material. The first type is connected with the *Presence of LU* in the lives of Polish workers; the second is focused on the type of contracts available for them and the third type of problems is connected with their qualification. In the next step I will describe strategies of coping with those problems that the Poles have developed;

At the beginning we have to notice a few facts. The LUs have been trying to help minority workers to enter the labour market; for example the OBF assigned a Polish speaking person to contact with Polish workers. At the beginning of this action the union was taking care of every case that was presented to it by the Poles without any time restrictions. OBF officials were visiting minority workers at the building sites and informed them about the rights and duties that they would acquire by joining the union and gave them reasons to do so. The Poles constitute around a quarter of the total number of OBF members. In the union office catalogues and informational brochures in Polish are available. There are however bad symptoms in the decreased number of organized Poles. In 2008 according to an

OBF official there were 726; in 2009 – 540 and in 2010 – 426 Polish members⁹². The union sees the reason for this in the financial crisis and decrease in building sector since 2008. Is this the only reason?

4.2.1. The Language Barrier

Although the *Language Barrier* was an easy-to-foresee obstacle, the spectrum of problems interconnected with it was hard to realize at the beginning; for example this barrier prevents access to information about rights and duties of LU members (LUM); it also generates questions and demands for information. This problem can be described in terms of language accessibility of information and it takes shape of two dependencies: 1) in respect to the understandability of source for Polish workers it takes three possible positions: a) Polish – full access; b) English – limited access; c) Norwegian – rudimentary access; 2) in respect to informational value of the language source: a) Norwegian – full information; b) English – limited information; c) Polish – rudimentary information. Franek expresses this as follows: [Unions -PC] *should inform us more... it is not enough, it's not enough... and a lot should be in Polish cause not all can [understand Norwegian - PC], especially in respect to reading, isn't it ?* Krzysiek points out that he cannot get a craft certificate because of – *lack of Norwegian language skills*⁹³. Irek has abandoned his will to learn Norwegian because of the higher usability of English and the uncertainty of his further stay in Norway – *In general I would prefer to learn English more, what for do I need Norwegian if I don't know where I'll be in 5 years.* Respondents admitted that they spoke English (at a communicative level). They also confirmed that they knew Norwegian on a rudimentary level.

The problem of *language barrier* can be exemplified by *Magazinet* – [magazine] union journal. Every LUM receives it each month. A problem arises when LUM does not speak Norwegian, because most of the articles are written in this language. From time to time short articles in Polish can be found somewhere at the end of the journal. Tomek, the shop steward for Poles in one of the biggest work agencies in Oslo, answered the question about how Poles get know about LU activities: *so it comes*

⁹² Values are given in absolute numbers!

⁹³ Problems related to qualifications of Polish construction workers are below. See. p.48.

Magazinet this periodical and a pile of them lies there where it was left, if wind blows it away or if it gets wet because of the rain, it doesn't matter cause nobody takes it, perhaps 2-3 persons... after all there is few color pictures that you can watch on..... That shows how rarely messages sent through the formal channel and calls for better information in Polish are received. Perhaps it would be better to allocate means spent on the printout of *Magazinet* to simply printing out news, describing cases or regulations in Polish.

As it appears *the language barrier* limits the available sources of information to those that are known to workers. First and foremost, to friends, colleagues from work (often Poles and other minorities) and to the union contact person for Poles. Respondents were asked about their sources of information on two aspects that are directly influenced by the *language barrier*, that is: about sources of information on job possibilities and their rights; and non-Polish friends and free-time activities. The question about getting new job or acquiring the first has the same answers in almost all interviews. Irek says *How I came to Norway... friend propose that his Polish friend is looking for some professional...*, Franek was also looking for work through *Polish friends* and he spends his free time *on fishing* and has *no non-Polish friends*. Krzysiek was trying to find a job on his own but... *I've been trying to find some job, but 'it doesn't go well' (nie bardzo idzie znaleźć) cause it's hard, everywhere communicative Norwegian is necessary...*he also does not have Norwegian friends but *you can 'hit' some Germans* [trafić - slang expression for infrequent meeting/spending time with someone - PC]. This expression suggests that those relations are rather infrequent and sporadic.

All of the above suggests that the *language barrier* can result in *spatial segmentation* of Poles; but before I will describe this aspect I will focus on problems affecting communication with the LU which are the indirect effect of the *language barrier*.

As it was demonstrated above, deficiency in language skills results in the narrowing of the available sources of information. This can lead to overburdening of the known sources of reliable information – especially the LU. Respondents pointed to difficulties in reaching the contact person in the union. The union official, assigned to contact with Poles, was asked about the number of people that were under his/her care: *...let say around 500, this number has growth recently, but also a lot of non-members calls and I don't start talk from question whether or not someone is a member. I'm trying to serve all of them and if they have some case to deal with I ask about membership...* What is more important, this person says that: *It is like that I have the most of all people to care, but lately I also have started to pursue cases on my own. Now when I pick up the phone I have to do all the things that*

concern Poles but also I conduct the cases. Of course this person admits that when there are too many cases to run they are handed over to the other officials. This however indicates that the official might be overburdened with work: ... *I had to change my routines [in respect to the extension of duties - PC] in such a manner that when I didn't managed to pick up the phone and this person, at the end of the day, has called just once, it's not like that at offices are calling back, is it? And here I have a piece of paper with all numbers that I have wrote down, and if someone calls 3 times at the same day I suspect that it might be something important and I call back.* This was noticed by the respondents – Jerzy says that ...*when I needed help and I called to the LU to get it, then calls weren't picked up*; others form a demand of an active and direct contact that is described in the next section (See. 4.2.2.*Presence or activity*). Here is a place where *presence/absence* is directly influenced by *the language barrier*. *Presence* is so important because it is through the direct contact that PLUMs (Polish Labour Unions Members) receive feedback or direct information about important aspects of their rights, obligations or about labour market that is unattainable in other way. Problems with the language barrier and inability to access society results at large in *spatial segmentation* of Poles employed in the construction sector.

Spatial segmentation developed deductively from responses concerning time off/leisure activities. Respondents use to work 10-11 hours a day, also on Saturdays and sometimes on Sundays. This makes it difficult to find time for social activities and building personal bonds with native co-workers after work. Therefore respondents said that their social activities were restricted to friends living in the barracks area or to fishing and picking up mushrooms. Typical working day consists of: way to work and back, making food and relaxing in the barracks. Occasionally, there is a need to buy some food (mostly on the way from work or on Saturdays). Weekends, after work, are spent on relaxing with other Poles or other minority workers living in the barracks. People known from the outside are usually those from previous places of living but contact with them is at best infrequent. Problems deriving from *spatial segmentation* can be various - from simple, and now occurring, separation of workers living in the barracks to, in case of long term unemployment, alienation of Poles and possible development of illegal activities.

4.2.2. Presence or Activity?

Respondents were asked about what they expected from the union? Franek says: *activity, more activity cause you can't fix anything with them*. Maciek adds: *so they would contact more with us, if something has happened*. Irek also underlines the lack of interest but also: *...so they would fight more for the right of the people and try more to recruit new members*. That can be an indicator of the unsuccessful policy of the LU. This idea found better grounding in the following questions about activities of the LU and what the workers thought LU should do for Poles in Norway. Instead of talking about activities Krzysiek answered – *they should be more interested of the people, so they could call, from time to time, [ask - PC] if we need something and they're only taking money from our accounts*. Irek followed this idea – *why they aren't present on some big building sights, they don't come, don't ask what's going on and if you wouldn't like to join the union and what it takes to sign in, they aren't for us for real*. Here a major shift appeared in this answer – instead about activities Irek voices something else, what he calls *Presence*. This category also has a second side which was later voiced openly by him. In other cases it takes a form of a postulate for activity and being *for real* or *increased activity*. There is also second, unavoidable side of this category – its negative manifestation - *Absence*.

Therefore *Presence/Absence* is emerging as a way of communicating or showing interest in the matters of Polish workers expressed by the Union. This communication can have two dimensions: dialogic and monologic . Monologic dimension is closely connected with the *language barrier* (that will be described later in this section). Firstly, it is visible in situations (perhaps also personal) that involve both parties to contact in language understandable for both of them. The other dimension can be expressed by messages in the media. LU messages through the media are not understandable for the Poles. This can be presented by the attitude towards LU's presence in the media: Stefan - [Unions] *have made for themselves huge advertisement by last-year strikes... - and further – they make this to write an article in newspaper, so they could make few photos, just to show off that they've done something*. Maciek refers to this problem in the following manner – *behaviour of LU is and always was typically consumptive*.

To understand the complexity of this problem we have to refer to two different phenomena –

one is the spectrum of discussed category and the other is the *language barrier* described above.

The first aspect refers to the described category and can be expressed by *continuity/discontinuity of LU's presence*. Tomek, for example, while describing LUs activities distinguishes between the past: *once people were really motivated by LUs agitation and with brochures that they received on the meetings where the plans for future activities were presented*; and the present described in rather harsh words: *...I'm going reluctantly to this meeting, they describe future in bright colors and what sort of activities they will take and it works, a little, I'm coming back from meeting, happy that I've been there and I'm taking shower, fall asleep, woke up and go to work, year is passing and shit happens*.

It appears that there is a discrepancy between the type of communication expected by PLUMs and the one that is used by LUs. It also seems that the types of communication used by LU have changed. At this moment we can point out to the first special need that Poles are voicing – more direct contacts (*Presence*) with LU's officials.

All of the above forms the first hypothesis – changed way of communication between the LU and PLUMs, connected with the increased number of PLUMs and their lack of Norwegian language skills, creates invisible for the LU - which informs about its activities through formal channels, inability to efficiently transfer information, expressed as *Absence*. It raises demands for more frequent, personal and initiated by the LU contacts with PLUMs called *Presence*.

4.2.3. Fixing Contracts

The second type of problems, the most often voiced by the respondents, concerns LU activities focused on '*fixing*' contracts (issuing full time contracts of indefinite duration). That was one of the most important reasons for the workers to join and support the strike. Krzysiek says: *fixed contracts that is the basis, we had it promised by union official, he has signed some papers that there is such agreement and there are no effects of it, he said that he doesn't know what has happened*. The importance of *fixed contracts* is rooted in the type of their employment. The typical type of contract that Poles receive in an agency is the one which the respondents call 'replacement contract' ('*vikariat*'). Such a contract exists even after several years of work for the same agency. As Krzysiek said, OBF

noticed this problem and tried to change this situation by negotiating Bemanningsbransjen 2010 Prinsippavtale⁹⁴ (Preliminary Agreement for job center sector of 2010, further – Prinsippavtale). However, one year after signing of this agreement the respondents did not notice any change in the type of agreements signed in agencies. According to Tomek: *Well, now people don't trust LU at all, cause when we're talking in the summer, they still had some hope that it can work, at something will workout, and this appeared to be not true. Unions have promised that they will fight for full-time contracts in companies like X and Y and 'the case is dead', they are not interested in this type of fight...* This type of 'broken hope' is well expressed by Stefan: *...it supposed to be like that, at now they have set minimal wage, there has been some agreement 5 moths ago, next step should be introducing the full-time contracts for all employees, but when we have started to talk about it, they've kept mum and subject died somehow.*

It appears that the type of contract, which respondents referred to as *vikariat*, can be one of the most significant barriers for the integration of Poles employed in temporary work agencies. Stefan describes this as following: *...there are 2 types of contracts -full-time and vikariat. If we, employed in vikariat, that is as replacement, [and when we – PC] are receiving commission, then we have to take it. It doesn't matter what type of commission it is – cleaning or whatever – or we don't have funds to make our living. If you refuse – you'll sit at home.* In such a situation it is impossible to make plans for the future as their lives are limited by the current horizon of recent assignments. We can notice that 2010 was difficult for Poles to this degree that the deficiencies of work were one of the reasons for resigning from LU membership as it was in case of Artur: *...I don't belong to the unions cause I don't have work and you [expression used by the respondent – PC] still have to pay membership fee... sometimes I'm working but very little (...) in last year I've earned 70000 through all year.* Zbyszek says that: *more I'm not working then I'm working.* This situation creates uncertainty about one's future. On the one hand the available choices are limited due to the *language barrier*; on the other Poles are dependent upon commissions given by the employer. At the same time Zbyszek points out to, in his opinion, inadequate personal policy: *...they should change this system, if they employ someone then they should give some commissions and when they haven't got any commissions then they shouldn't employ [more people – PC].* According to Zbyszek two of the biggest temporary work agencies in Norway, did not stop employing new workers even though the previously employed workers remained unemployed. This fact calls for an answer what was the reason for it? The first answer that comes to mind is that it could

⁹⁴ See. Preliminary Agreement for Job Centers of 2010 op.cit.

be a convenient mean of pressure on everyone employed in temporary work agencies and on immigrants especially. Respondents noticed that instead of giving commissions to workers that had not worked for a few months or to those that had been working infrequently, they were given to the newly employed. This could have also been a way of punishing those workers that participated in strikes. Tomek – the shop steward for Poles in one of the agencies – was not been given commissions since the beginning of 2010 up to mid-September while other Poles living in the same barracks had been working more frequently or constantly. This situation was common between the respondents that were employed for a longer time (among them were Stefan, Jerzy and Bartek). As it seems, there was a group of workers that had been engaged in the strikes and after that remained unemployed most of the time. However, the collected data does not permit to answer the question if, in this case, it was a deliberate action of the employer.

There were also other 'bad signs' of agencies acting against organized workers. The shop steward received information that after the initial period of issuing full time contracts in one of the biggest agencies the tendency stopped and was reversed: *It was like that some time ago (1,5 year ago I guess) LU said that they will take some actions toward issuing fixed contracts. They had done it in company X. X had started to give full time contracts as the only one agency in Norway. Even in our company they [LU -PC] have promised to take some actions in this direction, but then regress appeared suddenly. The Y company denied cooperation with LU on this issue, and LU couldn't do anything or they didn't want to. After that X 'said' that if Y can cooperate with LU without fulfilling this obligation, so we also have it in 'deep respect'. Now nobody gets full time contracts and those that have it are being fired, just to employ new people without such contracts.* This shows that LUs had initial successes in the introduction of full-time contracts in agencies, but perhaps resistance in one of the agencies was too strong and the importance of full-time contracts was underestimated which caused unpredictable regression in the whole sector. This would mean that strikes from April 2010 were belated. The trend to issue full time contracts had been stopped and reversed before the strike even started. Of course such a delay is normal because of the routinized way of response of the LUs that according to Basic Agreement (Hovedavtale) imposes a duty of negotiations before taking other actions⁹⁵.

Respondents, from what they understood, thought that strikes from April 2010 were supposed to have two stages – the first stage was setting the minimum wage and the second one was the

⁹⁵ See. Basic Agreement 2010-2013. Full text available at <http://www.fellesforbundet.no/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Hovedavtalene/Hovedavtalen-LO---NHO-pa-engelsk-2006---2009/?attachment=true>

introduction of full time contracts. While the strike ended up in achieving the first aim (in form of a new attachment to the generalized collective agreement) that resulted in the same wage for workers employed in work agencies. The second step, according to the respondents, vanished in the process. *Prisippavtale* imposes an obligation to issue contracts according to the provisions of *Arbeidsmiljøloven* (The Working Environmental Act, WEA)⁹⁶. Difficulties in the interpretation of replacements⁹⁷ – as it appears - led one of the biggest agencies to the temporal introduction of *fixed contracts*.

Due to described above *Absence*, none of the respondents could say what was the final result of negotiations in respect to introducing full time contracts in temporary work agencies because of scarce information that crossed *the Language Barrier*. This could be one of the causes of disappointment and distrust towards LUs shared by the respondents.

During the last interview, in the mid-January 2011, even those respondents who were previously interviewed refused to talk about LUs. This was a result of threatening phone calls from the agency. According to Tomek: *...there has been such an action from management side, that one should resign from membership in the unions or not to sign in but that's past cause unions have such an opinion here that nothing else is necessary, all will die in natural way...* I could not confirm this information from other sources because of the unwillingness of workers to talk about the subject. If this could be confirmed it would mean that the agency acted in violation of section 2-1(1) of Basic Agreement – that is against the freedom of association. Here I have to underline that the respondents work for the two biggest manpower supply companies in the country. Therefore such activities, if common, could have a huge effect in decreasing the level of unionization between Poles employed in agencies. In the case described above, lack of appropriate channels of communication between workers and the union had preceded management phone calls and strengthened their effects. Seriousness of such an activity calls for a sharp reaction from the side of the unions.

The text above shapes the second partial hypothesis – lack of efficient channel of communication causes disappointment towards LU. A reason for this is the lack of understanding of processes and possible alternatives for LU activities. In opposite, exhaustive, frequent and understandable information about aims and alternative solutions should balance disappointment in case of failure.

⁹⁶ WEA, in the relevant part, is somewhat confusing. According to it – in general, employee should be appointed permanently (unless the person employed is replacing someone else or the activity to which one has been employed differs from what is ordinarily performed in the company (WEA Ch.14-9 (a)(b). p.49.) Full text available at <http://www.arbeidstilsynet.no/binfil/download2.php?tid=92156>

⁹⁷ Those are described in details in section 5 of this Chapter – Situation after Strike.

4.2.4. Recognition of Professional Qualifications

The third type of problems voiced by Polish workers concerns recognition of or obtaining professional qualifications. Respondents complained that despite possessing Polish craft certificates they worked as unskilled workers because Polish certificates are generally not recognized in Norway. Therefore, when asked about craft certificates, Stefan says – *it is not about that at Swedes or Germans have their papers honored (...) For us there are no courses organized to retrain us, and even if one has Polish craft certificate for something, then he should make some 1 hour course here so this would be recognized....* he then continued to say what are the consequences of this situation *...then when you're going to work and you fill up the form - about what you can do or what kind of certificates one has, then we just gave back empty sheet....* Tomek, when asked about craft certificates, says straight away: *Norwegian???* - none, *Polish we all have it – every one has learned this at school.* Franek found information about recognition of craft certificates by local authorities but he was not sure where he was supposed to go so he asked about it at the LU office but he received no satisfactory answer. He says: *I've received information, from OBF, about craft certificate course but what for? If I don't have to attend there, because the one has to pay for it, and there is a possibility of simple recognition of this fagbrev in other way.* It is also interesting that some of the Poles were recruited in Poland on the basis of their professional skills and since they arrival to Norway they worked as unskilled workers, as it was in Jerzy's case:

Friends have told me that there is such a possibility, that there is a Polish company that verifies workers [emphasis -PC], after that they're organizing 2 month long intensive language course – particularly in English. I passed verification, then those 2 months on course and through cooperation of Polish company with company Y I have landed here, and so I am 4th year.

A LU official when asked about craft certificates said: *it's not enough to translate them, you still have to get Norwegian fagbrev (craft certificate), you just can't pass it by (...) from this what I know those courses aren't translated into Polish. You could say that, perhaps it should, but from other side perhaps you shouldn't, cause if one wants to work as a construction worker in Norway and read*

those drawings in Norwegian then one have to have basic language skills... and further ...I think that in this year [2010 – PC] slowly they are starting to register for this fagbrev and getting it (...) In my opinion it is absolutely one of the most important things in the fight against social dumping to make it easier for them to make this trial. The necessity of passing craft certificate exam is, in the opinion of the LU official, caused by differences in craftsmen education between Norway and Poland where: I suppose that [scope of education in – PC] construction industry in Poland is more general, in Norway one is either a bricklayer or a steel fixer.

There are at least two obstacles for acquiring craft certificates by Poles. The first one is the *language barrier* described above which limits access to information about necessary documentation and about formal proceedings that one has to undergo in order to apply for certificates. The other one is caused by the usual work time of the respondents (usually 10-11 hours per day) that makes additional training impossible. At the same time a question should be asked if such courses are necessary for professionals that attained similar certificates in their home country? The second question is whether the proceedings to gain craft certificates are justified or are they only a *strategy of exclusion* of immigrants from better paid positions? An additional question, that will be analyzed in the next section is how the lack of formal competences influences the work performed at the building site.

I.

The first question finds its partial answer in the ECC directives⁹⁸ and EEA agreement. Those conventions regulate free movement of people and forbid discrimination based on nationality⁹⁹. There are however three different regimes for the recognition of professional skills – 1) for professions that are regulated by law, 2) rules applying to higher education and 3) the general rules for upper secondary, vocational and lower education. In the case of Norway the first regime is regulated by EEA agreement and Annex VII to this agreement and is restricted to the list of specific occupations and their equivalents in different signatory states¹⁰⁰. Rules for accreditation of higher education and general rules

⁹⁸ 3 Directives - 1)89/48/EEC - Council Directive on a General System for the Recognition of Higher- Education Diplomas Awarded on Completion of Professional Education and Training of at Least Three Years' Duration; 2)92/51/EEC - on a second general system for the recognition of professional education and training to supplement Directive 89/48/EEC; and 3) 99/42/EEC - regulate free movement of persons and recognition of professional skills.

⁹⁹ EEA Agreement art.28 (2). full text available at <http://efta.int/eea/~media/Documents/legal-texts/eea/the-eea-agreement/Main%20Text%20of%20the%20Agreement/EEAagreement.ashx>

¹⁰⁰ Full list of occupations and industries of regulated professions can be found at INVIA (National information center about authorization and recognition system) <http://www.nokut.no/en/INVIA-en/I-want-to-work/Regulated-professions-in-Norway/List-of-industries/>

are regulated by Directive 92/51/ECC¹⁰¹. General rules have also been included in Article 30th of the EEA agreement that says:

...the Contracting Parties shall take the necessary measures (...) concerning the mutual recognition of diplomas, certificates and *other evidence of formal qualifications* [emphasis - PC], and the coordination of the provisions laid down by law, regulation or administrative action in the Contracting Parties concerning the taking up and pursuit of activities by workers and self-employed persons.

Directive 99/42/ECC imposes additional obligation on the contracting party:

The host country may not simply refuse a foreign professional on the grounds of insufficient qualifications. If comparison reveals substantial differences, the host country must offer the applicant a choice between undergoing an adaptation period and taking an aptitude test. The host country may also require this if its own nationals are required to have knowledge of specific national regulations and their application.¹⁰²

International agreements leave most of the decision-making in the hands of national recognition bodies of the host country. National legislation concerning recognition/obtaining vocational education for adults in Norway is regulated by Opplæringsloven (Education Act)¹⁰³. In a regulation to this act (particularly regulation to §3-10) the right to obtain a craft certificate is given on the basis of a complex procedure – candidate has to have at least five years experience in the area, has to be at least 25 years old¹⁰⁴, has to pass real competences test (privatisteksamen) and aptitude test (faggrøve)¹⁰⁵. LU ombudsman pointed that there is no other way of accreditation of craft certificates but by passing those two tests.

As we could see above the respondents did not demand 'automatic' accreditation of their education but expected that skilled-based tests would be sufficient to gain them. In this sense they were concerned about the quality of the services provided. It is justified to ask if a construction worker needs

¹⁰¹ Directive 92/51/ECC -. Text of which is available at http://www.bbt.admin.ch/themen/01105/01150/01151/index.html?lang=en&download=NHZLpZeg7t.lnp6I0NTU042I2Z6ln1ad1IZn4Z2qZpnO2Yuq2Z6gpJCDeXt6hGym162epYbg2c_JjKbNoKSn6A--

¹⁰² See. Rauhvargers, A., (2004). *Recognition of Foreign Qualifications*, p.30. (http://www.aic.lv/bolona/Recognition/exp_text/atz_gram_spec.pdf)

¹⁰³ Full text available at <http://www.lovddata.no/all/nl-19980717-061.html>

¹⁰⁴ Information acquired from National Portal of Education

See. http://utdanning.no/tema/utdanning/nyttig_informasjon/fagbrev_og_svennebrev

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. See. http://utdanning.no/tema/utdanning/nyttig_informasjon/praksiskandidat

to speak Norwegian while working on a contracting/manufacturing position or is this test just an obstacle designed to protect native workers¹⁰⁶. Here there also is space for the LUs to act more actively. This problem is known to the OBF and its significance is recognized; let me remind once again the words of OBF official concerning acquiring craft certificates: *...it is absolutely one of the most important things in the fight against social dumping...*

II.

Legal regulations are only one side of the case. The other is how they are applied. None of the respondents could say anything about obtaining craft certificates or vocational training. As we could see above, it is possible to acquire them but first and foremost one has to know about such a possibility. That leads us again to unsatisfying communication between workers and LUs. The workers are not explained what are the basis for obtaining craft certificates and misunderstandings occur. Therefore, a question: Is the *language barrier* a mean of sustaining *structural inequality* in the construction sector that would act as a *strategy of exclusion?* seems justified.

Information about obtaining craft certificates is hard to find for workers. It is mostly available in the form of legal regulation in Norwegian and to some degree in English. When someone, like Franek, finds somewhat misleading information about accreditation of vocational education, s/he needs guidance – what kind of rights s/he has in respect to this area, and what s/he has to do in order to acquire a desired certificate. Lack of support in those matters can be one of the causes of segmentation of Poles in the construction sector that was described by Dølvik and Friberg¹⁰⁷. It seems that two factors play major role in this aspect of research.

The first factor is placed on the side of resource disadvantages (objective disadvantages - lack of social networks¹⁰⁸, lack of experience in the host country and the *language barrier*) where the shortage of knowledge limits person's capability of protecting his/her own rights. The second factor is placed on the side of labor market disadvantages (subjective disadvantages) – in particular the availability of information sources. According to the documents described above, Polish workers are at least entitled to get information about the proceedings necessary for obtaining professional skills and vocational education. The LU should invest more effort in this aspect of participation of PLUMs in the

¹⁰⁶ See. Definition of a construction worker pp. 24-25.

¹⁰⁷ See. Dølvik, J. E., Friberg, J. H. (2008). *Den nye arbeidsinnvandringen, Drivkrefter, utviklingstrekk og arbeidslivspolitiske konsekvenser*, Oslo, p. 32 ISBN 978-82-12-02589-9 (pdf).

¹⁰⁸ Here I have to notice that this factor applies only to the lack of particular social networks that would go beyond group based on nationality (See. Section 2 of this chapter – Strategies of Coping – Fellow Pole).

labour market. Minor interest that other authorities seems to put to the dissemination of rules for obtaining craft certificates can be a partial explanation for placing immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe out of better paid positions in the construction sector. Exams for local craft certificates are partly based on a written test which excludes immigrants from the very beginning (according to OBF ombudsman throughout 2010 there were up to 10 PLUMs that tried to obtain them), as it is in case of certificate in concrete construction of level 1¹⁰⁹. The combination of scarce information and written exams at the basic occupational level are forming *the strategy of exclusion*.

This forms the third hypothesis – interconnection of the language barrier, scarcity of information (on the possibility of obtaining craft certificates without taking a course) and written exams for recognition of basic skills can be the main reason for keeping Polish construction workers in the second segment of the construction industry. The combination of the two later elements seems to form a strategy of exclusion – based on structural inequality between foreign and native workers social competences.

4.2.5. Informality of Positions

The third aspect of skills - related problems concerns the informality of positions. In the case of this research – where respondents were employed in temporary work agencies – it is in employers' interest to keep labour force as 'competitive' as possible. Therefore it is unlikely that agencies would take any actions to recognize the skills of Polish workers or informal positions performed by them because that would increase their costs. At the same time the agencies try to employ skilled workers. This situation was described by Tomek while we were talking about formal and informal foremen. Firstly he described formal positions: *...I can tell how it looks in my company. In company X it looks alike, it is a matter of practice. The man has to be known to the management, he has to speak Norwegian and has to know his profession....* To the question how many formal foremen are still employed (out of those that he knew) he said - *...at this time I suppose that no one has left....* Informal foremen are characterized by him as follows:

...it is more profitable to have informal bosses, because informal boss is a man - I will throw light

¹⁰⁹ Information given by Norwegian Directorate for Education and Training. See <http://www.utdanningsdirektoratet.no/grep/Fag/?fagid=646538>

on this – it's a man, that has been working all of his life in some part of construction industry, he's a great professional, aside from this he's imagination, he can manage the people, he cares about the work – cause he want's to earn, so while he comes at building site and sees that his co-workers doesn't dig what's going on, he tells them what to do and they follow, cause they also care about work (...) For company it's very comfortable because they won't have to pay the man additionally for this what he does for the company...

On the one hand agencies have no, or very little, interest in recognizing the professional skills of foreign workforce. On the other hand, the main concern of each national LU is to protect the rights of native workers (as they form the majority of organization members) in the first place. This coincides with barriers in accreditation of craft certificates and education of foreigners. The LU can be blind to informally occupied positions of foreigners. Such an informality of work relations weakens positions of Poles in the workplace. Irek describes how promotions look like in his company: *...if someone can get along... it is like that that when new are coming , fresh men (...) then if one can get along in English (...) If one just can [do - PC] this, then boss sees it. He takes you to another building site, with someone that doesn't speak English at all and this is 'the promotion'*. When asked if such a promotion had a financial effect, he replied that it did not. There is a disproportion between duties that are in fact carried out in the workplace and those that are bound with formal position (regulated by the work contract).

The fourth hypothesis says that - the disparity between formal and informal position is a way of introducing social dumping into the construction sector through the employment of skilled workers as unskilled and by imposing on them informal duties (informal foremen). That can be a reason for squeezing native workers out of the first segment of the industry (through the lower costs). Therefore, easy accreditation of craft certificates and vocational training for Polish construction workers (for example - on the basis of Polish certificates and aptitude tests without written exams when they are not necessary in the work performed) could protect rights of both sides by increasing financial demands of skilled Polish workers and competition on equal terms.

4.3. Strategies of Coping with Problems and Expectations towards a LU

In this section I will describe how strategies of coping developed by the Polish workers are replacing the normal sources of information and activities used by native workers. As I tried to prove in

section 1, in the case of migrant workers ordinary channels of communications are either narrowed down or are unavailable. Therefore, the need to cope with various problems that the workers are confronted with during their residence results in the development of alternative channels of communication and unconventional practices that are intended to resolve the existing problems. These strategies are especially important in the first two stages of a residence in the host country – *initial* and *the transnational commuter*¹¹⁰. Respondents seemed to fit to the second stage description which is characterized by '*permanent temporariness*', the lack of long term plans and low language skills¹¹¹.

4.3.1. *The Fellow Pole*

The first of such strategies is a *Fellow Pole*. This category is a strategy of dealing with problems that emerge in an unknown society/environment. *The Fellow Poles* are forming weak informal social networks based on transient acquaintances; as such *Fellow Pole* is (almost) always *Present* in the lives of Polish immigrants. *Fellow Pole* is one of the main sources of information about available job offers (constitutes instrumental and informal network)¹¹².

The borders of such a network consists of the exit points. Those are formed by Poles that stay in contact with other social environments (bridging social capital; for. example - native worker, advocate, or immigrant from other nationality based group)¹¹³. A person 'possessing' such a contact is valuable for the rest of his/her fellows – Irek, while describing where he would look for help in case of problems at work, says: *with friends, I have a lot of fellows, one has boss who is an advocate....* It seems that such exit points are often created by the duties performed – Irek, when describing promotions, gave us an example of duties imposed on informal foremen. The foremen that will be promoted will have direct

¹¹⁰ See. Chapter 3 – Theory – section 3 - Friberg's stages of migration

¹¹¹ See. Ibid.

¹¹² Ryan *et al.* offers an interesting study of social networks between Poles in London. They distinguish three types of support that network can provide: 1) dense and durable relationship that offers *emotional* support; 2) *informational support* – that is available through colleagues and neighbours who are familiar with the environment; and 3) *instrumental* – which offers support with jobs and housing. One important feature is that those types of support can be provided by one or more networks. (See. Ryan L. *et al.* (2008). *Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London*, BSA Publications Ltd. Vol. 42(4), pp. 674-5. <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/42/4/672.full.pdf>).

¹¹³ In describing social networks it is important to distinguish (after Putnam) between bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital describes – 'ties to people who are like me in some important way'; while bridging – 'ties to people who are unlike me in some important way'. (See. Putnam, R.D. (2007). *E Pluribus unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture*, Scandinavian Political Studies, 30(2). p. 143. <http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Putnam.pdf>).

contact with *the boss*, although such contacts are based on personal relationships or, as he calls it, *...mutual respect*. Franek adds that those promotions are made unofficially: *...when someone is promoted then we don't know about it, all is done quietly, so there is no meeting that this one has this and the other if for that*. A *Fellow Pole* can even be someone's child – Bartek, when he had no friends that could help him in finding employment, asked his kids for help - *I asked my kids to find me something on internet, and it worked, and I went to Stavanger*. However effective, the *Fellow Pole* strategy also has negative aspects. Firstly, it is a cause of troubles (sometimes even big) – Maciek described disappearing of mail in the neighborhood – *there are no problems with NAV* [Norwegian unemployment office - PC], *but there are some guys here that are interested in what others have in their letters, they keep it for some time, take it, they want to know how much do you make per hour, what sort of documents are coming to you*. A *Fellow Pole* is also a competitor for job.

A *Fellow Pole* is also a category of exclusion¹¹⁴. It is based on nationality - non-Polish friends form 'the others' and are relatively few. All the respondents got to know 'the others' by common place of living what makes contacts with them occasional after moving out.

The efficiency of this strategy can cause undesired decrease in motivation for integration with a larger social context¹¹⁵. Other negative effect can be criminalization of groups of Poles that will face long term unemployment (for example - smuggling of goods from Poland or extortions committed by organized groups on other Poles). In such cases a group of acquaintances is the only one accessible and, due to the language barrier, there are limited possibilities of protecting the rights of an individual.

Here I have to notice the difference between Heilbrunn, Kushnirovich and Zeltzer-Zubida's description of resource disadvantages that lists *lack of social networks*¹¹⁶; as it is described respondents depended on social network based on nationality criterion. Contacts that go beyond this group are rare. This strengthens the importance of the LU as a contact with larger, formal environment.

¹¹⁴ It is also important to notice that migrant's networks are not simply available for newcomers. Ryan *et al.*, distinguishes particular migrant networks from general population of Polish migrants. The first is trustworthy and supportive, while the other respondents constructed as competitive and threatening. (See. Ryan L. *et al.* (2008). *Social Networks...* *op.cit.*, p.680.

¹¹⁵ Ryan *et al.* tends to bind openness to wider social networks with 'improving skills' (in terms of language and social competences) (See. *Ibid.* pp. 676-7). It is particularly interesting that examples they provided distinguish not only between possessing social competences but also between someone's place in the social structure and kind of occupation performed. As I have tried to show, motivation for exceeding nationality-based networks might be provided by formal duties connected with the work performed as long as it demands contacts and knowledge about wider networks.

¹¹⁶ See. Heilbrunn, S., Kushnirovich, N., Zeltzer-Zubida, A. (2010). *op. cit.* p.246.

4.3.2. *Tactical Importunity*

The next strategy developed by PLUMs is *tactical importunity*. This strategy can be used when a problem does not find a quick solution and *Fellow Pole* cannot or is unable to solve it (for example none of the friends have necessary connections to help or does not want to help). Respondents referred to this strategy while describing contacts with LU. Vocabulary that was used for describing this strategy refers to it in terms of *fight with the union* – even when help is eventually granted. Stefan frankly calls it a *tactic* and describes it in terms of his – *...determination, repeating calls and intrusions. This technique caused that they took (dealt with) my case.*

This strategy can be caused by two different reasons. The first is lack of understanding of how an organization such as LU works/operates – this seems to be related to the high expectations connected with LU membership. The other reason can be an intentional departure from formal proceedings.

The first reason can cause that workers will communicate their attitude towards the LU in extreme terms – *All or Nothing*, where *All* describes every possible problem that can arise, not necessarily connected with the context of work, and *Nothing* in this sense describes the inability to satisfy those demands (resolve all the problems). Stefan answering the question about what could change his attitude towards LUs says – *I think that LUs should take care not only about our decent work conditions or salaries but as you said [to Tomek - PC] our life, because union – it's a care over us, also after work hours, we don't have even adjusted laundry or it's dilapidated, we can't report to them cause THEY DON'T TAKE SUCH THINGS.* Communication in terms of *All or Nothing* can also describe justified demands (for example - *fixing contracts*) that should be undertaken by LUs. Extremity of terms used here refers to and depends on solving the reported problem.

Comprehension of how a LU operates (information on the formal proceedings and time of response) could result in balancing the way in which workers express their attitude towards LUs and in directing to LUs only those cases that are in the scope of their activity. This could lead to higher efficiency of contacts between PLUMs and LU.

The other reason for adopting *tactical importunity* is intentional departure from the formal proceedings – for example omitting shop stewards and directly contacting LU's ombudsman. Comprehension of the scope of LU activities is not necessary to accept this option but it is not excluded. This option seems to be connected with the demand for *LU Presence* and the belief that frequent intrusions and determination will persuade authorities to put in more effort in resolving PLUMs' (but already also LU officials) problem. In other words, it is an attempt to change communication channel from formal to personal.

The strategies of coping are closely connected to PLUMs' expectations towards a LU. Problems with formal proceedings and deficiencies of knowledge cause extremity in expressing attitude towards LU, as it was demonstrated above. It appears that those of PLUMs that understand the scope of LU activities form more balanced opinions – Tomek describes his attitude to OBF in terms of *contract* and tangible gains (for example – insurance). He also limits his expectations to those that are in the scope of LU's activity – in the discussion with Stefan about laundry mentioned above, he replies – *I actually can understand LUs standpoint in that mater as it concerns our living conditions*. However, he adds that – *if matters concerning our jobs and fixed contracts also aren't that important for the LU then it's hard to expect that they would be interested in our washing machine....* This is, as it appears, connected with the situation after the strike and problems with communication with the LU¹¹⁷.

The above forms fourth partial hypothesis in this study – a *Fellow Pole* allows Polish workers to maintain their residence in an unknown social environment but s/he might be insufficient in formal proceedings. What is more, closed, informal network that it creates forms a barrier for integration with the open labour market by diminishing motivation (for example – stopping learning the language). It 'dooms' Poles to be dependent on the nationality-based, employed in the same sector group and makes them vulnerable to the changes in the economy (for example – recessions in the sector). In the event of formal proceedings Polish workers try to influence the decision-making process by changing the type of relation from formal to personal. Therefore, in order to overcome the negative consequences of both strategies – *Fellow Pole* and *tactical importunity* - it seems necessary to propose activities that would involve PLUMs, and Polish workers in general, in larger formal context. To achieve this aim it seems necessary to inform them, through informal channels, about formal way of proceedings (for example - in respect to the time frame of proceedings and the authorities involved).

¹¹⁷ Communication with LU is described under category of *Presence/Absence of LU* and in the next section – Respondents perceptions of LU – LU characteristics and activities – past and present. The situation after the strike is described in 1st section of this chapter and in section 5 – Situation after strike.

4.4. Situation after the Strike and Types of Contracts

Half a year after the strike, when majority of data was collected, respondents, employed in the two biggest temporary work agencies, did not have their contracts '*fixed*'. Prinsppavtalen imposes on the agencies an obligation to sign contracts in accordance to WEA but it says nothing about the introduction of *fixed contracts* (permanent contracts). As it appears, on the basis of this agreement permanent employment is not necessary – there is possibility to employ workers (1)temporarily or (2)on the basis of an assignment. Commentary to the WEA written by Børre Pettersen¹¹⁸ sheds more light to difficulties connected with the first possibility. There are two different, relevant in this study, situations allowing to employ a worker temporarily – depending on which of the situation occurs – 1)work that is different from the ordinarily performed work in the company; and 2)if a person replaces another employee or employees¹¹⁹.

In the first situation, the difference between *seasonal growth* and *general variations of the market* form two possible ways for interpretation - allowance and denial of temporal employment – which are hard to follow and arbitrary in empirical situations. However, in the case of construction sector employment for projects is not allowed because the work performed is not different from what is done ordinarily in the company¹²⁰. In the other case, temporarily employed person is a replacement (vikar), but s/he can only replace a person/persons that s/he works instead of (without the necessity of giving the name of the replaced person/persons)¹²¹. Commentary to § 14-9(1) says literally:

Employment for projects, however in, for example construction sector is not allowed, when this work doesn't differ itself from work that is ordinary performed by such undertaking¹²²

The other possibility – assignment contract (Oppdragsavtale) – is the most probable way of respondents' employment that allows temporary work agencies to be flexible in the construction sector.

¹¹⁸ See. The Working Environmental Act (2 eds.) (Lov om Arbeidsmiljø, Arbeidstid og Stillingsvern MV)(2008). Glyndendal Norsk Forlag

¹¹⁹ See. Ibid. §14-9 (1)(2).

¹²⁰ See. Ibid. p.197.

¹²¹ See. Ibid.

¹²² (Projectansettelser derimot i f.eks. Bygg og anleggsbransjen er ikke tillatt, da dette arbeidet ikke skiller seg fra det arbeidet ordinært utføres av slike bedrifter – translation – PC). Ibid.

The assignment contract only imposes on the company the duty to sign separate contract for each assignment. Between this type of contracts and those described above §14-9 (1) lies the potential difficulty in interpretation that resulted in temporal issuing of permanent contracts in one of the agencies¹²³. Here it is necessary to notice that some of Polish workers do not know what type of contract they have – this is clearly visible in Stefan's description of two types of contracts (*permanent* and *vikariat*). However, it appears that they all work on the basis of assignment contracts. This seems to be confirmed by differences in wages while working for several companies (confirmed in most of the interviews).

PLUMs actively participated in the strikes. Yet the results were far from their minimal expectations. Problems with communication channel blocked information on the result of negotiations and rights gained in Prinsippavtale. The only effects that pierced the *language barrier* were the photos in newspapers - in Stefan's words – *advertisement* or *propaganda* with the use of which the LU made excuses to take their money. At the same time the respondents that were known to have actively participated in the strikes faced long term unemployment. Shop steward did not work (did not receive assignment) from January to mid-September [sic!] while other respondents noticed no problems and worked frequently. Nevertheless, there is no sufficient justification to regard unemployment of active PLUMs as a punishment for joining the strikes. Some evidence of agencies' reaction did appear - the phone calls mentioned above which 'advised' Polish workers to resign from membership or not to join in. This caused reluctance towards talking about LUs – also because of the anxiety that a *fellow Pole* would mention to the management who had been talking about LUs and the situation in the company.

All of the above seems to show vulnerability of the respondents which is caused by various factors: one of them being their personal deficiencies and the other was caused by employment contracts.

In the first case, we could say that if Poles could speak Norwegian, they would have better chances for permanent employment in a Norwegian company. As it was shown, there are obstacles that hamper their efforts in this direction. Therefore contacts on the formal grounds (with authorities or departments) are made reluctantly and are undertaken only when alternative channels are unable to solve the problem – Irek , when asked about his contacts with departments, starts - *Jezus! I have walked my legs off through different offices/departments...* [he has changed the position of his body –

¹²³ Problems connected with the interpretation of law sketched out in this section call for more field-based analysis that exceeds formal boundaries of this research. The topic seems to be highly relevant and up to date as the importance of temporary work agencies for the labour market, within its regulations, increases.

took his hands from the back of his head; frowned and bent down to enumerate offices on his fingers – PC]. Zbyszek's case shows how Polish construction workers are dependent on someone's help when facing official business:

...Once I went to court because I've been fired unjustly, I've been working there for several years and advocate says to me, why I'm not going to welfare? Cause I hadn't got it, this benefit, and then he said that I should go to NAV [unemployment office -PC] because I have right to it. I went there, gave them [papers – PC] so they send me away empty-handed. I called my lawyer next day and I told him what's going on – he took the phone, he's fixed everything top-down. He told me to go to the office next day (...) everything was done nicely, but this had to be done by Norwegian advocate. Because such an ordinary man as I ... [statement suspended -PC]

Although Zbyszek's case was resolved, he was completely dependent on his lawyer and most likely he would not be able to claim unemployment benefit or even knew he was entitled to claim it.

In the second case, vulnerability is caused by the type of contracts signed. People employed on the assignments contracts (which they call *vikariat*) are completely dependent on commissions given by their employer (here – agency). Possibilities of LU's interventions in their matters are also limited (compared with permanent contracts). Respondents also noticed that new people were being employed while a lot of them faced long months without a commission. This could be a sign of attempts to cause internal pressure between employees which could reduce their willingness to claim their rights. It has to be noticed that it seems that some of the Polish workers do not know what type of contract they have. This might be caused by their total dependence from a *Fellow Pole* and lack of information about their rights and obligations resulting from different types of employment. Providing such information is the duty of the LU and the employer. It seems important to provide basic or even trivial, from the point of view of native workers, information about features of the labour market.

The LU did not properly recognize hazards relating to the situation of Poles employed on assignment contracts and did not monitor the situation of immigrant participants after the strike. Therefore PLUMs facing 'retributions' felt left all alone. As Stefan puts it:– [by the strike LU has - PC] *justified fact that they are taking money, that they have salaries for something and that's all, and they can't do anything from the beginning to the end, they aren't consequent, they unleash storm and leave us with one hand in the chamber pot.*

If those findings are correct, then it seems that OBF activities were 'going in the right direction', but the LU acted as if there was no difference between Norwegian workers employed permanently and

PLUMs employed on assignments (*'vikariat'*). It seems that vulnerability is caused by the formal differences in work contracts and lack of sufficient comprehension of the difference between native and permanent workers which exposed PLUMs to the risk of punishment. Another question is how PLUMs received information about the second goal of the strike? It seems very unlikely that it was a deliberate action of misleading immigrant members. Therefore the most probable reason is misunderstanding in translation – which is another example of the *Language Barrier*.

The fifth partial hypothesis says that – recognition of the differences and vulnerability of immigrants employed on assignment contracts is crucial for developing reasonable policy of the LU towards PLUMs. Lack of such policy exposes immigrants to informal retributions from the employers that cannot be resolved by formal means possessed by the LU. The other consequence of lack of suitable immigrant oriented policy could be a reduction in the number of organized Poles. Such a policy should include, among others, basic information about rights and duties ascribed to each type of contracts.

4.5. Respondents' Perception of the LU. LU Characteristics and Activity: the Past and the Present

In this section I will show the way of perception of LUs activities from respondents' point of view. At the same time I will demonstrate how basic problems in getting in contact with a union official are interconnected with other categories described above.

Our starting point will be problems that some of respondents met when they tried to contact the union official. Jerzy says: *it made me angry that some of the things were presented differently at first time and when I turn to them for help then or calls weren't answered at LU office... this made me so angry that I've resigned...* Tomek – the OBF shop steward continues - ...as my colleague said *contact with LU was made difficult*. As we could see above, Polish workers developed strategies of coping that replaced ordinary channels of problem solving and alternative ways of context change. Deficiencies connected with the *language barrier* narrow down the available formal channels of coping with

problems. Therefore PLUMs try to contact the LU official that speaks Polish. In the case of OBF there is one person who is responsible for contact with around 500 PLUMs and unknown number of non-members. Because of the possible overburdening, the LU official developed routines that aim to narrow down the number of persons contacting with LU to the 'urgent ones': *...I'm being forced to change my routines of work, so if I didn't managed to pick up the phone and at the end of the day this person has called just once then he will call another time, it's not like that at offices call back, is it? Here I have a sheet with phone numbers and I note how many times people have called, If someone calls me 3 times during the day I suppose it's urgent and I call back...* Routines that the LU official developed to increase his own efficiency and to narrow down the inflow of cases resulted in the dissatisfaction of PLUMs. At the same time the LU official did not inform members about his routines because such information would make those routines pointless.

PLUMs, irritated by the inefficiency of the known formal channel, tried to omit it with *tactical impotunity*. This however caused additional effect – instead of resolution routines, combined with *tactical impotunity* are intensifying problems with information transfer through the formal channels. LU official is forced to attend to those PLUMs that are *repeating calls and intrusions* as it has been described above. On the other hand, PLUMs have to deal with the consequences of scarcity of information going through the overburdened formal channel. That is also reason for breaking up *Presence of LU*.

There is also additional problem noticed by the respondents – You cannot settle anything because they *are sending us from one to another, I can say that we have hard communication with LU, even with calls* (Maciek); Krzysiek describes similar situation in the case of problems with acquiring sick leave money. This suggests that there might be ambiguities in the formal division of duties between the ombudsman and the shop steward. This would mean that three factors hinder efficiency of the formal channel of communication (*Language Barrier, tactical impotunity* and ambiguous division of competences).

One consequence of this situation is the discrepancy between LU's and PLUMs' points of view on how the activity of the LU looks like.

LU perceives its activities as if it has not changed since the initial stage when Polish workers started to join OBF (except recruiting). At the beginning recruitment provided direct contact between LU officials and Poles and what goes with it - *Presence of LU*. What is more important, LU can have difficulties in assessing opinions of PLUMs about itself due to the *language barrier* and the

overburdened formal channel.

On the other hand, because of the same factors, Polish workers distinguish the past and the present. The past is described as the time when attitude towards Poles *was a little bit better and now it's klap* (flop)(Franek). Working hours also form a barrier to contact with the union. The present time is described in terms of *consumptive attitude* (Maciek) or *advertising activity* (Stefan) of the LU. This can be another effect of the lack of *Presence*. Those statements are effects of the only one constant manifestation of membership – membership fees. On the one hand, there is nothing that would sustain sense of membership despite the costs are problems with members service.

I have to notice that OBF has been trying to sustain its *Presence* by meetings but their influence was reduced by the postponed effects of the strikes and by what Stefan describes as being '*left with one hand in the chamber pot*' which refers to lack of interest and protection after the end of the strike.

Nevertheless, it seems that OBF can be characterized as a *friendly organization*. That is an organization that recognizes some differences between native and migrant workers and takes counteractive measures in order to reduce unfair barriers. In these terms we can interpret the employment of Polish speaking ombudsman, recruitment actions (recently renewed) and successes in regulating of temporary work agencies sector by Prinsippavtale. There are, however, serious symptoms that might be signs of insufficient expenditures for PLUMs service (the overburdening of ombudsman), and as it was described in the previous section, insufficient recognition of the vulnerability of minority workers employed in agencies.

4.6. Formality Hypothesis

Analysis of the gathered material and the categories developed in this process leads to the following hypothesis:

The role of the LU in the integration of PLUMs is to transfer informal relations at work into formal ones – formalization of the occupied positions and qualifications. In this sense progressing to formally regulated relations can be seen as advancement in the integration with the labour market. The result of which would be the inclusion of the socially excluded, interrelated only in informal social networks, individuals

and groups of immigrants into wider formalized relations in the labour market.

As set in research questions, the framework of this research is created by the interrelation of labour market, trade unions, Polish construction workers and temporary work agencies. As such questions about formal and informal context of this field present themselves in front of the researcher. Here lays space where Poles meet Norwegian labour market. Although they live in it, this space is also unknown to the majority of Polish workers. As I tried to demonstrate above, it is a place where information is passed mainly by *Fellow Poles*. Official information that rarely manages to pierce *the Language Barrier* meets everyday life reality with its tensions and anxieties.

On the other hand, Polish immigrants residing in Norway have developed *strategies of coping* that allow them to operate in a foreign environment. Those are informal channels of information about available work, working conditions, salary etc. passed on between Poles. At the same time, Poles encounter problems emerging from formal contexts which they cannot solve with their informal resources; although those resources are sufficient to exist on the labour market as long as uninterrupted period of work lasts. Therefore respondents have little or no motivation for further integration.

Formality for Polish construction workers emerges as space where problems do not find simple solutions. Consequently they try to find a formal channel of communication – LU appears as their first choice. A member gains not only a source of information and possibility to 'translate' his/her problems to the formal context but also receives the protection offered by an organization. However s/he might still not understand how formal proceedings look like. Therefore membership, in its initial stage, is connected with high expectations (of quick solution to the problems which, if extended in time, can be the source of disappointment). This leads to communicating of attitudes towards the LU in form *all or nothing* which gradually evolves to a more balanced type – *transaction* – this type appears after period of disappointment caused by unresolved (quickly) problem. This can be shown in respondents' statements: Stefan's resolved case – *I've been fighting with NAV, because I had been on a sick leave and they had calculated very low rate for it and, in that moment, unions helped me to write klage [complain -PC] and this has brought positive effect...* While cases that took time very often were described in strong, negative terms – *...a friend of mine has been working in bricklaying company (...) and he [the employer - PC] didn't pay them for a couple of months... and unions didn't gave a f... and that's all (Irek). Krzysiek, after long lasting case of permanent contracts, answers the question about who he talks to in case of problems at work as follows: ...with no one, because there is no one to talk to.*

Transaction is described by Tomek as follows: ...*our insurance is very lucrative, that it was, for me, few years ago, basis to joining the union...*; Stefan also sees in insurance the only advantage of membership: *Honestly, membership in the LU and fees that I pay cause only this that I have additional insurance. Nothing else is done here by the LUs.*

In the initial stage the possibility of direct contact, often from the LU initiative (during recruitment) was very important. This has established common platform of communication – called *Presence*. *Presence* is described as a way of communicating based on two forms: monologic – which is the main, formal channel of communication about LU activity (tv, newspapers etc.) which is unavailable for Poles due to the *Language Barrier*; and dialogic – informal channel that passes information about formal activities. Dimensions of *Presence* are set up by its *continuity* and *discontinuity*. Respondents refer to the first as being a thing of the past and different from the present lack of activity/*Absence*. Franek answered the question whether he had seen a change in LU attitude towards Poles: *yes , I have (...) now it's bad, they can't fix anything, earlier it was a little bit better and now its flop (klap)*. Breaking of informal channel efficiency can be caused by the overburdening of the ombudsman (routines) that tightened down the possibility of contact. This situation is worsened by *tactical impertunity* – frequent intrusions and phone calls that aim to change the nature of relation – from formal to personal - and are bypassing shop stewards.

Another kind of problem with formal and informal relations appears in the work place. Informal relations have various roots. The first of which is the split between formal and informal skills. Although the majority of respondents had certificates and vocational education from Poland, they were employed as unskilled workers because of the demand for accreditation of vocational education. Information about procedure of recognition of vocational education and professional skills are, especially in Polish, scarce and hard to find. This might be seen as a mean of protecting native workers from foreign competition on equal terms (although German and Swedish workers have their skills accredited automatically). The mentioned differences in educational systems seem to justify the accreditation of skills on demand to which the respondents are entitled. However, aptitude tests – that might be required from most Polish workers in some cases, are held in Norwegian which only makes the case dodgy – in accreditation of basic craft certificates or education where knowledge of language plays very small or no role at all.

The second aspect of formal/informal relations connected with the workplace that respondents would like to change is the disparity between formal and informal position performed. A situation in

which the diminishing number of formally employed foremen is replaced with informal ones touches at least two areas: formal/informal responsibilities and formal/informal duties.

Formal duties demand from a person to be responsible, in his/her scope, for the work performed. This also is associated with formal rights – for example the shop steward's responsibilities force him to contact the management and the organization (LU) in formal matters. To perform these duties well he has to acquire knowledge about rights and duties connected with this position. As such he acquires knowledge about labour market (for example - basic law regulations and employer duties), and thanks to this knowledge he becomes more integrated with the market. The same situation is connected with the formally performed position which requires knowledge about or contacts with a wider social environment (foremen - direct contact with management, ordering tools and materials, cooperating with other foremen). Wider formal duties are connected with higher salary which allows a person to leave the working class.

In contrast to the previous, informal positions (foremen) are completely dependent on the employer's decisions. A person becomes 'promoted' to such a position often only on the basis of being recognizable – by this act s/he is being detached from the rest of immigrants - unknown, expendable and united mass – as immigrants most likely are seen by the agencies; and by his/her decision s/he can be thrown back in. Although formal duties are the same for all the workers, informal foreman is accounted for the tasks assigned to the group although most likely he is not paid for the additional duties of his informal position. This situation hampers possibilities of immigrants to claim their rights in case of their violation and is hard to notice by the LU through the formal channels.

At the end of this section there is a need to write a couple of words about the difference between formalization and regulation. Prinsippavtale is a noticeable success of the LUs that managed to force temporary work agencies to regulate their activities in this sector. However, it appears that in the process LU have forgotten to monitor the implementation of this agreement. The result of which were repressions that PLUMs met after the strike had ended. OBF seems to have depended too much on the formal channels of information and did not pay sufficient attention to inform PLUMs directly about their gained rights.

5. Conclusions

Findings of this study show that LUs can have huge, if not crucial, role in integration of Polish construction workers in Norwegian labour market. Poles meet diverse obstacles during this process. Those problems they address to the LU, but rarely their problems are solved. Huge role plays here fact that large number of Polish workers is employed by the temporary work agencies. Differences between permanent employment and assignments diminishes possibilities of enforcement of their rights.

There is common perception that Poles reluctantly organize themselves because of:

East Europeans often are deeply skeptical to LUs at all, because of experiences from close communistic past in their homeland¹²⁴

This study shows completely different picture of Poles. Respondents pointed to various reasons for being unorganized. Most of them were, however, connected to disappointment caused by inability to get information and/or help from the LUs.

The OBF took necessary steps to provide competent services to Poles. Those become insufficient when number of PLUMs increased and direct contacts were stopped (it is necessary to

¹²⁴Et annet problem er at østeuropeerne ofte er dypt skeptiske til fagorganisering overhodet på grunn av erfaringer fra den nære kommunistiske fortiden i hjemlandet. (See. Rossavik, F., *Stadig nye kart*, Morgenbladet 13.05.2011; <http://morgenbladet.no/article/20110513/OAKTUELT/705139959>)

notice that OBF official provides services for members and non-members; and that numbers of Poles in Norway increased drastically through the last years).

This research touches also a small part of the vast field that is formed by relationship between immigrants, temporary work agencies and LUs. Each of those actors has huge influence on the situation in the Norwegian labour market. Each of them can have separate interests. Each of them can be considered as the one that has a double character. However, none of actors presented have simply negative influence on the labour market. Work agencies employ a large number of Poles in the construction sector. However, they are not interested in the recognition of their professional skills or in changes in the character of work contracts. Immigrants are necessary for better development of the Norwegian economy. They often are seen by common people as means of evasion – those that are responsible for social dumping and those that are 'taking our jobs' etc. This study presents situation of Polish construction workers in the Oslo county, both members and non-members of the LUs. The picture of Poles described in this research is not full, although it shows that at least part of them is interested in competing with the native workers on equal terms. They meet obstacles, some of which are inherent to the personal deficiencies, others are inherent to the labour market and some are the effects of semi legal, or even illegal, pressures of the employer. All of them form a cage for those of Polish workers that would like to settle but they are unable to do so without stable job and perspectives for further development.

Also LUs have a double interest – in the short term it is to provide the most attractive regulations for their members. As the majority of LU members are native workers, the LU can have little attention for the accreditation of professional skills of immigrants because of the opposition on the native workers and employers side. However, in the long run the lack of recognition of immigrant skills will result in limitations of permanent contracts and social dumping (due to disparity between informal and formal position and performed duties).

Collective actions against temporary work agencies must take into account particular vulnerability of immigrants. Such actions must be preceded by detailed information about aims and possible alternatives that would prepare migrants to the outcomes of strikes. Such information should even include what is obvious (some of respondents proved to have deficiencies in basic information in respect to the types of work contracts) in order to avoid misunderstandings between immigrants and LU.

Poles perceive activities of LU as inefficient. They have no access to information about actions

and about aims of those actions. Their involvement met employers retributions and lack of LUs help. They expect that LU will initiate frequent contacts or frequent information about its activities and formal aspects of employment.

The analysis suggests that formalization of positions and qualifications is the best way to integrate Poles with the Norwegian labour market. The study also suggests that informal channels should be used in order to inform migrants about the formal path of proceedings (*Presence*). Formalization of skills and positions would also create pressure on the immigrants who would have to 'cope' with the duties connected with a formal position. This could motivate immigrants to integrate with larger social networks and would mean that nationality-based group would be one of the available and not the only one available.

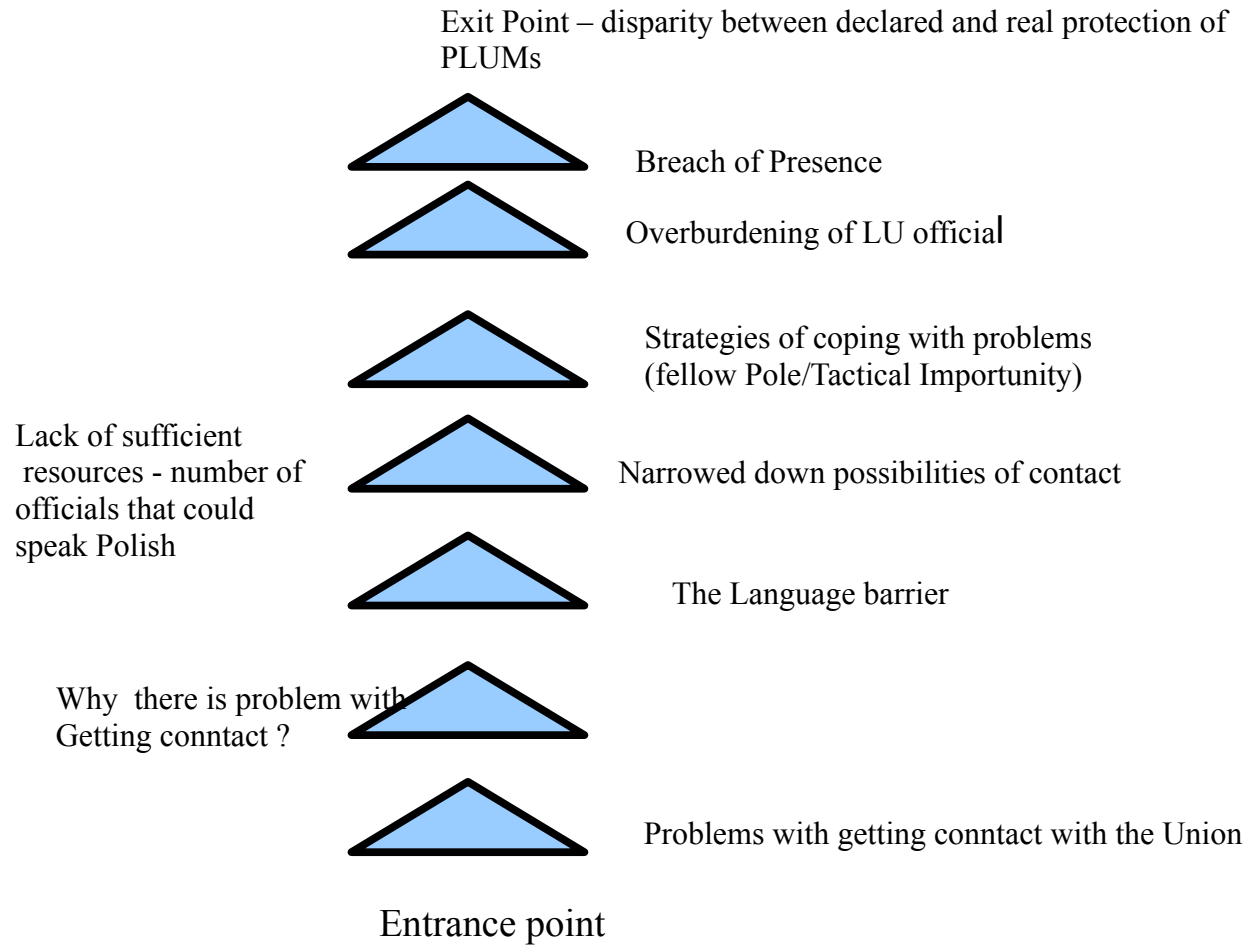
Formalization would also mean balancing attitudes towards LUs. Those are influenced by high expectations that often exceed the scope of LU's activities (formed in the shape of - *all or nothing*). The result of which could be rationalization of PLUMs demands.

The role of LUs in the integration with the labour market seems to be crucial. A LU is an organization that has the capacity to influence all the problems described in this study. Equality in the labour market is postulated by LUs worldwide on the basis of international solidarity.

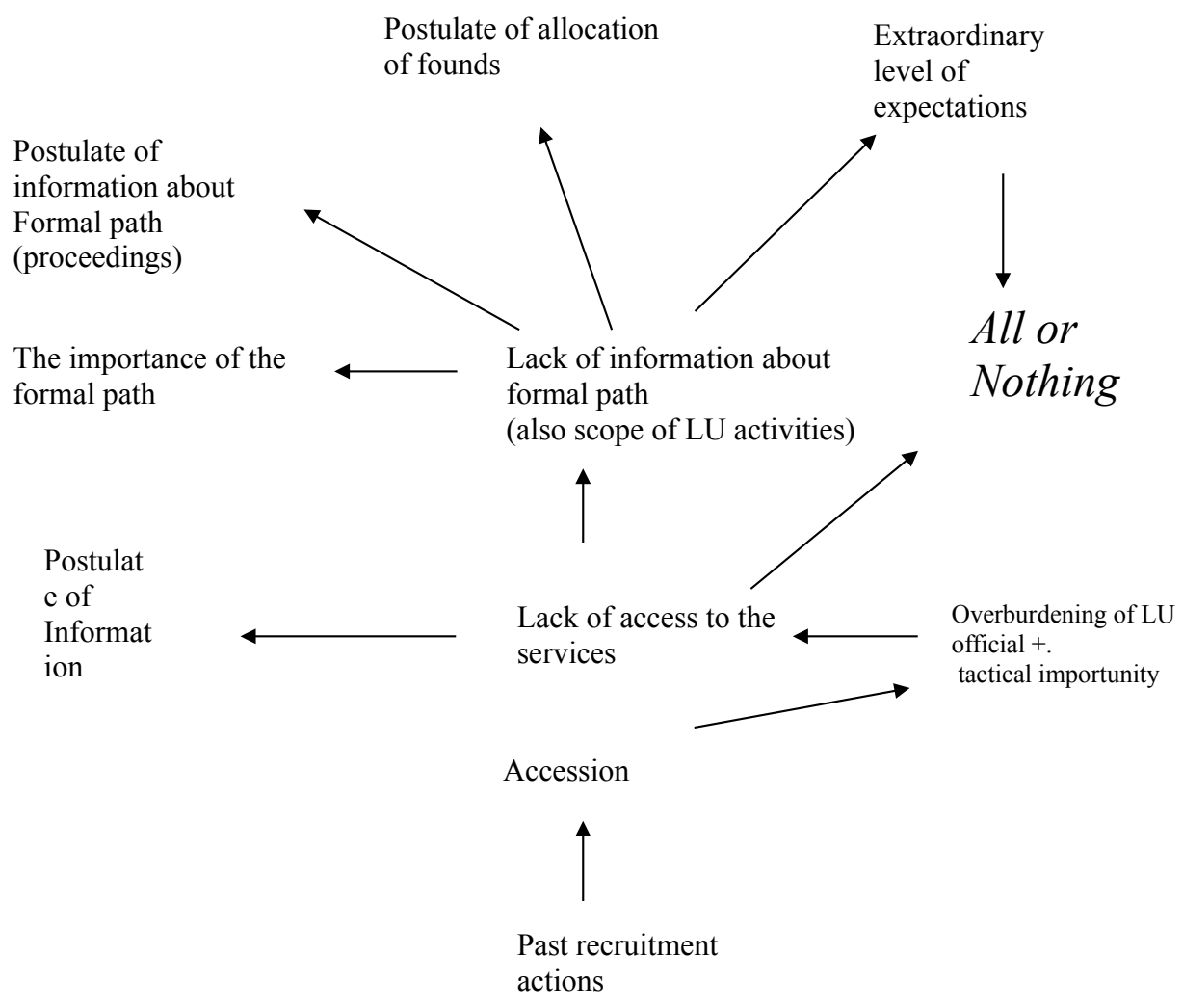
Equality is one of the most basic principles of democracy. It is a mean which can provide social peace and cooperation between different persons, groups and nations. Equality is also a mean for preservation of wage level and its a useful tool in joint fight of workers against social dumping.

6. Appendix – Situational Map.

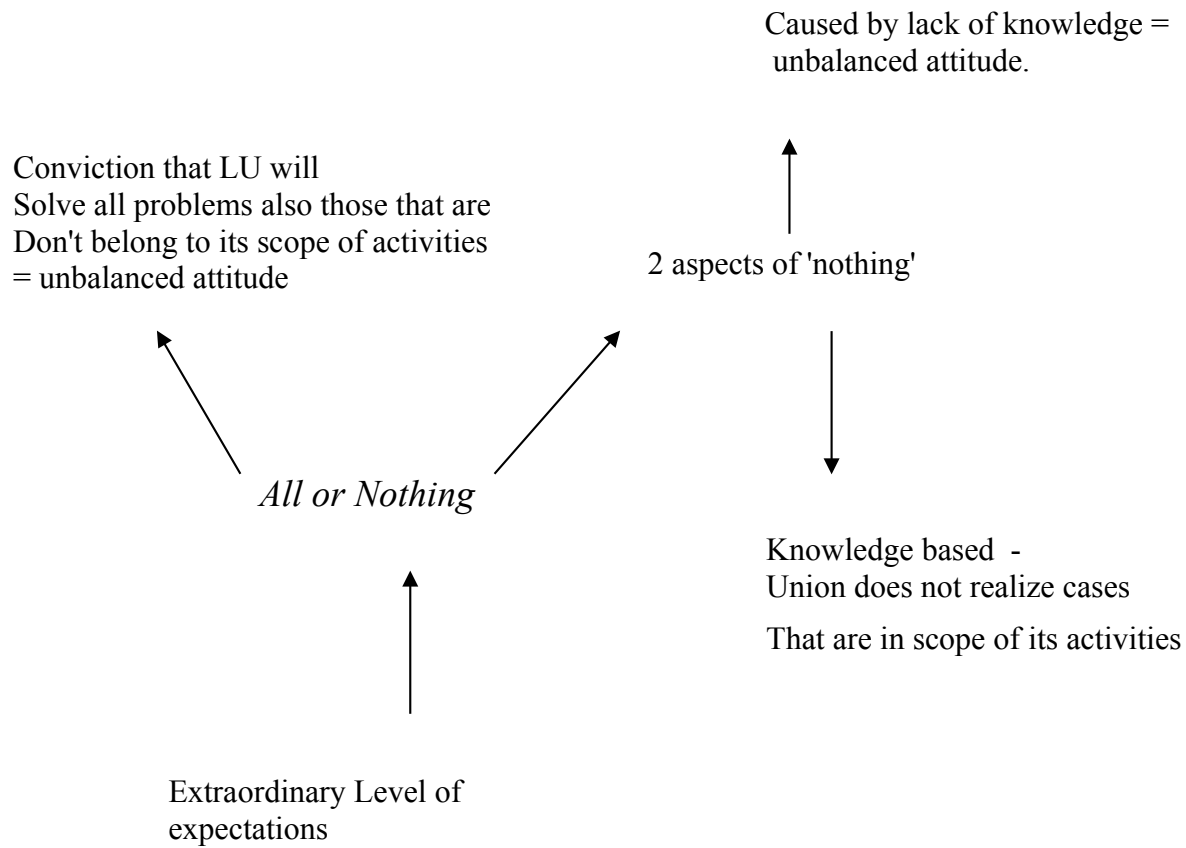
Map no.1. Breach of the Presence.



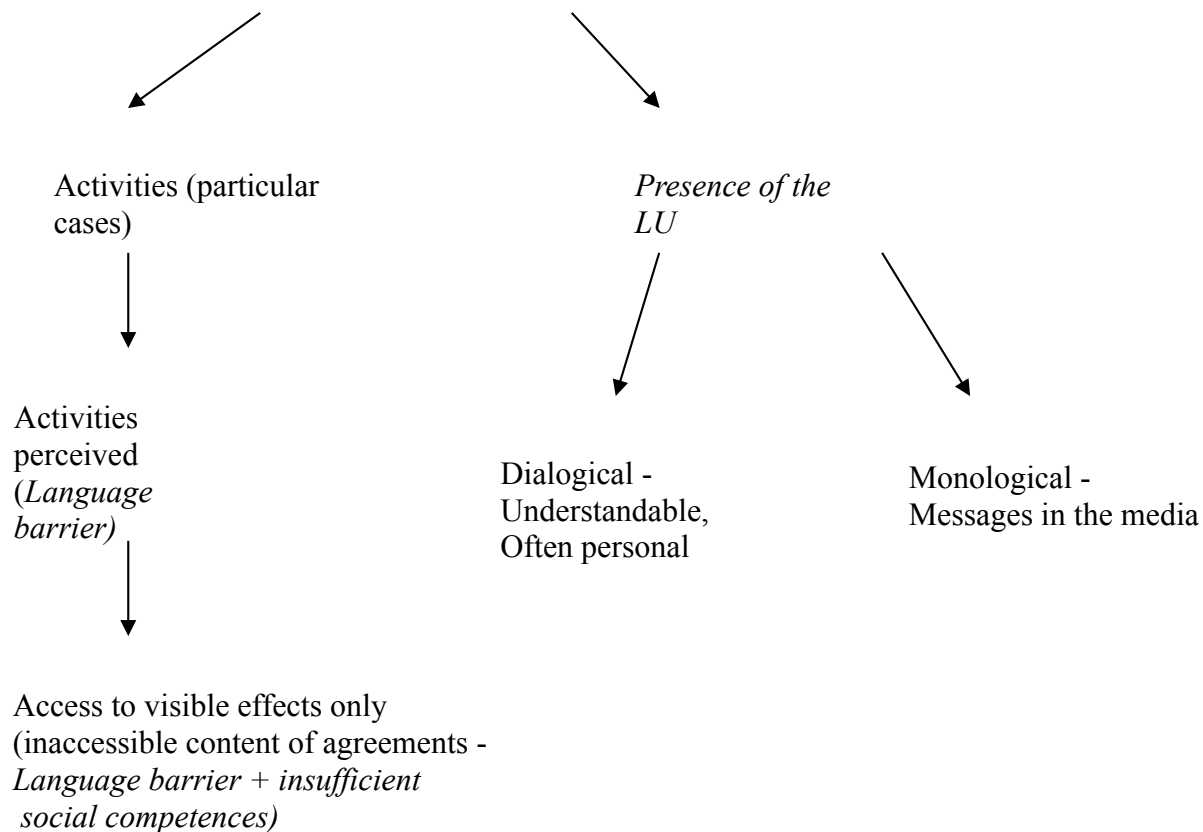
Map no. 2. - *All or Nothing* – emergence of.



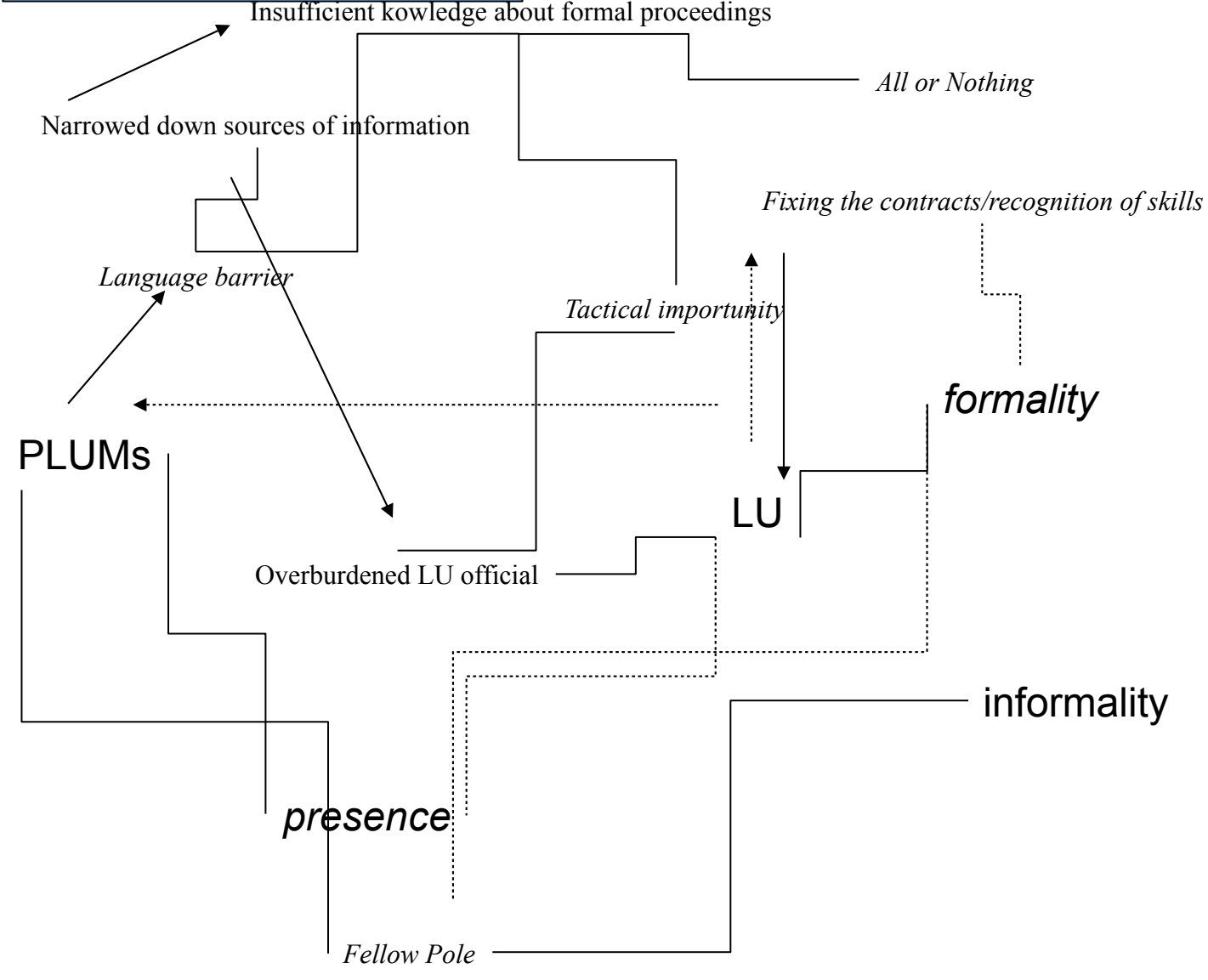
Map no.3. *All or Nothing* – background of attitudes



Perception of LU activities



Map. no.5. Formality/informality



7. References.

Books & articles:

1. Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory. A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*, Sage.
2. Dey, I. (2007), *Grounding Categories*; [in] [ed.] Bryant, A & Charmaz, K (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*; Sage.
3. Dølvik, J. E., Friberg, J. H. (2008). *Den nye arbeidsinnvandringen, Drivkrefter, utviklingstrekk og arbeidslivspolitiske konsekvenser*, Oslo, ISBN 978-82-12-02589-9 (pdf).
4. Dølvik J. E. & Eldring L. (2008). *Mobility of labour from new EU States to the Nordic Region – Development trends and consequences*. TemaNord 2008.
5. Eldring L. & Hansen J. A. (2009). *Fagbevegelsen og arbeidsinnvandring: Strategier og resultater i Norge og Danmark*. Institutt for samfunnsforskning 1/2009 (ISSN 0800-6199)
6. Friberg, J. H., (2012, forthcoming). *Migration, settlement and return among Polish workers in Norway*, forthcoming in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*.
7. Friberg, J.H. (2010). *Flexible firms, niche markets and cultural capital: Polish migrants in the ethnic division of labour in the Norwegian construction industry*, Forthcoming in *Ethnic and Racial Studies*.
8. Favell. A. (2008), *The New Face of East-West Migration in Europe'*. *Journal of Ethnic and Migrant studies*, 34,
9. Gardawski, J. (eds) (2009). *Polacy pracujący a kryzys fordysmu*, ('Working Poles and crisis of fordism'), Scholar.
10. Gardawski, J. (1996). *Przyzwolenie ograniczone Robotnicy wobec rynku I demokracji*, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warszawa.
11. Gibson B, (2007), *Accommodating Critical Theory*; [in] [ed.] Bryant, A & Charmaz, K (2007). *The Sage Handbook of Grounded Theory*; Sage.
12. Gibson W. J. & Brown A. (2009). *Working with Qualitative Data* (2nd eds.). SAGE.
13. Gillham, B. (2000). *Case Study Research Methods*, Continuum.
14. Gordon. M (1964). *Assimilation in American Life. The role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. New York, Oxford University Press.
15. Gordon. M (1978). *Human nature, Class and Ethnicity*. New York, Oxford University Press.
16. Heilbrunn, S., Kushnirovich, N., Zeltzer-Zubida, A. (2010). *Barriers to immigrants' integration into the labor*

- market: Modes and coping*, International Journal of Intercultural Relations 32 (2010).
17. Holiday A. (2007). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*, (2nd eds.) SAGE.
 18. Okólski, M., (1999). *Poland's migration: growing diversity of flows and people*, Prace Migracyjne, 29.
 19. Martens, A. (1995). *Migratory movements, the position, the outlook: charting theory and practice for trade unions*, [in] J. Wrench, A. Rea & N.Ouali (eds.). *Migrants, Ethnic Minorities and Labour Market: Integration and Exclusion in Europe*, Macmillan, London 1999.
 20. Miller, W. L. & Crabtree, B. F. (1999). *The dance of interpretation*. In Crabtree, B. F. & Miller, W. L. *Doing Qualitative Research*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
 21. Morse, J.M. et all. (2009). *Developing Grounded Theory. The Second Generation*, LEFT COAST PRESS INC,
 22. Parlett, M. & Hamilton, D. (1976). *Evaluation as Illumination: A New Approach to the Study of Innovative Programmes*. In Glass, D. (eds.) *Evaluation Studies Review Annual*. Vol 1. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
 23. Prior, M. J., (1979), *Birds of Passage. Migrant labor and industrial societies*, Cambridge University Press
 24. Robson, C. (2002), *Real World Research* [2nd ed.], Oxford, Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
 25. Schutt, R.S. (2009). *Investigating The Social World. The process and practice of research*. SAGE.
 26. Stewart & Shamdasami (1990), *Focus Groups. Theory and Practice*, Sage
 27. Strauss, A. L. & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basis of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. London Sage
 28. Wrench, J. (2004). *Breakthroughs and blind spots. Trade union responses to immigrants and ethnic minorities in Denmark and UK*, FAFO.
 29. Working Environmental Act (2 eds.) (Lov om Arbeidsmiljø, Arbeidstid og Stillingsvern MV)(2008). Glyndal Norsk Forlag.

Internet Sources, Webpages and Articles:

1. Arbeidsmiljøloven (The Working Environmental Act)
<http://www.arbeidstilsynet.no/binfil/download2.php?tid=92156>
2. Basic Agreement 2010-2013 LO-NHO; <http://www.fellesforbundet.no/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Hovedavtalene/Hovedavtalen-LO---NHO-pa-engelsk-2006---2009/?attachment=true>
3. Bemmanningsbransjen 2010 prinsippavtale (Preliminary Agreement for job center sector of 2010 - <http://213.203.33.181/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Overenskomster/Prinsippavtale-for-bemanningsbransjen/?attachment=true> (full text in Norwegian) and <http://213.203.33.181/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Overenskomster/Prinsippavtale-for-bemanningsbransjen-polsk/?attachment=true> (summary in Polish).
4. Bowen G.L. (2006). *Grounded Theory and Sensitizing Concepts*, International Journal of Qualitative Methods 5 (3)

- September; http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/5_3/PDF/bowen.pdf
5. Collective Agreement for The Building Industry 2010-2012 §1-2 (2). <http://www.fellesforbundet.no/Lonns--og-arbeidsvilkar/Overenskomster/Fellesoverenskomsten-for-byggfag-2008---2010-engelsk-versjon/?attachment=true>
 6. Concise statistical yearbook of Poland, 2005 (Mały Rocznik Statystyczny 2005). http://www.stat.gov.pl/cps/rde/xber/gus/PUBL_oz_maly_rocznik_statystyczny_2009.pdf
 7. Directive 92/51/ECC - on a second general system for the recognition of professional education and training to supplement Directive 89/48/EEC http://www.bbt.admin.ch/themen/01105/01150/01151/index.html?lang=en&download=NHZLpZeg7t.lnp6I0NTU042I2Z6ln1ad1IZn4Z2qZpnO2Yuq2Z6gpJCDeXt6hGym162epYbg2c_JjKbNoKSn6A--
 8. DIRECTIVE 2005/36/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 7 September 2005 on the recognition of professional qualifications (Text with EEA relevance). <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2005:255:0022:0142:en:PDF>
 9. DIRECTIVE 2008/104/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL of 19 November 2008 on temporary agency work <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:L:2008:327:0009:0014:EN:PDF>
 10. EEA Agreement <http://efta.int/eea/~media/Documents/legal-texts/eea/the-eea-agreement/Main%20Text%20of%20the%20Agreement/EEAagreement.ashx>
 11. Eldring, L., Friberg, J. H. (2006) Polonia i Oslo 2006, FAFO. <http://www.faf.no/pub/rapp/20027/20027.pdf>
 12. Eldring, L., Friberg, J. H. (2010), Polonia i Oslo 2010. FAFO. http://www.faf.no/Oestforum/101026/line_eldring_og_jon_horgen_friberg.pdf
 13. Henriksen, K., Østby, L., Ellingsen, D., (red.) Innvandring og innvandrere 2010, Statistical Analysis, Statistikal Sentralbyrå, Oslo. http://www.ssb.no/emner/02/sa_innvand/sa119/sa119.pdf
 14. Løken, E., Stokke, T. A. Labour relations in Norway, Faf 2009. <http://www.regjeringen.no/pages/2469736/PDFS/NOU201020100001000DDDPDFS.pdf>
 15. National information center about authorization and recognition system) <http://www.nokut.no/en/INVIA-en>
 16. Negaard, K. Fagorganisering i Norden. Status og utviklingstrekk, November 2010; <http://www.faf.no/pub/rapp/10121/10121.pdf>
 17. Negaard, K.; Tall og fakta om bemanningsbransjen I Norge, Faf Østforum, publishing date 16.03.2010; http://www.faf.no/Oestforum/100316/kristine_nergard.pdf
 18. National portal of Education, <http://utdanning.no/>
 19. Opplæringsloven (Education Act); <http://www.lovdatab.no/all/nl-19980717-061.html>
 20. Putnam, R.D. (2007). *E Pluribus unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture*, Scandinavian Political Studies, 30(2). <http://www.utoronto.ca/ethnicstudies/Putnam.pdf>
 21. Rauhvargers, A., (2004). Recognition of Foreign Qualifications;

http://www.aic.lv/bolona/Recognition/exp_text/atz_gram_spec.pdf)

22. Rossavik, F., *Stadig nye kart*, Morgenbladet 13.05.2011;
<http://morgenbladet.no/article/20110513/OAKTUELT/705139959>
23. Ryan L. et al. (2008). *Social Networks, Social Support and Social Capital: The Experiences of Recent Polish Migrants in London*, BSA Publications Ltd. Vol. 42(4), pp. 674-5. <http://soc.sagepub.com/content/42/4/672.full.pdf>
24. Waldinger, R. D., Lichter, M. I. (2003). *How the Other Half Works : Immigration and the Social Organization of Labor*. Ewing, NJ, USA, University of California Press, <http://site.ebrary.com/lib/tromsoub/Doc?id=10051161&ppg=160>

Tables:

1. Table 1. See. Table 3.7 p.28 [in] Munkeby, I. and Others: *Medvirkning og medbestemmelse I arbeidslivet*, Norges offentlige utredninger.