DOI: 10.12797/Politeja.12.2015.31_2.11

Brita GJERSTAD
International Research Institute of Stavanger
Brita.Gjerstad@iris.no

Øystein Lund JOHANNESSEN
Centre for Intercultural Communication
oystein.l.johannessen@sik.no

Svein Ingve NØDLAND
International Research Institute of Stavanger
SveinIngve.Nodland@iris.no

Geir SKEIE
University of Stavanger
Geir.Skeie@uis.no

Gunn VEDØY
International Research Institute of Stavanger
Gunn.Vedoy@iris.no

POLICIES IN MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SERVICES AND MIGRATION TO NORWAY

ABSTRACT Today, approximately 15% of the total Norwegian population of 5 million are immigrants, and this number is growing. This article investigates how public social service institutions and local policies are challenged by the new realities of migration and how they attempt to meet them in Norway, by identifying and discussing tensions between policies and practices. The article exemplifies these tensions through focusing on the Education sector and the Health and Care sector, and their respective treatment of two groups, labour migrants and refugees. Interviews were conducted with immigrants and public service providers in three municipalities. In the analysis of various white papers on migration and integration issues, we use the concepts of *group pluralism* and *individual plural-*

ism as analytical tools. In the empirical analysis, we have searched for critical issues arising in the relationship between providers and receivers of services. We find that when national policies meet practice at the municipal level, the municipal context and economic incentives are important factors. Other central aspects include the history, traditions and functions of the social service institutions that are responsible for carrying out national policies at the municipal level. Here, the main professional bodies appear to exercise their own particular logic in regards to the integration and inclusion of migrants into the Norwegian society.

Keywords: Norway, migration, public services

INTRODUCTION

This article asks how public social service institutions and local policies can be constructed in order to meet the new realities in migration to Norway. This is done by discussing the tension between policies and practices in relation to two groups, work migrants and refugees. We find that when national policies meet practice at the municipal level, the municipal context and economic incentives are important factors. Other central aspects include the history, traditions and functions of the institutions that carry out the national policy at the municipal level. Here, the main professional bodies appear to exercise their own particular logic for integration and inclusion of migrants. In the article, they are exemplified by the education sector and the health and care sector.

The Norwegian welfare state is characterised, among other things, by the granting of extensive rights to public social services for all citizens and permanent residents. There is a national migrant inclusion and integration policy, which is expressed in national legislation and in various white papers from the last decades. Although the policy is national, its implementation is delegated to the municipalities. In Norway there are 428 municipalities, which vary greatly in geographical size, population, political majority and infrastructure and in regards to the extent and the type of migration.

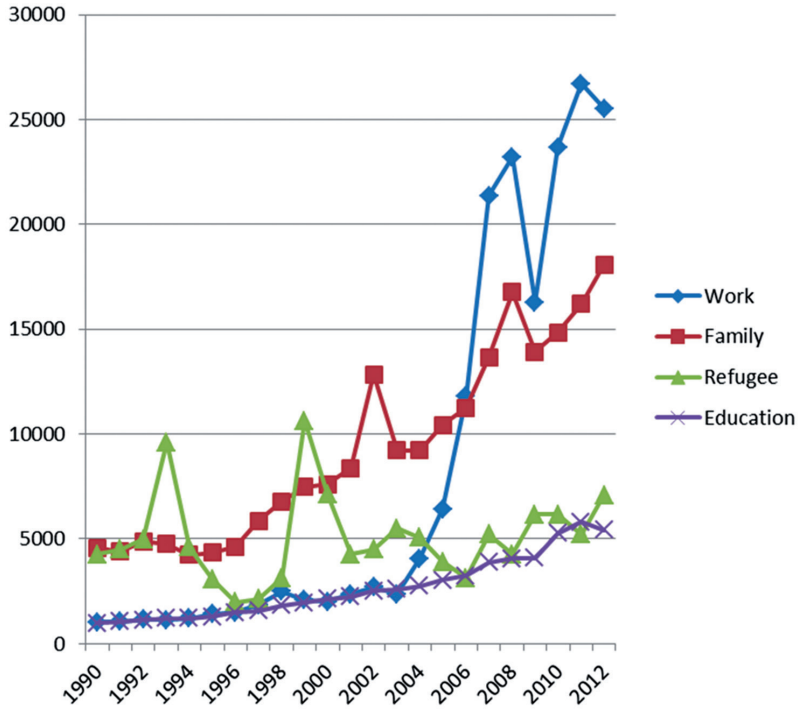
In present-day Norway, there are approximately 600,000 persons who have migrated to the country, and approximately 120,000 persons born in Norway of parents who were both born abroad.[1] Together, they constitute 14.1% of the total population. Policies directed towards migrants, both at the national and municipal level, have two different target groups[2]. The first group consists of refugees, who have settled due to

[1] Statistics Norway, Migration statistics, at <http://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef>, 19 July 2013.

[2] A third important group in OECD's "big three" is family migrants. Persons in this group will have similarities with either refugees or work migrants, but will not be a subject of discussion in this paper.

agreements with the national integration authorities. The second group constists of labour migrants, arriving as a result of the 2004 enlargement of the European Union combined with the crisis in the European economy, and the elevated demand for workers in the Norwegian labour market.

Figure 1. Reasons for migration to Norway (Statistics Norway), first time migration of migrants of non-Nordic origin



More recent migration patterns to Norway can be described as occurring in three phases. The first phase, which started in the 1960s and continued into the 1970s, consisted of work migrants mainly from Southern Europe, Turkey and Pakistan. In 1975, the Norwegian government introduced a labour migration "stop" due to strong labour market pressure. In this period, work migration more or less ceased, with the exception of experts, primarily within the oil and gas industry. The second phase, which started inthe mid 1970s and continued thirty years onwards, consisted of refugees, asylum seekers and their families, mainly from Asia, Africa, South America, and the Balkans. The 2004 EU enlargement and the consequent labour migration from the new EU countries, initiated the third phase, with labour migrants dominating the migration pattern.[3] Since then, there has been a considerable increase in work migration from Central and Eastern Europe, in particular from Poland and the Baltic states. Estimates

[3] See Figure 1.

foresee that the future will bring an increase in work migration flows both in and out of the country, making both population and migration patterns more diverse and difficult to predict.[4]

This paper discusses policies related to migration and integration in the light of findings from a study of encounters and interactions between migrants and the public social services at the municipal level. The study was conducted in the period of 2011 to 2012. The focus was on the three municipalities in the county of Rogaland, located in the south-western part of Norway.[5] Based on a hypothesis that size and centrality matter when it comes to the way municipalities meet migrants, we chose municipalities of different sizes along a centrum-periphery axis. Stavanger, with its close to 130,000 inhabitants, is the fourth largest municipality and city in the country. It is called the "oil capital" of Norway, referring to its vital role in the petroleum industry. It has a large and segmented administration. Klepp is a smaller municipality with about 17,400 inhabitants, where farming and agricultural industry dominate. It is located not so far from Stavanger. Tysvær is the smallest and most peripheral of the three municipalities with its 10,500 inhabitants, primarily supported by agriculture and the petroleum industry. All three vary when it comes to the number of migrants, both actual and as a percentage of the total population (ref. Table 1).

Public service providers from the three municipalities were interviewed, along with the migrant users of the services, which gave altogether 39 respondents. 12 migrants were recruited via public service providers. The only criterion for participation was to have a migrant status, and consequently migrants of European, Asian and African origin were interviewed. Some were work migrants, and others were refugees. Some of them had school-age children, and we were able to interview the staff from their schools. We also interviewed three representatives from governmental and non-governmental immigrant organisations. 24 interviews were conducted with the representatives of the public services. They represented the Health and care, and Education services, which are the two largest sectors of responsibility in the municipalities. Interviewees from the healthcare sector included both middle managers and practitioners. Chief municipal medical officers, general practitioners with a particular responsibility for migrants, heads of public health clinics and school health care, managment of home care services and special consultants were among the interviewed. From the school sector, we interviewed headmasters of primary schools, pre-school directors and middle managers. We interviewed correspondingly in two municipal learning centres for language minorities, including kindergarten, primary school and adult instruction. In addition, two municipal refugee consultants were interviewed.

Also national and local migration policies are included in the discussion. Traditional policies and practices within the public sector are presently being challenged in mu-

4 I. Texmon, *Regional projection of migration population 2011-2040*, Statistics Norway, Report 2012/11, Oslo 2012.

5 B. Gjerstad et al., *Regional integreringspolitikk og praksis. Kunnskapsstatus og utviklingsmuligheter – Rogaland som case*, SIK report, Stavanger 2012.

nicipalities that experience a high degree of work migration. Public service providers are thus in the need of new tools to meet the needs of work migrants.

As an analytical tool, in the analysis of various white papers on migration and integration issues, we use the concepts of *group pluralism* and *individual pluralism*. Group pluralism implies that the emphasis is on how (majority and minority) groups live together on equal terms, and this can be contrasted with apartheid pluralism, representing an example of segregation.[6] Individual pluralism emphasises the living together of individuals with different national and ethnic backgrounds, with less regard to their belonging to socio-cultural groups. It has been stated that the idea of group pluralism is important in the Norwegian migrant policy documents, and this may be understood in the light of political environment where both communitarian and liberal ideas exist side by side in the discussions about integration policies.[7] It is therefore to be expected that traces of both group pluralism and individual pluralism are present in the policy texts.

We proceed as follows: In the following section, we give an analysis of national integration policies, how theyhave developed in general, and how they are interpreted and adapted in two major sectors, Health and Care, and Education. In the subsequent section, we look at how integration policies are put into practice at the local, municipal level. In the final section, we discuss the direction and challenges of migration and integration policies facing the municipalities.

MIGRATION AND INTEGRATION POLICIES

At the state level, migration and integration policies are made explicit and are targeted in several acts and white papers. These documents specifically address migration and integration issues at a general level, but often there are separated groups according to the motive for migration. People that have been granted status as refugees because of threat of persecution elsewhere, are primarily met with policies which seek to qualify and equip for future work and societal participation. Work migrants have, per definition, an affiliation to the labour market, and are mainly met by labour market policies. This applies for both permanent and temporary work migrants.

The Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion is at this point in time responsible for the formation and implementation of policies. During the last decade, the Ministry of Labour, and the Ministry of Government Administration and Reform have also been the ministries responsible for migration and integration policies at the national level.

In addition, acts and white papers formulated in other ministries address migration and integration issues, but as a part of other overarching sector policies. Thus, we

[6] B. Crittenden, *Cultura Pluralism and Common Curriculum*, Carlton (Vic.) 1982 (*Second Century in Australian Education*, 18) and NOU 1995: 12 *Opplæring i et flerkulturelt Norge.*

[7] T.-A. Skrefsrud, *Å være lærer i interkulturell kontekst. Om dialogens betydning for lærerkompetansen*, PhD dissertation, NTNU, Trondheim 2011.

encounter the issue mentioned in the documents from both the Ministry of Education and Research and the Ministry of Health and Care Services. This situation further complicates the interpretation of national policies at the municipal level.

GENERAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The national policy discourse on integration is multi-faceted, but as expressed in the white papers, the main policy builds on some core principles. Firstly, it is important to respect difference, and mark a distance towards a policy of assimilation. Key ideas include ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, tolerance, and inclusion. Secondly, an important concern is to underline the need for migrants' participation and inclusion in all levels of society on equal terms with the ethnic Norwegian population.

To a large extent, current Norwegian integration policy and its corresponding development of institutional and competence structures can be said to be shaped by the second migration phase. This phase, which begun in the mid-1970s, lasted for 30 years and was characterised by the flow of refugees and asylum seekers and their families, most of whom arrived from countries geographically, culturally, and linguistically distant from Norway.

An analysis of policy documents from the first phase of immigration gives a reason to characterise Norwegian migrant policy as group pluralistic in its focus on integration. Already in the 1970s, integration meant that migrants were acknowledged as full worthy members of society, regardless of differences in background and origin.[8] The giving up of national identity, mother tongue, and relation to country of origin and its culture was not required, nor was a plan to stay in Norway indefinitely. The key focus was on participation and endeavouring to find one's way in the local community and larger society. This understanding of integration was at the core of Norwegian policies until the 2000s.[9]

In the second phase of migration, additional perspectives emerged in the national migration policy, one being the equality perspective put on the minority-majority relationship. As the migrant population increased in numbers and percentage of the national population, the government expressed a concern for minority-majority relations and for social cohesion. Common values, interaction, dialogue as well as counteracting the isolation of certain ethnic groups were put forward as important considerations.[10] In the early 21st century, the basis for the policies moved in the direction of a clearer

[8] Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 39 to the Storting (1973-74): *On Migration Policy (Om innvandringspolitikken)*.

[9] Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 74 to the Storting (1979-80): *On Migrants in Norway (Om innvandrere til Norge)*; Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 39 to the Storting (1987-88): *On Migration Policy (Om innvandringspolitikken)*; Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, Report No. 17 to the Storting (1996-97): *On Migration and the Multicultural Norway (Om innvandring og det flerkulturelle Norge)*.

[10] Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, Report No. 17 to the Storting (1996-97)...

individual perspective, with more weight on the individual's right to make their own decisions and to choose a lifestyle independent from both the majority and minority. The white paper St. meld. nr. 49 (2003-2004) *Diversity through Inclusion and Participation*[11] can be said to promote an individual perspective on diversity, yet without fully setting aside the idea of group pluralism. The paper tries to draw an intermediate position between assimilation demands in terms of culture and lifestyles on the one hand, and social and cultural segregation in terms of multiculturalism on the other. The white paper's shift of focus towards inclusion and individualism can partly be understood on the background of the rapidly growing second generation of immigrants. By the "second generation of immigrants" the white paper refers to people of two foreign-born parents. This generation grows up in Norway and to a large extent speak Norwegian as their first language, while their parents' fluency in Norwegian may vary. Especially migrant women report poor skills in Norwegian.[12]

17% of all children born in Norway in 2012 were of migrantparents.[13] Research indicates that these children are better integrated than their parents,[14] but this claim is nevertheless subject to discussion due to certain considerations. For one thing, it has been reported that the second generation of immigrants suffer more from bullying than majority youngsters.[15] In addition, research shows that the young second generation immigrants in Oslo more often appear in criminal statistics and display more anti-social behaviour than majority youngsters.[16] It has been discussed whether or not this is a result of being a part of a transition, and thus lacking cultural anchoring, but this seems to be only one of explanations. Low socio-economic status and discrimination are probably also part of the picture.[17] On the other hand, it is noted that second generation migrants are overrepresented in higher education: compared with majority youngsters, more children of migrants aim for master degrees or PhDs,[18] and complete

[11] Ministry of Labour, Report No. 49 to the Storting (2003-2004): *Diversity through Inclusion and Participation (Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse).*

[12] S. Blom, K. Henriksen (eds.), *Living conditions among migrants in Norway 2005/2006*, Statistics Norway, report 2008/5, Oslo 2008.

[13] Of migrants who have lived in Norway minimum seven years, 63% become Norwegian citizens. Being born in Norway does not grant Norwegian citizenship, but a child born with one or both parents having a Norwegian citizenship, is automatically a Norwegian citizen. After 2006, it also applies if the birth takes place in another country and, independently of their marital status, parents can apply for Norwegian citizenship for their children at the same time they apply for their own. See <http://www.ssb.no/befolkning/statistikker/innvbef>.

[14] T. Løwe, 'Unge oppvokst i Norge med innvandrerforeldre. Mer "norske" enn eldre innvandrere?', *Samfunnsspeilet*, No. 4 (2009).

[15] H. Fandrem, D. Strohmeier, K.A. Jonsdottir, 'Peer Groups and Victimisation among Native and Immigrant Adolescents in Norway', *Emotional and Behavioral Difficulties*, Vol. 17, No. 3-4 (2012), at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2012.704308>.

[16] T. Øia, *Innvandrerungdom – integrasjon og marginalisering*, NOVA Rapport 20/05, 2005.

[17] Ibid.

[18] B. Lødding, *Ut fra videregående: Integrasjon i arbeid og utdanning blant minoritetsungdom i det første Reform 94-kullet*, NIFU-rapport 1-2003, 2003.

higher degrees of education.[19] Policy makers have so far concluded that the migrants' need is not to be integrated, but to be included and to participate in different arenas on equal terms with the ethnic majority.

A major policy tool for inclusion of migrants is the *Introduction Act*, which was passed in 2002. The *Introduction Act* makes it mandatory for all municipalities to offer an introduction program to the newly arrived migrants, and it is both a right and a duty for the targeted groups of immigrants to participate in this program. The act implied a kind of standardisation of local integration work, and was characterised as an integration policy reform. Perhaps strangely, this standardisation was launched simultaneously with a turn towards individualism in migration policy, focusing on individual rights and duties. This can be seen as being well-aligned with the Nordic social democratic welfare state system which stresses equality and universal rights[20] in services that are offered to all refugees regardless of their background or country of origin.

The main target group in the *Introduction Act* is refugees. The Introduction Program provides basic skills in the Norwegian language, knowledge of the Norwegian society, and preparation for worklife participation. Within the first three months after their settlement in a municipality, refugees have a right to economic support to enable their participation in the introduction program, they also have a right to being appointed a personal contact person. Absenteeism from the program can result in economic sanctions for the refugee. The standard duration of the program is two years. The main goal of the introduction program is to qualify migrants for the participation in work-life. Work immigrants are not a targeted group.

Work migration policies have been, and still are, quite different from the refugee migration policies. Even the white paper *Diversity through Inclusion and Participation*,[21] that was presented between the second and third phase of migration, targeted integration objectives concerning the groups of refugees and asylum seekers with families, and not the work migration likely to be expected in the years to come. It was acknowledged though, that the third phase of migration would generate challenges, as well as prospects. In a later white paper, *Work migration*,[22] these issues were dealt with more in depth, but still to a limited extent. The document's main focus was on migration routines, regulations, and labour market participation, rather than on wider integration issues.

The next white paper, *Norwegian Asylum and Immigration Policy in a European Perspective*,[23] deals with migration patterns influenced by EU policies. Migrants from the EU/EEA-countries belong to one migrant category, which differs from that of

19 NOU 2010: 7 *Mangfold og mestring.*

20 G. Esping-Anderssen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge 1990.

21 Ministry of Labour, Report No. 49 to the Storting (2003-2004)...

22 Ministry of Labour, Report No. 18 to the Storting (2007-2008): *Work Migration (Arbeidsinnvandring).*

23 Ministry of Justice and Public Security, Report No. 9 to the Storting (2009-2010): *Norwegian Asylum and Immigration Policy in a European Perspective (Norsk flyktning– og migrasjonspolitikk i et europeisk perspektiv).*

refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in general. Labour migrants from the EU/EEA countries are to a certain extent put into the same category as Norwegian citizens, with general rights to free public services, but are not targeted for integration efforts similar to those directed towards refugees and migrants from outside the EU/EEA frontiers.

The most recent white paper *A Coherent Integration Policy*,[24] expresses ambitions of a broad and general integration policy, covering integration issues for all migration groups. It still contains a strong focus on the situation of refugees, asylum seekers and their families. Regarding work migrants, the document is, in particular, concerned with their participation in the labour market, availability of information to facilitate their settlement in Norway, and language training possibilities. It is still stressed that work migrants should, in principle, pay for their own language training or get this covered by their employer. At the same time, it is recognised that both migrant groups face similar challenges regarding the welfare services. The document underscores the "sector principle" which means that different parts ("sectors") of the public service are responsible for their own services, and therefore also for the necessary adaption to migrant needs. This further implies that municipalities, in particular, are responsible for making services accessible for different groups of migrants. We thus see signs of a shift towards a more coherent and comprehensive immigration policy, where the needs of both refugees and work migrants are addressed.

In more general and overarching policy documents concerning education and the health services, the Norwegian welfare state is traditionally based on the principle of equality. The principle for most public services is that users with identical needs and priorities are entitled to the same public services.[25] In line with this, government integration policy states the principles of equal opportunities, rights and duties for migrants to participate and contribute to the Norwegian society. Nonetheless, matching public services based on equality with the needs of a diverse population is a recognised challenge.

Combining difference with equality creates a dilemma. Equal treatment and possibilities often demand that people behave similarly, for instance at work, at school, or in kindergarten. In practice, this may become complicated if people adhere to ethnic and religious group values that differ from the mainstream values. The response of the National Migration Policy is to focus on individual resources, competences, rights, and obligations. Group or national values and needs have been reduced or separated, but not totally removed, from the main policies. This follows the patterns indicated by Kymlicka[26] regarding how liberal democratic and pluralistic states deal with minorities. Even if the state in principle claims to be neutral and wishes to respect minorities with their special character and cultural values, the policy of nation-building with a focus on a national language and cultural heritage tends to have a foundation in majority-dominated

[24] Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Report No. 6 to the Storting (2012-2013): *A Coherent Integration Policy (En helhetlig integreringspolitikk).*

[25] Ministry of Labour, Report No. 49 to the Storting (2003-2004)...

[26] W. Kymlicka, *Politics in the Vernacula., Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, Oxford 2001.

social institutions. In the case of Norway, a small country outside of the European Union, it may be expected that this type of nation-building plays an important role.

The findings in this study give reason to question whether or not Norwegian migrant policies really are supporting group pluralism. Instead, we ask whether changes in migration population patterns together with national migration policy shifts, sector policies, and municipal implementation practices, point towards a stronger influence from ideas of individual pluralism in the policy focus of coming years.

HEALTH AND CARE SECTOR POLICY

The health and care sector is predominantly public in Norway, and the responsibility for the different services is shared between the national authorities and the municipalities. The distribution of responsibility is based mainly on the degree of specialisation of the services. The more specialised services are provided for by four regional health authorities, owned by the state. These involve somatic and psychiatric hospitals, polyclinics, centres for treatment, centres for rehabilitation, pre-hospital services, specialised professionals in private practice and lab and x-ray services. The funding is granted for in the state budget and its legal foundation is stated in the Act of Specialised Health Care Services, focusing mainly on ways to organise and manage the service providers.

Health services outside institutions, i.e. the primary health care, are provided freely by the municipalities. Their responsibility covers health promotion, preventive health measures, nursing services provided outside of hospitals and general practitioners (GP). They are also responsible for making their services accessible and understandable for the population, including the migrant population. Since June 1, 2001 the general practice has been organised according to a model where all citizens have a permanent individual/family doctor. The legal basis for the primary health care is stated in the Act of Municipal Health and Care Services and the Act of Public Health.

In all parts of the health and care sector, the main rule is that the services are universal and directed towards the whole population living and/or working in the country. Every person, independent of legal status, has a right to help when life and/or health is in danger. For other services, the only requirement is membership of the national social security system. Every person registered as living in Norway is a member and has the right to services and insurance benefits, and all persons born in Norway are also members, no matter where their parents reside. All such persons have a social security number. Migrants who are planning to stay for more than 6 months are required to formally register in the Civil Registry and are issued a social security number. Asylum seekers receive a temporary social security number, called a D-number. With that number they have the right to a family doctor.[27] Persons without a social security number or D-number are not members of the national social security system and do not have the

[27] Ø. Berge, A.B. Djuve, K.R. Tronstad, *Rekruttering av utenlandsk arbeidskraft: Innvandreres arbeidsmiljø og tilknytning til arbeidsmarkedet i Norge*, FAFO-rapport, Oslo 2010.

same rights. There are no further national policies specifically targeting migrants. Municipalities have the responsibility to provide the same health and care services to both migrants and regular citizens (acc. to the Act of Municipal Health and Care Services), that is, municipalities shall ensure necessary health and care services to all who live or temporarily reside in the municipality.

Although the acknowledgement of "the unique" in migrants' health and care needs is scarcely visible in national white papers, we find the issue addressed through the formation of specialised departments in health institutions at national level (i.e. the Norwegian Directorate of Health, National Unit for Minority Health and Youth and Family Affairs (*Bufetat*). These, among other things, offer counselling for municipalities in topics related to immigrant health and care needs, and research is also undertaken in this field. We conclude that the national strategies towards migrants' health are somewhat mixed; even if general policies underline the individual perspective in offering services for all, some group-related support and compensatory activities do exist.

EDUCATION SECTOR POLICY

The Norwegian education sector can be divided into three levels, each with authority and responsibility for implementation of national policies.

1) Municipal level: All children aged 1-5 have a statutory right to day care in pre-schools or kindergartens. Compulsory education is provided for all children aged between 6-16, divided into primary and lower secondary school. In addition, the municipalities are responsible for compulsory education for adults and for teaching and training for refugees and for other immigrants, referred to in the Introduction Act.
2) County level: Teenagers between ages 16-19 are entitled to upper secondary education, divided into further qualification for higher education or vocational training. In addition, the county level is responsible for upper secondary education for adults.
3) National level: For all qualified persons over age 19 – we find the national system of higher education, primarily divided into universities and university colleges.

In this article the focus is on the municipal level, still at national level we find acts and specific plans and regulations such as the *Framework plan for the content and tasks of kindergartens* (2011), *The National Curriculum for Knowledge Promotion in Primary and Secondary Education and Training* (2006) and *The national curriculum in Norwegian language and social studies for adult immigrants* (2005). These are overarching, and the municipalities are responsible for implementation of the plans, regarding both quality and financing. Ownership between municipal and private kindergartens is between 47-53%[28] and parents pay up to a maximum fee for their children. Compulsory

[28] Statistics Norway, Kindergarten statistics, at <http://www.ssb.no/utdanning/statistikker/barnehager/aar-endelige>, 19 July 2013.

education is free, and most students attend public schools, a little over 3% of Norwegian students in primary and secondary education attend private schools.[29]

The Education Act determines that the municipality of domicile is obliged to offer all children of primary school age education, when it is likely that these children will stay in Norway for three months or longer. The right to education applies when it is likely that the child will stay in Norway for three months or longer, and the duty to participate in compulsory education starts after the stay exceeds three months. In addition, § 2-8 in the Education Act gives students with a mother tongue different than Norwegian or Sami, the right to tuition in Norwegian as a second language, and if possible, under certain circumstances also mother tongue tuition and bi-lingual content tuition, until sufficient proficiency in Norwegian language is reached. In the municipalities this paragraph is subject to interpretation, and thus the practice varies widely between both schools and municipalities.

Norwegian primary and secondary education has been given a double mandate. The task is not only educational, to teach children basic knowledge and skills, but schools also provide an arena of socialisation, with a collective and ideological mission characterised by terms such as "unitary school", nation building, social equality and equal opportunities. In spite of this, the educational system has far from succeeded in creating equality. Migration accentuates some of these challenges as it introduces new groups, many of whom come from families with a low socio-economic status.[30]

The central focus in the Norwegian Official Report 2010:7 *Diversity and Coping. About multilingual children, adolescents and adults in the education system*, is that education is a key factor in successful integration – for migrants as well as at community level.[31] Referring to a survey, conducted by Statistics Norway in 2005 and 2006 on the living conditions of immigrants, Blom and Henriksen[32] state that immigrants' education, in line with what is the case for the rest of the population, will affect many other areas of life: the higher the education, the greater the chance for success in other areas such as work, housing, health, political participation and influence.

Refugees and immigrants of all ages and stages of life meet a public education system in the very first stage after their arrival to Norway. Whether they are living in refugee centres pending their asylum application or they come directly to a municipality with a work permit and a work contract, the question of right and/or obligation to participate in basic Norwegian language tuition program rises. These rights are regulated by the Integration Act. The adult refugee migrant is entitled to 500 hours of instruction in the Norwegian language, 50 hours of social studies instruction and up to 2400

[29] G. Vedøy, J. Møller, 'Successful School Leadership for Diversity? Examining Two Contrasting Examples of Working for Democracy in Norway', *International Studies in Educational Administration*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2007), pp. 58-67.

[30] T.O. Engen, 'De gamle verdier er oprørske kategorier i en verden hvor normen er motsat ... Om minoritetsfamiliers utdanningsstrategier' in Ch. Horst (ed.), *Interkulturel pædagogik. Flere sprog – problem eller ressource?*, Vejle 2003, pp. 127-161.

[31] NOU 2010: 7..., p. 33.

[32] S. Blom, K. Henriksen (eds.), *Living conditions...*

hours of additional tuition. The follow up period may have a duration of up to five years. The work migrant can also receive language tuition, but ordinarily this has to be financed either by the employer or the work migrant herself/himself. Formal participation in courses in the Norwegian language is not required for labour migrants from the EU/EEA-area, due to the EEA-agreement. Work migrants from outside the EU/EEA, on the other hand, have to complete a 300-hour language course in order to apply for a permanent residence permit.

The question of the right and duty of language tuition for the individual refugee or immigrant will vary in type and duration according to age, life stage, and abode. In summary, the education policy does take care of the needs of migrant children. It also, to some extent, deals with the needs of adult migrants, with a focus mainly on refugee groups and their families.

MIGRATION POLICIES PUT INTO PRACTICE IN MUNICIPALITIES

The municipalities are the main instruments for implementation of national integration policies as well as for several other welfare policies. Norway has 428 municipalities and 19 counties, varying very much in population and geographical size. National authorities cooperate with municipalities throughout the country in order to settle persons who have been granted asylum. Among other responsibilities, this includes planning how many persons are to be settled at which time in which municipality. In the present study, we investigate how three municipalities carry out their tasks regarding reception of new immigrants. The three municipalities are all in a phase of population growth, mainly due to increased immigration. Stavanger municipality is part of the 3rd largest city region in Norway, while Klepp and Tysvær municipalities are semi-rural.

Table 1. Immigrant population per 1.1.2013

Municipalities	Total population	Immigrants defined as foreign born people + Norwegian born of foreign parents	Immigrants – per cent of total population Distributed according to nation of origin		
			Per cent	EU/EEA, USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand	Asia, Africa, Latin-America, Oceania except Australia and New Zealand, and Europe except the EU/EØS
Stavanger	129.191	26.054	20,2	12.044 (46)	14.010 (54)
Klepp	18.227	2.194	12,0	1.353 (62)	841 (38)
Tysvær	10.487	753	7,2	434 (58)	319 (42)
Norway	5.051.275	710.465	14,1	6,0 (43)	8,1 (57)

The three municipalities are located in the county of Rogaland, on the south-west coast of Norway.

Figure 2. Location of the case municipalities Stavanger, Klepp and Tysvær

The Stavanger municipality is regarded as the oil capital of Norway and has a much larger population than Klepp or Tysvær. It has, percentage-wise, the largest foreign population, larger than the national average, while the two other medium-sized municipalities have a smaller immigrant population than the national average. Klepp, located in the Greater Stavanger region, has relatively more immigrants than Tysvær. Tysvær is a district municipality in a smaller region to the north of Stavanger and with the smallest population of the three. All three units have a fairly even

combination of immigrants from the western and the EU/EEA countries and non--western and other countries. That means their immigrant population is probably equally distributed between work migrants and their families, refugees, and asylum seekers and their families.

MUNICIPAL MASTER PLANS

Norwegian municipalities are required to make master plans covering social development as well as public services and infrastructure planning. With regards to their focus on immigration issues there are significant differences between the three municipalities in their planning documents. Stavanger has defined diversity and participation as one of the five main objectives. Population diversity is highlighted as an important resource, and the policy underlines openness, inclusion and diversity. Among the policy measures targeting immigrants are information initiatives on services, local networks in settlement areas, language training and labour market qualification. The city adopts a fairly active and broad integration policy. The municipality of Klepp is also concerned with immigrants in their overall policy, but less so than Stavanger. The general focus is residential living with the aim to develop stable residential environment for immigrants, for example migrant house ownership schemes. In addition to its focus on the housing market for immigrants, the municipality emphasises cultural services, mother language training in school and in kindergarten. Tysvær has less focus on immigrants in their master plan. A master plan draft mentions reception of refugees and communication with immigrants in general as areas of some importance.

The municipalities place different emphasis on planning for integration work. Not surprisingly, the size of municipality and the size of its immigration population seems to impact the scope of immigration policy. A larger municipality like Stavanger adopts a broader integration policy profile than smaller municipalities where introduction and settling of refugees are the main concerns.

Municipalities differ as to their focus in policies directed towards their migrant population.

Immigrants, however, have similar needs, independent of where they live. In our case, immigrants in the municipalities are in relative agreement and the needs are more or less the same for childcare, education, housing, health services and so on. We must also stress that there is a great need to get a more complete picture of the situation, as the group is heterogenic.

However, it is striking how different the picture appears when drawn from the perspective of interviewees from local administration. From their perspective, it is primarily the differences that emerge, and we see that the size of the municipality and number of immigrants, and the immigrants' formal status, creates variations in the local government policies and practices. The size of immigrant groups affects the needs of both immigrants and local government, and also the opportunities the municipalities have to comply with their duties and the extent to which they emphasise integration.

HEALTH AND CARE SECTOR

Immigrants may experience problems in understanding the Norwegian health care system. There is no universal way of organising public health care, and this service may vary greatly between countries. Main differences are found between privately or publicly financed systems, and between family organised and collectively organised systems. The Norwegian system is highly publicly and collectively organised, and some migrants may not be used to this organisation. How does the GP-system work? When is it normal to pay for a visit to the doctor? How to communicate with health personnel that do not understand the migrants' language or culture?

Migrants report challenges in finding their way through the health service system in order to meet their needs. One example is the informant who told that the Accident & Emergency Department did not show up or contact him after he had contacted them, not realising that he was expected to arrive at the clinic himself. Another migrant spoke about difficulties of understanding how to get specialist medical care, which in Norway is obtained by the referral from a GP. From the health service perspective, the main problems are not medical questions as such, even if there may be specific challenges related to health and cultural background. A specific problem mentioned by some is related to children coming from war-ridden countries bearing traumatic memories. A major problem expressed by health personnel is how to communicate well with people with different cultural backgrounds, and how to create trust in the relationship.

Refugees are introduced to the Norwegian health system through the Introduction Program. When refugees arrive, they are immediately put in touch with health personnel who talk with them and map their physical and health condition. Stavanger receives a considerable number of refugees each year. The city has a refugee office to welcome and follow up refugee migrants and their families. The municipality has no specific refugee health service, but has chosen to distribute refugees among GPs with capacity to receive new users. In the medium-sized municipalities of Klepp and Tysvær, a few persons have specialised responsibilities. The municipal refugee coordinator organises the arrival of refugees and meets them on arrival. As long as the refugees are incorporated in the Introduction Program, the refugee co-ordinator is their contact person. The refugees are, in addition, referred to one GP with special responsibility for receiving them and giving them medical assistance. They are free to choose another GP later on.

Short-term migrant workers, may have greater problems in getting a physician since they are not part of the GP-system as long as they have no social security number. Still, they have the same needs when it comes to understanding the health and care system. Short-term migrant workers or their employers are urged to find temporary solutions. A physician in Klepp municipality reports in the interview that employers were active in stressing a need for GPs for their work migrant employees. The local Health and Care Centre therefore decided to offer short-term migrant workers GPs for a moderate price, but the response was rather limited.

Children and youth with migrant background visit the Child Health Centre and

School Health Service just like everyone else. In principle, free access to these health services is a right that applies to all young people from the age of 0 to 20. In all three municipalities, these services deal with migrant children and youth. An informant claims that some children may be difficult to get in touch with, for instance those that arrive without formal documents. Migrants from some countries may perceive school health service as somewhat unfamiliar, if in their home country their extended family is responsible for tasks that in Norway are handled by the public. This for instance can include preventive measures such as counselling on the topics of diet, physical activity, sex education, and so on. Professionals in the public health sector report experiencing situations where this has been challenging both for themselves and for the youth and/or families concerned.

For the majority of customised measures concerning refugees and family reunification, migrants' contact with health services is established through the Introduction Program. Additionally, the city of Stavanger runs different family related programs. One of them, the International Parent Counselling Program, tries to build bridges between minority and majority's values and rights. Another program organises immigrant mother and child group meetings to prevent isolation.

As the immigrant population ages, it is believed that the need for an elderly care sensitive to the requirements of the immigrant population will increase. To prepare for future needs, the city of Stavanger now runs a pilot project visiting the homes of all 75year-old immigrants in one district to register their situation.

Health services are in principle universal, but, as we have seen, they have certain limitations. The challenge is to inform migrants and facilitate their access to these services. In summary, one can say the challenges that immigrants meet in the health and care services largely consist of intercultural communication challenges concerning health and how the health system works. Refugees and their families get special follow up information as part of the Introduction Program and the introduction to a GP. Except for what is provided in the Introduction Program, there are few particularly adapted services for migrants in our three case municipalities. An exception is the city of Stavanger, which runs a couple of program directed at migrant families. Short-term migrant workers have to find temporary solutions, like private medical centres or an accident & emergency department if they are in need of medical assistance. Even after being registered in the official health system by obtaining a social security number, they still, most probably, have to search on their own for the information needed. The Directorate of Integration and Diversity has created useful web pages, such as www.nyinorge.no, with important information given in some of the most common immigrant languages. Still, these are national web pages, and equivalent information channels do not usually exist at the municipal level.

THE EDUCATION SECTOR

The education system addresses the needs of both adult and child migrants. Informants, who are refugees and work migrants report that they see public education and training services as important arenas of integration both for themselves and for their

children. Moreover, these are places where they meet other migrants. The migrant informants express their satisfaction with the quality and the teachers at all levels of learning, e.i. kindergarten, primary school and adult education. There may be challenges, however, related to the organisation in terms of scale, accessibility and progression of the education offered.

All three municipalities have had a considerable increase in the number of children with Central and Eastern European background. Children of refugee and work migrant background participate alike. As a general rule, all migrants not included in the Introduction pProgram have to finance kindergarten or day care for younger children. In Klepp, migrants are settled in a scattered pattern, and the municipality has chosen a corresponding model where the children are distributed among local kindergarten units. Moreover, a central counsellor has been established in order to supervise and give advice to the local units and to coordinate the use of mother tongue teacher assistants. It is reported that many work migrants' children in Klepp do not attend kindergarten. To save money, work migrants often take care of each other's children, but by doing so they are likely to miss opportunities of integration in the local community, and are at risk of getting poorer pedagogic follow up. Tysvær has chosen to concentrate refugee settlement in one neighbourhood and has established one kindergarten for all the children with a mother tongue different than Norwegian. Stavanger has also chosen a kindergarten model with centralised reception of the newly arrived and residing minority language children. This kindergarten is located at the municipal learning centre for language minorities called *Johannes Learning Centre*, which is a centralised competence and learning unit for the entire municipality. The kindergarten is linked to the Introduction Program for families, that is both adults and children are getting instruction at the same time, partly by practicing language together.

When it comes to primary education offered to children, there are, in principle, only minor differences between children of refugee families and those of work migrants. Both groups are entitled to primary education. One challenge is how to combine specialised training in Norwegian, with the children's need to be integrated into their peer and neighbourhood setting. Differences may arise in relation to how the education in Norwegian language is organised, in particular concerning the use of centralised versus decentralised models. Tysvær municipality has chosen to develop centralised language education, geographically close to where the refugees have been allocated. These children may thus not need to attend different schools to get full education. That may be the case for many work migrants' children, but as the work migrants have obtained their houses in the private housing market, their settlement is scattered. Therefore, the children of work migrants during the week may have to shift between their neighbourhood, school and the centralised language learning institution. The municipality of Klepp combines centralised language training and decentralised neighbourhood schooling for all children, both of refugee as well as of work migrant background. Unfortunately, there are problems related to the lack of teacher resources to follow up the language training on the local scale. Stavanger also runs a combination of centralised introduction to language training and decentralised education, but most weight is giv-

en to systematised follow up in neighbourhood schools. In Stavanger, immigrant children's first year of schooling usually takes place at the *Johannes Learning Centre*. At this school, the teachers are specialised in teaching Norwegian as a second language, and in preparing immigrant children for Norwegian schools. Most of the students attending this school have a labour migrant background. An increase in the number of students since 2005 is due mainly to more students immigrating with their parents from Poland and the Baltic states. However, there is the issue, of unpredictability in job opportunities for work migrants, which can result in unstable living conditions and frequent change of schools.

Municipal responsibilities are numerous, and the present-day education sector in municipalities experiences reduced economic opportunities, where harsh priorities and reductions in services have become more the rule than the exception.[33] Financing of language tuition for migrant students represents in this respect a "political hot potato". The Education Act grants migrant children the right to language tuition. Until 2007, this right used to be financed directly by the state, since 2007 it has been financed indirectly through the yearly municipal transfers from the state budget. The Introduction Program for refugees grants state funding to municipalities targeted at refugees, and this is also used to finance language tuition in primary school. Still, the discourse in schools is that there are no resources available for the language tuition for minority students. One reason given is that children of work migrants may arrive unexpectedly at anytime during the school year, and the schools do not have the flexibility to cope with this. In particular, the school leaders from the smaller municipalities complain that it is difficult to plan and finance language training. It is easier for the city of Stavanger to cope with this problem, as they have a larger number of minority pupils, and can offer a more stable and long term education.

The Introduction Program gives adult refugees a broad introduction to the Norwegian language and society. It is an important tool to give them qualifications which they will need in the Norwegian labour market. The municipalities of Stavanger, Klepp and Tysvær have specialised education systems to offer this program to the refugees they have accepted. Labour migrants may participate as well, if they arrange for payment.

The medium sized municipalities of Klepp and Tysvær probably face more challenges in dealing with work migrants than the city of Stavanger. A labour migrant from Tysvær says that a number of work migrants want more intensive language courses. Having a limited time horizon, he was in a hurry to pass the language test to get work permission, but had not found any convenient offer. In Klepp, the person responsible for reception of refugees has registered the needs of work migrants to get the knowledge included in the Introduction Program, but he admits it is beyond his job specification. The Stavanger solution has been to establish an educational centre that run courses for refugees, as well as provides paid Norwegian language tuition for work migrants. In addition, we find private actors selling a variety of courses in basic and advanced Norwegian.

[33] I.H. Mathiesen, G. Vedøy, *Spesialundervisning – drivere og dilemma*, Rapport IRIS 2012/117, Stavanger 2012.

Summing up, the municipalities do experience challenges related to the delivery of kindergarten services, primary education and, to some degree, also adult education. One of the main challenges is to establish the models of language training that fit with migrants' situation and needs. In particular, it proves difficult to deliver sufficient services to work migrants and their families. The system is mainly adapted to refugees, based on the designated economic support for this field, and the policies are followed up by personnel dedicated to this task. In most cases, work migrants have to find their own way, relying on employers, private suppliers and the civic sector. From the point of view of municipalities, work migrants are a less predictable group as regards their number, age, country of origin, time of arrival and so on, and consequently they pose challenges to administration and resource mobilisation.

PRACTICAL CHALLENGES OF MIGRANT RECEPTION

Health and care services, as well as education, are universal welfare services for people from different age groups and life situations that live in the country. This is also the case for people of migrant background. The central government has stated ambitious objectives as to service delivery and inclusion of migrants. Local administration and services are the main vehicle to provide services, also to migrants. In principle, both refugees and work migrants have the rights and duties related to primary health and education services, with some limitations as far as short-term EU/EEA-work migrants are concerned. The Introduction Program is the main instrument through which municipalities deliver their services. Here, the National Government has put up a framework and gives grants to equip local government with means to receive migrants and their families into the local community. The financing is limited to refugees and their families, and work migrants are therefore not included.

Even though work migrants and their families have rights to medical care and education services, in practice it will be more difficult for the municipalities to deliver general welfare services adapted to this group, than to the migrants of refugee background. For the latter there is, as described, the specific aid system aiming at permanent settling and integration. They get information and education in language and society to find their way in the service system, and the delivery mechanisms are normally adapted to the needs of this group, as to local proximity and access to services. The municipality receives economic support to deliver the services. However, the work migrants are, in principle, treated as individuals on equal terms with the majority population. Since they have less knowledge, in particular of the Norwegian language, and less information on how to contact and get services needed, for instance regarding visits to a GP, they may not benefit from the rights they have. Since there is no designated funding for any special initiatives in this field, the municipal level of authority finds it difficult to meet their needs, even if these needs are recognised by civil servants. This may be a particular problem for small municipalities.

One of the difficulties encountered by the municipalities is related to planning. The reception of refugees is planned, and state money is provided in order to take

proper care of them. However, the reception of work migrants cannot be planned for in the same way. They are mostly recruited by employers and not by a municipal migrant (refugee) office. Their arrival is, to a larger degree, characterised by uncertainty. They live where they can get private housing, most likely in different neighbourhoods, and at times it may be more difficult to secure their access to central municipal services.

Also the choice of model for local organisation is a challenge. On the one hand, it is about having and developing specialised skills regarding immigrants and their needs, which is a perspective that points towards concentration of the service. On the other hand, it is about working to ensure that immigrants gradually, and often as quickly as possible, are integrated into ordinary services where majority and minority participate on equal terms. This indicates the need for multiplicity of places where immigrants may receive good services.

Both principles are important, and the challenge in many areas seems to be mainly the question of how to develop solutions related to the transitions between specialised terminals and service functions and ordinary services. In one municipality for instance, a GP has a part-time job as a doctor for new immigrants in a transitional phase, but they are expected to make their final choices with respect to GP. The challenge with such dispersion models is that when immigrants are dispersed as recipients of specialised functions, such as medical, refugee consultant, kindergarten etc., they have more limited access to adapted expertise and competence.

Another issue that has only recently begun to be noticed more systematically is related to the transitions between life phases. This may lead to the lack of service provision because one organisation in a sector is different from another and may not capture the needs that are constantly changing character. Good work in kindergarten is important, but a lot can be lost if one does not get a similarly good transition to school, or from primary to secondary school. Again, these are not specific challenges in the field of migration, but they may turn out to be more powerful and there is a greater chance that other problems may develop unnoticed.

The dynamic relationship between capacity/resources and opportunities to provide services to immigrant population is challenging. The migrant population is constantly changing in size and composition as a result of new groups of refugees and migrant workers arriving to the local municipalities. In particular, this is a problem concerning work migrants attracted by the labour market, and not through governmental policy. Presumably, the larger municipalities with many immigrants have an advantage because they have many immigrants with common backgrounds which enables them to build up a range of services that can meet the needs of different groups. Smaller municipalities with relatively fewer immigrants may find it difficult to have sufficiently broad expertise to meet the diversity of immigrant affiliations. They are obliged to include most migrant services within their ordinary service system, and their specific migrant services are more vulnerable, because of their dependency on relatively few people. On a more positive note, they have shorter channels of communication and the spreading of knowledge across sectors may work better.

Going back to our description of the migration policy in the introduction, with a focus on both a broad approach towards refugees and their families, and a narrower one, mainly related to the labour market integration for work migrants, we see that this may cause practical biases at the sector policy implementation level. The number of work migrants is growing rapidly. Even if most of them are entitled to general welfare services such as health care and primary education, there are challenges to deliver accessible services in line with sectorial policy objectives. This is probably more applicable to smaller and medium-sized municipalities with fewer migrants (in numbers) and with a lesser possibility to offer services of a scale (number of users) and scope (number of different nationalities) to serve the needs of a multi-ethnic society. Cities with a larger overall population and a larger immigrant population have the resources and scale advantages that make it easier to put up broad and specialised services. The general planning efforts, in terms of master planning in our three case municipalities, indicate the same pattern. The largest municipality, the city of Stavanger, has put concern for the multi-ethnic population among its main policy objectives. Klepp, which is medium-sized in terms of general population and minority share, has put the issue of immigrants' housing and local environment high on the agenda. Whereas Tysvær, also with a significant, but definitely smaller, population of migrants, is to a lesser degree concerned about its migrant policies.

The policy bias in favour of holistic refugee migrant support, versus a partial labour migrant support, poses probably even greater problems for municipalities striving to tackle the development challenges caused by accelerating work migration. Their challenges are: How to deal with ad hoc but probable inflows of labour migrants? How to deal with temporary labour migrants, many of whom will become residents in need of services, but where specific money to secure services is lacking? The challenges partially relate to the lack of information concerning how many and which work migrants will be coming, or at least to the lack of coordinated information. Furthermore, the problem probably relates to the lack of an introduction system adapted to the work migrants' situation. To a small extent, this may have to do with the limitations in laws and regulations, but it is more probably that it is a question of giving the municipalities stronger opportunities and incentives to find targeted initiatives towards this group, for instance regarding cooperation between public and private sector.

MOVING FROM GROUP PLURALISM TOWARDS INDIVIDUAL PLURALISM

It has already been mentioned that the Norwegian integration policy can be characterised as group pluralism. An early report[34] stated that integration is about being acknowledged by society and about being capable of managing well in society. We can

[34] NOU 1973: 17 *Innvandringspolitikken.*

therefore question group pluralism by asking: Are migrants acknowledged by society? Are migrants sufficiently empowered to manage well in society?

Since the 1970s integration has meant that migrants are to be an acknowledged and functioning part of society, not necessarily alike with the other citizens.[35] The giving up of national identity, of mother tongue, of relations to country of origin and its culture were not required, nor were migrants expected to stay in Norway forever. The only thing that counted was being a functioning part of society and being able to find one's way in Norway.[36] This understanding of integration dominated Norwegian policies until the beginning of 2000.

A policy shift can be identified around the year 2000. The basis for the policies changed towards a clearer individual perspective, with more weight on the individual's statutory rights to make own decisions and to choose own lifestyle, also independently of the minority group affiliation. The consequence of the increasing individuality focus becomes less of a group pluralism, or stated otherwise more of an individual pluralism. This did not imply that the aim of having well-functioning members of society was abandoned, but that the strategy started to change.

The number of labour migrants has substantially increased in a relatively short period of time. Work migration has replaced seeking refuge and family unification as the main cause of migration to Norway.[37] This development has been going on since new EU-member states from East and Central Europe became part of the Schengen Agreement, and thus started participating in the free labour mobility of the EU/EEA area. It has fortified a migration pattern characterised by individual pluralism.

The municipal system for receiving labour migrants, or to put it more correctly, the lack of a well-organised system, also points to a more individualised direction. On a general level, and in national policies, work migrants are acknowledged. They are most welcome in the job market. But what does this acknowledgement mean in practice? An obvious premise for acknowledgement is knowing about who they are and where they are. Our study reveals that it can be hard for the municipalities to obtain information about work migrants. Work migrants come and go without necessarily informing anyone, nor do they announce their arrival or inform how long they plan to stay. As we have seen, the representatives from the municipalities tell stories about work migrants' children with the right to education unexpectedly appearing in schools.. The number of types of work migrants, defined by the contract of employment, makes it even more difficult to form an overview. Some immigrants live in one municipality and work in the neighbouring municipality, some live in one part of the country and work in another, some are employed by a foreign employer etc. In other words, work migrants are seen as an unpredictable group in our case municipalities. In comparison, the arrival of refugees into the municipality is agreed on and planned in cooperation with national authorities.

---

35 Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 39 to the Storting (1973-74)...

36 Ibid.

37 See Figure 1.

Labour migrants that settle are given neither systematic support in terms of economic support nor easily accessible services. Municipalities get no national support earmarked for integrating work migrants as they do for receiving refugees with their families. If a work migrant has or is given residence permit, he/she has rights equal to other citizens, but does not as easily get adapted services from local government. Most work migrants may start their stay in Norway with work and may learn about the language and society in practice. However, their opportunities to learn both the language and society may, to a large extent, be dependent on the goodwill and support of their employer, and these may differ according to the type of workplace. Immigrants may work side by side with people mastering the Norwegian language, or may work in segregated migrant teams. The latter can be quite common.

Although having different status in the Norwegian labour market and/or society, work migrants and refugees have similar welfare needs. Regarding public services the welfare system does – with some exceptions – treat both migrant categories equally, since the Norwegian welfare system is based on universal rights. In practice, there are challenges regarding the encounters at the municipal level between the public sector services and migrants. The findings in this paper suggest that some challenges differ between migrant groups, and that in some areas an increasing number of work migrants have in practice less access to public services than the majority of refugee settlers. These challenges seem to be related to migration policies and their implementation at the municipal level, rather than to the characteristics of individual migrants. Therefore, there is a need for policy development at the municipal level in the field of work migration.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Berge Ø., Djuve A.B., Tronstad K.R., *Rekruttering av utenlandsk arbeidskraft: Innvandreres arbeidsmiljø og tilknytning til arbeidsmarkedet i Norge*, FAFO-rapport, Oslo 2010.

Blom S., *Social differences of migrant health*, Statistics Norway, report 2010/35, Oslo 2010.

Blom S., 'Worse Health among Migrants', *Samfunnsspeilet*, No. 2 (2011).

Blom S., Henriksen K. (eds.), *Living conditions among migrants in Norway 2005/2006*, Statistics Norway, report 2008/5, Oslo 2008.

Crittenden B., *Cultural Pluralism and Common Curriculum*, Carlton (Vic.) 1982 (*Second Century in Australian Education*, 18).

Engen T.O., 'De gamle verdier er oprørske kategorier i en verden hvor normen er motsat ... Om minoritetsfamiliers utdanningsstrategier' in Ch. Horst (ed.), *Interkulturel pædagogik. Flere sprog – problem eller ressource?*, Vejle 2003.

Esping-Andersen G., *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Cambridge 1990.

Fandrem H., Strohmeier D., Jonsdottir K.A., 'Peer Groups and Victimisation among Native and Immigrant Adolescents in Norway', *Emotional and Behavioral Difficulties*, Vol. 17, No. 3-4 (2012), at <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13632752.2012.704308>.

Gjerstad B. et al., *Regional integreringspolitikk og praksis. Kunnskapsstatus og utviklingsmuligheter – Rogaland som case*, SIK report, Stavanger 2012.

Kymlicka W., *Politics in the Vernacular. Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*, Oxford 2001.

Lødding B., *Ut fra videregående: Integrasjon i arbeid og utdanning blant minoritetsungdom i det første Reform 94-kullet*, NIFU-rapport 1-2003, 2003.

Løwe T., 'Unge oppvokst i Norge med innvandrerforeldre. Mer "norske" enn eldre innvandrere?', *Samfunnsspeilet*, No. 4 (2009).

Mathiesen I.H., Vedøy G., *Spesialundervisning – drivere og dilemma*, Rapport IRIS 2012/117, Stavanger 2012.

Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Report No. 6 to the Storting (2012-2013): *A Coherent Integration Policy (En helhetlig integreringspolitikk)*.

Ministry of Justice and Public Security, Report No. 9 to the Storting (2009-2010): *Norwegian Asylum and Immigration Policy in a European Perspective (Norsk flyktning– og migrasjonspolitikk i et europeisk perspektiv)*.

Ministry of Labour, Report No. 18 to the Storting (2007-2008): *Work Migration (Arbeidsinnvandring)*.

Ministry of Labour, Report No. 49 to the Storting (2003-2004): *Diversity through Inclusion and Participation (Mangfold gjennom inkludering og deltakelse)*.

Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 39 to the Storting (1973-74): *On Migration Policy (Om innvandringspolitikken)*.

Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 39 to the Storting (1987-88): *On Migration Policy (Om innvandringspolitikken)*.

Ministry of Local Government and Labour, Report No. 74 to the Storting (1979-80): *On Migrants in Norway (Om innvandrere til Norge)*.

Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development, Report No. 17 to the Storting (1996-97): *On Migration and the Multicultural Norway (Om innvandring og det flerkulturelle Norge)*.

Nergård T.B., *Eldre innvandreres bruk av pleie– og omsorgstjenester. Rapport fra fem norske storbykommuner*, NOVA Rapport 10/08, 2008.

Norwegian Institute of Public Health, *The Status of Public Healthin Norway 2010 – Report*.

NOU 1973: 17 *Innvandringspolitikken.*

NOU 1995: 12 *Opplæring i et flerkulturelt Norge.*

NOU 2010: 7 *Mangfold og mestring.*

Skrefsrud T.-A., *Å være lærer i interkulturell kontekst. Om dialogen betydning for lærerkompetansen*, PhD dissertation, NTNU, Trondheim 2011.

Texmon I., *Regional projection of migration population 2011-2040*, Statistics Norway, Report 2012/11, Oslo 2012.

Vedøy G., Møller J., 'Successful School Leadership for Diversity? Examining Two Contrasting Examples of Working for Democracy in Norway', *International Studies in Educational Administration*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2007).

Øia T., *Innvandrerungdom – integrasjon og marginalisering*, NOVA Rapport 20/05, 2005.

Brita GJERSTAD is a Senior Research Scientist at the International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS) and holds an MPhil in Sociology. Her research interests include work migration, the use of technology in the public sector, and transportation.

Øystein Lund JOHANNESSEN is a Senior Researcher at the Centre for Intercultural Communication, Stavanger and PhD student at the University of Stavanger. Johannessen has an MA in Anthropology, and has investigated issues related to international development and education, especially in Latin America and Africa. He has also studied how teachers work with cultural diversity and the broader role of intercultural issues in different work places.

Svein Ingve NØDLAND is a Senior Research Scientist at the International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS), andan economist. He has over 20 years of experience in research, and his field of expertise includes civic organizations and NGOs, the public sector, immigration issues, and health and care services. He also has extensive administrative experience.

Geir SKEIE is a Professor of Religious Education at Stockholm University and University of Stavanger. Skeie's main research interests cover the politics and philosophy of religious education, and empirical studies of religious education practice including collaborative practice development. He has also researched the field of intercultural education and broader intercultural issues.

Gunn VEDØY holds a PhD in Educational Leadership from the University of Oslo. She is currently working as a Senior Research Scientist at the International Research Institute of Stavanger (IRIS). At IRIS she is involved in projects concerning education, migration and minorities, and innovation in public sector.